

American Historical Association

ANNUAL REPORT • 1976

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Letters of Submittal and Transmittal

June 15, 1977

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor of submitting to Congress the Annual Report of the Association for the year 1976.

Respectfully,
S. Dillon Ripley, *Secretary*
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 15, 1977

To the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution:

As provided by law, I submit to you herewith the report of the American Historical Association, comprising the proceedings of the Association and the report of its Pacific Coast Branch for 1976.

This volume constitutes the Association's report on the condition of historical study in the United States.

Mack Thompson, *Executive Director*
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Act of Incorporation

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history, and of history in America. Said Association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia as far as may be necessary to its lawful ends, to adopt a constitution, and make bylaws not inconsistent with law. Said Association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said Association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said Secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such report, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said Association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum, at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

The real property situated in Square 817, in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, described as lot 23, owned, occupied, and used by the American Historical Association, is exempt from all taxation so long as the same is so owned and occupied, and not used for commercial purposes, subject to the provisions of sections

2, 3, and 5 of the Act entitled, “An Act to define the real property exempt from taxation in the District of Columbia,” approved December 24, 1942.

[Approved, January 4, 1889, and amended July 3, 1957.]

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"We the People of the United States": The Bicentennial of a People's Revolution

RICHARD B. MORRIS

"IT IS QUITE OBVIOUS," said Richard M. Nixon in March 1976, "that there are certain inherently governmental actions which, if undertaken by the sovereign in protection of the interest of the nation's security, are lawful but which, if undertaken by private persons are not." Nixon was responding in writing to questions put to him by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, concerning alleged abuses of the executive power during his administration.¹ That a former president of the United States should, during the course of the Bicentennial year, advance the notion that the executive is the sovereign seems not only ill-timed but curiously at variance with the principles for which the American Revolution was fought and upon which the Federal Constitution was framed. Gouverneur Morris, whose felicitous choice of the phrase "We the People of the United States" designated the people of the whole nation as the source of sovereignty, said of the president: "This Magistrate is not the King but the prime-Minister. The People are the King."² Morris was a better statesman than a prophet. He did not live to see the imperial presidency.

This presidential address was delivered by Mr. Morris at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D.C., December 28, 1976.

¹ New York Times, March 12, 1976, 14:2.

² C. C. Tansill, comp., *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States* (Washington, 1927), 421.

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The Nixon commentary was of a piece with the attitude of the national government toward the commemoration of the Bicentennial. The two words most muted during the two hundredth year of American independence have been "people" and "revolution." But government officials are not the only ones who are guilty of a benign neglect on this score. A recent massive treatment of the War for Independence has as its subtitle *A People's History of the American Revolution*.³ Therein one might expect to find the focus shifted from the elite to the common people, to the private in the ranks and the civilian on the home front. Alas, we have good old-fashioned narrative history, often written with compelling power, but withal a traditional military and political account. One would have to search elsewhere in sources and monographs comparatively discrete to understand why this war was indeed a "people's revolution," to divine how ordinary people gave a distinct cast to what was an extraordinary event for its own time, and to comprehend why, after two centuries, the American Revolution can still inspire and admonish the American people.

To explain an epoch as complex as the American Revolution and to understand how a durable constitutional order evolved therefrom one must first recognize how so many aspects of the movement touched a popular chord. Mobilization of public opinion was central to the winning of a war for political independence which was at the same time the first successful effort in the modern era by a colonial people to sever an imperial connection with a great world power. Public sentiment clearly dictated the replacement of an unresponsive and corrupt monarchical system by a republic founded on public morality and, through the elective system and representative institutions, recognizing the sovereignty of the people.

If the American Revolution gave birth to a new nation, different from the nations of the Old World and destined to fix the direction of modern nationalism, its distinctive character was shaped in no small part by the enormous demographic changes in the two generations prior to the Revolution and by a popular culture which geographical separation, environmental factors, and socio-cultural forces nurtured. It is a commonplace that out of the principal issue concerning the relation of colonies to metropolis the

³ Page Smith, *A New Age Begins: A People's History of the American Revolution* (2 vols., New York, 1976).

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American Revolution forged an anticolonial principle, once central, later peripheral, but still troubling the American conscience. That principle was in obeisance to the sentiments of sovereign people on the move, giving reality to the paper boundaries drawn by the Peace of Paris in 1783. It was popular apprehension about the aggrandizement of power that prompted the promulgation of novel constitutional principles governing the relation of the state to the people, that recognized certain rights of the individual to be inherent, and that under the rubric of federalism imposed limitations on the authority of the central government. That other dimension of the American Revolution, a transforming egalitarianism, was manifest in the spirit of reform which characterized the American Revolutionary epoch and in the noteworthy degree of upward political mobility which was achieved.

The Founding Fathers never doubted the central role of the people in bringing about the final break with England. Time after time they felt impelled to pay obeisance to the people's participation from the start of hostilities in order to refute customary Loyalist and British accusations that the break with the mother country resulted from a deep-rooted conspiracy of the leadership.⁴ That last point was so much "moonshine," George Mason charged. Writing from Gunston Hall in 1778 to an English correspondent, the Virginian asserted:

There never was an idler or a falser Notion than that which the British Ministry have imposed upon the Nation "that this great Revolution has been the Work of a Faction, of a Junto of ambitious Men against the Sense of the People of America." On the Contrary, nothing has been done without the Approbation of the People, who have indeed out run their Leaders; so that no capital Measure hath been adopted, until they called loudly for it: to any one who knows Mankind, there needs no greater Proof than the cordial Manner in which they have co-operated, and the Patience and Perseverance with which they have struggled under their Sufferings;

⁴ Among others, John Jay, for example, felt impelled to deny, as late as December 1775, that the Continental Congress aimed at independence, "Proofs that the Colonies Do Not Aim at Independence" [Philadelphia, after December 11, 1775], in Richard B. Morris *et al.*, editors, *John Jay: The Making of a Revolutionary, Unpublished Papers, 1745-1780* (New York, 1975), 198-201.

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which have been greater than you, at a Distance, can conceive, or I describe.⁵

So constant and so consistent was the Revolutionary elite in acknowledging the people's indispensable role, in adopting the rhetoric of the transforming democratic radicalism of the American Revolution that, as one recent scholar sees it,⁶ the leadership contributed to its own political demise. By the last quarter of the twentieth century the common man had replaced the uncommon man in the nation's leadership, a process that seems irreversible.

If the focus here is on the ordinary person of the American Revolution it is not from any intention to slight the role of the Patriot elite. Their concern with legality and constitutional principles, along with their sense of moderation, distinguished the American Revolution from almost all others to follow. Possessing a keen perception of the national interest, they made sure that a hoop encircled the barrel and bound the thirteen staves together. Their conviction that America had a unique role as a symbol of freedom gave the new nation the twin notions of mission and asylum—serving to render it distinctive among the states of the world.⁷

For almost two centuries now historians and editors have paid deference to the revolutionary leaders. Their virtues have been extolled, their faults exposed, their differences expatiated upon, their motives defended or impugned. Even their sex lives have been delved into and their psyches analyzed. Above all, their compulsive literary energies have inspired scholars to embark upon new, accurate, full, and erudite editions of their writings, a notable series of projects sponsored by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.

And now it is the people's turn. The generic term "people" encompasses all the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies, not even excluding the upper ranks of society whose roles have been so well publicized. It includes whites and blacks, men and women,

⁵ George Mason to [Mr. — Brent?], October 2, 1778, in Robert A. Rutland, editor, *The Papers of George Mason, 1725-1792* (Chapel Hill, 1970), 1:435.

⁶ Gordon S. Wood, "The Democratization of Mind in the American Revolution," in *Leadership in the American Revolution*, Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution (Washington, 1974), 84.

⁷ See my *Seven Who Shaped Our Destiny: The Founding Fathers as Revolutionaries* (New York, 1975); "The American Dream Among Nations—What Promise? What Fulfillment?" in *America at 200*, Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series, number 227 (New York, 1975), 3-35.

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slave and free. It encompasses the stout-hearted Patriot and the fair-weather Patriot. It embraces the Loyalists, or "Petticoat Gentry," who, whether from conviction or expediency, made haste to tear up their wives' underthings and affix a red ribbon to their hats. It includes fencesitters or neutralists, and that final group that confounds all quantifiers—those who took oaths of loyalty to both sides.

For this paper "the people" of the Revolution is limited to the inhabitants who contributed to the decisions of revolution, change, and reform. This segment of the population comprises the free white males, mostly adults, who shared the Patriot viewpoint. As regards women, their part in maintaining morale was critical, and their vigilant mobilization against violators of nonimportation agreements, hoarders, and profiteers is a story by itself. Women were, however, excluded from the political process not only in America but everywhere, with New Jersey for a brief idiosyncratic period as a possible exception. Such exclusion accorded with the conventional view of male politicians. Thirty years after the start of the American Revolution, Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin had the presumption to suggest to President Thomas Jefferson that the latter might consider women for public service and elicited this sharp rejoinder: "The appointment of a woman to office is an innovation for which the public is not prepared, nor am I." ⁸

Second, Indians and blacks must also be excluded. Since the American revolutionaries fought for empire over the West as well as for their own freedom in the East, the Indian was regarded as being outside the constituency. Despite the theoretical commitment in the Declaration of Independence to the principle of equality and the antislavery convictions of certain northern Patriot leaders, blacks were usually not considered part of the constituency. They *were* not, and by the nature of their situation, *could* not be effectively recruited for the Patriot cause. Antislavery sentiment failed to prove a decisive factor in the contest for the loyalty

⁸ Thomas Jefferson to the Secretary of the Treasury, January 13, 1807, in Paul Leicester Ford, editor, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1892–1899), 9:7. See also Joan Hoff Wilson, "The Illusion of Change: Women and the American Revolution," in Alfred F. Young, editor, *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (DeKalb, Ill., 1976), 383–445.

of the Negro in the Revolution. Indeed it is doubtful that it could have overcome deep-seated resistance.⁹

Third, we must exclude the white bondsmen. They lacked that proof of independence normally regarded as a requisite to political activity. True, their status was temporary. But, excepting apprentices in the towns who participated in anti-British demonstrations,¹⁰ the indentured servants were not mobilized for the Revolution. Save in cases of bound servants gaining their freedom by enlistment, often over their masters' vehement protests, the Revolution did nothing to end and little to ameliorate white bondage. What makes the point critical is that by the eve of the war, thanks to a rising wave of redemptioner immigration, to a substantial traffic in white convict servants, and to an expanding roll of judgment debtors sold into servitude, the number of white servants held by indenture for limited terms exceeded the totals for any other period in colonial history.¹¹

⁹ The view of Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill, 1968), 342, 344, that the success of antislavery in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was almost within reach is controverted by David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1820* (Ithaca, 1975), 255-257, and Edmund S. Morgan, "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox," *Journal of American History*, 59 (1972):6. For the role of blacks in the Revolution, see Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1961), 111-157; George H. Moore, "Historical Notes on the Employment of Negroes in the American Army of the Revolution," *Magazine of History, with Notes and Queries*, No. 1 (1907); Richard B. Morris, *The American Revolution Reconsidered* (New York, 1967), 72-76. For the unfulfilled expectations of some black Tory refugees, see G. Halliburton, "The Nova Scotia Settlers of 1792," *Sierra Leone Studies*, N. S., No. 9 (December 1957): 16-25; Anthony Kirk-Greene, "David George: The Nova Scotia Experience," *Sierra Leone Studies*, N. S., No. 14 (December 1960): 93-120.

¹⁰ Dirk Hoerder, "Boston Leaders and Boston Crowds, 1765-1776," in Young, editor, *The American Revolution*, 242, 248. For apprentices in the Philadelphia militia, see Eric Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (New York, 1976), 65, 126.

¹¹ See Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York, 1946), 147-149, 314 n., 326, 362-363. The indentured servants were increasingly concentrated in rural areas, while towns like Boston were suffering a relatively rapid decline in immigration. James A. Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 22 (1965):83. In Philadelphia and its environs, the importation of German and Scotch-Irish redemptioners recommenced at the end of the Seven Years' War, while slave imports declined. Gary B. Nash, "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 30 (1973), 223-256. Nevertheless, it is estimated that slaves and servants together of working age declined from 21 percent of Philadelphia's population (1767) to 16 percent (1775) and 5.5 percent (1783).

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Even with these exclusions we still have an impressive number of persons of whom the leadership had to take account. Consensus historians prefer to see this mass as bound together by middle-class aspirations, if not necessarily of the middle class themselves. One perceptive historian speaks of "a numerous, relatively aggressive, and largely enfranchised middle-class public."¹² True enough, America, lacking a titled aristocracy, offering a widely distributed freehold tenure, and occupied by a large English-speaking Protestant population, presented an image of homogeneity and classlessness. It is now recognized, however, that the assumption that America skipped the feudal stage of history, like other oversimplifications, conveys a partial truth, while ignoring or minimizing not only the remnants of feudalism still present in pre-Revolutionary America but even, as some historians now insist, an increasing feudalization or Europeanization of the American scene, a process productive of social tensions.¹³

Everywhere one finds inequality. Everywhere colonial society was divided into ranks or orders. Though affluence increased in the eighteenth century, so did poverty. While the standard of living of craftsmen, small shopkeepers, and laborers improved, their position vis-à-vis the more prosperous merchants deteriorated. In selected rural areas the same disparity was found.¹⁴ The

¹² Richard Hofstadter, *America at 1750: A Social Portrait* (New York, 1971), 131–133.

¹³ Richard B. Morris, *The American Revolution Reconsidered* (New York, 1965), 60–65; Rowland Berthoff and John M. Murrin, "Feudalism, Communalism, and the Yeoman Freeholder: The American Revolution Considered as a Social Accident," in Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson, editors, *Essays on the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1973), 256–288; Jack P. Greene, "The Social Origins of the American Revolution: An Evaluation and Interpretation," *PSQ*, 88 (1973):1–22; Kenneth A. Lockridge, "Social Change and the Meaning of the American Revolution," *Journal of Social History*, 6 (1972–1973):403–459. For the argument that, so far as New York was concerned, the neofeudal trappings of the great manors had little meaning by the mid-eighteenth century, see Sung Bok Kim, "A New Look at the Great Landlords of Eighteenth-Century New York," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 27 (1970):581–614; Patricia U. Bonomi, *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York* (New York, 1971), 196–200. For a re-evaluation of the impact of quitrents in one royal colony, see Alan D. Watson, "The Quitrent System in Royal South Carolina," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 33 (1976):183–211.

¹⁴ See Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure," 75–92; Allan Kulikoff, "Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 28 (1971):375–413.

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poorest taxpayers in the two generations preceding the Revolution enjoyed a continued rise in income while suffering a declining share of the assessed taxable wealth.¹⁵ Retrospectively such disparities in income between the top and bottom ranks seem the inevitable result of the vast expansion of commercial farming and large-scale commerce. Even in New England, land of subsistence farming, population growth significantly decreased the land available per person and contributed to economic polarization.¹⁶ To compound the antagonism between ranks in society, an amorphous body of free-floating workers, unwelcome in many cases, sharing a common poverty, now posed an increasing problem to an urban society which was slowly assuming some of the characteristics of modernization, with its spreading commercialism, occupational specialization, and social atomization.¹⁷

In essence, whether we are considering the assumptions of present-day historians, divided on the significance of urban poverty in the pre-Revolutionary period, or examining the testimony of contemporaries, the prospect depends on the eye of the beholder. Where Crèvecoeur saw the American dwelling in a climate of "pleasing equality,"¹⁸ John Day, a Nova Scotia merchant who spent a good deal of time in the other North Atlantic port cities, pictured a "rising aristocracy" and "numerous vagrant poor."¹⁹

Admittedly, the American Revolution did not witness an uprising of the *sans-culottes* like that of France some years later. It is hard to make out of it a class struggle, when the very term "class" did not yet enjoy wide currency.²⁰ Notwithstanding, the attachment to the cause of revolution by the lower and middling orders,

¹⁵ See James T. Lemon and Gary B. Nash, "The Distribution of Wealth in Eighteenth-Century America: A Century of Change in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1693-1782," *Journal of Social History*, 2, No. 1 (1968):1-24. For the view that the small man's economic position advanced in eighteenth-century Virginia, see Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery-American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975), 338-346.

¹⁶ Kenneth A. Lockridge, "Land, Population, and the Evolution of New England Society, 1630-1790," *Past and Present*, 39 (1968):62-80.

¹⁷ Gary B. Nash, "Poverty and Poor Relief in Pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 33 (1976):3-30.

¹⁸ Michael Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from An American Farmer* (London, 1782), Letter III.

¹⁹ Jack P. Greene, "Social Structure and Political Behavior in Revolutionary America: John Day's Remarks on American Affairs (London, May 7, 1774)," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 32 (1975):481-494.

²⁰ The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists a use of "class" in the sense of

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as they were then known, was central both to its initiation and its ultimate success. These orders were distinguished from their "betters" by dress, and often, too, by speech, manners, and habits. *M'Fingal* might jeer at "each leather-aproned dunce grown wise," a point of view shared by many who wore silks and velvets, covered their heads with powdered wigs, wore silver-buckled shoes, and rode in chaises. What surprised them more often than not was how the "village Hampden" and the "mute inglorious Milton" made their discontent known, though deemed to be inarticulate. Their use of songs, jigs, and toasts, of effigies, parades, and demonstrations, even of mobbing and tarring and feathering proved that the inarticulate were by no means mute.²¹ Neither literary correspondents nor diarists, careless in preserving farm and account books, they wrote the stories of their lives in baptismal registers and on gravestones, in the court records, the deeds and wills, the inventories of estates, the assessment, tax, and tithable rolls, the militia lists, and in countless newspaper notices placed by craftsmen, shopkeepers, and owners of runaway servants.

United only in resenting privilege, the lower ranks of society voiced different grievances in different areas. In interior Massachusetts the court system and the aggrandizement of power by the justices of the peace aroused their ire.²² In Vermont, New York, and the Jerseys, New York patentees, manor lords, or the Jersey proprietors blocked the settlers' quest for fee-simple lands.²³ Pennsylvania found frontiersmen arrayed against the Eastern inhabitants, while the back country regulators of the Carolinas registered protests against regressive taxation, unequal representation, inequitable or inadequate justice,²⁴ and in the southern towns white

"orders" of society as early as 1656, but it was not in common currency for well over a century. See also Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* (New York, 1960), xii.

²¹ See Jesse Lemisch and John K. Alexander, "The White Oaks, Jack Tar, and the Concept of the 'Inarticulate,'" *WMQ*, 3d ser., 29 (1972): 109-134.

²² John M. Murrin, "The Legal Transformation," in Stanley N. Katz, editor, *Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development* (Boston, 1971), 415-449.

²³ See Edward Countryman, "Out of the Bounds of the Law: Northern Land Riots in the Eighteenth Century," in Young, editor, *The American Revolution*, 39-69; Marvin L. Michael Key, "The North Carolina Regulation, 1766-1776: A Class Conflict," *ibid.*, 73-123.

²⁴ See, e.g., Key, *ibid.*; Robert A. Becker, "Revolution and Reform: An

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mechanics joined to limit the employment of slaves in the handicraft trades.²⁵

The severe social strains which so many members of the lower orders experienced, while perhaps accounting for some of the frenzied rhetoric of the period,²⁶ failed to unite all the aggrieved, if disparate, groups in support of independence. Contrariwise, where landlords happened to be stout Whigs, tenants understandably became Tories. Imperial measures aroused the seaboard from end to end, while the frontier remained sharply divided in allegiance. It is not a fictitious unity of the aggrieved inhabitants that is relevant to the Revolution, but rather the evidence that the various movements they began, to eliminate inequities in society, gathered strength and thereby defined the reform goals of the Revolution.

If a large segment of the lower orders in rural areas defected from the Patriot cause, the reverse was true of towns wherein the action was centered. With few exceptions, the town mechanics, laborers, and seamen were either involved in the pre-Revolutionary agitation or were swept up into the Revolution. When we used the word "mechanics" we are employing a catchall covering anyone who worked with his hands, including master artisans and journeymen wage-earners (tomorrow's master mechanics) and, even more broadly, comprehending all groups below the ranks of merchants and lawyers. Ranging from skilled and creative silversmiths and cabinetmakers to common laborers and cartmen, from master craftsmen who owned their shops and employed journeymen and apprentices to the unskilled dock workers, the "mechanics," with their families, made up a respectable segment of the inhabitants of the major Revolutionary ports and of the smaller towns.²⁷ Like

Interpretation of Southern Taxation, 1763 to 1783," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 32 (1975):417-442.

²⁵ Morris, *Government and Labor*, 184-186.

²⁶ This is an argument in Gordon S. Wood, "Rhetoric and Reality in the American Revolution," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 23 (1966):3-32. The extent to which religious revivalism in the colonial interior infected the rhetoric of the time is suggestively treated by Rhys Isaac, "Preachers and Patriots: Popular Culture in Revolutionary Virginia," in Young, editor, *The American Revolution*, 125-154.

²⁷ See Staughton Lynd and Alfred F. Young, "After Carl Becker: The Mechanics in New York City Politics, 1774-1801," *Labor History*, 5 (1964):215-224. The Philadelphia mechanics were mainly independent entrepreneurs, according to Charles S. Olton, *Artisans for Independence: Philadelphia Mechanics and the American Revolution* (Syracuse, 1975), 38. In

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the Parisian *sans-culottes*, they were "the people . . . without the frosting."²⁸ Masters or journeymen mechanics, like so many other people of the lower and middling orders, they did not exclusively identify themselves with a single category or regard their status as permanent, any more than the American worker does at the present time.²⁹

In the towns the Revolutionary movement drew its strength from the "crowd" or the "mob," depending on whether one views the political actions as purposeful and disciplined or lawless and subject to manipulation, with most modern and contemporary scholars taking the former view.³⁰ If not manipulated, the crowd clearly shared the political principles of its leaders who endorsed the contemporary radical Whig ideology, stressing constitutional rights and political liberty. Beyond that one detects among the lower orders an oft-voiced bias against wealth and privilege,³¹ along with something of that "moral economy" which a current student

Philadelphia the tools alone which master mechanics possessed seemed to constitute sufficient property for most to qualify for the suffrage. *Ibid.*, 51, 52. See also David Montgomery, "The Working Class of the Pre-Industrial City, 1780-1830," *Labor History*, 9 (1968):5; Roger J. Champagne, "Liberty Boys and Mechanics of New York City, 1764-1774," *Labor History*, 8 (1967):124, 125. For estimates of the working-class population, see Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776* (New York, 1955), 283; Benjamin W. Labaree, *Patriots and Partisans: The Merchants of Newburyport, 1764-1815* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 4-5. For the enlistment of master ship carpenters in the nonimportation movement, see James H. Hutson, "An Investigation of the Inarticulate: Philadelphia's 'White Oaks,'" *WMQ*, 3d ser., 28 (1971), 3-25.

²⁸ R. R. Palmer, "Popular Democracy in the French Revolution: Review Article," *French Historical Studies*, 1 (1960):453.

²⁹ For a comment on Lyndon B. Johnson's characteristic assumption of pluralist thought as regards class or occupation, see Doris Kearns, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream* (New York, 1976), 156, 157.

³⁰ For the former view of English and continental crowd action, see George Rudé, *The Crowd in History, 1730-1848* (New York, 1964), 52 ff. A similar view of the American revolutionary crowd is found in Bernard Bailyn, editor, *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-1776* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965-), 1:581-583, 740 n., and in Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776* (New York, 1974). A dissenting view of Hiller B. Zobel, *The Boston Massacre* (New York, 1970) has been vigorously criticized by Jesse Lemisch, review article in *Harvard Law Review*, 84 (1970): 485-504, and by Pauline Maier, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2 (1971):119-135.

³¹ Dirk Hoerder, "Boston Leaders and Boston Crowds, 1765-1776," in Young, editor, *American Revolution*, 235-271.

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of mass behavior finds to have informed crowd action in England.³² On this side of the ocean, food riots and demonstrations against engrossers and price-fixing violators attest to the transplantation of some of these values.³³ Perhaps the most sensational incident occurred in Philadelphia well on in the war, when an inflamed populace attacked "Fort Wilson," James Wilson's residence and refuge for a group of his republican merchant friends commonly believed to have manipulated the price of goods.³⁴

It may be straining the evidence to establish a genealogical nexus between components of crowds that rioted against smallpox inoculations, protested grain shortages, and tore down brothels. On the other hand, the impressment riots mobilized seamen, dock-workers, and the entire maritime industry against the Royal Navy and helped cement the alliance between maritime workers and merchant shippers against customs and naval authorities, an alliance so fateful in its consequences.³⁵ In other trades as well, labor's grievances against employers over work and wages were submerged as both sides found common cause in resisting British policies.³⁶

Remote as historians of today are from the violent temper of pre-Revolutionary times, it is indubitably easier for us to view these mounting demonstrations with a detachment understandably lacking among the victims of mobbism. Henry Laurens suffered a visitation by a crowd during the Stamp Act furor and castigated the Sons of Liberty "Devil Burners" of Charleston as a "Mob"

³² E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present*, 50 (1971):76-136.

³³ For the grass-roots support for price-fixing in the Revolution, see Morris, *Government and Labor*, 127-132. See also Ronald Hoffman, "The 'Disaffected' in the Revolutionary South," in Young, editor, *American Revolution*, 282, 298.

³⁴ See, e.g., John K. Alexander, "The Fort Wilson Incident: A Case Study of the Revolutionary Crowd," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 31 (1974):589-612.

³⁵ See Jesse Lemisch, "The Radicalism of the Inarticulate: Merchant Seamen in the Politics of America," in Alfred F. Young, editor, *Dissent: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (DeKalb, Ill., 1968), 39-82. Richard M. Brown, "Violence in the American Revolution," in Kurtz and Hutson, editors, *Essays on the American Revolution*, 66, has identified seventeen Boston riots out of thirty anti-British demonstrations that were directed against customs enforcement and six over impressment by the Royal Navy.

³⁶ Morris, *Government and Labor*, 188-193.

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which had "committed unbounded acts of Licentiousness and at length Burglary and Robbery."³⁷ Some time later, when he had become a true-blue Patriot, Laurens was accused by Daniel Moore, the customs collector, of raising "a Mob" against him. "No such thing as Mobbing was ever thought of," Laurens protested. The crowd that surrounded the king's officer did nothing worse than threaten to cut off his ears!³⁸

The participation of the mechanics had a profound effect upon the commitment of the leading towns toward the Revolution and helped radicalize the movement of imperial protest. Henceforth leaders like John Jay, who were conciliatory on principle but activist by temperament, recognized the signals and joined the revolutionary current.³⁹

The crowd action that propelled the American towns along the road to independence has been examined so often that the sequence of events in which the crowd participated against British measures hardly needs an accounting.⁴⁰ From the Stamp Act riots to the Boston Tea Party, a logical progression of crowd demonstrations responded to British programs and policies. Behind crowd action one uncovers an elaborate Patriot infrastructure facilitated by the unities of everyday life in preindustrial American towns.⁴¹ Boston, for example, found radical operations shared by the Loyal Nine, both genesis and executive committee of the Sons of Liberty, the three area Caucus Clubs, and assemblages at favorite meeting places—taverns, a distillery, and a newspaper office. The radical

³⁷ Henry Laurens to Joseph Brown, October 22, 1765, in George C. Rogers, Jr., and David R. Chestnutt, editors, *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, 5 vols. (Columbia, S. C., 1968—), 5:27; Laurens to James Grant, November 1, 1765, *ibid.*, 39, 40.

³⁸ Laurens to Ross and Mill, October 8, 1767, *ibid.*, 339–341.

³⁹ See Letter of the Committee of Sixty to the New Haven Committee, April 17, 1775, in Morris, editor, *John Jay*, 143–144.

⁴⁰ The Sons of Liberty and Sons of Neptune, which prepared the early organization and mobilization of the crowd, have been studied by, among others, Henry B. Dawson, *The Sons of Liberty in New York* (New York, 1859); Herbert M. Morais, "The Sons of Liberty in New York," in Richard B. Morris, editor, *The Era of the American Revolution* (New York, 1939); Roger J. Champagne, "New York Radicals and the Coming of Independence," *Journal of American History*, 51 (1964):21–40; Richard Walsh, *Charleston's Sons of Liberty: A Study of the Artisans, 1763–1789* (Columbia, S. C., 1959).

⁴¹ See Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia, 1968), 24.

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network linked artisans and mechanics, the church, the Boston town meeting, and the provincial council and assembly. At the center functioned the ubiquitous Samuel Adams, and around him the crowd leaders like Ebenezer Mackintosh.

Outside the towns, where the sanctions of the crowd did not reach, the militia provided a lever to move public opinion. With all its deficiencies, the militia posed to each able-bodied male a commitment of loyalty, thereby helping to politicize communities as well as individuals. As one historian has remarked, "firearms were great levelers, and the use of them by ordinary men against established authority was in itself enough to generate leveling thoughts."⁴²

Together, popular assemblages and the militia recruited a broad-based support for revolution. Without such support the leadership never could have carried the day for independence, even allowing for the French alliance and British incompetence. In fact, demands for independence rose from the grass roots, and leaders, even Samuel Adams, reflected popular sentiment quite as much as they encouraged it.⁴³ On May 1, 1776, Joseph Hawley could write Elbridge Gerry: "For God's sake, let there be a full revolution, or all has been done in vain. Independence and a well planned continental government will save us."⁴⁴ When, nine days later, the Massachusetts House of Representatives put the question of independence to the towns,⁴⁵ the response of the inhabitants was emphatic. So mighty was the torrent of instructions and resolutions that poured forth from the towns and so various were the reasons vouchsafed for independence, that it would be straining the evidence to attribute these opinions to elitist leaders, however much the initiative had remained with the Boston Committee of Corre-

⁴² Morgan, *American Slavery—American Freedom*, 379; John Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed* (New York, 1976), 218, 220; Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York, 1958), 345, 372.

⁴³ Pauline Maier, "Coming to Terms with Samuel Adams," *AHR*, 81 (1976):12-37.

⁴⁴ Joseph Hawley to Elbridge Gerry, May 1, 1776, in James T. Austin, *Life of Elbridge Gerry*, (Boston, 1828-1829), 1:175-176. For the role of the Committee of Privates, a group of extreme radicals in the Pennsylvania militia, see Olton, *Artisans for Independence*, 74.

⁴⁵ Peter Force, editor, *American Archives: Fourth Series, Containing a Documentary History of the English Colonies in North America, from the King's Message to Parliament, of March 7, 1774, to the Declaration of Independence by the United States* (6 vols., Washington, 1837-1846), 6:420.

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spondence.⁴⁶ "Every Post and every Day rolls in upon us," said John Adams. "Independence like a Torrent."⁴⁷ Since popular-based support was not confined to Massachusetts, elsewhere decisions were made by large bodies of inhabitants assembled in town, county, or provincial meetings and responsive to public opinion. The reverse was of course true in Britain.⁴⁸

How town meetings and county conventions were transformed into mass meetings of the "Body of the People" is the story of the way in which royal government was supplanted by extralegal bodies representing "the people," "the community," or "a majority of the community."⁴⁹ That story has a twofold significance. First, its telling is essential to an understanding of the formation of the Union; and second, the central role of the people transformed the American Revolution from a war for independence into a broad-based movement of change and reform.

As for the constitutional aspect of popular sovereignty, the record shows that selection of delegates to the First and Second Continental Congresses occurred largely outside the colonial legislative bodies. Selection was accomplished in different ways—by revolutionary committees, by the polling of freeholders, or by elections by illegal assemblies and revolutionary conventions. The use of conventions, so important in mobilizing public opinion not only during the war but in the years preceding Shays' Rebellion,⁵⁰

⁴⁶ See, e.g., Instructions of Malden, May 27; Scituate, June 4; Resolve of Natick, June 20, 1776, Massachusetts Archives, lib. 156:fols. 101, 103, 113. See also Richard D. Brown, *Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts: The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 95-99, 208.

⁴⁷ John Adams to James Warren, May 20, 1776, "Warren-Adams Letters," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 72 (1917):249-251.

⁴⁸ For the popular response in Philadelphia, see John J. Zimmerman, "Charles Thomson, 'The Sam Adams of Philadelphia,'" *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 45, No. 3 (1958):464-480; for Charleston, see Walsh, *Charleston's Sons of Liberty*. See Ian R. Christie and Benjamin W. Labaree, *Empire or Independence, 1770-1776: A British-American Dialogue on the Coming of the American Revolution* (New York, 1976).

⁴⁹ G. B. Warden, *Boston, 1689-1776* (Boston, 1970), 218-219; Brown, "Violence in the American Revolution," in Kurtz and Hutson, editors, *Essays on the American Revolution*, 108 ff.; Thad W. Tate, "The Social Contract in America, 1774-1787: Revolutionary Theory as a Conservative Instrument," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 22 (1965):375-391.

⁵⁰ Morris, *Government and Labor*, 117-118; Richard B. Morris, "Insurrection in Massachusetts," in Daniel Aaron, editor, *America in Crisis: Fourteen Crucial Episodes in American History* (New York, 1952), 28, 29.

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may have been modeled upon English usage in the seventeenth century, and the American example was closely followed by British reformers like James Burgh and the followers of Wyvill.⁵¹

In part, these extralegal methods of registering the public's will may have been fortuitous; in part, they sprang from the necessities of the revolutionary situation. The selection of delegates to the First Congress took place in the spring and summer of 1774 after the adjournment of the regular winter meeting of most colonial assemblies. Unless the colonial governors summoned special legislative sessions, the assemblies could not convene or act. To fill this vacuum of power, popular or revolutionary bodies chose a majority of the delegations to Congress. In fact, only four out of the twelve colonies represented in the First Continental Congress used their regular assemblies to elect delegates, and two of these bodies were extralegal.

Elsewhere I have detailed the steps by which the First and Second Continental Congresses were constituted and their respective relations to the colonies and the states.⁵² Because the methods used to select delegates to both Congresses are crucial to our understanding of the forging of the union as well as popular sovereignty, I shall make these points here very briefly. For picking delegates to the First Congress, the speaker rather than the governor called the assembly into session in Delaware; in Massachusetts Bay, the General Court held its session, openly defying the governor. Only in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island did regular assemblies elect delegates to the Congress without interference from their respective governors, and both were exceptional colonies. One was proprietary, the other self-governing—and in neither did the royal government exercise control over the convening of the legislature. With scrupulous attention to a choice of words, in formal resolutions after assembling, delegates to the First Congress described themselves as being appointed or elected “by the *good people* of the several colonies,” and their secretary, Philadelphia's popular Whig leader Charles Thomson, underscored “good

⁵¹ Arthur Sheps, “The American Revolution and the Transformation of English Republicanism,” *Historical Reflections*, 2 (Summer 1975):16.

⁵² Richard B. Morris, “The Forging of the Union Reconsidered: A Historical Refutation of State Sovereignty Over Seabeds,” *Columbia Law Review*, 74 (1974):Appendix at 1091–1093.

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people.”⁵³ The evidence demonstrating that selection of delegates to the First Congress occurred largely outside the colonial legislative bodies supports Joseph Story’s contention that the Continental Congress was organized “with the consent of the people acting directly in their primary sovereign capacity,” that there was something more than the ritualistic rhetoric of the nationalists to his claim that the union was “spontaneously formed by the people of the United Colonies.”⁵⁴

Confident that its actions would find strong popular support and acting with less divisiveness than has traditionally been attributed to it,⁵⁵ the First Congress, as one of its concluding actions in October 1774, called for a successor Congress to convene on May 10, 1775. The instructions went out to all “the Colonies, in North-America” to choose deputies, with a separate appeal “to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec,” urging them “to unite with us in the social compact.” They were instructed to elect, at town and district meetings, deputies to a provincial congress, which in turn would choose delegates to the Congress at Philadelphia.⁵⁶ The procedure was extralegal, if not subversive, and involved a series of popular acts in open defiance of authority. This time around the delegates from the thirteen colonies were chosen during the winter and early spring when most provincial assemblies were holding their regular sessions. Anticipating that the crown-appointed governors would prorogue the assemblies rather than permit them to partake in the election process, the people in eight of the colonies chose their delegates through extralegal assemblies or conventions.⁵⁷

As the authority of royal governors and colonial assemblies disintegrated and the upstart revolutionary congresses or conven-

⁵³ Worthington C. Ford *et al.*, editors, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789* (34 vols., Washington, 1904–1937), 1:66 (October 14, 1774).

⁵⁴ Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States* (3d ed., Boston, 1858), 1:138, 142.

⁵⁵ See David Ammerman, *In the Common Cause: American Response to the Coercive Acts of 1774* (New York, 1976).

⁵⁶ Ford, editor, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 1:102 (October 22, 1774); 105, 112 (October 26, 1774).

⁵⁷ For a criticism of the rump character of some of the extralegal elections, see “The Censor,” an unidentified Philadelphia newspaper, March 5, 1776, in Force, editor, *American Archives: Fourth Series*, 5:71–72.

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tions pointedly ignored both branches,⁵⁸ the Second Congress filled the continuing power vacuum by assuming the initiative in establishing revolutionary governments in the colonies and ultimately transforming them into states. Meanwhile, extralegal committees of public safety, patterned after the revolutionary committees in England during the Puritan Revolution and in the American colonies during the upheavals of 1689, assumed the direction of the revolutionary movement in several colonies. On July 18, 1775, the Continental Congress recommended that those colonies lacking such committees set them up to direct their defenses while the assemblies or conventions were in recess.⁵⁹ In some five colonies, committees of safety were established on Congress's initiative, and by 1777 every state had one.⁶⁰

Not only did Congress turn to the people to set up a continental-wide revolutionary machinery, but it also took the lead in issuing a call to the people of the colonies to organize state governments, first on an *ad hoc* basis,⁶¹ and, at length and in response to public opinion, it made this practice formal. On May 15, 1776, Congress issued its justifiably renowned resolution urging assemblies and conventions, "Where no Government sufficient to the Exigencies of their affairs hath been hitherto established, to adopt such Government as shall, in the Opinion of the Representatives of the People, best conduce to the happiness and Safety of their Constituents in particular, and America in General."⁶²

The twin processes—the election of delegates to the two Congresses and the procedures for framing state constitutions under

⁵⁸ For an informed review of this transitional period of governmental authority at the colony level, see Merrill Jensen, *The Founding of a Nation: A History of the American Revolution, 1763–1776* (New York, 1968), 508–534.

⁵⁹ Ford, editor, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 2:187–190.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* See also Agnes Hunt, *The Provincial Committees of Safety of the American Revolution* (Cleveland, 1904), 159–165.

⁶¹ For the authorizations to New Hampshire and South Carolina, see Jere R. Daniell, *Experiment in Republicanism: New Hampshire Politics and the American Revolution, 1741–1794* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 106–112; Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775–1780* (New York, 1901), 110, 115, 235.

⁶² Ford, editor, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 4:342. The resolve was voted on May 10: the preamble, written by John Adams, was adopted five days later, *ibid.*, at 357–358. See *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, Lyman H. Butterfield *et al.*, editors, (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 3:335n., 382–386.

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Congressional directive—set loose a torrent of assertions that the people were the constituent power.⁶³ Some urged direct election of the delegates to Congress by “the freeholders, or freemen at large.”⁶⁴ Others, like the “Mechanicks of New York City,” insisted that the decision “to accept or reject a Constitution” was the “birthright of every man” who “is, or ought to be, a legislator with all the other members of that community.”⁶⁵ To explain to a French visitor the convention and ratification procedures which produced the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, Samuel Adams, voicing sentiments found in a declaration of the Massachusetts General Court in 1776 that “power resides always in the body of the people,” pointed out that far more than the necessary two-thirds vote endorsed the Constitution, thus proving that “the true *sovereign* are the people.”⁶⁶

In adopting the Declaration of Independence, an act of paramount, sovereign authority, Congress acted for the people rather than for thirteen separate states, since only four state governments, three of them provisional, had been formed prior to its passage. Jefferson’s felicitous phrasing described “one people” as dissolving the political bands connecting them with another, affirmed that governments derived “their just powers from the consent of the governed,” and proclaimed “the right of the people” to alter or abolish “a government destructive of the ends set forth.” Good Whig rhetoric or political reality? The United States Supreme Court thought it was the latter. Members of the first Court, who—one might say—were present at the creation, characterized the Great Declaration as the act of the “whole people,” one which transferred sovereignty “from the crown of Great Britain” to “the people.” Chief Justice Jay, who never went back to Philadelphia to

⁶³ See especially R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution, A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800: The Challenge* (Princeton, 1959), pp. 213–228.

⁶⁴ Force, editor, *American Archives: Fifth Series, Containing a Documentary History of the United States of America from the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, to the Definitive Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, September 3, 1783* (3 vols., Washington, 1848–1853), 2:113–114 (September 1776).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, *Fourth Series*, 6:895 (June 14, 1776).

⁶⁶ François Jean, Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America, in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782*, J. Kent, trans. (London, 1787), 1:268 ff. See also Oscar and Mary Handlin, editors, *The Popular Sources of Political Authority: Documents on the Massachusetts Convention of 1780* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), esp. 51–53.

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sign the document that New York's delegates had been originally enjoined from endorsing, might, if pressed, have conceded that the "whole people" excluded the substantial segment opposed to independence.⁶⁷ Then as now, one might add, the High Court demonstrated at times an uninhibited facility to generalize about complex issues in constitutional history. In the period of congressional government, running from September 1774 to March 1, 1781, prior to the Articles of Confederation, the Supreme Court perceived Congress as exercising powers derived from the people, expressly conferred through the medium of state conventions or legislatures, and, once exercised, "impliedly ratified by the acquiescence and obedience of the people."⁶⁸

In sum, a review of the historical evidence makes abundantly clear that the Supreme Court accepted the rhetoric while recognizing the reality of the process whereby the United States was created by the people in collectivity, rather than by the individual states. The process of selecting the delegates for the First and Second Congresses underscores the revolutionary role of the people of the colonies in establishing a central governing body. Congress alone possessed those attributes of external sovereignty which entitled it to be called a state in the international sense, while the separate states, exercising a limited or internal sovereignty, may rightly be considered a creation of the Continental Congress, which preceded them and brought them into being.⁶⁹

Without the attachment of a substantial body of the people to the cause of independence, that goal could not have been achieved, nor could the union have been forged, if it had not rested upon a national consensus.⁷⁰ Indubitably, the elite leadership recognized the urgency of establishing a national character. John Jay did more than coin a phrase when he observed in 1797: "I wish to see our people more Americanized, if I may use that expression; until we feel and act as an independent nation, we shall always suffer from foreign intrigue."⁷¹ If emerging national-

⁶⁷ *Chisholm v. Georgia*, 2 U. S. (2 Dall.) 419, 470-471 (1793).

⁶⁸ *Ware v. Hylton*, 3 U. S. (3 Dall.) 199, 232, (1796), (per Chase, J.). See also *Penhallow v. Doane*, 3 U. S. (3 Dall.) 54, 80, 90-94, 109-112, 117 (1795), (per Paterson, J.).

⁶⁹ Morris, "The Forging of the Union Reconsidered," 1088-1089.

⁷⁰ This point is argued by Edmund S. Morgan, "The American Revolution: Was There 'A People'?", *The New York Review of Books*, July 15, 1976.

⁷¹ John Jay to Colonel John Trumbull, Albany, October 27, 1797, (ALS

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ism depended primarily on a political consensus,⁷² then the boycotts, protest movements, and the élan generated in fighting for independence heralded the emergence of a distinctive American culture.⁷³ From the first, Dr. David Ramsay understood the springs of young America's cultural nationalism.⁷⁴ This sense of national purpose and uniqueness moved the common man, albeit with misgivings, to support a Constitution; whose ratification under a broad suffrage was so joyfully greeted by working-class people in every city in the land. With the aspirations of the common man in mind, we may see the Constitution, which assured the survival of a federal union, not as a counter-revolutionary event, but as part of the revolutionary process which had enlisted the energies and loyalties of masses of plain men and women for more than two decades.⁷⁵

In the face of an impressive body of evidence of social tension and of mounting pressures to end inequities between ranks and regions, consensus historians still deny that the American Revolution was a rising of the masses against their oppressors.⁷⁶ Nobody today seriously argues that an internal war over who should rule at home was fought between the propertyless masses and the privileged minority. Property was too widely distributed or the expectation of possessing it too broadly held for society to divide over this issue. In fact, despite their many differences, the people did unite in a common cause. What unified the discordant elements of the Patriot populace was the conviction that only through independence could they build a free society. What informed their common purpose was a republican ideology that recognized the people as the constituent power. To fill the vacuum of governmental authority which the act of revolution created, it was

advertised in American Book Prices Catalogue, 1897), in Henry P. Johnston, editor, *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay* (New York, 1893), 4:232.

⁷² See Yehoshua Arieli, *Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. 22, 23.

⁷³ Most recently, this thesis has been argued by Kenneth Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1976).

⁷⁴ David Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution* (London, 1793), 2:315 ff.

⁷⁵ Morris, *The American Revolution Reconsidered*, 162. See, more recently, Olton, *Artisans for Independence*, 120.

⁷⁶ Edmund S. Morgan, "Conflict and Consensus in the American Revolution," in Kurtz and Hutson, editors, *Essays on the American Revolution*, 289-309.

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necessary to build a new political structure both for the thirteen states and for the nation. In the ensuing series of experiments in constitution-making and legislation, a people, liberated from the strictures of the old colonial order, began an era of innovation unprecedented in that day and age.⁷⁷

The constitutions of the states embodied safeguards for civil liberties, checks upon executive usurpation, frequent elections, rotation in office, and other limits upon power, and in at least one state what amounted to manhood suffrage. Framers of these laws and constitutions were forced to confront longstanding inequities which had aroused the populace for different reasons and in different areas. Impressive strides were made in correcting the inequitable representation of the interior and upcountry. States moved the burdens from poor to rich or from debtor to creditor either by issuing copious amounts of paper currency while postponing taxes necessary to support it—a lesson some of our modern cities seem to have mastered—or by overhauling the tax structure, shifting from polls to property, or from equal acreage to ad valorem taxes. The reformers made perfectly clear that they wanted these tax reforms to strike at the power “in the hands of the rich and chief men exercised to the oppression of the poor.”⁷⁸ Small wonder that a troubled Landon Carter or a perturbed Charles Carroll of Carrollton should voice fears that the reforms proposed in their respective states would result in a government “independent of the rich men” and clearly “levelling” in their aims.⁷⁹ Since taxation precipitated the American Revolution, it is understandable that the colonial tax structure should be overhauled when Britain no longer ruled.⁸⁰

In a society overwhelmingly agrarian, land was the measure of wealth and opportunity. A reformation of real-property law to

⁷⁷ See Edward Countryman, “The Problem of the Early American Crowd,” *Journal of American Studies*, 7 (1973):88–89, with suggestive leads to localized studies.

⁷⁸ “Instructions to the Delegates from Mecklenburg to the Provincial Congress at Halifax in November, 1776,” William L. Saunders, editor, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (10 vols., Raleigh, 1968), 10:870a–870f.

⁷⁹ Landon Carter to George Washington, May 9, 1776, in Force, editor, *American Archives: Fourth Series*, 6:390.

⁸⁰ See Robert A. Becker, “Revolution and Reform: An Interpretation of Southern Taxation, 1763 to 1783,” *WMQ*, 3d ser., 32 (1975):417–442; for Maryland, Hoffman, “The ‘Disaffected,’” in Young, editor, *American Revolution*, 280–282, 307–308.

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curb monopolies and encourage equality was seen by Jefferson to be essential to reform. Jefferson's real-property reforms were at the very least a symbolic blow against a class-structured society, a blow emulated in most of the thirteen states, while it achieved a liquidity of assets which an indebted planter class so desperately needed. England waited until 1925 to pass the Real Property Act and thereby reach the point to which Jefferson had brought Virginia by 1776.⁸¹ That gap of one hundred and fifty years marks the contrast between a society that achieved democracy by a revolution and one that reached it by glacial stages.

Confiscation of Loyalist estates, carried out in America with far more rigor than was to be the case in France,⁸² enlarged the freeholding class. Granted that the initial purpose of forfeitures was fiscal rather than social, evidence suggests that rural holdings were extensively subdivided—immediately by exercise of pre-emption rights by tenants on large estates or later by purchases from speculators. The long-range effect of the program was indubitably egalitarian.⁸³

If those targeted for confiscation proved to be landowners so imprudent as to have chosen the wrong side in the war, instead of all the big landowners, evidence exists that huge land monopolies were anathema to some Patriot reformers. Loyalists warned against the leveling that would follow independence. The best evidence was a provision in the draft Constitution of 1776 for

⁸¹ Richard B. Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law* (New York, 1930), 123, 124. For a perceptive critique of the thesis of C. Ray Keim ("Primogeniture and Entail in Colonial Virginia," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 25 [1968]:585-586), see Berthoff and Murrin, "Feudalism, Communalism, and the Yeoman Freeholder," in Kurtz and Hutson, editors, *Essays on the American Revolution*, p. 283n. For a New Englander's affirmative evaluation of the egalitarian impact of partible descent and the abolition of entails, see Timothy Pickering to Charles Tillinghast, December 24, 1787, Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 5 (1862):413.

⁸² See Georges Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution*, translated by R. R. Palmer (Princeton, 1947), 134, 135.

⁸³ Compare Beatrice G. Reubens, "Pre-Emptive Rights in the Disposition of a Confiscated Estate: Pittsburgh Manor, New York," *WMQ*, 22 (1965): 435-456; Catherine S. Crary, "Forfeited Loyalist Land in the Western District of New York: Albany and Tryon Counties," *New York History*, 35 (1954):329-358; Richard D. Brown, "The Confiscation and Disposition of Loyalists' Estates in Suffolk County, Massachusetts," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 21 (1964):549.

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Pennsylvania which the radicals were unable to have incorporated in the final document. It warned that "an enormous Proportion of Property vested in a few Individuals is dangerous to the Rights, and destructive of the Common Happiness of Mankind; and therefore every free State hath a Right by its Laws to discourage the Possession of such Property."⁸⁴ Rejected or not, this principle governed the seizure of the proprietary lands in Pennsylvania. "It was taken from the Proprietarys, not in a way of confiscation," one correspondent reminded Lady Juliana Penn in the summer of 1782, "but upon principle of policy and expedience. . . . They thought the estate two [*sic*] large for a subject to possess, supposing it dangerous to the public that so much property should rest in the hand of one family."⁸⁵

In doubling the territory of the new United States, the Peace of Paris directly contributed to the process of democratization which was already under way in America, and held out a vision of boundless resources which only recent circumstances have forced Americans to modify. Vast unoccupied lands were now available to war veterans, landless New Englanders, and speculators. Consider that, from a population of some twenty-five thousand on the eve of the Revolution, the area west of the mountains increased fivefold in less than seven years. Settlement of the West proved perhaps to be the most important social movement to emerge from the American Revolution. This migration of the dissatisfied tempered frustrations and reduced social tensions. To the extent that the westward movement incorporated notions of squatter sovereignty, the borderers invested their settlements with decided social overtones.⁸⁶

No review of the socioeconomic dimension of the American Revolution can afford to ignore the wartime debtor-creditor confrontation between tobacco planters and English and Scottish merchants. Many Virginians, as George Mason reminded Patrick Henry, fought the war to get rid of these debts.⁸⁷ If the British

⁸⁴ *The Proceedings Relative to the Calling of the Conventions of 1776 and 1790* (Harrisburg, 1825), 54-57. See also Eric Foner, *Tom Paine*, 133.

⁸⁵ James Tilghman to Lady Juliana Penn, Chester Town, Maryland, August 14, 1782, *Shelburne Papers*, 72:311, W. L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

⁸⁶ See Francis S. Philbrick, *The Rise of the West, 1754-1830* (New York, 1965), 99.

⁸⁷ George Mason to Patrick Henry, May 6, 1783, in William W. Henry,

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creditors were tenacious in pressing the besieged government at home for their pound of flesh, the American debtors employed every legal dodge to evade payment. This brought a swarm of hornets about the ears of the federal court judges, their repeated decisions in favor of creditors notwithstanding. As minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain, Chief Justice Jay found it expedient to strip the Supreme Court of final jurisdiction over such issues, and the treaty which bears his name permitted appeals to a mixed commission. The United States would assume payments for all debts validated by the commission. Thereby many debtors managed to socialize their debts, even though the government succeeded in scaling down its obligations. The issue of the planters' debts is perhaps the best example of how the Revolution redistributed liabilities rather than assets.⁸⁸

The case for significant social change during the Revolution still needs to be made. One could point to the insolvency laws, to the democratization of education, and to church disestablishment and religious liberty legislation. Indubitably, reform in these diverse categories helped create a more egalitarian and pluralistic society.

In no area is the social effect of the American Revolution more visible than in the opportunities for new men to enter government, business, and the professions. The Revolution brought all the "dregs" to the top, complained a Philadelphia grandee.⁸⁹ Some who enjoyed a precipitous rise capitalized on the special opportunities the Revolution afforded in privateering, war manufacturing, and provisioning, on the new trade patterns resulting from the war, and on speculative opportunities provided by wartime and postwar inflation. A large body of statistical evidence is now available to show how state legislatures were altered to the advantage of newly settled areas and of men of less-established families. Statistics document some displacement of the old colonial "upper" class.⁹⁰ James Madison, without benefit of a computer, had long

Patrick Henry: Life, Correspondence, and Speeches (New York, 1891), 2:187.

⁸⁸ See Richard B. Morris, *John Jay, the Nation, and the Court* (Boston, 1967), 73-97.

⁸⁹ "Diary of James Allen, Esq., of Philadelphia, Counsellor at Law, 1770-1778," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 9 (1885):192.

⁹⁰ Jackson Turner Main, "Government by the People: The American Revolution and the Democratization of the Legislatures," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 23 (1966):391-407; *The Upper House in Revolutionary America, 1763-1788* (Madison, Wisc., 1968); *Political Parties Before the Constitution* (Chapel

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

before reached this same conclusion. In his Sixty-second *Federalist* he stressed "the mutability in the public councils," which he attributed to "a rapid succession of new members." "Every new election in the States," he said "is found to change one half of the representatives."

The biographical record also demonstrates how the Revolutionary War brought a transformation in politics, business, and the professions. Consider that populist prototype, the New Yorker Abraham Yates, Jr., always an object of venom among the Federalists, who reserved for him choice epithets ranging from the "late cobbler of laws and old shoes" to "an old booby." Apprenticed to a shoemaker, he became a lawyer, and as sheriff allied himself with Robert Livingston, Jr. in the skirmishes against the so-called tenant rebels. A central figure in putting the new state government into operation, he proved both in Congress and in the state legislature an unreconstructed anti-Federalist. Or take the Irish redemptioner Matthew Lyon, whose pugnacity, enterprise, and leadership (not to speak of an influential second marriage) elevated him within a decade after war's end to an established position in his region, even if his affluence failed to render some of his coarser habits acceptable. That orphaned backwoodsman Andrew Jackson, who would spend more time on horseracing and cockfighting than on Blackstone, was admitted to practice in 1788 after two years of haphazard tutelage, adjudged by the court to be "a person of unblemished moral character, and competent . . . [in] knowledge of the law." And why not Henry Clay? That bare-foot boy of the Slashes in old Hanover was left by his mother at the age of fifteen in the office of the Virginia Court of Chancery. As he recalled it, he started his practice in Lexington in 1797 "without patrons, without favor or countenance of the great or opulent [and] without the means of paying my weekly board." Jackson's and Clay's was a vastly different era from the prewar years. A transformed society had spawned a new breed of professionals and politicians.⁹¹

Hill, 1973), for the lower house. See also James Kirby Martin, *Men in Rebellion: Higher Governmental Leaders and the Coming of the American Revolution* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1973), 195–196. For the advance of the common man in Philadelphia office-holding, see Olton, *Artisans for Independence*, 80.

⁹¹ Alfred F. Young, *The Democratic Republicans of New York: The Origins, 1763–1797* (Chapel Hill, 1967), 44, 45; Anton-Hermann Chroust,

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

A people's revolution achieved more than independence and nationhood. It brought new men to power, raised people's political aspirations, made the new governments of the Revolution more responsive to social inequities, and underpinned the notion of the sovereign people as the constituent power, of which the Preamble of the Federal Constitution is the most eloquent affirmation.

The Rise of the Legal Profession in America (Norman, Okla., 1965), 2:38; Calvin Colden, editor, *The Life, Correspondence and Speeches of Henry Clay* (New York, 1857), 1:29; Aleine Austin, "Matthew Lyon, 'New Man' of the Democratic Revolution: His Early Career, 1749-1801" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1970).

Background

The American Historical Association is a nonprofit membership corporation founded in 1884 and incorporated by Congress in 1889 for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and the dissemination of the fruits of historical research.

The association holds an annual meeting on December 28–30 of each year, at which there are nearly one hundred sessions on a wide range of topics including scholarly research, approaches to teaching, and professional concerns. Approximately two dozen affiliated societies meet jointly with the AHA.

Membership in the association brings with it the *American Historical Review*, the *AHA Newsletter*, the *Program* of the annual meeting, and, upon request, the *Annual Report*, as well as the right to vote for nominees for AHA offices. The annual membership fee is based on a graduated scale according to income; joint and life memberships are also available.

The association's capital funds are managed by a Board of Trustees, but much of the income from these funds is allocated to special purposes. For its broader educational activities, the association has to depend chiefly upon its membership dues.

PUBLICATIONS

The *American Historical Review*, published five times a year, is the major historical journal in the United States. It includes scholarly articles and critical reviews in all fields of history. The *AHA Newsletter*, published nine times a year, contains articles and announcements of general interest to the profession as well as news of association activities.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

In February 1974 the membership ratified a new constitution

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thereby creating three divisional committees—research, teaching, the profession—which appropriately reflect the most significant concerns and activities of the association.

Research. The association's long-standing interest in promoting historical scholarship continues. The *AHR* and the annual meeting provide forums for significant research in all fields of history. Through the Research Division the AHA also keeps a close watch on governmental policies affecting the ability of scholars to pursue research. The association is frequently called upon to represent the views of the profession on legislation relating to freedom of information, declassification, and the right to privacy.

With the revival of the *Writings on American History*, the association offers the most comprehensive and current bibliography of article-length literature available. A multi-volume publication of article-length literature published during the gap between the old *Writings* and the new series has now been published.

The AHA maintains a registry of dissertation topics in history and every six months publishes a list of doctoral dissertations in progress or completed at American universities.

Teaching. The new constitution mandates that the Teaching Division “collect and disseminate information about the training of teachers and about instructional techniques and materials and . . . encourage excellence in the teaching of history in the schools, colleges and universities.” In recent years the AHA has sponsored a variety of projects relevant to teachers of history. The AHA has frequently supported conferences to examine some aspect of the education process, and the AHA Film and Document Series—four film cartridges and reading booklets (distributed by the Indiana University Audio-Visual Center)—is an important experiment in individualized media instruction.

The association publishes a series of pamphlets to serve as aids to teachers and students of history. These pamphlets offer concise and readable essays that are at once narrative and critical. These essays summarize the most recent interpretations in specific areas of or approaches to history, and select, critical bibliographies are included.

Profession. The constitution mandates that the Professional Division “collect and disseminate information about employment opportunities for all historians regardless of individual membership

BACKGROUND

in the association.” The division is especially concerned with the job crisis, alternative careers, and the rights of historians.

The association solicits information on employment opportunities for historians and publishes job announcements in a quarterly *Employment Information Bulletin*. At each annual meeting, the AHA operates a Job Register for the posting of job announcements and the interviewing of candidates.

Institutional Services Program. An Institutional Services Program has been inaugurated in order to expand AHA services to departments of history. The program combines some of the established AHA services and publications such as the *EIB*, *Doctoral Dissertation Lists*, *Annual Report* and *Program* with new offerings. New publications that are part of the program include the *Guide to Departments of History*, the *Directory of Women Historians*, the *Directory of Department Chairmen*, *Fellowships and Grants of Interest to Historians*, and *A Survival Manual for Women (and Other) Historians*. A brochure describing the program is available upon request.

Liaison. The association represents the United States in the International Committee of the Historical Sciences and cooperates with foreign historians in various activities. It is a constituent society of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council and is represented on various commissions and advisory boards.

Prizes and Honors. A number of prizes and other honors are offered and administered by the AHA. Over the years prizes have been established for outstanding books in many areas of history. The association helps to select the holder of the Harmsworth Professorship, a chair established at the University of Oxford for a visiting professor of American History.

Constitution and Bylaws

ARTICLE I

The name of this society shall be the American Historical Association.

ARTICLE II

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies through the encouragement of research, teaching, and publication, the collection and preservation of historical documents and artifacts, the dissemination of historical records and information, the broadening of historical knowledge among the general public, and the pursuit of kindred activities in the interest of history.

ARTICLE III

Membership in the association shall be open to any person interested in history upon the payment of one year's dues. Any member whose dues are in arrears shall be dropped from the roll. Members who have been so dropped may be reinstated at any time by the payment in advance of one year's dues. Only members in good standing shall have the right to vote or to hold office in the association. Honorary members of the association may be elected by the Council, and such honorary members shall be exempt from payment of dues.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1: The elected officers shall be the president, the president-elect, and three vice-presidents. The appointed officers shall be the executive director, the editor of the *American Historical Review*, and the controller.

SECTION 2: The president shall be elected for a one-year term. It shall be his or her duty to preside at meetings of the Council and at the business meeting and to formulate policies and projects for presentation to the Council to fulfill the chartered obligations and purposes of the association.

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SECTION 3: The president-elect shall be elected for a one-year term. He or she shall be a member of the Council. If the office of president shall, through any cause, become vacant, the president-elect shall thereupon become president.

SECTION 4: Each of the vice-presidents shall be elected for a three-year term. He or she shall serve as a member of the Council and as chairman of a Divisional Committee composed of one other member of the Council appointed annually by the president and three members each elected for staggered three-year terms.

SECTION 5: It shall be the duty of each vice-president, under the direction of the Council and with the assistance of the executive director, to formulate policies and projects for submission to the Council on behalf of his or her respective division.

SECTION 6: The executive director shall be the chief administrative officer of the association. It shall be his or her duty, under the direction of the Council, to oversee the affairs of the association, to have responsibility for the continuing operations of the association, to supervise the work of its committees, to assist in the formulation of policies and projects for submission to the Council, to execute instructions of the Council, and to perform such other duties as the Council may direct.

SECTION 7: The appointed officers shall be designated by the Council for specified terms of office not to exceed five years and shall be eligible for reappointment. They shall receive such compensation as the Council may determine.

ARTICLE V

SECTION 1: There shall be a Council, constituted as follows:

(a) The president, elected for a term of one year, the president-elect, elected for a term of one year, and the three vice-presidents, elected for staggered terms of three years.

(b) Elected members, six in number, chosen by ballot in the manner provided in Article VIII. These members shall be elected for a term of three years, two to be elected each year, except in the case of elections to complete unexpired terms.

(c) The immediate past president, who shall serve for a one-year term.

(d) The executive director, serving as a nonvoting member.

SECTION 2: The Council shall conduct the business, manage the

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property, and care for the general interests of the association. The Council shall fix the amount of dues and the date upon which any change of dues becomes effective. It may appoint such committees as it deems necessary. The Council shall call an annual meeting of the association at a place and time it deems appropriate. It shall report to the membership on its deliberations and actions through the publications of the association and at the business meeting.

SECTION 3: To transact necessary business in the interim between meetings of the Council, there shall be an Executive Committee composed of the president, the president-elect, and not more than three other voting members of the Council elected annually by the Council. The Executive Committee in the conduct of its business shall be subject always to the general direction of the Council.

SECTION 4: For the general management of the financial affairs of the association, there shall be a Finance Committee composed of the president, the president-elect, and not more than three other voting members of the Council elected annually by the Council.

ARTICLE VI

SECTION 1: There shall be a Research Division, a Teaching Division, and a Professional Division of the association, each with its appropriate vice-president and Divisional Committee.

SECTION 2: It shall be the duty of the Research Division, under the direction of the Council, to help promote historical scholarship, to encourage the collection and preservation of historical documents and artifacts, to ensure equal access to information, and to foster the dissemination of information about historical records and research.

SECTION 3: It shall be the duty of the Teaching Division, under the direction of the Council, to collect and disseminate information about the training of teachers and about instructional techniques and materials and to encourage excellence in the teaching of history in the schools, colleges, and universities.

SECTION 4: It shall be the duty of the Professional Division, under the direction of the Council, to collect and disseminate information about employment opportunities and to help ensure equal opportunities for all historians, regardless of individual membership in the association.

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ARTICLE VII

SECTION 1: The Council shall call a business meeting, open to all members of the association in good standing, to convene at the time of the annual meeting.

SECTION 2: The business meeting, by a majority vote, may consider resolutions and deal with proposals of any kind concerning the affairs of the association, receive reports of officers and committees, instruct officers and the Council, and exercise any powers not reserved to the Council, Nominating Committee, Board of Trustees, and elected or appointed officers of the association.

SECTION 3: All measures adopted by the business meeting shall come before the Council for acceptance, nonconcurrence, or veto. If accepted by the Council, they shall be binding on the association.

SECTION 4: The Council may veto any measure adopted by the business meeting that it believes to be in violation of the association's constitution or which, upon advice of counsel, it judges to be in violation of law. The Council shall publish an explanation for each such veto.

SECTION 5: The Council may vote not to concur in any measure adopted by the business meeting. Within ninety days of the Council meeting following the business meeting, the Council shall publish its opinion of each measure with which it does not concur and submit the measure to a mail ballot of the entire membership. If approved by a majority of the members in the mail ballot, the measure shall be binding on the association.

SECTION 6: The Council may postpone implementation of any measure adopted by the business meeting or approved by mail ballot that in its judgment is financially or administratively unfeasible. The Council shall publish an explanation of each such decision and justify it at the subsequent business meeting.

ARTICLE VIII

SECTION 1: The Nominating Committee shall consist of nine members, each of whom shall serve a term of three years. Three shall be elected each year. The president shall fill by *ad interim* appointment any vacancy that may occur between annual meetings.

SECTION 2: The Nominating Committee shall nominate, by annual mail ballot, candidates for the offices of president, president-elect,

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vice-president, member of the Council, member of a Divisional Committee, member of the Nominating Committee, and elected member of the Committee on Committees. On the annual ballot the Nominating Committee shall, except as hereinafter provided, present one name for the office of president, two names for the office of president-elect, and two or more names for each office of vice-president which shall be prospectively vacant, and two or more names for each position on the Council, on the Nominating Committee, on the Committee on Committees, and on the Divisional Committees, where like prospective vacancies shall exist, and the names of any persons nominated by petition as specified in Section 3 of this Article. But the Council may, in its bylaws or by resolution, provide for additional nominations to be made by the Nominating Committee for any position where there is a vacancy through death or by resignation of a candidate.

SECTION 3: Nominations may also be made by petitions carrying in each case the signatures of one hundred or more members of the association in good standing and indicating in each case the particular vacancy for which the nomination is intended. Nominations by petition must be in the hands of the chairman of the Nominating Committee at least three months before the annual meeting. In distributing the annual ballot by mail to the members of the association, the Nominating Committee shall present and identify such candidates nominated by petition along with its own candidates, having first ascertained that all candidates have consented to stand for election.

SECTION 4: The annual ballot shall be mailed to the full membership of the association at least six weeks before the annual meeting. No vote received after the due date specified on the ballot shall be valid. Election shall be by plurality of the votes cast for each vacancy. The votes shall be counted and checked in such manner as the Nominating Committee shall prescribe and shall then be sealed in a box and deposited in the headquarters of the association, where they shall be kept for at least one year. The results of the election shall be announced at the business meeting and in the publications of the association. In the case of a tie vote, the choice among the tied candidates shall be made by the business meeting.

ARTICLE IX

There shall be a Board of Trustees, five in number, consisting of a

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chairman and four other members, nominated by the Council and elected at the business meeting of the association. Election shall be for a term of five years except in the case of an election to complete an unexpired term. The Board of Trustees, acting by a majority thereof, shall have the power, under the policy direction of the Council, to invest and reinvest the permanent funds of the association with authority to employ such agents, investment counsel, and banks or trust companies as it may deem wise in carrying out its duties, and with further authority to delegate and transfer to any bank or trust company all its power to invest or reinvest. Neither the Board of Trustees nor any bank or trust company to whom it may so transfer its power shall be controlled in its discretion by any statute or other law applicable to fiduciaries, and the liabilities of the individual members of the board and of any such bank or trust company shall be limited to good faith and lack of actual fraud or willful misconduct in the discharge of the duties resting upon them. The Finance Committee of the Council shall meet at least once each year with the Board of Trustees of the association to discuss investment policies and the financial needs of the association.

ARTICLE X

Amendments to this constitution may be proposed (1) by the Council, (2) by petition to the Council of one hundred or more members in good standing, or (3) by resolution at an annual meeting on a majority affirmative vote of 25 members in good standing. An amendment so proposed shall be reported to the membership through an appropriate association publication at least six weeks in advance of the subsequent earliest annual business meeting for which such notice is possible, and shall be placed on the agenda of that meeting for discussion and advisory vote. Thereafter, the proposed amendment shall be submitted to the membership of the association, accompanied by summary statements of the pro and con arguments thereon, for approval or rejection by mail ballot.

ARTICLE XI

The Council may adopt bylaws not inconsistent with the provisions of the constitution, upon any matter of concern to the association.

ARTICLE XII

Upon the adoption of this constitution, the Council shall have the

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power to decide upon the details of the transition from the existing organization to that embodied in this document.

BYLAWS

1. Bylaw pursuant to Article IV, Section 3: Whenever the president-elect shall have succeeded to the office of president in accordance with the provisions of Article IV, Section 3, his resultant term as president shall expire at the close of the next annual meeting of the association. But when his succession to the office of president in accordance with this provision shall have occurred after the Nominating Committee completes its regular annual session, he shall be eligible to succeed himself as president, in accordance with Bylaw (3), Article VIII, Section 2.
2. Bylaw pursuant to Article IV, Section 6: Unless the Council specifies otherwise, the executive director shall serve as an *ex officio* member, without vote, of all committees of the association.
3. Bylaw pursuant to Article IV, Section 7: The Council shall, by majority vote, appoint the executive director, the editor of the *American Historical Review*, and the controller, and shall specify the term, not to exceed five years, for which each appointee hereunder shall hold office. But notwithstanding the duration of any such term, any such officer shall be removable upon a two-thirds vote of the membership of the Council.
4. Bylaw pursuant to Article IV, Section 7: The Council shall, upon nomination by the editor in consultation with the executive director, appoint an advisory Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* to assist the editor in his editorial duties. The advisory Board shall consist of nine members, appointed for staggered terms of three years. The executive director shall, *ex officio*, be a member of the advisory Board, without vote.
5. Bylaw pursuant to Article V, Section (b): The Council may, at its discretion, fill any vacancy in its elected membership by designating any member of the association to serve as a Council member *ad interim* until the close of the next annual meeting.
6. Bylaw pursuant to Article V, Sections 3 and 4: Whenever any vacancy shall occur in the membership of the Executive Committee or of the Finance Committee, the president may, at his discretion, designate a member of the Council to serve *ad interim* as a member of the committee in question.

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7. Bylaw pursuant to Article VI, Section 1-5: The Research Division, the Teaching Division, and the Professional Division shall operate under the general supervision and direction of the Council. In pursuance thereto the Council shall define the jurisdiction of each Division, shall determine its budget, and shall decide upon its basic policy and procedures.

8. Bylaws pursuant to Article VII, Section 1-4:

(1) The Council shall prepare the agenda for the annual business meeting, which shall be available for distribution to the membership of the association at the annual meeting.

(2) The president shall preside at the business meeting. In his rulings from the chair he shall be guided by the provisions of the constitution and bylaws, and, where not in conflict with these, by *Robert's Rules of Order*. He shall cause official minutes of the business meeting to be prepared, which shall include a record of all motions and their disposition, together with the votes cast thereon, when recorded.

(3) The Council may, at its discretion, appoint an official parliamentarian, who shall hold office for a term of one year. The parliamentarian shall advise and assist the president in the conduct of the business meeting, and shall perform such additional duties as are appropriate to his office.

(4) Any member of the association may, subject to the following rules, present resolutions at the annual business meeting.

a. Such resolutions must be received in the office of the executive director not later than December 15 prior to the annual meeting. They must be in proper parliamentary form; must be signed by at least twenty-five members of the association in good standing; must not be more than three hundred words in length including any introductory material; and must deal with a matter of concern to the association, to the profession of history, or to the academic profession.

b. In general, resolutions will be placed on the agenda for consideration in the order in which they are received. But resolutions received on or before November 1 shall, subject to the discretion of the Council, take precedence, and shall be published in the December *AHA Newsletter*.

c. The Council may, where it deems appropriate, decide upon the priority of resolutions upon the agenda, without regard to time of receipt. And it may at its discretion associate any

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resolution offered by a member with any item of business on the agenda.

d. To assure as far as possible fair and equitable consideration of all member resolutions, the Council in preparing the agenda may, at its discretion, fix the duration of debate upon them, and impose rules of cloture, but the business meeting by a two-thirds vote may overrule any rules of cloture.

9. Bylaws pursuant to Article VIII, Section 2:

(1) The Nominating Committee, in making its annual mail ballot nominations as provided in Article VIII, Section 2, shall, except when the office of president-elect is vacant, nominate for the office of president the incumbent president-elect and shall make no other nomination for president.

(2) Whenever the office of president-elect shall for any reason have become vacant prior to the completion by the Nominating Committee of its regular annual session, the committee shall nominate two persons for the office of president, neither of whom shall be the incumbent president.

(3) But when the president-elect shall, in accordance with the provisions of Article IV, Section 3, have succeeded to the office of the president subsequent to the completion by the Nominating Committee of its regular annual session, he shall retain his status as the sole committee nominee for the office of president.

(4) The Nominating Committee, in making its annual mail ballot nominations as provided in Article VIII, Section 2, shall nominate two persons for the office of president-elect, and shall nominate two or more persons for each office of vice-president prospectively vacant, and for each prospective vacancy on the Council, on the Nominating Committee, on the Committee on Committees, and on the Divisional Committees.

(5) Whenever prospective vacancies of one year or more occur in the offices of elected Council members, vice-president, members of the Nominating Committee, members of the Committee on Committees, and members of the Divisional Committees, the Nominating Committee shall, at its regular annual session, nominate two or more candidates for the unexpired term of any such office.

10. Bylaws pursuant to Article VIII, Sections 2, 3, and 4:

(1) Annually the executive director shall publish a "Nominations Announcement" in the October *Newsletter*. The announcement shall list all association positions for which elections are to

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

be held in the forthcoming calendar year, and shall invite all members of the association to submit to the executive director on or before December 15 any recommendations for nominations thereto.

(2) Immediately after January 1, the executive director shall submit to the Nominating Committee a list of all association positions for which nominations are forthcoming, together with any instructions the Council may have thereto, and a list of all suggested nominations submitted to him by association members on or before the previous December 15.

(3) On or before March 1, the Nominating Committee shall submit to the executive director its nominations for all positions for which elections are forthcoming. Thereafter, the executive director shall cause such nominations to be published in the *April Newsletter*, together with instructions to the association membership for additional nominations by petition. Such instructions shall include a requirement that all nominations by petition shall be in the hands of the chairman of the Nominating Committee on or before August 1. All nominations must be accompanied by certification of the willingness of the nominee to serve if elected.

(4) On or before October 1, the chairman of the Nominating Committee, or the executive director acting upon his instructions, shall distribute mail ballots to the membership, together with appropriate biographical material on all nominees. Such ballots shall identify as such all nominations submitted by the Nominating Committee and all nominations submitted by petition. Ballots shall be marked clearly with a "due date" of November 1, and no ballot received after that time shall be counted.

(5) The Nominating Committee, or the executive director acting upon its instructions, shall thereafter count and record the election results in such manner as the Nominating Committee may prescribe. The chairman of the Nominating Committee, or the executive director acting upon his instructions, shall notify all candidates forthwith of the results of the election, and the executive director shall prepare an announcement of such results for the forthcoming annual business meeting.

(6) In the event of a tie in the balloting for any office, the chairman of the Nominating Committee or the executive director acting upon his instructions, shall prepare ballots for the annual business meeting listing the tied candidates, and the Council shall

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make provision on the business meeting agenda for an election to decide between such candidates. The business meeting election, where necessary, shall be conducted by the chairman of the Nominating Committee or his delegate.

(7) All persons elected to association office in the annual fall elections shall assume office on the following December 30.

*Officers, Council, Nominating Committee,
Committee on Committees, and Board of Trustees
for 1977*

OFFICERS

President: Charles Gibson, *University of Michigan*

President-elect: William J. Bouwsma, *University of California, Berkeley*

Vice-Presidents: Jean T. Joughin, *American University*

Nancy L. Roelker, *Boston University*

Warren I. Susman, *Rutgers University*

Executive Director: Mack Thompson, *American Historical Association*

Assistant Executive Director: Edmund H. Worthy, Jr., *American*

Historical Association

Editor: Otto P. Pflanze, *American Historical Review*

Controller: James H. Leatherwood, *American Historical Association*

COUNCIL

Charles Gibson

Richard B. Morris

William J. Bouwsma

Jean T. Joughin, vice-president, Professional Division (77)

Nancy L. Roelker, vice-president, Research Division (78)

Warren I. Susman, vice-president, Teaching Division (79)

Stanford E. Lehmberg, *University of Minnesota* (78)

Emiliana P. Noether, *University of Connecticut* (78)

Norma L. Peterson, *Adams State College* (78)

Allan G. Bogue, *University of Wisconsin, Madison* (79)

John J. Johnson, *Stanford University* (79)

Michael Kammen, *Cornell University* (79)

Mack Thompson, *ex officio*

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Executive Committee:

Charles Gibson
William J. Bouwsma
Warren I. Susman
Michael Kammen
Stanford E. Lehmberg
Mack Thompson

Finance Committee:

Charles Gibson
William J. Bouwsma
Richard B. Morris
Allan G. Bogue
Emiliana P. Noether
Mack Thompson

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Charles T. Wood, *Dartmouth College, chairman* (77)
H. Wayne Morgan, *University of Oklahoma* (77)
Frederic E. Wakeman, Jr., *University of California, Berkeley* (77)
Sondra R. Herman, *De Anza College* (78)
Robert I. Rotberg, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology* (78)
Peter N. Stearns, *Carnegie-Mellon University* (78)
Mary Beth Norton, *Cornell University* (79)
George B. Tindall, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill* (79)
Joan C. Ullman, *University of Washington* (79)
Mack Thompson, *ex officio*

COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES

William J. Bouwsma, *University of California, Berkeley, chairman* (77)
Daniel F. Calhoun, *College of Wooster* (78)
Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Harvard University* (78)
Dorothy R. Ross, *Princeton University* (78)
Joan Kelly-Gadol, *City College, CUNY* (79)
Mack Thompson, *ex officio*

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Julian K. Roosevelt, *Sterling, Grace and Co., Inc., chairman* (80)
Cecil Fitzhugh Gordon, *Tucker, Anthony & R. L. Day
of New York* (79)
Maurice D. Stack, *Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company* (79)
Karen Loud, *U.S. Trust Company of New York* (80)
John C. Hanson, *Brown Bros. Harriman and Company* (81)

Report of the Vice-President, Professional Division

The Professional Division approaches the end of its second year in existence more mindful than ever before of the limitations that weigh upon the voluntary association that seeks to defend its members in an age of besetting crisis for the traditional disciplines. Increasingly it seems as though the answers we have to offer bear scant relationship to the problems being posed. That admirable exposition of professional rights and responsibilities, the *Statement of Professional Standards* written by the *ad hoc* Committee on the Rights of Historians, holds little interest for the trained historian apprehensively contemplating what must seem like permanent unemployability in his or her field and commands few self-imposed restraints from history departments in the presence of a glutted labor market. Even the Professional Division, with all the faith and goodwill in the world on the part of its members, cannot escape from the reality that financial exigency rather than merit is likely for a long time to come to determine the fate of our proposals.

During 1976, as in the preceding year, the Professional Division tried to be receptive to needs and ideas expressed by members of the American Historical Association. Four policy recommendations sponsored by the division in response to outside suggestions are as follows: (1) that there be an approach made to foundations and other grant-awarding agencies to get fair consideration of applications submitted by unaffiliated historians; (2) that the AHA become—because of the indebtedness of historians to the professional skills of librarians—the first subject-matter society to endorse the Joint Statement on Faculty Status of College and University Librarians; (3) that no AHA meetings or other functions be held in facilities from which persons are barred on grounds of race, sex, religion, or national origin; and (4) that all departments of history be called upon to adhere, in hiring to fill faculty positions, to a set of guidelines stressing openness, precision, reasonable

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promptness, and respect for the professional and personal integrity of candidates. These four recommendations are now official AHA policy.

The business meeting at Atlanta in 1975, in a resolution officially upheld by the AHA Council, charged the Research and the Professional Divisions to report in 1976 on the results of their efforts to get departments of history to provide sponsorship and institutional affiliation to unemployed and retired historians. Please see the vice-president's annual report for 1975, page five, for an account of the setbacks experienced by the Professional Division in attempts to have implemented a similar resolution from the 1974 annual meeting. Early in 1976, however, a comprehensive appeal which included specific request for the creation of "research associates" pursuant to the 1975 resolution was mailed to all PhD-granting departments of history in the country. Of these, only 23—or 17 percent—have responded by December 1976. A total of eleven respondents showed themselves as doing something for the unemployed historian; only two among them, however, reported they maintain the type of unremunerated appointments called for by the resolution, although one more department was trying to set up a position of "multidisciplinary research associate." The remaining eight institutions that reported doing something for the unemployed generally give only access to the library, although two among them offer a rather generous package of professional helps. Nine of the responding institutions mentioned specifically their aid to retired historians, but with no indication of how widespread its incidence might be. There is cause to wonder how many departments that did not reply share the fear expressed by one department that non-stipendiary appointments such as research associates might arouse groundless expectations. It would be difficult to make any meaningful generalizations about the size, type, location, or any other characteristics of the respondents, nor should any thoughts be entertained about representativeness of the sample. One can speculate that among departments not answering the joint letter are some busy doing their utmost to help the unaffiliated. Similarly, one could believe that some departments reporting no assistance programs have, as they themselves say, no unemployed historians locally because of being situated in rural areas. Any conclusions to be drawn from the returns to the AHA's letter would be quite flimsy, belonging only to the realm of speculation. A copy of the appeals letter and a tabulation of the

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replies are available upon request from the AHA office, 400 A Street S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Another approach to helping historians in a tight job market is to generate information about avenues less well-known than the conventional route of teaching for career-related utilization of professional training as an historian. This and other information, including guides to specialized training programs available for nonconventional careers and practical advice on job getting are to be found in the pamphlet *History as a Vocation* shortly to be available through the AHA's Institutional Services Program. The genesis of this pamphlet, which is sponsored by the Professional Division, will be found on page four of the vice-president's 1975 report, where its origin in response to membership demand is set forth.

The Professional Division continued in 1976 its concern about the possibly undesirable effects of U.S. historians' engaging in undercover governmental operations. We presented to the Council a statement which said—in the name of scholarly ethics—that all historians “should seek to maximize public access to the record of government and should seriously assess the implications for historical scholarship of their direct participation in covert activities,” thus leaving the final decision to individual conscience. The Council, however, adopted instead a statement limited to only the availability of the record of government—a statement laudable enough in intent, but not the one sponsored by the Professional Division.

In my last year's report I described the Professional Division's draft of principles and procedures to be invoked in instances of grave charges that the professional rights of historians abroad were being violated. The Council adopted our text at its meeting of December 27, 1975. Almost at once the Professional Division had referred to it a class complaint in behalf of historians in a specific foreign country, and in January 1976, we asked that the machinery called for by the new procedures be activated. Detailed comment at the present time would be inappropriate because the complaint is still working its way through the prescribed steps, in collaboration with the Committee on International Historical Activities. At times, we have perhaps thought to despair at the exceedingly slow grinding of the mills, but I believe the whole committee shares my view that to have and to use in systematic fashion a procedure applicable to all complaints involving foreign historians is prefer-

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able to reacting on an *ad hoc* basis to individual pressures, as seems sometimes to have been true in the past.

The vice-president's report for 1975 also described (page 3) the action of the Council upon recommendation of the Professional Division setting up an on-site inquiry in a complaint of a personnel decision made on what were said to be non-professional grounds. The division has now received and endorsed with thanks the report resulting from this inquiry and has sent it to the Council for action. Until that body has had the chance to deliberate on the report, further word from the Professional Division is out of order. The transmittal of this report to the Council means that there are now no active complaints before the Professional Division. During 1976 no new complaints were taken to the Council with action recommended in accordance with the association's procedures for use upon protest or claim of grievance under the *Statement of Professional Standards*. With reference to the one new complaint received by the division in 1976, the Council has been kept supplied with the documentation, including a minority statement from the Professional Division arguing for AHA intervention.

In the basic Council-adopted guidelines governing the operation of AHA committees, the Professional Division oversees the AHA component of the AHA-OAH Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment. Accordingly, the division—consulted on the association's response to a request from the Organization of American Historians for activating that body—recommended unanimously that the AHA join with the OAH in the work of the Joint Committee. In so recommending, the Professional Division was taking into account the known desires of both sides in the dispute at issue for the association's participation. Our recommendation must of course be acted upon ultimately by the Council.

Other recommendations or actions of the Professional Division in 1976 follow. *On the annual meeting*: we have affirmed our desire to watch over the representativeness of program participants at annual meetings in order that we may, as we are charged to do in the language of the Review Board, promote a "truly representative profession," in this instance by the appearance of younger historians, members of ethnic minorities, and women on the program. *On ethnic minorities per se*: we repeated our offer both of AHA advice to responsible academic groups interested in compiling

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directories of historians belonging to ethnic or racial minorities and of some sort of aid in distribution of the finished product. *On women:* we supported resolutions from the Committee on Women Historians calling for greater representation of women in all activities of the International Congress of Historical Sciences; we asked that there be day-care facilities provided at the 1976 annual meeting and that they be well-publicized.

Two of the division's hopes for the future deserve mention. We remain committed to getting into closer contact with historians who are out in the many schools, colleges, and universities of the land. Our belief is that from such person-to-person encounters a valuable two-way flow of information relating to professional concerns would result. Secondly, we are in agreement that the AHA needs to improve its relations with departments of history and believe that the Professional Division might be the instrument for accomplishing this. Our concern is vital; the resolutions we recommend and the Council adopts could remain dead letters in the absence of good liaison with the departments. May we ask for your ideas on these two future projects—as well as on any other subject of mutual interest.

In spite of a sense of frustration at our inability to solve all problems of historians today, the Professional Division will try, as before, to act—in words borrowed from the *Statement of Professional Standards*—with “understanding, fairness, and a sense of common purpose.” We hope, too, that the spirit of collegiality thus defined by the *ad hoc* Committee on the Rights of Historians will survive both the straitened job market and the “body-count syndrome” widespread among our financially hard-pressed institutions of higher education.

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Jean T. Joughin, *Vice-President*

Report of the Vice-President, Research Division

For the most part the Research Division has dealt this year with long-range, basic, historians' concerns: accessibility of documents; international collaboration in research; ways to increase publication opportunities. Some of the projects began before the tenure of the present committee and some will undoubtedly outlast it, but we can report general progress on all issues and substantial results in both the international and publication spheres. The nature of the business—analysis, amendment and precise wording of proposals—has made it desirable to handle it by correspondence and by telephone, including one conference-call meeting on November 21.

ON-GOING BUSINESS

1. *Papers of Public Officials.* The National Study Commission on Records and Documents of Public Officials has continued to work toward appropriate measures, including legislation, to assure proper disposition, preservation, accessibility to the public, and control of "records and documents produced by or in behalf of federal officials, including Presidents of the United States." Professor William Leuchtenburg of Columbia University, and the executive director, the AHA representatives on the commission, have kept close touch with legal developments involving the Nixon papers, and in recent weeks have been actively involved in steps to assure public control of President Ford's papers. The state of the question at the time of the annual meeting will be summarized by the executive director. At the request of the Research

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Division, the Council adopted as AHA policy the recommendations of the Arden House report (see the 1975 report of the Research Division) at its May 1976 meeting.

2. *Census Records*. The Washington office has been collaborating with other interested groups, such as the OAH, SAA, and members of Congress, to work out a satisfactory formula for the preservation and accessibility of such records. We hope that the new Congress will act on the matter. Concrete developments will be reported in the *AHA Newsletter*.

3. Proposal to establish a *Bibliography Center*. The Feasibility Study to Determine Guidelines for Bibliography recommended establishment by the association of a bibliographical center that would build on the experience of the AHA and attract other scholarly groups. The report also urged the AHA to seek funds to start the center. Consequently, in November 1976, a grant application was submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities for this purpose; if approved, the funding will begin on July 1, 1977.

4. Results of the request to graduate history departments and other affiliates to *provide facilities for unemployed historians* can be found in the report of the Professional Division.

5. Concern about *alternative employment opportunities for members of the historical profession*, expressed at the 1974 annual meeting in Chicago, has resulted this year in the creation of the National Coordinating Committee on the Promotion of History, by the AHA, the OAH and others. Materials describing the goals and structures, and asking for financial support, were sent to all members in November of this year. As funds become available, activities of local and regional groups will be communicated to the membership.

6. *The Quantitative Research Committee*, under the direction of Professor Theodore K. Rabb of Princeton University has realized this year the desire to discuss with Soviet scholars the establishment of a joint program "to organize, promote, and oversee all collaborative activities in quantitative history." A delegation consisting of Professors Rabb, Richard Jensen of the Newberry Library, and Nina Garsoïan of Columbia University met with Soviet historians in Moscow in June. Meetings were also held at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad and with repre-

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sentatives of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR in Tallinn. To quote Professor Rabb's report:

At all these meetings, there was strong agreement about the considerable benefits that would be gained from closer cooperation and wider exchanges—of books, archives, and people—between Soviet and American quantitative historians.

The agreement, signed on June 4 (by Professor Rabb and I. D. Kovaltchenko, President of the Commission for the Application of Quantitative Methods in Historical Research of the Historical Section of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR) includes provision for a Standing Bilateral Committee. The AHA representatives will be Professors Rabb, Jensen, and Frederick Starr of Princeton University, secretary of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

The association can take great satisfaction in this achievement and in the NEH grant that will support it (see the Report of the Executive Director).

The Council acted favorably at its May meeting on the request of the Research Committee to authorize the executive director to seek funding for the publication of an American equivalent to the Price-Lorwin study, *Dimensions of the Past*.

7. *The American Historical Association First Books Competition.* The major undertaking of the year has been to complete the proposal on which work was begun in 1975 (see last year's report) to provide younger historians with publication outlets in spite of costs and other pressures in scholarly publishing. We are much indebted to Professors Lewis Hanke and Paul Schroeder, and to Mr. David Horne of the University Press of New England, for careful thought and hard work over many months. The establishment of the AHA First Books Competition was endorsed in principle by the Council in May. Further amendments and revisions have been made in recent months. The resulting document will be presented for Council action at the December 27 meeting, the result to be announced at the business meeting. If it is so voted, the complete text will be published in the *Newsletter*.

The annual competition, administered by a special Administrative Committee, will be open to historians in all fields of history who have not previously published a book. The manuscripts

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which *may not be unrevised dissertations* will be judged in two stages: first, by specialists in the relevant field who cannot be connected with the author or the book in any way, and then by the Administrative Committee, whose decision shall be final. They will choose up to ten winners, and an equal number of runners-up, depending on the quality of the entries. This part of the competition will take place between September and April of the academic year.

This project is undertaken in collaboration with the American Association of University Presses, who will be notified of the names of the winners, and sent abstracts, when each competition is complete. The publishers will have until June 30 to approach the authors directly.

The Research Division hopes that this competition will make available the best work of younger members without long delays (the entire process is planned for ten months) and that they will derive professional benefits of several kinds from their participation.

NEW BUSINESS

1. Proposal for inclusion of *longer-than-usual articles* in area journals. In order to find relief from the publication squeeze for historians of all ranks, the Research Division obtained authorization from the Council in May to inquire of the editors of a few leading journals, *Journal of Modern History*, *Journal of American History*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, *Journal of Asian History*, *Speculum* as a preliminary testing group, whether they would be willing to publish some longer-than-usual articles (50–75 pages) *if subsidy could be obtained*. The replies have been enthusiastic about the idea, but the editors are unable to make precise estimates of cost for an indefinite date in the future. The executive director was empowered to sound out possible sources of funding, such as corporations and foundations. If he is successful, the Research Committee will ask the editors for precise figures. The role of the AHA in this project would be that of “honest broker” between the journals and the benefactors. The standards and procedures would be wholly in the hands of the editors, as for shorter articles.

2. *Obstacles to Research*. Association members have complained to the division about a) high fees charged by University Microfilms for reproducing dissertations—especially the fact that authors do

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not share in the profits—and b) increasing restrictions and rising fees for interlibrary loans. The Research Division is bringing both of these matters to the Council at the December 27 meeting, requesting authorization to investigate, in consultation with other professional groups affected, especially other constituent societies of the ACLS.

3. Suggestions for *activities which might be attached to the Jameson lectures*. Professor Hanke has offered two suggestions that would enlarge the scope of the program: a) small conferences on particular topics, bringing together American historians and foreign specialists in U.S. history; b) the addition of fellows. This might be incorporated into an internship program (see below, no. 5).

4. Plans have been made by the *International Activities Committee*, under the chairmanship of Professor Robert Forster of Johns Hopkins, to hold a third U.S.-USSR colloquium in the Soviet Union in the spring of 1977. At a planning conference in Moscow early in the new year, the AHA (United States) will be represented by Professor William Parker (Economics) of Yale, Professor Daniel Field of Syracuse University, and Dr. Thompson, who has negotiated financing with the International Research and Exchanges Board (see Report of Executive Director).

5. *Internships for Historians*. The Research Division will seek authorization at the December meeting to explore the possibility of establishing internships for historians, comparable to those for political scientists, in such agencies as the Library of Congress, the National Archives and the Smithsonian Institution. If granted, representatives of these and other institutions will be invited to meet with the Research Division during its spring 1977 meeting in Washington.

Miscellaneous. The division has also dealt with a number of routine matters, such as making recommendations or nominations for other organizations, e.g., the Educational Testing Service and the ACLS, and responding to inquiries and/or referring them to the appropriate committee, officers, or outside bodies.

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Nancy L. Roelker, *Vice-President*

Report of the Vice-President, Teaching Division

The new AHA constitution, which created the Research, Professional, and Teaching Divisions, is now two years old. Speaking for the Teaching Division, I can say that we have progressed during these two years from experimental groping to a clearer sense of how we can most effectively pursue our goals and what we can accomplish within the structure of AHA governance. Our relationships with the Council, the executive director, the Program Committee and the other two divisions have become both effective and well-defined. It has become evident that the Teaching Division is neither a paper committee nor a threat to the continuation of the AHA's programs relating to research and problems of the profession. We have persuaded our colleagues in the profession, I believe, that we do not intend to lower intellectual standards but rather to raise teaching standards. Our programs have cost the association very little. But they have begun to make the AHA's presence known, and its commitment to teaching known, to historians across the country at all instructional levels.

With the presentation of this report, my own term as Teaching Division Vice-President expires. I wish that I and my division might have done more. But, in a period of fiscal crisis for the AHA, we have been able to effect what I hope will be permanent and substantial progress toward the goal given us by the Review Board: to "invest the teaching function with a status and recognition previously reserved for research."

AHA-SPONSORED TEACHING CONVENTIONS

On October 28-29, 1976, the first of a series of AHA-sponsored, locally funded teaching conventions was held at Lawrence, Kansas.

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Professor Charles F. Sidman, chairman of the history department of the University of Kansas and his departmental colleagues served as hosts and coordinators, under the general supervision of the AHA Teaching Division. About 120 historians attended, from points as far removed as New York, Puerto Rico, and California. Stressing the theme of curricular reform, the convention was both challenging and splendidly coordinated. The Teaching Division participated fully in the conference activities and, indeed, held its fall 1976 meeting in Lawrence just prior to the convention's opening. Future conventions, on various themes relating to history teaching, are scheduled at California State University, Long Beach, on April 1-3, 1977, and at Dallas—Southern Methodist University—in fall 1977 (some weeks prior to the AHA's 1977 annual meeting in Dallas). Negotiations are in progress for another such convention, AHA-sponsored and locally funded in spring 1978. It is hoped that these conventions, if they continue to be fruitful, will become a permanent and significant element in the AHA's commitment to teaching.

TEACHING ACTIVITIES AT THE AHA ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Teaching Division has developed a cordial, workable relationship with the AHA Program Committees. One member of each Program Committee is specifically responsible for teaching sessions and activities, and one member of the Teaching Division is designated to coordinate with the Program Committee. We have also been at pains to assure proper logistical support for the teaching demonstrations and displays at the annual meetings. For the 1976 Washington, D.C. meeting, this responsibility has been delegated to the Society for History Education. Further, we have been in close touch with the Committee on History in the Classroom in working out a joint session and in exploring other areas of possible cooperation. In these respects, as in others, the Teaching Division has sought and achieved close and mutually beneficial relationships with organizations concerned with history teaching.

In consequence, the problems and techniques of teaching history will be receiving fuller attention at the 1976 annual meeting than at the previous meeting of the association. A special Teaching Division session "How Can the AHA Best Serve the Teaching of History?", five regular program sessions, eight demonstration sessions, three workshops and an exhibit room will be devoted to

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history teaching. For the first time, historians wishing to attend teaching sessions and activities will have hard choices to make. In one teaching session, sponsored jointly with the Committee on History in the Classroom, the AHA Vice-President for Teaching will chair a meeting on the future of (and alternatives to) the Western Civilization course, with papers by a panel of historians who are at once outstanding teachers and eminent research scholars (William H. McNeill, Lewis Spitz, Giles Constable, with Frederic Cheyette commenting). The Teaching Division is presently working closely with the 1977 Program Committee to the end that teaching will be represented at least as strongly in next year's annual meeting in Dallas.

ONE-DAY CONFERENCES

As a result of suggestions from the audience at the Teaching Division session of the 1975 annual meeting, and thanks to the initiative of Professor Henry Bausum of VMI, a pilot one-day history teaching conference is scheduled for November 22, 1976 at Lexington, Virginia. This report is being written prior to the conference, so I cannot comment very specifically on it. The plan is to involve high school, community college, college and university historians from the area around Lexington in an AHA-sponsored conference on the needs of historians at all instructional levels, means of improving communication, and ways which the AHA might help. If the results appear to be promising, the Teaching Division will encourage similar AHA-sponsored, multi-level meetings in other areas of the country.

SUMMER INSTITUTE FOR THE TEACHING OF WOMEN'S HISTORY

A three-week, NEH-funded summer institute for high school teachers on the integration of women's history into the high school curriculum, sponsored by the AHA and Sarah Lawrence College, was successfully completed in mid-July 1976. The AHA is indebted to Professor Gerda Lerner, director of the Women's Studies Program at Sarah Lawrence College, for organizing and coordinating this program. Maxine Seller represented the Teaching Division on the coordinating committee. The division recommends that efforts be made to initiate similar summer institutes in other regions of the country.

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SURVEY OF TEACHING INNOVATIONS

Professor Douglas D. Alder of Utah State University has, at the request of the Teaching Division, completed a national survey of innovative approaches to the teaching of history, and has summarized the results in a series of topically organized lists. These lists will be available at cost through the AHA office, and plans are being worked out to serialize them in the *Network News Exchange*.

The Teaching Division is also cooperating in a multi-disciplinary effort to obtain foundation funding for comprehensive, standardized surveys of teaching innovations in a variety of participating academic disciplines. The goal is to publish the results in a number of volumes, one for each discipline, and to synthesize them in a single multidisciplinary volume. This project is now in the hands of a committee representing sociology, history, philosophy, chemistry, modern languages, psychology and the biological sciences.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

The Teaching Division cooperated with *Change* magazine in its first report on undergraduate teaching (March 1976); about a third of the issue was devoted to history teaching. Copies will be available at the 1976 annual meeting and through the AHA office.

The division is also in the process of surveying the profession on the matter of teaching instruction in history graduate programs. We believe that this is an important and too often neglected component of graduate programs in history. Our goal is to encourage serious efforts to improve the teaching skills of our graduate students and to make these efforts known to the profession.

As the Advisory Board to the AHA Pamphlet Series, the Teaching Division has recommended the publication of a pamphlet on the teaching of women's history. As this report is being written, the proposal is being actively pursued.

To conclude on a personal note, I have had the privilege and challenge of serving as the first AHA Vice-President for Teaching. During my two-year term, programs have been launched that promise to change permanently the AHA's outreach toward teaching. The Teaching Division has developed good working relationships with committees and societies inside and outside the AHA. Important precedents have been established. I have enjoyed the invaluable support of the Council, two AHA presidents, the

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executive director, my colleagues in the Teaching Division, three Program Committees, and historians across the country who are devoted to the teaching of history. I have become convinced that the AHA takes its responsibilities toward teaching very seriously, and that my successors will continue to receive the committed support that the Teaching Division has enjoyed during its first two years.

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C. Warren Hollister, *Vice-President*

Report of the Executive Director

In my first annual report to the membership last year I reviewed in detail the desperate financial condition of the association and the measures the Council and I had initiated to deal with it, reported on the status of the implementation of the revised constitution, described the wide range of activities of the executive director and the central office, and offered some ideas for the development of a program to promote historical studies and alleviate the unemployment crisis of historians.

This past year many of my activities and those of the central office and the Council have been reported to you in the *Newsletter*. Reports on the work of the divisional committees were prepared by the vice-presidents and distributed prior to the 1975 annual meeting, and additional reports will be available again this year. At the business meeting on December 29, I will report to you on important continuing developments such as the management of the *American Historical Review*, selection of sites for the annual meeting and our progress in organizing the program to promote historical studies.

There is little need, therefore, for me to go over that ground here. In this report I will discuss the progress that has been made toward solving our financial problems and review briefly some of the important developments of 1975-1976 that have not been reported elsewhere.

I. FINANCIAL CONDITIONS

Comparison of our present financial condition with what it was two years ago will show that we have made progress toward solving our

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most serious short-term financial problem: persistent budget deficits and depletion of our reserves. At the time I write this report the auditors have not yet completed their work, but I can report that instead of a large projected deficit during fiscal year 1975-1976 we were able to reduce our expenses and increase our income sufficiently to end the year in the black. I can also report that the 1976-1977 budget I submitted to the Council in May 1976 reflected my determination to achieve continued reduction of our operating deficit. At the same meeting I told the Council that I intended to submit a balanced budget for fiscal year 1977-1978 and that I hoped we could soon take steps to replenish the reserve fund that has been drawn upon in recent years.

The long period of deficit operating budgets begun in 1969-1970 has now been reversed due to Council approval over the past two years of a number of recommendations for reducing program expenditures. Among the most important is elimination of unnecessary and costly material from the *Employment Information Bulletin*, suspension of commissioning of pamphlets that had little or no chance of paying their way, relocation of the editorial function of the *American Historical Review*, and substantial reduction of general operating expenses. The Council also supported recommendations for programs to increase our revenue by developing the bibliographic section of the *Review* as a separate income-producing publication, by changes in the dues structure and increases in dues and publication subscription prices, and by organization of an Institutional Services Program. This new program of service to departments deserves special mention. The Institutional Services Program is designed to be self-supporting and has been developed at the same time we have reduced the Washington office staff and cut our operating expenses. In its first year of operation 133 departments subscribed to the service. We hope those departments will renew their subscription and that additional departments will subscribe. This year some of the ISP publications are being revised and expanded. For example, a second edition to the *Guide to Departments of History* is being prepared, *Fellowships and Grants of Interest to Historians* is being expanded, and a new booklet, *History as a Vocation: A Guide to Career Opportunities for Historians*, is being edited by Sally Kohlstedt, a member of the Professional Division from Syracuse University. A supplement to the *Directory of Women Historians* will soon be available.

In time, as members and department chairpersons see the value

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of the ISP and come to see departmental membership as a part of their professional responsibility, we hope every department of history in the United States will become a subscriber. As we approach this goal we can improve the service and reduce the cost.

The Council has recognized that in the long run the sound financial condition of the association that will enable us to maintain and improve its primary scholarly activities, such as the *American Historical Review* and the annual meeting, and permit us more nearly to meet the new obligations in the area of teaching and the profession mandated by the revised constitution, will depend in part on broader support from the historical profession than it has had recently. To that end the Council has approved a long-term membership campaign to halt the recent decline in membership and to attract new members. Our goal is to retain our present membership and to attract five thousand new members over the next three years. The April *Newsletter* launched our drive. Special mailings and offers to junior and community college historians and to high school teachers aim to enlarge the number of members from those sources which are not heavily represented in the association; the new associate membership category aims to retain and attract members who are not actively engaged in the writing or teaching of history; the appointment of an AHA membership representative in every college and university history department aims to increase the number of historians in this area too who support and participate in association activities. Recruitment of new members will be a major priority over the next several years. Five thousand new members could not only provide some of the income necessary for us to keep pace with inflation without continuous escalation of dues, but would also enable us to serve all historians and thereby more nearly fulfill the purposes which the founders had in mind when they created the association in 1884—for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history, and of history in America.

The success of this membership campaign will depend to a large extent upon the help we receive from members. So far, I have been encouraged by the responses of members who have been asked to join in the campaign, and I want to acknowledge here their cooperation and goodwill. If we can continue to enlist association members in our campaign, I believe we can reach our goal of five thou-

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sand new members within three years.

There is a problem emerging with potentially serious financial consequences and that is the plethora of requests from chairpersons and members for new and expanded programs and services—for costly accreditation programs, greatly expanded lobbying activity, legal services for alleged violations of academic freedom and the defense of the rights of historians at home and abroad, for surveys, studies, conferences and publications, to name a few such requests. These requests are usually for the laudable purpose of making the association a more open, accessible and responsive organization, a purpose most of us support. The association cannot, however, do everything its members want it to do, if for no other reason than that it does not have the resources.

As executive director I have worked to make the association a more active learned society in keeping with the spirit of the report of the Review Board and the revised constitution, but if we are to become and remain solvent we will have to make some difficult decisions about our programs based on financial as well as scholarly and professional considerations. It is not my role as executive director to make decisions about whether any or all of the proposals that come to me should be adopted; it is the Council, acting on the recommendations of committees, that must ultimately decide such matters. It is my responsibility, however, to make sure that the Council understands the financial consequences of any proposal before it. I am therefore recommending to the Council that during fiscal year 1976–1977 and thereafter, new programs be approved by the Council only after they have been reviewed by the executive director and the Finance Committee for their financial implications, and that recommendations by officers and committees to the Council for new programs be accompanied by a statement from the executive director about costs and financial feasibility. This recommendation is only one part of a larger plan for the prudent management of our financial affairs which I will be presenting to the Finance Committee and the Council for consideration, and which will ultimately be reported to the membership.

II. REVIEW OF THE REVISED CONSTITUTION

The revised constitution was approved by the membership in the spring of 1974 and implementation, begun on July 1, was accomplished by January 1, 1975, on schedule. The new divisional committees of research, teaching, and the profession, now in their sec-

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ond year, function under guidelines adopted by the Council. Annual written reports from each of the division leaders were distributed at the annual meeting in December. We hope that these written reports, supplemented by oral reports at the business meeting, provide members with useful information about divisional activities and encourage debate and constructive criticism. They will be continued.

On the whole I think the new divisional committees have served the interests of the association well. Those of you who have read the reports of their work and have followed announcements of their activities in the *Newsletter* are aware of the broad range of important issues they have begun to deal with. The escalation of operating expenses that some members feared would result from their creation and the enlargement of their missions has not happened, not because the pressure for increases has not existed but largely because the chairpersons and members have been sensitive to the need for economy and have personally made generous contributions of time and money to support committee work in order to control costs. I think we can continue to hold the line on committee expenses. We must, however, watch carefully the costs of our committees to make sure that expenditures are made only for efficient and necessary operation. This will require careful and courageous ordering of priorities by the Finance Committee and the Council, constant vigilance, imagination and firmness on the part of the appointed officers and continued self-restraint and cooperation on the part of those who serve on committees and those who seek their services.

III. THE 1975 ANNUAL MEETING

Sessions: The Program Committee's approach to the program was channelled into certain directions by considerations which were unique in 1975. Some program committee changes were made in the interests of economy and efficiency and the maximum size was established at eight. This meant that as all facets of historical interest could not be represented, the committee had to work as a team and had to obtain expert advice outside the committee in several areas. Because the number of sessions had in recent years been running well over a hundred, the Council recommended reducing the number of sessions. The committee found that to obtain a balanced program such reduction proved difficult, but it finally approved a program about twenty percent smaller than that of the

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previous year. More sessions were allocated to teaching and the profession than has been customary. With the annual meeting falling on the eve of the bicentennial year, special emphasis was given to historical work related to the American Revolution and independence. The program committee gave particular attention to the concerns of younger historians by setting up a forum in which those who had recently received the doctorate could present aspects of their dissertations and by arranging colloquia in which distinguished historians could discuss their current work with graduate students and others concerned in the same field of interest. (For the full report of the program chairman see the May/June *Newsletter*.)

General Meeting and Business Meeting: At the general meeting, the following prizes were awarded for the year 1975: The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize to James S. Donnelly, Jr. (University of Wisconsin, Madison) for *The Land and the People of Nineteenth Century Cork*; the Albert J. Beveridge Award to David Brion Davis (Yale University) for *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823*; the John K. Fairbank Prize to Jen Yu-wen (honorary fellow, University of Hong Kong) for *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement*; the Howard R. Marraro Prize to Robert Brentano (University of California, Berkeley) for *Rome before Avignon: A Social History of Thirteenth Century Rome*. In addition, to commemorate the Bicentennial, there was a special AHA award for the best work on the era of the American Revolution written in a language other than English. The Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial, under the chairmanship of Richard B. Morris, awarded this prize to Dr. W. Paul Adams of the University of Frankfurt for his book *Republikanische Verfassung und bürgerliche Freiheit: Die Verfassungen und politischen Ideen der amerikanischen Revolution*. The winner accepted the award in person at a luncheon on December 28, at which Dr. Ronald S. Berman, chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, was the guest speaker. In addition to this award to a German scholar, awards of honorable mention were shared by a French woman historian, Elise Marienstras, and an Italian scholar, Piero Del Negro, for *L'Idée de Nation aux Etats-Unis à la fin de XVIII^e siècle* and *Il mito americano nella Venezia del Settecento*, respectively. For the best general survey of American history, a Special Citation was awarded to Raimondo Luraghi of the University of Turin for *Gli Stati Uniti*.

President Gordon Wright called the annual business meeting to

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order on the afternoon of December 29. Alfred H. Kelly of Wayne State University served as parliamentarian for the meeting. Following the resolution of thanks to the program and local arrangements chairmen and committee members, and the filling of vacancies on the Board of Trustees, Mr. Wright presented the reports of the officers, the Nominating Committee, and the three Vice-Presidents: Leo F. Solt for research; C. Warren Hollister for teaching; and Jean T. Joughin for the profession.

Job Register: The job register for the 1975 annual meeting was held at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Atlanta. Descriptions of available jobs at U.S. and foreign institutions were posted on bulletin boards divided into eight areas of specialization—Africa, Ancient-Medieval, Asia, Europe, Latin America, Middle East, United States, and miscellaneous. A total of 152 vacancies was listed on the bulletin boards, some of which were tentative openings and some one-year appointments. The total number of jobs posted was forty-four more than the total for the 1974 register. Approximately one thousand candidates used the register.

IV. INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Fourteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences met in San Francisco, August 22–29, 1975. Approximately fifteen hundred individuals attended the congress, the largest delegations from abroad coming from the USSR and Japan. Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, University of Arizona, former executive secretary of the association and member of the Bureau of ICHS, presided over the congress. The program consisted of meetings on major themes of study, problems of methodology, and of chronological and subject sessions covering antiquity, the Middle Ages, modern history, and contemporary history as well as a wide range of specialized topics. In addition, meetings of the international commissions affiliated with or organized within the International Committee took place daily. Dr. Richard Schlatter, executive director of the congress, is preparing a full report on the proceedings which will soon be available to members. The Assembly of the ICHS has selected Bucharest as the site for the next congress in 1980.

Immediately following the congress, the association sponsored the second U.S.-USSR historians' colloquium at Stanford University, which generously provided meeting space and good weather. The themes of the meeting were "Institutional and Economic Aspect of Slavery," "Controversies and Problems Regarding

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Servitude in Russia and the United States Prior to 1861," and "American-Russian Relations before 1865." At the conclusion of the meeting there was general agreement that the colloquium had served a useful purpose by providing an opportunity for historians of the two countries to discuss historical problems of mutual interest on a scholarly basis, and it was recommended that steps be taken by the association and the Soviet Academy of Sciences to organize a third colloquium. The Council of the association has approved this recommendation and plans are being made to hold the third colloquium in Moscow in 1977.

A third project in the area of international historical activity is one being developed by the Committee on Quantitative Research in History. The Council has approved a proposal for a joint U.S.-USSR standing committee which will concern itself with research projects; conferences, lectures, and training programs; exchanges of scholars and students; exchanges of scholarly materials; joint publication and translation projects; and technical and methodological collaboration. Messrs. Theodore Rabb and Richard Jensen, and Ms. Nina Garsoïan visited the Soviet Union to work out the details of this project and were successful in reaching agreement with their Soviet colleagues.

These and other activities in the area of international scholarly exchange will be reported on by Nancy L. Roelker, vice-president of the Research Division.

V. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ACTIVITIES

During the past year the association's work in the field of bibliography was extensive. In November, *Writings on American History, 1974-75: A Subject Bibliography of Articles* was published. Partially funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, over 4,000 articles are cited, and the volume also includes completed dissertations that were reported to the association. Furthermore, the work was completed for *Writings on American History, 1962-73: A Subject Bibliography of Articles*. The project was financed chiefly by Kraus-Thomson, which provided the association with an advance against royalties. More than 33,000 articles are cited and the four-volume publication will be available in August 1976.

In February, *Recently Published Articles* appeared for the first time as a separate publication, and the other two issues for 1976 are scheduled for publication in June and October. Thus far the

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response from the membership and institutions is very encouraging.

In November 1975 the association received a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to conduct a feasibility study for future bibliographical endeavors. The study, directed by Walter Rundell, Jr., University of Maryland, is finished and the reports have been sent to those who contributed to it. A summary of the report appeared in the May/June *Newsletter*, and a copy of the entire report is available to any interested member.

Cumulative indexes to the *American Historical Review* have appeared over the years in a rather erratic pattern. The first four covered ten-year periods followed by a twenty- and another ten-year index. The last index 1965-1970 (volumes LXXI-LXXV) was published in 1972. Steps have been taken to prepare a five-year index 1971-1975 (volumes LXXVI-LXXX), which will be published in 1977.

For approximately five years the *Recently Published Articles* have been generated from computer tapes, and the computer program is designed so that any list, or subdivisions of lists, could be retrieved—for example, Germany 1867 to 1918. The association is studying the possibility of making available on demand, at a moderate cost, specialized bibliographies which could be produced in various formats such as computer printout or type. At present we are awaiting the results of an effort to recall a specialized list from the United States section. There has also been some preliminary discussion concerning the value of a cumulative bibliography of non-U.S. *Recently Published Articles*, which have appeared over the past thirty years. The possibilities are numerous and the feasibility of such a publication is under study.

For many years the AHA has sponsored with the Royal Historical Society, the Medieval Academy of America, and the British Academy, the Anglo-American bibliographies. The Ford Foundation provided much of the financing, but the funds from this source have been spent and those involved with the project believe that a final volume covering the years 1914-1975 should be completed. Discussions are underway with the Research Tools Division of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Rockefeller Foundation to submit grant proposals for the necessary funding.

VI. EMPLOYMENT INFORMATION BULLETIN

A slight increase in the number of jobs reported to the *EIB* has

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been noted this year. This increase is probably not because of any improvement in the job crisis, but is more likely because of an increase in the number of institutions regularly solicited by the *EIB* and because of affirmative action requirements for open listing of positions. This list has grown by over six hundred institutions in the last seven months. The *EIB* now solicits information from over eighteen hundred institutions, including two-year colleges and the major universities and colleges in Canada.

There has recently been an increase in administrative and history-related jobs. This increase may be because the *EIB* now has a semiannual solicitation of libraries, museums, foundations, and AHA-affiliated societies. Approximately one hundred non-teaching institutions are now being approached. The *EIB* will continue to add institutions to its solicitation list.

The executive director's annual report provides me with an opportunity to acknowledge my many obligations—to the president, Richard Morris, who has supported my program of economy, to the president-elect, Charles Gibson, who has quietly and efficiently assumed his many duties, to Gordon Wright, who has continued to respond to my requests for advice and assistance, to the vice-presidents for their self-sacrifice and hard work, to the Council members for their patience and strong support during a difficult year, and to the many members who have generously responded to my requests for help. I am also indebted to John Duffy of the University of Maryland for his generous services as interim editor of the *Review*, and to Robert Byrnes and Robert Quirk, interim editor and associate editor at Indiana University, for managing the relocation of the *American Historical Review* and assuming the editorial responsibilities in a highly professional manner.

I am particularly indebted to the members of the central office staff for their uncomplaining spirit in assuming additional responsibilities and generously responding to the demands of the executive director and the membership.

July 20, 1976

Mack Thompson, *Executive Director*

Executive Director's Supplementary Report

This year I bring you good news. Our finances are in good shape, the transfer of the *AHR* to Indiana University is now complete,

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our long struggle for the preservation and management of public papers has had excellent results, and our program for a National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History is launched.

The transfer of the *American Historical Review* to the campus of Indiana University, begun a year ago, has been accomplished. Professor Otto Pflanze joined the history department at Indiana on January 1, and took up his duties as regular editor of the *Review*. A recent *Newsletter* carried a brief statement by Mr. Pflanze, which I am sure you will find of interest.

He will inherit an experienced and enthusiastic staff and an editorial model that has been tested and found to work. I am sure that within a short time, he will impose his own editorial stamp on the *Review*, as any good editor should. Mr. Pflanze will certainly have my support.

The transfer of the *Review* was not accomplished without some problems. Perhaps because I knew so well the obstacles the editorial staffs at I.U. and Washington faced, and because I faced so many other difficulties myself during that period, I tend to think that our transfer problems were relatively minor ones.

In my judgment, the performance was good at both ends. The Washington editorial staff completed the work on the February and April issues, cleared up a backlog of book reviews, and assisted in the difficult job of transferring books and materials to Indiana. Ann Hofstra and her staff prepared memoranda for the I.U. staff on every phase of the editorial process and consulted frequently with the new staff at I.U.

Mr. Byrnes, Mr. Quirk, and the editorial assistants at I.U. assumed their responsibilities quickly and efficiently. Professor Barbara Hanawalt, a specialist in medieval history, who became the associate editor in July, has continued Mr. Byrnes' work on the book review section. She will continue as associate editor. Ms. Hanawalt had a piece in the January *Newsletter* about book reviews, which I urge all of you to read.

I think we all owe a vote of thanks to everyone who participated in the transfer. I hope that we can now recognize how much has been accomplished, and use the experience gained to maintain and where possible improve the quality of the *Review*.

The financial condition of the association has concerned many members in recent years. As some of you know, I have reported in detail on our financial condition in my two annual reports. I have done so because I think the members are entitled to know

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what our financial condition is and how we are dealing with it.

The association, like all learned societies, has experienced a serious financial crisis during the past few years. From 1970 to 1974, the association suffered a massive decline in membership—almost three thousand—and consequently in revenue. At the same time, inflation drove our costs up and up. The association also took on a number of new permanent obligations during recent years. Because of these circumstances, beginning in 1969–1970, the association began to run deficits, and continued to do so through the early 1970s. When I came to the association in July 1974, there was a budgeted deficit for that fiscal year of \$91,000, and we ended that year with approximately that amount of deficit. That deficit was not the association's first, it was merely the largest. To discharge these deficits, the operating capital in Washington was exhausted, and the association's unrestricted reserve was dangerously depleted.

How has the association fared since those unhappy days? The budget for fiscal 1976–1977 projected a deficit of \$88,000, only slightly lower than the previous year. At the end of the year, however, we did not need to draw on our reserves to pay that deficit. In fact, for the first time since 1968–1969, we had a real surplus which has been used as a first installment for repayment of funds drawn from our reserves. Our financial performance for the first five months of 1976–1977 has been good.

Balancing our budget within such a short time was not done without certain kinds of non-financial costs. A reduced staff in the Washington office has been asked to take on many new duties, with the result that our response to the demands of our committees and our members has not always been what I would like it to be. We have made some mistakes, we have missed some deadlines, disappointed some of you, and you have told me about it, kindly and graciously. I appreciate that. The fact is that the association has weathered a severe financial crisis, and its condition is rapidly improving.

During the past two years, I have spoken and written much about our financial problems. I hope this is the last time I will feel obligated to dwell on this subject. My interest, and I am sure yours, is not in a preoccupation with financial statements, but in the development of scholarly and professional activities.

I will now report on our efforts to preserve the papers produced by public officials in their conduct of public business. Some of you

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will recall that in fall 1974, following the resignation of the president of the U.S., the association joined with others in a suit in the District Court in Washington to secure an injunction against an agreement that outraged the public and the Congress. That agreement between Mr. Nixon and Mr. Arthur Sampson, administrator of General Services, allowed Mr. Nixon to take an enormous collection of White House papers to San Clemente, to have absolute control over access to them, to remove papers at will, and to destroy them if he chose to do so. The agreement also provided for the certain destruction of the famous White House tapes on September 1, 1984, or upon the former president's death, whichever occurred first.

This Nixon-Sampson agreement was such a flagrant departure from existing practice and such a violation of the association's purposes that the Council authorized me to institute a lawsuit to prevent the implementation of the agreement.

Since that time, much has happened.

1. Our request for an injunction against the Nixon-Sampson agreement was granted. The Congress subsequently passed a law that former President Nixon's papers and tapes must remain secure in Washington.
2. At the same time, Congress created a National Study Commission to make recommendations concerning the records of all branches of government.
3. President Ford has donated all of his papers to the government.
4. President-elect Jimmy Carter has written that he will study the problem.
5. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has donated some of his papers to the Library of Congress.
6. The movement to separate the National Archives and Records Service from the General Services Administration is gaining momentum.
7. The Senate Historical Office has been created and support for other historical offices is increasing.
8. There is a lively public debate about all of these issues.

Very early in the course of our activities, AHA committees and our Council developed policies on the ownership, preservation and management of public papers, policies which have guided me in my activities and which have been reported to you in the *Newsletter*. We have encouraged public discussion of these policies in

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special conferences, in the press, on television and radio, and at meetings of learned societies. We find that they have stood up very well against the scrutiny of well-informed persons of divergent views. Policies which, when first announced, were thought to be visionary, have now become conventional wisdom, and are being adopted by other learned societies and organizations.

A collateral issue growing out of our activities on presidential papers is the relationship between the General Services Administration and the National Archives and Records Services. The association had studied this matter some years ago and took a rather benign view of the relationship. The Nixon-Sampson agreement revealed, however, the extent to which political considerations could enter into the business of our archives establishment, and convinced the Research Division and the Council that NARS must be separated from the GSA and developed as an independent agency.

Since we adopted this policy a year ago, the movement for support has gathered momentum.

We are active in a number of other areas:

1. In the establishment of historical offices in the Congress and in the major departments of the federal government.
2. In the support of the budgets of the NHPRC, the Library of Congress, the NARS, and the NEH, to strengthen and expand their programs and services.
3. In the Congress, to get Congressmen and Senators to pay closer attention to the preservation and deposition of their valuable papers in competent repositories and to encourage Congress to appropriate the funds for the proper management of its papers.

In these activities I have often called on AHA members for advice and assistance: I would like to mention a few here—Norman Graebner, University of Virginia; Allen Weinstein, Smith College; Arthur Link, Princeton; William Leuchtenburg, Columbia; Eldon Smith and Walter Rundell, University of Maryland; Julian Boyd, the Jefferson Papers; and Lewis Hanke, our recent president, who supported our original suit, and was one of the first to call for the separation of NARS and GSA.

I should note, too, that the AHA has had as partners in its suits the American Political Science Association and the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press. Legal services have been provided by the Washington firm of Arnold and Porter, donating

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their services. We have received financial support from the Field Foundation, CBS, Inc., and Harper & Row, Publishers.

There is a lesson to be learned from our experience with presidential papers. That lesson is that it *is* possible for a learned society with no political power and no resources to speak of, to affect public policy. We have two assets that make this possible: one is an association highly thought of by government officials and by private citizens. We have a good reputation and that is an important asset. Our second asset is a large membership of highly-educated, richly-talented men and women. That is undoubtedly our greatest resource. I think it is time to use these assets more effectively to further the interests of our profession and of society.

All of you have recently received information about the creation of the National Coordinating Committee, so I need not discuss its details here. I would like to report on one or two recent developments:

First, we are expanding the National Coordinating Committee.

The original group of participating associations included the AHA, OAH, SHA, NEHA, and ASA.

At the Southern Historical Association meeting in November, we agreed to invite other associations which had expressed an interest in joining or which we thought might be interested in joining us. We are extending invitations to the following: Phi Alpha Theta, AASLH, the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians, the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, the Western History Association, the National Council for the Social Studies.

Other similar learned societies will be invited to join the NCC. All are expected to conduct a fund drive and to contribute the proceeds to the program to promote history, and to join with us in our program.

Let me also give you the results of the fund drive. To date, 226 AHA members have contributed \$5600. Contributions have ranged from \$1 to \$1000. This is not an impressive result, but I have always assumed that several efforts would be necessary to give all of our members a chance to contribute. I will be contacting you again soon.

A few members have been critical of the National Coordinating Committee and have communicated this to me. Some members think that the decline in history is irreversible and that we are wasting our time trying to do anything about it. Others feel that the

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unemployment problem among historians is so severe that there is nothing the association can do about it and that funds for our program will be spent without achieving any results except to encourage more young people to enter Ph.D. programs and to raise false hopes among those who already have degrees but no jobs. I do not agree with all of those views, but I think it is time that we began to discuss seriously the real problems we face and determine who is right. However, the overwhelming response has been favorable.

During the annual meeting, the executive officers of the National Coordinating Committee met to assess our situation. We decided that we have sufficient resources to organize the committee and to get to work on some of our projects. We will be reporting on developments in the coming months.

I hope you will respond in the best way you can: with a contribution; with your moral support; or by working on one of our national or state committees.

The problems the historical profession faces are serious. I see little evidence that they will correct themselves, at least not without enormous waste of human talent and high cost to the scholarly activities of our major learned societies. No *single* learned society can begin to cope with the problems. But I believe that if we combine our limited resources and if our members are willing to support our efforts, we can do *something*. Those of you who have read what I have written know that I have never promised we will solve the unemployment crisis. What I have promised is that as long as I am executive director of the association I will *try*. To do less would be to abrogate our duties to ourselves, our profession, our colleagues, and students. I ask for your support.

December 29, 1976

Mack Thompson, *Executive Director*

Report of the Controller

The total assets of the American Historical Association on June 30, 1976, amounted to \$1,218,843 as compared to \$1,264,793 in 1975. This amount is the sum of the three major funds:

(a) *General Fund*—cash, temporary and permanent investments (the use of which for the purposes of the association is controlled by a resolution of the Council in 1960 as amended in 1975), \$389,716.

(b) *Special Funds and Grants*—permanent and temporary investments, restricted as to the use of income and grants \$677,687.

(c) *Plant Fund*—property and equipment, less depreciation, \$151,440.

In the figures presented above, the book value of all permanent investments has been used. For further details, attention is directed to the auditor's report. All permanent investments are in the custody of the Fiduciary Trust Company of New York, under the direction of the association's board of trustees. The Fiduciary Trust Company's report is filed at the association's office and is available for inspection by interested members. Land and buildings of the association, carried at cost less depreciation have a substantially higher market value.

The budget for 1975–1976 as adopted by the Council projected a deficit of \$88,608. Certain circumstances, such as the timely relocation of the *AHR*, complete implementation of the adjusted subscriber rates, changes in the membership billing cycle, income of a non-recurring nature and stringent monitoring of controllable expenses, contributed to the elimination of the projected deficit and resulted in a surplus of \$31,323. Operating revenue exceeded the budget by \$44,294 or 6.1 percent.

Operating expenses amounted to \$764,176 or a reduction from the projected budget of 8.2 percent. Reduction of expenses

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occurred principally in the areas of salaries \$39,421.23 or 11.6 percent, printing and distribution \$17,061 or 6.2 percent, travel and related meeting expenses of \$13,909 or 19.5 percent, and delay of payment of tax liability of \$4,000. Recently established expense controls and increased efficiency of computer services present opportunities for further reduction of operating expense. Provisional administrative overhead rates are presently being renegotiated and a more favorable rate will benefit the association.

Surplus for the year ending June 30, 1976, will, in accordance with Council resolution, be returned to the association's investment fund.

Main Lafrentz & Co., certified public accountants, audit report and supplementary information detail are on file and available for inspection at the association's office.

August 6, 1976

James H. Leatherwood, *Controller*

MAIN LAFRENTZ & CO.
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

The Council
American Historical Association

1050 Seventeenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 466-3010

We have examined the balance sheet of the American Historical Association as of June 30, 1976 and 1975, and the related statements of revenue and expenses and fund balances for the years then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

It has been the practice of the American Historical Association to maintain its records on a general basis of cash receipts and disbursements, except for the recognition of depreciation on the Plant Fund's depreciable assets.

In our opinion, the accompanying statements present fairly the assets and liabilities of the American Historical Association at June 30, 1976 and 1975 (arising from cash transactions, except as noted in the preceding paragraph), and the related revenue collected, expenditures made, and fund balance changes during the years then ended, on a consistent basis.

Main Lafrentz & Co.

Washington, D.C.
July 28, 1976

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
BALANCE SHEET (ARISING FROM CASH TRANSACTIONS)
JUNE 30, 1976 AND 1975

ASSETS

	1976	1975
General Fund		
Cash	\$ 97,574	\$ 63,346
Deposits	2,425	2,425
Permanent investments, regular account, at cost of participation (market value \$294,153 and \$286,925)	289,717	289,551
Total General Fund	389,716	355,322
Special Funds and Grants		
Cash	212,155	300,001
Temporary investments, at cost (market value \$60,386 and \$60,113)	59,992	59,880
Permanent investments, regular account, at cost of participation (market value \$296,425 and \$289,141)	295,884	303,476
Permanent investments, Matteson account, at cost (market value \$125,019 and \$121,142) ..	109,656	87,362
Total Special Funds and Grants	677,687	750,719
Plant Fund		
Property, plant and equipment, at cost	247,696	247,381
Accumulated depreciation	96,256	88,629
Total Plant Fund	151,440	158,752
	<u>\$1,218,843</u>	<u>\$1,264,793</u>

LIABILITIES

General Fund		
Unremitted payroll taxes and other withholdings	\$ 866	\$ 1,720
Funds held in escrow	3,527	
	4,393	1,720
Fund balance	385,323	353,602
Total General Fund	389,716	355,322
Special Funds and Grants		
International Congress of Historical Sciences— convention receipts held in escrow		22,587
Fund balances	677,687	728,132
Total Special Funds and Grants	677,687	750,719
Plant Fund		
Fund balance	151,440	158,752
Total Plant Fund	151,440	158,752
	<u>\$1,218,843</u>	<u>\$1,264,793</u>

The accompanying notes are an integral part of these financial statements.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENSES (ARISING
FROM CASH TRANSACTIONS)—GENERAL FUND
YEARS ENDED JUNE 30, 1976 AND 1975

	1976	1975
Operating revenue		
Dues	\$339,546	\$286,612
Subscriptions to American Historical Review	160,980	124,323
Advertising	90,553	119,252
Sales	62,370	60,469
Royalties and reprint fees	13,725	12,878
Registration fees	24,673	22,133
Rentals	43,158	46,970
Administrative fees	30,420	2,111
Other	4,089	2,033
	<u>769,514</u>	<u>676,781</u>
Operating expenses		
Salaries	301,566	310,859
Employee benefits	47,566	49,250
House operating expenses	14,060	8,930
Office supplies and expenses	37,216	34,054
Equipment rentals and maintenance	24,314	20,477
Purchases of Plant Fund assets	315	993
Publication printing and distribution	257,039	236,161
Travel and related meeting expenses	57,191	65,353
General insurance	1,207	1,204
Audit and legal fees	15,907	15,186
Dues and subscriptions	4,128	2,264
Executive Director Contingency Fund	266	385
Other	3,401	7,712
	<u>764,176</u>	<u>752,828</u>
Excess of operating revenue over operating expenses (operating expenses over operating revenue) ...	<u>5,338</u>	<u>(76,047)</u>
Non-operating revenue		
Investment income (net of management fees) ...	24,432	25,754
Contributions		100
Gain (loss) on security sales	1,553	(41,694)
	<u>25,985</u>	<u>(15,840)</u>
Excess of revenue over expenses (expenses over revenue)	<u>\$ 31,323</u>	<u>\$(91,887)</u>

The accompanying notes are an integral part of these financial statements.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
STATEMENT OF CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES
(ARISING FROM CASH TRANSACTIONS)
YEARS ENDED JUNE 30, 1976 AND 1975

	1976			1975		
	General Fund	Special Funds and Grants	Plant Fund	General Fund	Special Funds and Grants	Plant Fund
Balances, beginning of year	\$353,602	\$728,132	\$158,752	\$451,252	\$713,488	\$165,386
Additions						
Excess of revenue over expenses	31,323					
Contributions, grants and contracts		199,499			214,980	
Interest and dividend income		27,404			37,770	
Gain on security sales, net		16,630				
Other income		1,920			8,288	
Transfer from National Endowment for the Humanities Grants				981		
Transfer from General Fund to absorb operating deficit of the Consortium of Professional Associations for Study of Special Teacher Improvement Program ...					896	
Transfer of net income (loss) from Endowment Fund						

permanent investments	398			(5,848)		
Purchase of furniture and equipment, net (from General Fund operations)			315			993
Improvements to headquarters building (from Reserve for Extraneous Repairs and Renovations)						200
	<u>385,323</u>	<u>973,585</u>	<u>159,067</u>	<u>446,385</u>	<u>975,422</u>	<u>166,579</u>
Deductions						
Excess of expenses over revenue				91,887		
Expenditures		295,500			194,394	
Loss on security sales, net					57,563	
Transfer of Endowment Fund permanent investment net income (loss) to General Fund		398			(5,848)	
Transfer to Special Funds and Grants				896		
Transfer to General Fund					981	
Transfer to Plant Fund					200	
Depreciation						
Buildings			4,917			4,908
Furniture and equipment			2,710			2,919
	<u>—0—</u>	<u>295,898</u>	<u>7,627</u>	<u>92,783</u>	<u>247,290</u>	<u>7,827</u>
Balances, end of year	<u>\$385,323</u>	<u>\$677,687</u>	<u>\$151,440</u>	<u>\$353,602</u>	<u>\$728,132</u>	<u>\$158,752</u>

The accompanying notes are an integral part of these financial statements.

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTING POLICIES

Fund accounting—The Association records its transactions in three separate, self-balancing funds. Each fund reflects only those transactions applicable to its designated functional area.

General Fund—Reflects transactions related to the general operations of the Association.

Special Funds—Reflects transactions under various prize funds and Grants special projects that are funded by contributions and grants (restricted as to use by the donor) as well as by revenue generated by fund activities and investments.

Plant Fund —Reflects transactions relating to the property, plant and equipment owned by the Association, as purchased through transfers from the General Fund and charged to operations by that Fund in the year of acquisition.

Marketable securities—Marketable securities, consisting of permanent investments in the Matteson Account and temporary investments, are carried at cost. Permanent investments in the Regular Account are carried at the participants' cost of participation in such investments.

Property, plant and equipment—Property, plant and equipment are carried at cost, with depreciation being computed on the straight-line method. When assets are disposed of, the cost and related accumulated depreciation are removed from the accounts, and any remaining net book value is deducted from the Plant Fund balance.

Income tax—The Association is exempt from federal income tax under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

DEPRECIATION

Depreciation on Plant Fund assets, based on the rates shown below, was:

	1976	1975	Rates
Buildings	\$4,917	\$4,908	2½ to 4%
Furniture and equipment	2,710	2,919	10%
Total charged to income	<u>\$7,627</u>	<u>\$7,827</u>	

RETIREMENT PLAN

Eligible employees are covered by a contributory retirement plan which is funded through the purchase of individual annuity contracts from the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association. The Association follows the practice of recording as its expense the total premiums paid, net of any termination refunds, on such contracts in each fiscal year. The net charges against revenue on account of retirement insurance premiums for the years ended June 30, 1976 and 1975, amounted to \$19,934 and \$17,679, respectively. Credits for cancellation of annuity contracts upon termination of employment may, with the consent of the Association, be paid to the individual if the annuity has not been in force for more than five years, and if the individual is not moving to another institution having the same plan.

Ownership of the annuity contracts vests in the individual after it has been in force for five years.

UNRECORDED LIABILITY

At June 30, 1975, the Association had a material unrecorded liability of approximately \$31,000, representing the cost of publishing the June 1975 issue of the American Historical Review. On a cash basis such amounts were recorded in the year ended June 30, 1976.

CONTINGENT LIABILITY

Federal returns as filed by the Association for the fiscal year 1972, 1973 and 1974 have been examined by the Internal Revenue Service. Adjustments proposed by the examining agent regarding unrelated business income could result in assessments by the Service approximately \$22,000. The Association is contesting the proposed adjustments.

ACCOUNTANTS' OPINION ON SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

Our examination of the basic financial statements presented in the preceding section of this report was made primarily to form an opinion on such financial statements taken as a whole. Supplementary information, contained in the following pages, is not considered essential for the fair presentation of the assets and liabilities or revenue, expenses and changes in fund balances (arising from cash transactions) of the Association. However, the following data were subjected to the audit procedures applied in the examination of the basic financial statements and, in our opinion, are fairly stated in all material respects in relation to the basic financial statements taken as a whole.

CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS
MAIN LAFRENTZ & CO.

Washington, D.C.
July 28, 1976

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
CHANGES IN INDIVIDUAL SPECIAL FUNDS AND GRANTS
(ARISING FROM CASH TRANSACTIONS)
YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1976

Fund, Grant or Contract	Balances, July 1, 1975	Contribu- tions, Grants and Contracts	Investment Income		Other Income	Transfers	Expendi- tures	Balances, June 30, 1976
			Interest and Dividends	Gain (Loss) on Security Sales				
Grants for the International Congress of Historical Sciences								
American Council of Learned Societies	\$ 59,452	\$	\$ 69	\$	\$	\$	\$ 46,740	\$ 12,781
United States Department of Commerce		10,000						10,000
International Council for Philosophy and Hu- manistic Studies	5,500						5,500	—0—
International Research and Exchange Board		7,500					3,250	4,250
Andrew Mellon Foundation	58,492		345				45,279	13,558
National Endowment for the Humanities	21,676#	71,676					50,897	897#
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc.	24,597						24,597	—0—

Rockefeller Foundation, Inc.	24,156#	25,000				844	—0—
	<u>102,209</u>	<u>114,176</u>	414			<u>177,107</u>	<u>39,692</u>
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Fund	6,468		425		300	438	6,755
Asia Foundation Grant for Travel Expenses and Membership Dues of Asian Historians.....	91#						91#
George Louis Beer Prize Fund	13,393		463	45		35	13,866
Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund	196,329		8,463	(1,833)	997	2,971	200,985
Albert Corey Prize Fund	12,744		464	(385)		1,170	11,653
Department of State Grants							
Mexican-American Bicentennial Committee	7,923					7,923	—0—
Mexican-American Bicentennial Committee Continuation		8,520				5,148	3,372
John H. Dunning Prize Fund	9,176		339	(269)		35	9,211
Endowment Fund	102,176	2,766	3,111	(2,713)		(398)	104,942
John K. Fairbank Prize Fund	10,878		431	42		500	10,851
Feature Films Project—AHA	9,475#				314	500	9,661#
Ford Foundation Grants							
American-East Asian Relations Program	21,623					18,650	2,973
Bibliographies of British History	4,927	4,000					8,927
Leo Gershoy Prize Fund		10,000	194				10,194
Clarence H. Haring Prize Fund	4,347		141	14		106	4,396
Higher Education Research Institute Grant for Data Compilation		1,500				1,030	470
International Research and Exchange Board Grant for the US-USSR Historians'							

Colloquim	6,405	3,860					10,265	—0—
J. Franklin Jameson Fund	9,973		244	24				10,241
Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment	1,909							1,909
Sarah Lawrence Institute Grant for the Summer Institute on the Integration of Women's History into the High School Curriculum	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$ 723	\$ 723#
Lilly Endowment, Inc. Grants								
Feature Film Project	2,171							2,171
Faculty Development Program	652						689	37#
Faculty Development Program Continuation		36,100					36,045	55
Littleton-Griswold Fund	74,041		3,400	(731)	309			77,019
Howard R. Marraro Prize Fund	8,579		318	(400)			555	7,942
David M. Matteson Fund	145,259		8,898	22,826			1,348	175,635
National Endowment for the Humanities Grants								
Commemoration of the American Revolution								
Bicentennial	2,700#	9,520					13,894	7,074#
Feasibility Study to Determine Guidelines for Bibliography		8,957					13,604	4,647#
Writings on American History	4,626#						2,659	7,285#
Robert L. Schuyler Prize Fund	1,451	100	33	3			105	1,482
Andrew D. White Fund	2,391		66	7				2,464
	<u>\$728,132</u>	<u>\$199,499</u>	<u>\$ 27,404</u>	<u>\$ 16,630</u>	<u>\$ 1,920</u>	<u>\$ (398)</u>	<u>\$295,500</u>	<u>\$677,687</u>

Deficit balance

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
REVENUE AND EXPENSES
(ARISING FROM CASH TRANSACTIONS)
COMPARED WITH BUDGET—GENERAL FUND
YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1976

	Actual	Budget	Over or (Under) Budget
Operating revenue			
Dues	\$339,546	\$338,175	\$ 1,371
Subscriptions to American Historical Review	160,980	125,000	35,980
Advertising	90,553	116,000	(25,447)
Sales	62,370	44,000	18,370
Royalties and reprint fees	13,725	8,000	5,725
Registration fees	24,673	25,000	(327)
Rentals	43,158	44,045	(887)
Administrative fees	30,420	3,000	27,420
Other	4,089	22,000	(17,911)
	<u>769,514</u>	<u>725,220</u>	<u>44,294</u>
Operating expenses			
Salaries	301,566	340,987	(39,421)
Employee benefits	47,566	48,006	(440)
House operating expenses	14,060	12,800	1,260
Office supplies and expense	37,216	37,500	(284)
Equipment rentals and maintenance	24,314	23,000	1,314
Purchase of Plant Fund assets	315		315
Publication printing and distribution	257,039	274,100	(17,061)
Travel and related meeting expense	57,191	71,100	(13,909)
General insurance	1,207		1,207
Audit and legal fees	15,907	11,000	4,907
Dues and subscriptions	4,128	3,000	1,128
Executive Director Contingency Fund	266	7,000	(6,734)
Other	3,401	4,500	(1,099)
	<u>764,176</u>	<u>832,993</u>	<u>(68,817)</u>
Excess of operating revenue over operating expenses (operating expenses over operating revenue)	<u>5,338</u>	<u>(107,773)</u>	<u>113,111</u>
Non-operating revenue (expenses)			
Investment income (net of management fees)	24,432	23,165	1,267
Gain (loss) on security sales	1,553		1,553
Federal income tax liability		(4,000)	4,000
	<u>25,985</u>	<u>19,165</u>	<u>6,820</u>
Excess of revenue over expenses (expenses over revenue)	<u>\$ 31,323</u>	<u>\$(88,608)</u>	<u>\$119,931</u>

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
INVESTMENTS
FIDUCIARY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK—
REGULAR ACCOUNT
JUNE 30, 1976

Face Value or Number of Shares	Description	Adjusted Cost	Market Value
	GOVERNMENT SECURITIES		
	Banks for Cooperatives		
\$ 25,000	6.25%, due 7/1/76	\$ 25,086	\$ 24,992
15,000	5.35%, due 8/2/76	15,033	14,981
25,000	United States Treasury Notes, 7.875%, due 11/15/82	25,187	25,219
\$ 65,000		<u>65,306</u>	<u>65,192</u>
	CORPORATE BONDS		
\$ 25,000	American Telephone and Telegraph Com- pany, Debentures 4¾%, due 4/1/85 ..	23,815	19,188
40,000	5¾%, due 8/1/95	38,922	30,150
25,000	General Motors Acceptance Corporation, Debentures, 4.875%, due 12/1/87	17,841	18,219
50,000	Idaho Power Company, Regular 1st Mort- gage, 6½%, due 10/1/96	48,760	36,875
50,000	Sears-Roebuck & Company, Sinking Fund Debentures, 8¾%, due 10/1/95	50,504	50,875
25,000	Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company, Debentures, 6%, due 2004 ..	24,473	18,656
25,000	Standard Oil Company of California, Sinking Fund Debentures, 4¾%, due 7/1/83	24,139	20,281
10,000	Virginia Railway Company, 1st Lien and Refunding Mortgage, Series B, 3%, due 5/1/95	9,541	6,800
\$250,000		<u>237,995</u>	<u>201,044</u>
	PREFERRED STOCKS		
400	American Telephone and Telegraph Com- pany, \$4.00 Convertible	24,597	23,750
400	Sun Oil Company, \$2.25 Convertible ...	21,249	15,750
		<u>45,846</u>	<u>39,500</u>

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
INVESTMENTS
FIDUCIARY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK—
REGULAR ACCOUNT
JUNE 30, 1976
(Continued)

Face Value or Number of Shares		Adjusted Cost	Market Value
	COMMON STOCKS		
900	Commonwealth Edison Company	\$ 25,530	\$ 25,200
200	Eastman Kodak Company	5,638	20,025
275	Exxon Corporation	8,108	28,772
750	Franklin Life Insurance Company	14,156	15,750
400	General Motors Corporation	22,847	27,400
500	H. J. Heinz Co.	22,555	24,187
350	Interco, Inc.	14,675	14,875
100	International Business Machines	16,836	27,675
400	Knight-Ridder Newspaper	13,486	13,750
450	Mobil Oil Corporation	31,777	26,944
200	PepsiCo, Inc.	14,706	14,900
250	Phillips Petroleum	14,389	15,344
300	Stauffer Chemical	14,433	13,162
225	Union Camp Corporation	14,804	14,344
		<u>233,940</u>	<u>282,328</u>
	Total securities	583,087	588,064
	Uninvested cash	<u>2,514</u>	<u>2,514</u>
	Total investments	<u><u>\$585,601</u></u>	<u><u>\$590,578</u></u>

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
INVESTMENTS
FIDUCIARY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK—
REGULAR ACCOUNT
PARTICIPATING FUNDS
JUNE 30, 1976

	Percentage Participa- tion	Cost	Market Value
Special funds and grants			
George Louis Beer Prize Fund	1.4557	\$ 8,451	\$ 8,597
Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund ..	24.1956	141,967	142,894
Albert Corey Prize Fund	1.4592	8,721	8,618
John H. Dunning Prize Fund	1.0639	6,351	6,283
Endowment Fund	9.7784	58,512	57,749
John K. Fairbank Prize Fund	1.3542	7,862	7,997
Clarence H. Haring Prize Fund .....	.4424	2,569	2,613
J. Franklin Jameson Fund .....	.7659	4,447	4,523
Littleton-Griswold Fund	8.3652	49,139	49,403
Howard R. Marraro Prize Fund	1.0000	6,054	5,906
Robert L. Schuyler Prize Fund .....	.1040	604	614
Andrew D. White Fund .....	.2079	1,207	1,228
	50.1924	295,884	296,425
General Fund	49.8076	289,717	294,153
	<u>100.0000</u>	<u>\$585,601</u>	<u>\$590,578</u>

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
INVESTMENTS
FIDUCIARY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK—
DAVID M. MATTESON FUND
JUNE 30, 1976

<u>Face Value or Number of Shares</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Market Value</u>
CORPORATE BONDS			
\$ 25,000	American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Debentures, 8.70%, due 12/1/2002	\$ 25,094	\$ 25,156
25,000	General Foods, Sinking Fund Debentures, 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ %, due 7/1/90	25,355	25,500
<u>\$ 50,000</u>		<u>50,449</u>	<u>50,656</u>
COMMON STOCKS			
200	American Telephone and Telegraph Company	5,020	11,300
600	Central & South West Corporation	12,569	8,700
118	Exxon Corporation	2,273	12,346
300	Florida Power Corporation	6,750	8,287
275	Philip Morris, Inc.	14,730	14,094
450	Squibb Corporation	13,023	14,794
		<u>54,365</u>	<u>69,521</u>
	Total securities	104,814	120,177
	Uninvested cash	4,842	4,842
	Total investments	<u>\$109,656</u>	<u>\$125,019</u>

Membership Statistics as of December 15, 1976

GENERAL

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP:	1975	1976
Honorary	18	18
Life	452	444
Annual	13,651	13,607
Trustees	4	5
Fifty-Year	52	56
Addresses Unknown	15	12
	<u>14,192</u>	<u>14,142</u>
Total Paid Memberships, Including Life Members	14,103	14,051
Delinquent Members	2,930***	2,317***
Total Membership	<u>17,033</u>	<u>16,368</u>
GAINS:		
New Life Members	5	0
New Annual Members	1,629	1,783
LOSSES:		
Deaths—Honorary Members	3	0
Deaths—Life Members	7	8
Deaths—Fifty-Year Members	3	3
Deaths—Annual Members	73	29
Deaths—Trustees	1	0
Resignations	258	112
Drops	1,331	2,637
	<u>1,676</u>	<u>2,789</u>
Net Loss	42	1,006
Net Gain	0	0
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	<u>16,991</u>	<u>15,362</u>
NEW MEMBERS	1,629	1,783
FEMALE MEMBERS	2,609	2,717
GRADUATE STUDENTS	2,085	(not coded)
Delinquents showing October expirations	308	232
Delinquents showing November expirations	443	268
Delinquents showing December expirations	468	290
TOTAL for the last quarter	1,219	790
For the period beginning January through September the total number of delinquents	1,711	1,527
TOTAL DELINQUENTS	<u>2,930***</u>	<u>2,317***</u>

*** The periodical reports throughout the year have reflected current memberships only. But, in the past the statistical reports have carried members from the last quarter of the year in the total membership count. A breakdown of this quarter is shown above reflecting the number of members delinquent for each month.

MEMBERSHIP BY STATE, DECEMBER 15, 1976

	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>		<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>
Alabama	114	116	Nevada	22	20
Alaska	12	14	New Hampshire	77	77
Arizona	82	81	New Jersey	589	583
Arkansas	41	39	New Mexico	54	46
California	1,420	1,419	New York	1,959	1,912
Colorado	142	136	North Carolina	303	309
Connecticut	363	365	North Dakota	13	17
Delaware	48	52	Ohio	541	523
District of Columbia	333	355	Oklahoma	84	89
Florida	224	224	Oregon	95	96
Georgia	159	180	Pennsylvania	814	801
Guam	3	3	Puerto Rico	8	11
Hawaii	30	32	Rhode Island	102	101
Idaho	27	26	South Carolina	123	129
Illinois	745	745	South Dakota	22	23
Indiana	317	325	Tennessee	174	165
Iowa	138	135	Texas	405	415
Kansas	124	128	Utah	40	44
Kentucky	116	114	Vermont	51	47
Louisiana	101	108	Virgin Islands	4	2
Maine	91	79	Virginia	534	550
Maryland	432	463	Washington	198	194
Massachusetts	819	796	West Virginia	68	72
Michigan	478	438	Wisconsin	276	272
Minnesota	180	182	Wyoming	12	12
Mississippi	57	63	Canada	338	349
Missouri	219	206	Other countries	347	326
Montana	30	30	Addresses unknown	15	12
Nebraska	72	77	Undetermined	7	14
TOTAL				<u>14,192</u>	<u>14,142</u>

MEMBERSHIP BY REGION, DECEMBER 15, 1976

	1975	1976
NEW ENGLAND:		
Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut	1,503	1,465
NORTH ATLANTIC:		
New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia	4,175	4,166
SOUTH ATLANTIC:		
Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida	1,343	1,392
NORTH CENTRAL:		
Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin	2,357	2,303
SOUTH CENTRAL:		
Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia	529	530
WEST CENTRAL:		
Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas	1,399	1,419
PACIFIC COAST:		
Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Washington, Oregon, California, Hawaii, Alaska	2,164	2,150
TERRITORIES AND DEPENDENCIES:		
Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, Guam	15	16
CANADA	338	349
OTHER COUNTRIES	347	326
ADDRESSES UNKNOWN	15	12
UNDETERMINED	7	14
TOTAL	14,192	14,142

DEATHS REPORTED SINCE DECEMBER 15, 1975

LIFE MEMBERS:

Oscar Edward Anderson, Jr., Bethesda, Maryland
Richard Hale, Jr., Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts
Jennie Owens McKinney, Empire, Michigan
Samuel Eliot Morison, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Roy F. Nichols, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Peter J. Rahill, Manchester, Missouri
Carl W. Stern, San Francisco, California
Thomas Curtis Van Cleve, Brunswick, Maine

FIFTY-YEAR MEMBERS:

Louise B. Dunbar, Urbana, Illinois
Robert F. Kelley, Washington, District of Columbia
Ross Hanlin McLean, Atlanta, Georgia

ANNUAL MEMBERS:

Letitia W. Brown, Washington, District of Columbia
Franklin L. Burdette, Bethesda, Maryland
Willson H. Coates, Rochester, New York
Paul Crosser, New York, New York
Lewis Perry Curtis, Providence, Rhode Island
John A. Dearth, Claremont, California
Dwight Lowell Dumond, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Michael L. Dunphy, Storrs, Connecticut
Ernest R. Feidler, Arlington, Virginia
David John Gorman, Buffalo, New York
Constance McLaughlin Green, Washington, District of Columbia
William Greenleaf, Durham, New Hampshire
Charles C. Griffin, Hyde Park, New York
Charles G. Haines, Siena, Italy
H. Duncan Hall, Bethesda, Maryland
Rhys William Hays, Stevens Point, Wisconsin
John B. Holley, Emmitsburg, Maryland
Willis B. Hughes, Superior, Wisconsin
Alfred H. Kelly, Detroit, Michigan
H. W. McCready, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada
Louis Morton, Burlington, Vermont
Ludmilla A. Patrick, Carmel, California
John Leddy Phelan, Madison, Wisconsin
John L. Shover, Delaware, Ohio
Howard M. Smyth, Bethany Beach, Delaware
Milorad Vuckovic, Windsor, Ontario, Canada
Leo J. Wearing, Hobbs, New Mexico
Herman N. Weill, Huntington, West Virginia
Arthur F. Wright, Guilford, Connecticut

HONORARY MEMBERS

1885–1886	Leopold von Ranke	1952–	Constantine K. Zurayk
1899–1901	William Stubbs	1953–1959	Georges Lefebvre
1899–1902	Samuel Rawson Gardiner	1955–1960	Frederico Chabod
1900–1903	Theodor Mommsen	1957–1966	Pieter Geyl
1906–1922	James Bryce	1958–	Fuad Koprulu
1943–1952	Benedetto Croce	1958–1960	Sir Lewis Namier
1944–1951	Rafael Altamira	1958–	Silvio Zavala
1944–1946	Domingo Amunategui	1959–1968	Gerhard Ritter
	y Solar	1960–	Francois L. Ganshof
1944–1952	Pierre Caron	1960–	Sir Keith Hancock
1944–1949	Aage Friis	1960–1961	Saukichi Tsuda
1944–1962	Hu Shih	1961–1975	Edouard Perroy
1944–1945	Johan Huizinga	1961–1963	Sei Wada
1944–1948	Albert Frederick Pollard	1961–1968	Mario Toscano
1944–1958	Affonso de Escagnolle	1963–1966	Delio Cantimori
	Taunay	1963–1965	Sir Winston Churchill
1944–1962	George M. Trevelyan	1963–	Arnaldo Momigliano
1944–1948	George M. Wrong	1963–	Roland Mousnier
1945–1957	Gaetano De Sanctis	1963–	Sir Ronald Syme
1945–1968	Sir George Peabody	1963–1965	Mikhail N. Tikhomirov
	Gooch	1963–	Pyong-do Yi
1945–1965	Halvdan Koht	1964–	Sir George Clark
1945–1963	Sir Frederick M.	1965–	Jacques L. Godechot
	Powicke	1965–	Yasaka Takagi
1947–1954	Vicente Lecuna	1966–	Fernand Braudel
1947–1954	Friedrich Meinecke	1966–1974	Sir Denis Brogan
1947–1974	Pierre Renouvin	1966–	Claude Cahen
1949–1953	Alfons Dopsch	1966–	Richard W. Southern
1949–1961	Sir Charles Kingsley	1967–	Sir Herbert Butterfield
	Webster	1967–	J. B. Duroselle
1952–1958	Jadunath Sarkar	1967–1975	Sir John Neale
1952–1967	Franz Schnabel	1967–	P. A. Zaionchkovskii

Minutes of the Council Meetings

MAY 14-15, 1976

The Council of the American Historical Association met on May 14, 1976, at 1:30 p.m. in the Executive Room of the Dupont Plaza Hotel in Washington, D.C., President Richard B. Morris presided. Present were Charles Gibson, president-elect; Gordon Wright, voting past-president; Jean T. Joughin, vice-president for the profession; Nancy L. Roelker, vice-president for research; C. Warren Hollister, vice-president for teaching; elected Council members John W. Blassingame, Charles F. Delzell, Emiliana P. Noether, and Norma L. Peterson; *ad interim* Council member Earl Pomeroy; and Mack Thompson, executive director. Council member Stanford Lehmberg was unable to attend the meeting. Eleanor F. Straub, assistant executive director, attended by standing invitation.

1. *Approval of Minutes:* The minutes of the December 27 and December 30, 1975 Council meetings were approved as amended.

2. *Report of the President:* The Council approved the following Executive Committee actions since the last Council meeting: appointment of Robert Bremner of Ohio State University to the Board of Editors, appointment of the 1977 Program Committee, appointment of the George Louis Beer Prize Committee, and selection of Dallas as the site for the 1977 annual meeting. The executive director was asked to review policy about annual meeting sites and report to the Council in December.

3. *Report of the President-elect:* Mr. Gibson informed the Council that his activities in connection with the Committee on Committees and the Committee on Affiliated Societies would be discussed later in the meeting, and he spoke briefly about the programs he would like to emphasize during his presidency.

4. *Report of the Executive Director:* Mr. Thompson referred to a number of matters in the prepared agenda that were submitted

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

for the information of the Council. In response to a discussion of the proposed structure of the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of Historical Studies, the Council urged that participation should be broadened to include other organizations as soon as possible.

In noting the death of the AHA parliamentarian, Alfred H. Kelly of Wayne State University, the Council agreed that a resolution for the 1976 business meeting would be an appropriate tribute. A member of the Council agreed to draft the resolution.

The Council discussed the overhead rate on AHA grants, and Mr. Thompson reported that the AHA is negotiating a new rate.

In response to a question about the AHA feasibility study on bibliography, the executive director reported that the next step will be to decide whether to go forward with a major grant proposal for a bibliographic center.

Mr. Thompson reported that C. Vann Woodward had been selected to give the first J. Franklin Jameson Lecture, which is to be co-sponsored by the association and the Library of Congress. The lecture is scheduled for October 19.

5. *Appointment of the Parliamentarian:* The Council voted to invite Paul K. Conkin of the University of Wisconsin to serve as parliamentarian.

6. *New Membership Service:* The Council authorized the executive director to make plans for a new membership service that would offer the *Chronicle of Higher Education* to AHA members at a substantial discount.

7. *Report on the American Historical Review:* Robert Byrnes and Robert Quirk joined the meeting to report on the *American Historical Review* and on their plans and suggestions for the future. The Council paid tribute to Indiana University, Mr. Byrnes, and Mr. Quirk, and they were formally and officially thanked.

8. *Finance Committee Report:* The Council held an executive session to consider a report of the Finance Committee. The following Finance Committee recommendations were approved by the Council:

(1) The budget was approved as submitted.

(2) That the executive director be authorized to invade the principal of the endowment fund in the amount of \$40,000.00 to discharge the deficit for 1975-76.

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(3) That the executive director request that the chairman of the Board of Trustees negotiate the following:

a. that the endowment funds be placed in the custody of the bank where they are presently deposited;

b. that the Board of Trustees serve as investment counsel.

9. *Committee on Committees*: Mr. Gibson reported the recommendations of the Committee on Committees. The Council confirmed an invitation to James Patterson of Brown University to serve on the National Archives Advisory Committee to replace the late Louis Morton. The Council agreed to ask Gerda Lerner of Sarah Lawrence College to serve on the Board of Directors of the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute to replace Anne Firor Scott who has resigned. After nominations and a written ballot, the Council voted to ask John Higham of Johns Hopkins University to serve as the AHA delegate on the American Council of Learned Societies, replacing William H. McNeill whose term expires at the end of the calendar year. Mr. Gibson reported that the application by the Italian-American Historical Association for affiliation with the association had been accepted since the report was submitted.

The Council adjourned at 5:45 p.m. and reconvened at 9:00 a.m. the following morning.

10. *Littleton-Griswold Fund*: The Council voted to accept the recommendation of the AHA-ASLH Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund to make a grant of \$3000 to Joseph H. Smith, Columbia Law School, Leo Hershkowitz, Queens College, CUNY, and Herbert A. Johnson, the *Papers of John Marshall*, to support the transcription, editing, and publishing in the American Legal Records Series of three Order Books and one Minute Book of the Chancery Court of the Province of New York for the period 1701-1735. Mr. Morris raised the question of the AHA's involvement in joint committees, and Mr. Thompson agreed to look into the background of such committees and prepare a report for the information of the Council at its next meeting.

11. *Professional Division*: Ms. Joughin reported to the Council on the actions of the division. She informed the Council of a modification of the internal procedures to be followed by the division with respect to a grievance directly involving a member of the division. The Council then discussed and approved minor modifications in the procedures to be used when a formal complaint is made to the AHA of unprofessional treatment under the

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Statement of Professional Standards.

Ms. Joughin presented a resolution from the Professional Division that the AHA call upon foundations, federal granting agencies, and related organizations to consider grant applications from unaffiliated historians without prejudice. After considerable discussion of the purpose of the resolution and the best way to facilitate its goals, the Council agreed that it was the sense of the meeting that the executive director should review ways in which approaches can be made to foundations and granting agencies to aid consideration of applications from unaffiliated historians. Mr. Thompson informed the Council that he would prepare and circulate a policy statement on this matter.

The Council next considered three resolutions from the Committee on Women Historians that were favorably received by the Professional Division. The first two resolutions, both of which dealt with the representation of women in the International Commission of Historical Sciences, were combined into a single resolution, and the Council voted as follows: *Be it resolved that the American Historical Association urges the ICHS to make every effort to increase the representation of women on its Bureau and on planning and program committees.*

The Council considered the third resolution and then voted as follows: *Be it resolved, in order to elevate to the level of policy the existing exemplary practice of the association, that the AHA will not use for meetings of its committees or for any other association functions the facilities of private clubs or other organizations that discriminate against persons on the grounds of race, sex, religion, or national origin.*

The Council next considered a statement on secrecy and covert activities prepared by the Professional Division. After considerable discussion and amendment, the Council adopted the following statement on public access to government records:

Historians bear a special responsibility for preserving and making available to the people the record of the government. Further, historians have a commitment to seek and speak the truth as fully as they are able to discern it.

The American Historical Association accordingly holds that it is inconsistent with the ethics of historical scholarship knowingly to withhold historical documents or other evidence bearing upon the record of government, which can legally be made available. The AHA also believes that all historians should seek reasonable

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public access to government records.

The Council voted to table the original statement from the Professional Division.

Ms. Joughin reviewed the status of various other divisional matters. Mr. Thompson gave a progress report on his efforts to become informed about the status of history in the City University of New York and his offer to cooperate with the AAUP in its investigation of the future of higher education in New York City.

12. *Research Division:* On behalf of the Research Division, Ms. Roelker asked that the report of the American Assembly on "The Records of Public Officials" be adopted as AHA policy. The Council so voted.

The Council authorized the executive director to seek the funding he already has in mind for the third colloquium and that the Research Division concert with the Committee on International Historical Activities in planning the colloquium. The Council also authorized the executive director to seek full funding for joint U.S.-USSR projects proposed by the Committee on Quantitative Research.

Ms. Roelker next reported on preliminary plans for an AHA-Association of American University Presses competition for first books of younger scholars. The Council discussed the proposal and authorized the Research Division, in consultation with the executive director, to explore the matter further with the AAUP and present a recommendation to the Council in December. The executive director will review the proposal from the point of view of costs.

A proposal to assist the publication of longer than 15-20 page articles through the funding of special or extra issues of specialized journals was discussed. The Council authorized the Research Division to explore the matter, in cooperation with the executive director, and without commitment.

13. *Teaching Division:* Mr. Hollister reported on the activities of his division. He announced that the first regional meeting on history teaching will be held at the University of Kansas on October 28-29, 1976. The second meeting will be held at California State University, Long Beach, April 1-3, 1977, and a third in Dallas in fall 1977. The Council reviewed a draft announcement for the James Harvey Robinson Prize for a teaching aid and voted to approve it as amended. The prize will first be awarded in 1978.

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Reporting on the Teaching Division's review of the functions of the Committee on Committees as requested by the Council, the Council agreed that the other divisions should discuss the matter and that the subject should appear on the agenda of the next Council meeting.

14. *Report of the 1975 Program Committee:* After adjourning briefly for lunch, the Council reconvened and received with thanks and placed on file the report submitted by the 1975 Program Committee.

15. *Report of the ad hoc Committee on the American Revolution Bicentennial:* Mr. Morris offered his recommendations for implementing the Council's decision to create a committee on the "Bicentennial era" to replace the present committee on July 4 and on his discussions with James MacGregor Burns for a joint AHA-APSA proposal to prepare a plan for a long-range Bicentennial program. The Council voted to create an *ad hoc* interim committee on the Bicentennial era consisting of Michael Kammen, Cornell University, Patricia Bonomi, New York University, and Herbert Johnson, Institute of Early American History and Culture. Members of this committee will also be asked to serve on the joint AHA-APSA planning committee.

The Council adjourned at 2:25 p.m.

DECEMBER 27, 1976

The Council of the American Historical Association met on December 27, 1976, at 8:30 a.m. in the Marshall Room of the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington, DC. President Richard B. Morris presided. Present were Charles Gibson, president-elect; Gordon Wright, immediate past president; Jean T. Joughin, vice-president for the profession; C. Warren Hollister, vice-president for teaching; Nancy L. Roelker, vice-president for research; elected Council members John W. Blassingame, Charles F. Delzell, Stanford E. Lehmberg, Norma L. Peterson, Earl Pomeroy; and Mack Thompson, executive director. Council member Emiliana P. Noether was unable to attend owing to ill health.

1. *Approval of Minutes:* The minutes of the May 14-15, 1976 Council meeting were approved as amended.

2. *Report of the President:* The Council approved the following actions of the Executive Committee: 1) endorsement of the Joint

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Statement on Faculty Status of College and University Librarians prepared by the AAC, the AAUP, and the Association of College and Research Libraries; 2) the recommendations arising from the committee's telephone conference on December 4 to join with the OAH in an effort to determine whether the academic freedom of Herbert Aptheker has been violated by the history department of Yale University, and the appointment of Paul K. Conkin as the new AHA member on the Joint AHA-OAH Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment, which has been charged with inquiring into the matter; and 3) allocation of an additional \$400 from the Littleton-Griswold Fund to enable Charles Cullen to complete his work on the *Notebooks of St. George Tucker*.

3. *Report of the President-elect:* Mr. Gibson urged that in the year ahead the association must continue to be concerned with the problem of jobs for the unemployed, and with the relationship between the association and two-year and community colleges with a view to expanding its membership in that direction.

4. *Report of the Executive Director:* Mr. Thompson informed the Council that Stanley N. Katz had been appointed by President Ford as a member of the Permanent Committee for the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise for a term of eight years.

The Council was informed of the progress of the association's current bibliography activities and the grant proposal to the National Endowment for the Humanities for the creation of a Bibliographical Center.

Mr. Thompson reported on the improved financial condition of the association for fiscal year 1975-76 and noted that performance for 1976-77 was favorable.

Mr. Thompson next reported that an *ad hoc* panel had been created to inquire into the status of historians in Czechoslovakia. A motion to the effect that the executive director—with the president, the president-elect, and the vice-president for the profession—should prepare a general statement expressing concern for the rights of foreign historians—to be used in instances when large-scale threats to these rights appear to exist—was carried with one abstention. In the discussion, reference was made to alleged violations of the Helsinki Agreement and to the usefulness of such a prepared statement ready to be released in this connection.

Problems attendant on plans for the third U.S.-USSR historians'

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colloquium were described by Mr. Thompson.

Mr. Thompson reported on the first Jameson Lecture, which was held at the Library of Congress in October, and the future of this lecture series was discussed. Mr. Thompson will submit a recommendation to the Council at its spring meeting.

The annual reports of the executive director, the controller, and the interim editor of the *AHR* were received and placed on file. A discussion ensued on the report of the interim editor of the *AHR*, and it was moved that an appropriate brief statement be drawn up paying tribute to previous editors.

Mr. Thompson reported that four members of the association had been awarded ACLS travel grants to attend international meetings in spring 1977.

Additional items presented for information were the current status of the Institutional Services Program, membership statistics, and the final report on the IRS tax liability case.

The Council considered several nominations for program chairman for the annual meeting in 1978 and voted to appoint Thomas Pressly of the University of Washington.

The Council received nominations from W. A. W. Stewart for filling vacancies on the Board of Trustees. The Council voted to refer the recommendations: the appointment of Julian Roosevelt as chairman to succeed Mr. Stewart, who had resigned, and of John C. Hanson, to a five-year term on the board, to the business meeting.

The Council appointed James Breeden, Southern Methodist University, local arrangements chairman for 1977.

In reviewing future annual meeting sites, Mr. Thompson recommended, and the Council approved, that definite commitments should not be made more than two years in advance.

Mr. Thompson informed the Council that the *Proceedings* of the XIV International Congress of Historical Sciences held in San Francisco in 1975 had recently been published.

5. *Committee on Committees:* The report of the committees was presented by Mr. Gibson. The Council voted to accept the committee report.

6. *Committee on Relations with Affiliated Societies:* Mr. Gibson reported on the work of the committee and expressed concern at the proliferation of affiliated societies. The Council voted to accept the report but recommended that the future of affiliated

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societies be looked into. The new chairman of the committee would be asked to make a report to the Council at its spring meeting.

7. *Board of Editors:* Otto Pflanze, editor of the *AHR*, and Robert Quirk, interim editor, were invited to join the discussion of nominations to the Board of Editors. The appointment of Charles S. Tilly and Reginald E. Zelnik to three-year terms on the board was approved by the Council.

8. *Pacific Coast Branch:* John A. Schutz, secretary-treasurer of the Pacific Coast Branch of the AHA, presented his formal report on PCB activities during 1976. Mr. Schutz expressed concern at the proliferation of specialized societies and its effect on the PCB, and he was asked to submit any suggestions he might have for solving this problem to the executive director, as it was one that the parent organization would be giving special attention to during 1977.

The Council then adjourned for lunch and reconvened at 2:00 p.m.

9. *Research Division:* Ms. Roelker reported on the activities of the division. After discussion on the alleged monopoly of dissertations by Xerox University Microfilms and complaints of the high cost, Ms. Roelker requested that her committee be authorized to inquire into XUP policies and to see if an appeal could be made in consultation with other constituent organizations of ACLS. The Council so authorized.

In response to complaints received by the division about increasing restrictions and rising fees for interlibrary loans, Ms. Roelker was authorized to inquire into policies through the American Library Association.

The Research Division had considered a proposal from the executive director for internships for historians and the division was encouraged to pursue the proposal further.

Conditions for the First Books Competition were approved by the Council.

10. *Teaching Division:* Mr. Hollister reported as retiring vice-president of the Teaching Division, on the activities of the division during the past year. The Council congratulated Mr. Hollister on the work he has accomplished in his two years as vice-president.

A statement prepared by the Professional Division regarding hiring procedures was adopted by the Council.

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Two amendments to the Program Committee guidelines were approved by the Council, and will take effect in 1978.

In response to a question from Ms. Joughin, Mr. Thompson said that the alternative careers pamphlet was expected to be off the press within the next two or three months.

11. *Committee Reports*: The annual reports of standing and *ad hoc* committees and delegates were received and placed on file, with the exception of the annual report of the Committee on Women Historians. A motion that this report not be accepted or acted on until the committee goes through the usual channels for submission of its report was carried unanimously.

A second motion that the agenda of the next Council meeting (spring 1977) contain a specific item calling for discussion of the structure and functioning of association committees under the new AHA constitution was likewise adopted.

12. *Business Meeting Agenda*: Paul K. Conkin, the parliamentarian, joined the Council to discuss the agenda for the business meeting and the possibility of adopting a bylaw requiring a quorum for future business meetings.

13. *Executive Session*: The Council held a brief executive session.

14. *Adjournment*: The meeting adjourned at 5:30 p.m.

DECEMBER 30, 1976

The Council of the American Historical Association met on December 30, 1976, at 10:00 a.m. in the Marshall Room at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington, D.C. President Charles Gibson presided. Present were: William J. Bouwsma, president-elect; Richard B. Morris, immediate past president; Jean T. Joughin, vice-president for the profession; Nancy L. Roelker, vice-president for research; Warren I. Susman, vice-president for teaching; elected Council members Allan G. Bogue, Michael Kammen, John J. Johnson, Stanford E. Lehmborg; and Mack Thompson, executive director. Council members Emiliana P. Noether and Norma L. Peterson did not attend.

1. *Business Meeting*: A motion that the Council adopt the resolution that emanated from the business meeting carried unanimously. The full text of the resolution appears in the business meeting minutes.

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2. *Election of Committees:* The Council voted on the election of the Executive Committee for 1977. Messrs. Susman, Lehmberg, and Kammen were elected to this committee. Ms. Noether, Messrs. Morris and Bogue were elected to the Finance Committee for 1977. (The president, president-elect and executive director serve *ex officio* on these committees).

3. *Divisional Committee Representatives:* Discussion of Council representation on the divisional committees took place.*

4. *American Historical Review:* Ms. Roelker spoke to the question of the move of the *AHR* to Indiana University and presented a draft statement for consideration by the Council. The following text was approved:

At the beginning of the editorship of Otto Pflanze, the Council wishes to express its deep appreciation to past editors and their staffs, whose skill and dedication have made the AHR so distinguished a journal for all branches of the profession. The new editor and his staff can count on our support, confidence and best wishes.

Mr. Thompson was requested to notify the appropriate former Washington staff members of the *AHR* of this tribute prior to its publication in the February *Newsletter*.

Ms. Roelker informed the Council that in addition to this statement the Board of Editors will also issue a statement through the *Newsletter*.

5. *First Books Competition:* On Ms. Roelker's recommendation, the Council agreed to two minor deletions in the announcement that will appear in the February *Newsletter*.

6. *Spring Council Meeting:* The Council agreed to hold its spring meeting on May 20–21, 1977.

7. *Adjournment:* The meeting adjourned at 11:30 a.m.

* Mr. Gibson subsequently appointed Mr. Lehmberg to the Professional Division; Mr. Johnson to the Research Division; and Mr. Kammen to the Teaching Division.

Minutes of the Ninety-First Business Meeting

President Richard B. Morris called the annual business meeting of the association to order at 4:45 p.m. on December 29, 1976, in the Park Ballroom of the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington, D.C. As a first order of business, Mr. Morris introduced the new parliamentarian, Paul K. Conkin of the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Mr. Morris announced that the time of adjournment had been set for 7:00 p.m.

1. *Election of the Board of Trustees:* On the retirement of Mr. W. A. W. Stewart as chairman of the Board of Trustees, Mr. Thompson presented the recommendations of the Council that Mr. John C. Hanson be appointed a member of the Board and Mr. Julian K. Roosevelt succeed Mr. Stewart as chairman. The motion included a vote of thanks to Mr. Stewart for his long service as a member, and later, chairman of the Board of Trustees, which carried by a voice vote.

2. *Resolution of Thanks to the Program and Local Arrangements Committees:* Mr. Hollister of the University of California, Santa Barbara, presented the following resolution on behalf of the Council:

Two crucial tasks for the success of the annual meeting rest heavily on the shoulders of the persons chairing the Program and Local Arrangements Committees, and their enormous responsibility to the demands and expectations of the members of the association and conference participants often escapes recognition.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that the Council of the association is particularly grateful to the program chairman, Jacob Price, and Thomas Helde, the local arrangements chairman, the members of their committees, and the Washington central office staff, for their generous contribution of time, energy, and careful thought to the preparation of the program and the success of the meeting.

3. *President's Remarks:* On authorization of the Council,

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Mr. Morris made the following special announcement regarding the Aptheker inquiry: By vote of the Council, endorsing the recommendations of the executive committee, and at the request of both the petitioner and the Yale Department of History, the association has now formally joined with the Organization of American Historians in establishing a joint committee of inquiry consisting of the presidents, and executive directors of the two associations, Paul K. Conkin for the AHA, and Paul Murphy for the OAH. There is now an ongoing inquiry and any further comments would be prejudicial to all parties concerned. Until the committee has completed its work and released its findings, there will be no further comment.

4. *Report of the Executive Director:* Mr. Thompson referred to his printed annual report in the *Program*. He spoke on the improved financial condition of the association, and announced that the transfer of the *American Historical Review* to Indiana University was now complete and that Otto Pflanze, presently at the University of Minnesota, would join the history department at Indiana on January 1 and take up his duties as regular editor of the *Review*. Mr. Thompson reported on the association's efforts to preserve the papers produced by public officials in their conduct of public business, and the areas in Congress and government agencies where AHA has been active in 1976. Mr. Thompson informed the business meeting of developments since the creation last year of the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History and invited Mr. Kirkendall, executive secretary of the Organization of American Historians, to speak to the activities of that organization in its combined effort with the AHA and other professional associations.

5. *Report of the Nominating Committee:* Mary Maples Dunn of Bryn Mawr College reported on the results of the mail ballot, 4297 ballots having been received. Charles Gibson and William J. Bouwsma stood elected to the offices of president and president-elect respectively; Warren I. Susman was elected vice-president of the Teaching Division; Allan G. Bogue, John J. Johnson and Michael Kammen were elected to the Council. S. Joan Moon was elected to the Professional Division; Stanley N. Katz was elected to the Research Division; and Harold D. Woodman was elected to the Teaching Division. George B. Tindall, Mary Beth Norton and Joan C. Ullman were elected to the Nominating Committee.

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Joan Kelly-Gadol was elected to the Committee on Committees.

6. *Report of the Professional Division:* Jean T. Joughin, vice-president of the Professional Division reviewed the concerns and accomplishments of her divisional committee and drew attention to the policies adopted by the Council on the recommendation of the committee. These included undertaking an appeal to foundations to consider grant applications of unaffiliated historians without prejudice, endorsement of a joint statement on the faculty status of librarians, and guidelines for departments of history in recruiting to fill faculty positions. Ms. Joughin expressed the need to make closer contact with historians in the many schools, colleges and universities in order to know the needs and problems that exist. Ms. Jo Tyce Bloom remarked that the concerns of the association should also include those academics outside academe who tended to regard themselves as isolated and whose contributions to the profession were being ignored. Mr. John Rumbarger, editor of *Prologue*, the journal of the National Archives, asked to what extent and what means the division proposed trying to assert a universal standard of ethics and professional decorum for historians practicing outside academic institutions. Ms. Joughin replied that the definition of the statement of professional standards perhaps should be expanded and in this context asked Mr. Rumbarger to submit a working paper of what he envisaged as the kind of protection that a professional association could give in job-related situations for consideration at the division's spring meeting.

7. *Report of the Teaching Division:* Mr. Hollister, vice-president of the Teaching Division, summarized the main points in his written report and reviewed the kinds of programs that are now in operation.

On the expiration of his term as vice-president, he concluded his remarks by expressing thanks to his colleagues on the Teaching Division, the executive director, and the presidents of the association under whom he had worked, Gordon Wright and Richard Morris, for their support during the past two years. He was leaving with the conviction that the association is deeply committed to teaching.

8. *Report of the Research Division:* In the absence of Nancy L. Roelker, vice-president of the Research Division, Ms. Blanche Weisen Cook, referred to the written report of the vice-president.

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Ms. Cook announced that the Council had unanimously approved the AHA's First Books Competition to provide younger historians with publication outlets in spite of costs and other pressures of scholarly publishing. This was the major undertaking of the Research Division in 1976 and the committee was indebted to Lewis Hanke, Paul Schroeder, and David Horne of the University Press of New England, for their careful thought and hard work over many months in helping to bring this First Books Competition into being.

9. *Resolutions:* Mr. Morris announced that one resolution had reached the executive director by the deadline of December 15 for submission of resolutions and had been placed on the agenda of the meeting. In presenting the following resolution Walter Rundell, Jr., of the University of Maryland noted that one paragraph had been inadvertently omitted from the printed resolution circulated at the business meeting and asked the parliamentarian if it could be incorporated. The parliamentarian ruled that if the omitted paragraph was part of the original petition that was acceptable.*

WHEREAS the official historical records of the United States must be inviolable and their administration free from political intrusion or influence, and,

WHEREAS actions of President Nixon and a recent Administrator of General Services presented a clear threat to the integrity of these records by providing for the destruction of materials essential to the history of the administration of the former president, and,

WHEREAS the National Archives establishment was subordinated to the General Services Administration by the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 as one means of improving the effectiveness and efficiency of the executive branch of government, and,

* When this resolution was introduced at the business meeting the question was raised as to whether or not the following paragraph was part of the petition:

"If the exigencies of federal reorganization preclude independent status for the National Archives, any realignment of its status must insure the above four points."

The resolution that was circulated (minus the foregoing paragraph) prior to the deadline of December 15 for submission of resolutions, and distributed at the business meeting, is the only petition that qualified for consideration at the business meeting.

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WHEREAS the passage of 27 years under this administrative arrangement has not proven efficient and effective, but rather inefficient and deleterious, and,

WHEREAS this association wishes to express its solidarity with other professional associations which have already expressed their concern on this matter of outstanding importance to the history of our country, and,

WHEREAS this 1976 annual meeting occurs on the advent of a new presidential administration which has made clear its intention to reorganize the executive branch of the federal government.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the American Historical Association strongly urges the president and the Congress through appropriate legislation to re-establish the National Archives of the United States as an independent authority to oversee the preservation and accessibility of the official records of our national government. Independence should insure, as a minimum, four conditions:

1. Return to the Archivist of the United States statutory authority for all federal archival programs.

2. Appointment of the Archivist of the United States by the president with confirmation by the Senate, which appointment should be based on professional criteria and be terminable only on failure to perform satisfactorily his professional duties.

3. Creation by a statute of a governing body to oversee the programs of the National Archives.

4. Submission of a public annual report by the Archivist of the United States to the president and the Congress.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the American Historical Association communicate this resolution to the president-elect and the Congress of the United States as well as to the National Study Commission on Records and Documents of Federal Officials.

Mr. Rundell moved that the business meeting adopt this resolution. There being no discussion, the resolution carried on a voice vote with one negative vote.

10. *Other Business:* Mr. Thompson announced the establishment of the Leo Gershoy Award. This award was established in 1975 by a gift from Mrs. Ida E. Gershoy in memory of her late husband, a specialist in European history. Professor Gershoy was associated with the graduate faculty of New York University for

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more than twenty-five years. Commencing in 1977 the prize will be awarded biennially to the author of the most outstanding work published in English in any aspect of the fields of 17th- and 18th-century European history. The award carries a cash amount of \$1000. The first Leo Gershoy Award will be made at the general meeting of the association next year.

There being no further business, Mr. Morris declared the meeting adjourned at 6:15 p.m.

Report of the Nominating Committee

The committee met in Washington, D.C. on February 20 and 21, 1976, to draw up its slate of candidates to send to the members and had its nominations published in the April *AHA Newsletter* to meet the constitutional deadline for such publication.

The chairman received no petitions on behalf of other nominees.

A total of 4,297 ballots was received by the deadline of November 1, 1976. The results of the election are as follows (the total votes for each office are smaller than the total number of ballots because some members did not vote for all offices, and some ballots were invalid for various reasons):

For President (one-year term): Charles Gibson, elected, 3,437 votes.

For President-elect (one-year term): William J. Bouwsma, elected, 1,979 votes; Philip D. Curtin, 1,976 votes.

For Council (three-year terms): Allan G. Bogue, elected, 1,997 votes; Richard N. Current, 1,823 votes.

John J. Johnson, elected, 1,926 votes; Ainslee T. Embree, 1,612 votes.

Michael Kammen, elected, 2,332 votes; George M. Fredrickson, 1,453 votes.

For Divisional Committees (three-year terms):

Professional Division: S. Joan Moon, elected, 1,877 votes; Joseph E. Illick, 1,875 votes.

Research Division: Stanley N. Katz, elected, 2,041 votes; Andrea Hinding, 1,774 votes.

Teaching Division: Harold D. Woodman, elected, 1,811 votes; Roger Lane, 1,805 votes.

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For Nominating Committee (three-year terms):

George B. Tindall, elected, 2,045 votes; Thomas B. Alexander, 1,365 votes.

Mary Beth Norton, elected, 2,701 votes; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, 993 votes.

Joan C. Ullman, elected, 2,310 votes; Robert A. Potash, 1,212 votes.

For Committee on Committees (three-year terms):

Joan Kelly-Gadol, elected, 1,952 votes; Akira Iriye, 1,856 votes.

All ballots will be kept in the AHA offices during 1977.

December 1976

Mary Maples Dunn, *Chairman*

Report of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association

1977 OFFICERS

President: Wilbur R. Jacobs, *University of California,
Santa Barbara*

Vice-President: Woodrow W. Borah, *University of California,
Berkeley*

Secretary-Treasurer: John A. Schutz, *University of Southern
California*

Managing Editor: Norris Hundley, *University of California,
Los Angeles*

COUNCIL

The president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, and managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*

Former Presidents: Arthur Bestor, *University of Washington*
Carl N. Degler, *Stanford University*

Elected Members:

Edwin Bingham, *University of Oregon* (77)

Gordon Griffiths, *University of Washington* (77)

Gerald Nash, *University of New Mexico* (77)

Edward M. Bennett, *Washington State University* (78)

Donald D. Johnson, *University of Hawaii* (78)

Ethel Mary Tinneman, *Holy Names College* (78)

Gunther Barth, *University of California, Berkeley* (79)

Deborah Hardy, *University of Wyoming* (79)

Theodore Hinckley, *San Jose State University* (79)

For the 550 members of the Pacific Coast Branch who attended the 69th annual meeting at the University of California, San Diego (August 17–19), it was a most delightful convention. Arranged by Ramon E. Ruiz, chairman, Kitty Morris, Shirlee Long, Edward Reynolds, and David Ringrose, the 40 sessions were held on the university's campus, and housing was provided in the luxurious

student apartment complexes. The program was put together by Dauril Alden, chairman, and Jere L. Bacharach, Peter M. Buzanski, De La Mar Jensen, John Niven, Paul Pickowicz, Harry N. Scheiber, Manuel P. Servin, Reba N. Soffer, and F. Roy Willis. The climax of the meeting was Arthur Bestor's presidential address, entitled, "The First Federally-Sponsored Bill of Rights: The Articles of Compact of the Northwest Ordinance, 1787." Because of serious illness, Bestor had his address read for him by Donald W. Treadgold, his colleague from the University of Washington.

Joining with the Pacific Coast Branch as hosts of the meeting were members of the Pacific Coast Conference on British Studies, the West Coast Association of Women Historians, the California Historical Association, and the Forest History Society, Inc. Recent doctoral recipients from western universities were invited to present summaries of their research and make known their availability for positions.

Presiding at the business meeting in place of the president was Wilbur Jacobs, vice-president of the Pacific Coast Branch. He called upon the secretary-treasurer for a report. Finances of the branch, the secretary noted, were generally good. When all receipts for the year were entered in the 1976-1977 reports, he expected a favorable balance, but for 1975-1976 there was a deficit of \$305.73. The reasons he gave for declining revenues were the purchase of less advertising space in the *Program* and higher postage costs than in years past. He announced that the convention schedule includes meetings at Northern Arizona State University in August 1977, the University of San Francisco in 1978, and the University of Hawaii in 1979 (if economic conditions remain stable). A site in southern California will probably be chosen for the 1980 meeting. He presented next the report of the Committee on Awards, chaired by George H. Knoles, who chose Frederick P. Bowser's *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* for the 1976 Pacific Coast Branch Award.

The editor of the *Pacific Historical Review* reported that articles submitted for the *Review* had reached new heights and that patronage support even in these difficult times was good. About 40 colleges and universities were making contributions ranging from twenty to one hundred dollars to buy extra pages of space for reviews and articles. He announced that the University of California, Los Angeles, had decided to continue its full support of the editorial office of the *Review* as it had done in various degrees

REPORT OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH

since 1932. The Louis Knott Koontz Award, in honor of the second editor of the *Review*, was given to Irvine H. Anderson, Jr., for "The 1941 *De Facto* Embargo on Oil to Japan: A Bureaucratic Reflex," which appeared in May 1975, pages 201-231.

The business meeting ended with an extensive discussion of the future of the *Pacific Historical Review*. Vice-president Jacobs promised to set up a special committee to study finances of the *Review* and its relations with the University of California, Los Angeles, and the University of California Press.

The Committee on Resolutions, chaired by Samuel C. McCulloch and composed additionally of Edwin H. Bingham and Barbara Kanner—

RESOLVED that special thanks and appreciation are due to the University of California, San Diego, in the several areas:

The Local Arrangements Committee outdid itself in providing courteous, efficient, and imaginative hospitality. The facilities, equipment, housing, busing, and food were the best we have had in several years. Maps and information were easily and quickly made available. The message board even worked well. Special thanks are due to Ramon Ruiz, chairman of the committee, and to the other members—Edward Reynolds, David Ringrose, Shirlee Long, and particularly Kitty Morris. *Mirabile dictu*, the coffee served outside the headquarters at Tenaya Hall, Muir College, really tasted like coffee. This is a luxury at around \$2 a pound.

The Program Committee deserves thanks for selecting a number of new and provocative topics. The chairman, Dauril Alden, of the University of Washington, was well supported by his committee. Many difficulties and pitfalls were avoided. It is good news that John Niven, of the Claremont Graduate School, has now received his training and will be next year's chairman.

The University of California, San Diego, has really extended itself, providing beautiful weather, beautiful cheerleaders, and, best of all, a charming and stimulating environment.

A final and somber resolution is presented to this meeting.

RESOLVED, That we are deeply disturbed at the news of the heart attack suffered by our president, Arthur Bestor, which necessitated hospitalization and a substitute reader of his presidential address. We understand that he is recovering quickly and satisfactorily. He has our sincere good wishes.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Committee on Nominations, through its chairman, Raymond Burr, announced the election of the following members in the recent ballot of the association: Woodrow W. Borah as vice-president; Gunther Barth, Deborah Hardy, and Theodore Hinckley as members of the Council; and Linda Frey and William Taylor as members of the Nominating Committee.

In closing the business meeting, Professor Jacobs noted that John Niven of the Claremont Graduate School is the chairman of the Program Committee for the 1977 meeting at Northern Arizona State University. He will soon be soliciting departments for ideas and papers for the convention.

John A. Schutz, *Secretary-Treasurer*

FINANCIAL REPORT, AUGUST 17, 1976

GENERAL FUNDS

Balance, August 15, 1975 \$5,187.00

Income:

American Historical Assn. subvention 1,500.00

Interest 221.05

Advertising for 1976 Annual Program 830.00

Receipts from Berkeley Convention 735.11

Total \$8,473.16

Expenditures:

Printing of the 1976 Program \$1,739.27

Mailing of Annual Program 830.00

Secretarial assistance 130.00

Program Committee 310.00

Binding PHR 7.00

Insurance of funds 5.00

Awards Program 200.00

Travel 175.00

Misc. postage, telephone, envelopes 185.00 \$3,581.27

Total, August 17, 1976 \$4,891.89

The Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award

Balance, August 15, 1975 \$ 928.00

REPORT OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH

Income:

Revenue from Ohio Edison Bonds (\$3,100.00)	248.00
Interest	15.00
Total	<u>\$1,191.00</u>

Expenditures:

The Award for 1975	\$ 200.00	200.00
Total, August 17, 1976		<u>\$ 991.00</u>

SUPPORT PROGRAM FOR THE PACIFIC

HISTORICAL REVIEW

Balance, August 15, 1975	\$5,875.00
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Income:

Clio Press Dividend	232.31
Vermont Power Dividends	192.00
Interest	247.00
Pacific Gas and Electric Dividends	225.00
Patron Support	<u>860.00</u>
Total	<u>\$7,631.31</u>

Expenditures:

The University of California Press	\$1,181.00
The Index for PHR	1,551.60
PHR Travel, Office, misc.	<u>150.00</u>
Total, August 17, 1976	<u>\$4,748.71</u>

Branch funds are deposited in the United California Bank, Second and Spring streets, and in the Lincoln Savings and Loan, Sixth and Flower streets, Los Angeles. The bonds are held in the safety deposit box of the secretary-treasurer, United California Bank.

John A. Schutz, *Secretary-Treasurer*

Report of the Program Chairman

The 1976 AHA annual meeting in Washington, D.C., coincided with the conclusion of the national observance of the two-hundredth anniversary of United States independence. The previous year's program committee had marked the start of the bicentennial year by scheduling a number of sessions devoted to problems of the period of American independence. The 1976 committee decided to conclude the observances with a series of six specially commissioned major papers on various aspects of 200 years of "The American Experience." Wide-ranging papers were prepared by C. Vann Woodward, John M. Murrin, Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., Robert L. Kelley, and Timothy L. Smith. Though the papers attracted large audiences and were well-received, it did not prove possible to arrange for their publication in book form. Some of them, however, will be printed in the *American Historical Review*, as will be the distinguished address of our president on "The Bicentennial of a People's Revolution."

Pedagogical, employment and other professional problems are very much on the minds of members of the association at present. Recognizing these pressing concerns, the committee scheduled a number of special sessions in collaboration with the Teaching and Professional Divisions of the association. In cooperation with the Teaching Division five regular sessions and several workshops were arranged on teaching problems. Among the regular sessions, that on problems of the freshman survey of Western civilization attracted particular attention. In addition, in cooperation with the Society for History Education, a room was reserved for two days for shorter demonstration sessions on audiovisual techniques in history teaching. For the first time, full details of these demonstration sessions were included in the printed program. Another nearby room was reserved for exhibits relating to teaching methods and technologies.

The sessions arranged with the Professional Division included several on alternative careers for historians, with particular empha-

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

sis on opportunities in the federal and state governments. Sessions of this type should probably be scheduled every year. In addition, interesting sessions were devoted to problems in scholarly publication and a recent survey of the graduate training of historians. These are problems that deserve to be revisited every three or four years.

This committee continued the experiments of the 1975 committee with sessions designed to draw attention to new work being done both by "old hands" and by neophytes. Six senior scholars talked to closed colloquia about their current research. Six thesis sessions were also scheduled at which recent recipients of the Ph.D. in history reported briefly on their theses. Such sessions were arranged this year on early modern European history, modern European history, British history, women's history, early American history and American Jewish history. Owing to the great pressure of work on the program committee, five of these thesis sessions were arranged in collaboration with affiliated societies. More could have been fitted in had other societies volunteered to help. The thesis sessions were very well received and are likely to be a major feature of the program in coming years. This year's committee recommends to future committees the continued use of the special expertise of affiliated societies in arranging thesis sessions. Larger societies may wish to help every year; smaller societies may only be able to help every second or third year. With such help, it should be possible to raise the number of thesis sessions above the six of this year.

Given the restrictions of time and space, there are a good number of special interests in the association which cannot be fitted into the regular program. To provide increased opportunities to discuss new topics and problems, the 1976 committee decided to expand recent experiments with "workshops" at irregular hours outside the normal program. This greatly increased our flexibility and made it possible to provide for a number of scholarly and professional interests that otherwise might have been overlooked. We should like to recommend that committees in future years continue with the experimental workshop to provide opportunity for the discussion of new problems and neglected topics. To avoid conflict with regular sessions, such workshops should continue to be scheduled at irregular times when desirable rooms are available.

The regular program this year consisted of 110 sessions. The committee originally intended to schedule only 80-85 but was

REPORT OF THE PROGRAM CHAIRMAN

inundated with so many interesting suggestions that we decided to expand our offerings when we learned that space would be available. Future committees will have to set their own targets on the basis of space available. Very small rooms are extremely unpopular and are probably best dispensed with entirely.

For the regular sessions the committee made every possible effort to obtain the widest possible range geographically, chronologically and methodologically. We experimented with two sessions on "History and other Disciplines," one devoted to geography, the other to sociology. The experiment appears to have been successful and deserves to be extended.

We had great difficulty in finding sessions on South Asia, the Middle East and North Africa. Most other areas of the world were much more adequately represented. For the United States, the committee was overwhelmed with an *embarras de richesses*. At least five times as many complete sessions were proposed in United States history as could be used. Under such circumstances, it was inevitable that many worthwhile and extremely interesting sessions had to be rejected. Some may wonder why more than 24 sessions could not be scheduled in American history. In addition to limitations of space and the need to preserve the catholicity of the association, there is the problem of competition for the same audience. Twenty-four sessions on American history in three days meant four sessions on American history during each period. Such sessions appeal in part to the same audience and there are inevitable disappointments. Additional sessions would have exacerbated the problem.

The committee thinks that it gave superior coverage this year to Latin America, Africa, Britain and Russia among other areas. We scheduled only two sessions in ancient history and they drew exceptionally large audiences. Future committees might wish to experiment with a slightly larger number on antiquity. The offerings in medieval and early modern Europe were both rich and numerous and yet drew quite respectable audiences, as did the sessions in modern European history. In some areas the principle of critical mass may have been at work. A sufficient number of sessions in a particular area (possibly five or six) may draw to and keep at the meetings people with special interests in that area who otherwise would not have attended or who would not have stayed the full three days.

The committee was greatly aided in its striving for breadth

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

of coverage by the valued cooperation of a large number of affiliated societies. Although all suggestions from affiliated societies could not be used (particularly in American history), we did make a serious effort to work as closely as possible with the societies. In all, twenty societies were represented on the regular program, quite apart from the five who helped with the thesis sessions and four who were active in arranging the demonstration sessions and workshops.

In its striving for coverage, the committee was also greatly aided by the decision of the association's Council in April 1976 to expand the membership of the committee from eight to ten. Areas represented on the committee included the United States (Allan Bogue and Aileen Kraditor), Latin America (Charles A. Hale), Africa (Margaret Hay), medieval Europe (Robert Brentano), early modern Europe (Russell Major), modern Europe (Bradley Smith), Britain (Jacob M. Price), Russia (Richard Pipes) and southeast Asia (David Wyatt). Bradley Smith also handled teaching problems and liaison with pedagogical groups.

In addition to geographical, chronological and methodological range, the committee strove for an interesting mixture of senior and junior scholars. Our basic criterion was: does he or she have anything new and significant to say that will be of interest to some section of our membership? At least one chairman reported, however, that he thought it was a mistake to schedule a session with all relatively junior names. More "drawing power" might be needed to create the audience the session deserved.

In order to encourage broader participation in the association's program, the Council adopted guidelines in April 1976 which provided that no one should participate in the program in any capacity two years running. This committee tried very hard to follow these guidelines and was successful at least 99.5 percent of the time. There were, however, a number of complaints from our members and officers of affiliated societies who thought that this was unfair *ex post facto* legislation and that it was unreasonable to prevent someone whose participation the first year was quite nominal from taking a serious role in the meetings the next year. In future years, some people may be reluctant to accept invitations to appear on the program as chairmen or commentators if they have hopes of giving a paper the next year. Despite such criticisms, the committee believes that the new guidelines are workable even if they create problems for some sessions.

REPORT OF THE PROGRAM CHAIRMAN

There has in recent years been some question about whether or not to schedule a session on the afternoon of the third day. When the meetings are held in California or other places where catching the right plane home is a real problem, then perhaps the afternoon of the third day may have to be sacrificed. However, since there are few serious transportation problems getting out of Washington (or Chicago or New York), the 1976 committee felt it would be useful to expand the program by using the afternoon of the third day, though we did schedule those sessions for 1–3 p.m. to facilitate earlier departures. Although some have considered the afternoon of the third day as the “graveyard” of the meetings to be reserved for minor affiliated societies, the 1976 committee regarded it as an integral part of the program and arranged a variety of sessions similar in quality and scope to those scheduled at other times. That a session on 17th-century England on the afternoon of the third day could attract an audience of about 120 shows that our faith was justified.

The chairmen of the individual sessions were generally quite satisfied with their units. They reported almost unanimous satisfaction with the work of the local arrangements committee. There were problems arising from construction in one hotel and a few rooms were inevitably too small and too warm when crowded, but technical arrangements were all that could be desired. One chairman suggested that in future years for the comfort and health of non-smokers smoking be confined to one side of each room.

There were fewer complaints than usual about paper-writers not getting their papers to the commentators in time, though this will always be a serious if limited problem. There were rather more complaints about speakers going on too long and thus cutting into the time available for discussion from the floor. This year's committee sent out the most explicit instructions about paper length to chairmen in June, with a follow-up reminder in November. Future committees will have to be at least as explicit.

Although the committee derived great satisfaction from the range and quality of the program, they also felt a great pressure upon their time, particularly as they all had to carry normal departmental responsibilities and had no special secretarial assistance. Considering this time burden and the complexity of the task now facing a program committee, future committees should be extremely wary about assuming any further responsibilities. Wherever pos-

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sible existing burdens should be lightened by close cooperation with the Teaching and Professional Divisions, and the affiliated societies.

Jacob M. Price, *Chairman*

Allan G. Bogue, *Co-Chairman*

*Program of the Ninety-First Annual Meeting
December 28-30, 1976, Washington*

Colloquia

DISCUSSIONS BY SENIOR SCHOLARS OF THEIR
CURRENT RESEARCH

Tuesday, December 28

Robert W. Fogel, Harvard University; Fritz Stern, Columbia University; Jan Vansina, University of Wisconsin, Madison; Richard M. Morse, Yale University; Brian Tierney, Cornell University

Wednesday, December 29

John Higham, Johns Hopkins University

Demonstration Sessions

AUDIO-VISUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE
HISTORY TEACHER

Tuesday, December 28

**AMERICAN CIVILIZATION: SETTLEMENT, ACHIEVEMENT,
AND COST: A MULTI-IMAGE PRESENTATION**

William J. Gilmore, Phyllis Durham, and Gerald Ewing,
Stockton State College

The presentation will be followed by a discussion of the development of slide collections and their use in historical inquiry.

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SIX PEOPLE REMEMBER: RECREATION ALONG THE OSWEGO WATERFRONT BEFORE 1930

Judith Wellman, State University of New York, Oswego

EDUCATIONAL FILMS AND THE HISTORIAN

J. William T. Youngs, Jr., Eastern Washington State College

THE HISTORIAN AS FILMMAKER: WILL ROGERS' 1920s

Peter C. Rollins, Oklahoma State University, chair; R. C. Raack, California State University, Hayward; Patrick H. Griffin, California State University, Long Beach; William F. Malloch, Media Associates

Will Rogers' 1920s: A Cowboy's View of the Times

Wednesday, December 29

SLIDE/TAPE PROGRAM: "THE GIFT TO BE SIMPLE"

June Sprigg, University of Delaware

THE HISTORICAL DIMENSION OF REVOLUTIONARY SONG

CHAIR: Jesse Lemisch, State University of New York, Buffalo
The Historical Dimension of Revolutionary Song. Laurence Seidman, Post Junior College and Carolyn Rabson

TEACHING HISTORY BY DESIGN: GUIDED DESIGN AND ITS APPLICATION BY HISTORIANS

The Guided Design Technique. Gene D'Amour, West Virginia University

COMMENT: William Crozier, St. Mary's College; Patrick Murphy, West Virginia University; Charles W. Connell, West Virginia University

THE FILM AS ARTIFACT: A BUDGET-CONSCIOUS APPROACH TO CLASSROOM FILM STUDY

John E. O'Connor, New Jersey Institute of Technology

ANNUAL MEETING 1976

Workshops

Tuesday, December 28

CLIO'S HANDMAIDEN: THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT AND STATE DEPARTMENT MATERIALS

CHAIR: William D. Blair, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State

PANEL: Barbara Ennis, Director, Freedom of Information Staff;
Knut E. Malmberg, Jr., Assistant Legal Adviser; John Pruden,
Director, Foreign Affairs Document and Reference Center; David F.
Trask, Director, Historical Office

MIGRATION AND THE WORKING CLASS

PARTICIPANTS: Charles Stephenson, Newberry Library, chair; Alan A.
Brookes, University of New Brunswick; John T. Cumbler, University
of Louisville; Brian Greenberg, Lehman College, City University of
New York

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT CAREERS FOR HISTORIANS

PARTICIPANTS: Robert Elsasser, Office of the Mayor, Passaic,
New Jersey, chair; Patrick Brady, Division of Legislative Affairs,
Trenton, New Jersey; Estelle Greenberg, Passaic County Community
College; Paul Stellhorn, New Jersey Historical Commission

MEN'S STUDIES: TEACHING AND RESEARCH

Problems in the History of Men's Self-Conception and Role Fulfillment

PARTICIPANTS: Patricia Branca, Carnegie-Mellon University;
Philip Greven, Jr., Rutgers University; Peter N. Stearns,
Carnegie-Mellon University

CHAPLIN FILM FESTIVAL

Sponsored by the Historians Film Committee

Modern Times and *The Great Dictator*

COMMUNITY STUDIES IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOUTH

CHAIR: Sheldon Hackney, Tulane University

Using Manuscript Returns of the Federal Census. Frank Huffman,
University of Houston

Using Quantifiable Sources of Data Other Than the Federal Census.
Samuel M. Kipp III, Tulane University

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Southern Community Studies: Methodology and Theory.

Vernon Burton, University of Illinois

COMMENT: Robert Swierenga, Kent State University

AMERICAN WOMEN AND RELIGION

Sponsored by the Coordinating Committee on Women in the Historical Profession

CHAIR: Linda M. Maloney, University of South Carolina

PANELISTS: Nancy Hardesty, Emory University; Barbara Welter, Hunter College, City University of New York; Caroline Bynum, University of Washington

OFFICIAL HISTORY AND THE VIETNAM CONFLICT: A SYMPOSIUM

Sponsored by the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society

CHAIR: Morris Janowitz, University of Chicago

PANEL: Ronald Spector, U.S. Army Center of Military History; Graham Cosmas, History and Museums Division, United States Marine Corps; Bernard Nalty, Office of Air Force History

COMMENT: Leslie Gelb, *New York Times*

Wednesday, December 29

HOMOSEXUALITY IN HISTORY: PROBLEMS IN RESEARCH AND TEACHING

COORDINATORS: Blanche W. Cook, John Jay College, City University of New York; Jaye Miller, University of Houston, Clear Lake City; Douglas Roby, Brooklyn College, City University of New York; Charles A. Shively, Boston State College; Arthur Warner, National Committee for Sexual Civil Liberties

CHAPLIN IN THE HISTORY CLASSROOM

Sponsored by the Historians Film Committee

Discussion of Chaplin films shown on December 28, together with showing of several Chaplin shorts.

THE DOCUMENTARY FILM OF JULIEN BRYAN

INTRODUCTION: Jane M. Loy, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

FILMS: *High Plain; Lima Family; Bolivia*

ANNUAL MEETING 1976

Monday, December 27

TOUR OF STATE DEPARTMENT HISTORICAL OFFICE

HOW CAN THE AHA BEST SERVE THE TEACHING OF HISTORY?

Vice-President and Members of the Teaching Division

CHAIR: C. Warren Hollister, University of California, Santa Barbara

PANEL: James C. Curtis, University of Delaware; Carolyn C. Lougee, Stanford University; Norma L. Peterson, Adams State College; Maxine S. Seller, State University of New York, Buffalo; Richard Ekman, National Endowment for the Humanities

COMMENT: The Audience

**COMMITTEE ON WOMEN HISTORIANS' COLLOQUIUM ON
WOMEN'S INITIATIVES IN THE HISTORICAL PROFESSION**

CHAIR: Emiliana P. Noether, University of Connecticut, Chairperson, Committee on Women Historians

Recent Developments in Meeting the Unemployment Crisis.

Joan Kelly-Gadol, City College, City University of New York

The Institute for Research in History. Linda Levy Peck, Purdue University

Preliminary Report on the Sarah Lawrence Institute for the Integration of Women's History into the High School Curriculum. Amy Swerdlow, Sarah Lawrence College

COMMENT: The Audience

Tuesday, December 28

1. THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

CHAIR: Don E. Fehrenbacher, Stanford University

The Aging of America. C. Vann Woodward, Yale University

COMMENT: Leo Marx, Amherst College; Ernest R. May, Harvard University

2. BRITISH POLITICS AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

CHAIR: Paul Guinn, State University of New York, Buffalo

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Freedom or Control in the First World War: The Crisis of May 1915.

Alfred M. Gollin, University of California, Santa Barbara

The Knell of Home Rule: Lloyd George's Irish Negotiations in 1916.

George Dangerfield, Santa Barbara, California

COMMENT: Peter Stansky, Stanford University; Emmet Larkin,
University of Chicago

3. FOUNDERS OF RUSSIAN STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAIR: Joseph O. Baylen, Georgia State University

Samuel W. Harper. John C. Chalberg, Normandale Community College

George Kennan. Frederick F. Travis, Wilbraham and Monson Academy

Archibald Cary Coolidge. Robert F. Byrnes, Indiana University

COMMENT: Michael B. Petrovich, University of Wisconsin, Madison

4. NEW APPROACHES TO GERMAN HISTORY

CHAIR: Carl E. Schorske, Princeton University

West German Historiography since 1945. Wolfgang Sauer,
University of California, Berkeley

The Marxist Historiography of East Germany. Andreas Dorpalen,
Ohio State University

COMMENT: Georg G. Iggers, State University of New York, Buffalo

5. THE SOCIAL ROOTS OF AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM

Joint Session with the American Society for Legal History

CHAIR: Stanley N. Katz, University of Chicago

The Law of Private Property. Morton J. Horwitz, Harvard University

Individualism in the Law of Contract. William E. Nelson,
Yale University

COMMENT: Stanley N. Katz

6. HERODOTUS AND THUCYDIDES

CHAIR: Martin Ostwald, Swarthmore College and University of
Pennsylvania

Herodotus. Harry C. Avery, University of Pittsburgh

Thucydides. Arthur Lowell Edmunds III, Harvard University

COMMENT: Kenneth Sacks, University of Wisconsin, Madison

7. THE QUALITY OF GRADUATE EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAIR: Henry R. Winkler, Rutgers University

ANNUAL MEETING 1976

Report on the Council of Graduate Schools/ Graduate Record Examinations Board Survey of Graduate Programs. Mary Jo Clark, Educational Testing Service

COMMENT: Norman F. Cantor, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle; Leo F. Solt, Indiana University; Maris Vinovskis, University of Michigan

8. SLAVERY AND FREEDOM IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD

CHAIR: Joseph Boskin, Boston University

From Servants to Slaves: The Economics of Labor in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake. Russell R. Menard, University of Minnesota

Slavery in Law and Practice in France and the West Indies.

Richard M. Brace, Oakland University

COMMENT: Richard B. Sheridan, University of Kansas

9. ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND: THE WORK OF SIR JOHN NEALE IN RETROSPECT

CHAIR: A. J. Slavin, University of Louisville

J. E. Neale, Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments. Joel Hurstfield, University College, London

Governance and Government: Continuity and Discontinuity in Elizabethan Politics. Lamar M. Hill, University of California, Irvine

Puritanism and Parliament: Some New Light on Opposition.

Mark Curtis, Scripps College

10. ASPECTS OF THE EMERGING INSTITUTIONAL FOCUS IN ECONOMIC HISTORY

Joint Session with the Economic History Association

CHAIR: David Landes, Harvard University

An Appraisal of Recent Developments in Institutional History.

Louis Galambos and Steven Sass, Johns Hopkins University

Institutional Change and Entrepreneurial Initiative. Jonathan R. T. Hughes, Northwestern University

Cliometrics versus Institutional History. Peter D. McClelland, Cornell University

COMMENT: The Audience

11. CLASS AND CITIZENSHIP IN INDUSTRIALIZING AMERICA

CHAIR: Alexander Saxton, University of California, Los Angeles

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Big City Riot: Chicago, Illinois. Kenneth Kann, University of California, Berkeley

The Small Town Strike: Terre Haute, Indiana. Nicholas Salvatore, Holy Cross College

COMMENT: David Montgomery, University of Pittsburgh

12. POLITICS IN RENAISSANCE FLORENCE

Joint Session with the Society for Italian Historical Studies

CHAIR: Werner L. Gundersheimer, University of Pennsylvania

Guild Republicanism in Trecento Florence: The Successes and Ultimate Failure of Corporate Politics. John M. Najemy, Cornell University

Cosimo de' Medici: Pater Patriae or Padrino? Anthony Molho, Brown University

COMMENT: Gene A. Brucker, University of California, Berkeley

13. CAREER PATTERNS OF POLITICAL ELITES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE: A COMPARATIVE VIEW

CHAIR: Raymond Grew, University of Michigan

Lost Illusions: The Regicides in France during the Bourbon Restoration. Edgar L. Newman, New Mexico State University

Rising Expectations: Radical Leaders in the Process of Italian Unification. Clara M. Lovett, Baruch College, City University of New York

COMMENT: James J. Sheehan, Northwestern University;
Raymond Grew

14. WESTERN LAW IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY JAPAN

CHAIR: Roger F. Hackett, University of Michigan

Japan's Initial Reception of Western International Law. Marlene J. Mayo, University of Maryland

The Beginning of Legal Education in Meiji Japan. Robert M. Spaulding, Jr., Oklahoma State University

The Justice of the Western Consular Courts in Japan. Richard T. Chang, University of Florida

COMMENT: John Owen Haley, University of Washington

15. WOMEN, WAR, AND RESISTANCE TO WAR: A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Joint Session with the Conference on Peace Research in History

ANNUAL MEETING 1976

CHAIR: Jo Ann O. Robinson, Morgan State University

Women and War in Meiji Japan: The Case of Fukuda Hideko (1868-1927). Sharlie Conroy Ushioda, University of California, Los Angeles

Women and War in England: The Case of Catherine E. Marshall, Suffragist and Pacifist. Jo Newberry, University of Edinburgh

Women and War in the United States: The Case of Dorothy Detzer, National Secretary, WILPF-U.S. Rosemary Rainbolt, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

COMMENT: Berenice A. Carroll, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

16. AFRICAN RESPONSES TO COLONIAL RULE

CHAIR: Asa Davis, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Coast African Politics in Kenya, 1940-60. Joseph Harris, Howard University

Muslim Brotherhoods in the Struggle for Tanzanian Independence. August Nimtz, University of Minnesota

The Messianic Factor in Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Rule. Richard Ralston, University of Wisconsin, Madison

COMMENT: The Audience

17. UNITED STATES COLD WAR POLICY AND THE THIRD WORLD, 1945-49: A REGIONAL COMPARISON

Joint Session with the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

CHAIR: Gaddis Smith, Yale University

The United States and East Asia. James A. Fetzer, South Bound Brook, New Jersey

The United States and Latin America. Roger R. Trask, University of South Florida

The United States and the Middle East. John A. DeNovo, University of Wisconsin, Madison

COMMENT: John L. Gaddis, U.S. Naval War College

18. THE FILMIC APPROACH TO LATIN AMERICA'S PAST

CHAIR: Martin A. Jackson, Maritime College, State University of New York

American Cinema and Mexican Heroes: The Cases of Juárez and Zapata. Paul J. Vanderwood, San Diego State University

The Present as Past: Assessing the Value of Julien Bryan's

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Documentary Films on Latin America as Historical Evidence.

Jane M. Loy, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Cultural Nationalism and Revolutionary Self-Definition: The Past Decade of Latin American Cinema. Julianne Burton, University of California, Santa Cruz

COMMENT: E. Bradford Burns, University of California, Los Angeles

19. RECENT WORK IN CAROLINGIAN HISTORY

CHAIR: Richard E. Sullivan, Michigan State University

Carolingian Feudalism. David H. Miller, University of Oklahoma

Carolingian Italy. Robert Cutler, Wittenberg University

Carolingian Liturgical Reform and Society. Joseph H. Lynch, Ohio State University

The Carolingian Renaissance. John J. Contreni, Purdue University

Carolingian Royal and Imperial Historiography. Thomas F. X. Noble, Texas Tech University

COMMENT: Bryce Lyon, Brown University

Luncheons

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR REFORMATION RESEARCH

PRESIDING: Miriam Usher Chrisman, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Informal Reports on Research in Progress in the Field of Reformation History

CONFERENCE ON PEACE RESEARCH IN HISTORY

PRESIDING: John W. Chambers, Barnard College, Columbia University

Thirty Years of the Arms Race: The Deterioration of Economic Strength and Military Security. Lloyd J. Dumas, Columbia University

CONFERENCE ON SLAVIC AND EAST EUROPEAN HISTORY

PRESIDING: Roman Szporluk, University of Michigan

America in the Mind of Russia, or: Russian Discoveries of America. Hans Rogger, University of California, Los Angeles

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY SECTION

PRESIDING: Leonard Krieger, University of Chicago

Collaboration and Resistance in Modern Europe: Some Reflections. Robert O. Paxton, Columbia University

ANNUAL MEETING 1976

PHI ALPHA THETA

PRESIDING: Donald B. Hoffman, Phi Alpha Theta

John A. Roebuck's Motion in the House of Commons to Recognize the Confederacy. Frank L. Klement, Marquette University

POLISH AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

PRESIDING: Sister Ellen Marie Kuznicki, Villa Maria College

The Uses of the Polish Past in America. Frank A. Renkiewicz, University of Minnesota

20. THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

CHAIR: J. G. A. Pocock, Johns Hopkins University

Court and Country in Britain and America, 1689-1815. John M. Murrin, Princeton University

COMMENT: Stephen E. Patterson, University of New Brunswick;
Richard Buel, Wesleyan University

21. THE MARITIME POWERS VERSUS FRANCE, 1701-13: REAPPRAISALS IN POLITICS, DIPLOMACY, AND PERSONALITIES

CHAIR: Stephen B. Baxter, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

England. Henry L. Snyder, University of Kansas

France. John C. Rule, Ohio State University

The Dutch Republic. Augustus J. Veenendaal, Bureau der
Rijkscommissie voor Vaderlandse Geschiedenis, The Hague

COMMENT: Geoffrey Symcox, University of California, Los Angeles

22. THE PROBLEM OF SOVEREIGNTY IN EAST EUROPE

Joint Session with the Conference on Slavic and East European History

CHAIR: Arthur E. Adams, Ohio State University

*The Two Failures of the Jagiellonian Idea: Poland 1569-1795 and
1918-1945.* Andrzej Kaminski, Columbia University

Yugoslav Strategies of Independence: An Assessment. William
Zimmerman, University of Michigan

COMMENT: Vojtech Mastny, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

23. ITALIAN RADICALS IN THE PROMISED LAND: GALLEANI AND TRESKA IN THE UNITED STATES

Joint Session with the American Italian Historical Association

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

CHAIR: Frank Rosengarten, Queens College, City University of New York

Luigi Galleani, Apostle of Anarchism. Rudolph J. Vecoli, University of Minnesota

Carlo Tresca, Rebel without Uniform. Nunzio Pernicone, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

COMMENT: Paul H. Avrich, Queens College, City University of New York

24. AGRARIAN SOCIETY IN IRELAND, 1750-1900

Joint Session with the American Committee for Irish Studies

CHAIR: Hugh Kearney, University of Pittsburgh

Agrarian Violence and Secret Societies in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland. James S. Donnelly, Jr., University of Wisconsin, Madison

Agrarian Class Structure and Collective Action in Nineteenth-Century Ireland. Samuel Clark, University of Western Ontario

The Political Triumph of the Irish Large Farmer, 1870-86. William Feingold, Bellevue College

COMMENT: Hugh Kearney

25. RUSSIAN ANARCHISM

CHAIR: Philip Pomper, Wesleyan University

Michael Bakunin: The Politics of Fantasy. Arthur Mendel, University of Michigan

Anarchists and Peasant Unrest in the 1870s: Russia and Mediterranean Europe. Ivan Avakumovic, University of British Columbia

COMMENT: Marshall Shatz, University of Massachusetts, Boston; Martin A. Miller, Duke University

26. THE ESTATES IN EARLY MODERN GERMANY

Joint Session with the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions

CHAIR: Mack Walker, Johns Hopkins University

The Reform Diets and Public Taxation in the 1490s. Steven W. Rowan, University of Missouri, St. Louis

The Estate in the Ecclesiastical Principalities. Lawrence G. J. Duggan, University of Delaware

The Imperial Knights in the Electorate of Mainz, 1648-1740. Thomas Hochstettler, University of Michigan

ANNUAL MEETING 1976

COMMENT: Franklin L. Ford, Harvard University

27. TRADE AND THE STATE IN PRECOLONIAL WEST AFRICA

CHAIR: Raymond Dumett, Purdue University

State Administration of Trade in the Akwamu Empire. Ray A. Kea, Johns Hopkins University

Central Bureaucracy and Overland Trade in Asante. Ivor Wilks, Northwestern University

City-State Interests and Trading Patterns in the Niger Delta. S. J. S. Cooke, Rutgers University

COMMENT: Sara S. Berry, Boston University

28. IS THERE A PUBLISHING CRISIS? HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP AND ITS DISSEMINATION

CHAIR: Charles F. Delzell, Vanderbilt University

The National Enquiry and Scholarly Publishing. Edward Booher and Nazir Bhagat, National Enquiry Into Scholarly Communication

COMMENT: Martin Ridge, *Journal of American History*; David Horne, University Press of New England; Lawrence W. Towner, Newberry Library

29. THE POLITICS OF REFORM IN MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHINA

CHAIR: Philip A. Kuhn, University of Chicago

The Failure of Legalist Reform: A Study of Hsien-feng Domestic Policies, 1853-59. Young-tsu Wong, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Intrabureaucratic Rivalry in Local Reform: Liu Hsun-kaof/Feng Kuei-fen Controversy over the Kiangsu Tax Reduction of 1861. Frank Lojewski, Indiana University, Kokomo

Politics, Tradition, and Recurrent Features of Reform, 1850s-70s. David Pong, University of Delaware

COMMENT: Kwang-ching Liu, University of California, Davis

30. THREE OTHER BICENTENNIALS, 1776-1976

CHAIR: Franklin L. Baumer, Yale University

Edward Gibbon. David Jordan, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

Jeremy Bentham. Gertrude Himmelfarb, Graduate School, City University of New York

Adam Smith. Bernard Semmel, State University of New York, Stony Brook

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

COMMENT: John Clive, Harvard University

**31. ROMANS AND BARBARIANS: ETHNIC TRANSFORMATION
AND THE ROMAN ARMY**

CHAIR: Ramsay MacMullen, Yale University

The Ethnic Units of the Roman Imperial Army. Michael P. Speidel,
University of Hawaii

Roman Military and Barbarian Elites in the Fifth Century A.D.

Frank M. Clover, University of Wisconsin, Madison

*Changing Patterns of Ethnic Identity: The Effects of Ostrogothic
Involvement with the Roman Army.* Thomas S. Burns,
Emory University

COMMENT: John Eadie, University of Michigan

**32. THE PSYCHOLOGY AND POLITICS OF CASTE:
RECONSTRUCTION NEW ORLEANS**

CHAIR: Joel Williamson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

The "Gens de Couleur Libres": Contributions toward a Group Portrait.
Geraldine McTigue, Institute for Research in History

Black and Brown Together? The Equivocal Reply. David C. Rankin,
Oberlin College

COMMENT: August Meier, Kent State University; Laurence Glasco,
University of Pittsburgh

33. HISTORY AND THE RELATED DISCIPLINES

CHAIR: Leonard J. Arrington, Historical Department, The Church of
Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints

Geography and History. Donald W. Meinig, Syracuse University

COMMENT: Howard R. Lamar, Yale University; James T. Lemon,
University of Toronto; Earl Pomeroy, University of California,
San Diego

**34. CRIME AND JUSTICE AMONG THE POOR IN LATE COLONIAL
LATIN AMERICA**

CHAIR: Stanley J. Stein, Princeton University

*Local Justice in Late Colonial Brazil: Work, Play, and Family
Relations among the Poor.* Patricia Aufderheide, University of
Minnesota

*Urban Poor and Public Disorder: Léperos and Vagrants in Mexico City,
1774-1803.* Michael Scardaville, University of Florida

COMMENT: Arnold J. Bauer, University of California, Davis;
Colin M. MacLachlan, Tulane University

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35. THE PALESTINE QUESTION IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Joint Session with the American Jewish Historical Society

CHAIR: J. C. Hurewitz, Columbia University

The Dilemma of the Jewish Establishment: Ambassador Morgenthau's Story. Barbara Tuchman, New York

Factors Influencing President Truman's Decision to Support Partition and Recognize the State of Israel. Clark M. Clifford, Washington, D.C.

Israel in the Evolution of United States Foreign Policy. Eugene V. Rostow, Yale University

COMMENT: Howard M. Sachar, George Washington University

36. THE LIBERAL CATHOLICS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

Joint Session with the American Catholic Historical Association

CHAIR: Javier Malagón, El Colegio de México

The Concordat of 1851 and Its Relation to Moderate Liberalism in Spain. Nancy A. Rosenblatt, Pennsylvania State University

The Ideas of Concepción Arenal: Assets or Detriments to Spanish Catholic Social Reform. Carol Aiken Preece, Federal City College

COMMENT: Joan C. Ullman, University of Washington; José M. Sánchez, St. Louis University

37. INTELLECTUAL POLITICIANS IN BYZANTIUM

CHAIR: Ihor Sevecenko, Harvard University

Photius. Warren T. Treadgold, Harvard University

Michael Psellus. H. Kenneth Snipes, University of North Carolina and Dumbarton Oaks

Nicephorus Blemmydes. Ruth Magdalino, University of London

COMMENT: John Meyendorff, Fordham University

PRESENTATIONS OF RECENT DOCTORAL RESEARCH

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY

Arranged in consultation with the American Jewish Historical Society

CHAIR: Henry L. Feingold, Graduate School, City University of New York

The Emergence of Ethnicity: New York's Jews, 1920-40. Deborah D. Moore, Vassar College (thesis, Columbia University)

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Golden Door: Immigrant Mobility in New York City, 1880–1915. Thomas Kessner, Kingsborough Community College, City University of New York (thesis, Columbia University)

Jewish and Catholic Social Work in America, 1925–55, Rhetoric and Reality. Gary E. Rubin, Yeshiva University (thesis, Columbia University)

A History of the Jewish Community of Harlem, 1880–1930. Jeffrey S. Gurock, Yeshiva University (thesis, Columbia University)

Immigrants, Exiles, and Survivors. Dorothy Bilik, University of Maryland (thesis, University of Maryland)

Ideological Anti-Semitism in America, 1877–1927. Michael N. Dobkowski, Hobart and William Smith Colleges (thesis, New York University)

The Department of State's Views of the Middle East through 1945. Phillip J. Baram, Boston University (thesis, Boston University)

Louis Lipsky and American Zionism. Deborah Lipstadt, University of Washington (thesis, Brandeis University)

BRITISH HISTORY

Arranged in consultation with the Conference on British Studies

CHAIR: Philip P. Poirier, Ohio State University

The Working Classes of Stockport during the Industrial Revolution. Robert A. Glen, University of Wisconsin, Kenosha (thesis, University of California, Berkeley)

A Case History of a Sweated Trade: The Social and Economic Impact of the Clothing Industry on the East End Community of London, 1876–1914. Robert S. Wechsler, Brooklyn College, City University of New York (thesis, Columbia University)

P. H. Gosse, F.R.S. (1810–88), Naturalist and Plymouth Brother. Douglas Wertheimer (thesis, University of Toronto)

From Ethics to Economics: The Social Thought of Alfred Marshall. Gail Benick (thesis, City University of New York)

The Development and Impact of Right-Wing Politics in Great Britain, 1903–32. Barbara L. Farr (thesis, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle)

COMMENT: Philip P. Poirier

WOMEN'S HISTORY

Arranged in consultation with the Conference Group in Women's History

CHAIR: Mary Maples Dunn, Bryn Mawr College

Widowhood in Rural England: A Study of North Berkshire, 1540–1750. Barbara H. Todd (thesis, Oxford University)

ANNUAL MEETING 1976

An Intellectual History of the National Woman's Party, 1920-40. Susan Becker, University of Tennessee, Knoxville (thesis, Case Western Reserve University)

Women's Work: Women's Industrial Life in London, 1890-1914. Ellen F. Mappen, Rutgers University (thesis, Rutgers University)

Childbearing in America, 1640-1920. Catherine M. Scholten (thesis, University of California, Berkeley)

True Womanhood and Hard Times: Women and Early New York Industrialization, 1840-60. Amy Srebnick, John Jay College, City University of New York (thesis, State University of New York, Stony Brook)

EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY

Arranged in consultation with the Institute of Early American History and Culture

CHAIR: Aubrey C. Land, University of Georgia

"A Model of Christian Charity": The Rich and the Poor in New England, 1630-1730. Christine Heyrman, University of California, Irvine (thesis, Yale University)

The Gospel of Opposition: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Anglo-American Ideology. Rodger D. Parker, American Antiquarian Society (thesis, Wayne State University)

Political Ideology and the Internal Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-90. Douglas M. Arnold, *Franklin Papers*, Yale University (thesis, Princeton University)

The Continental Congress and the Beginnings of National Politics, 1774-87. Jack N. Rakove, Colgate University (thesis, Harvard University)

Elizabeth City County, Virginia, 1782-1810. Sarah Shaver Hughes, Hampton, Virginia (thesis, College of William and Mary)

The Republican Revolution: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America, 1776-1817. Drew R. McCoy, Institute of Early American History and Culture (thesis, University of Virginia)

Voting Behavior during the First American Party System: Maryland, 1796-1816. David A. Bohmer, Charlottesville, Virginia (thesis, University of Michigan)

COMMENT: Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Northwestern University

EARLY MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

CHAIR: Charmarie Jenkins Blaisdell, Northeastern University

The Problem of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and His Early Writings. Stephen A. Farmer (thesis, Stanford University)

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Spiritual Discipline in the Early Anabaptist Community, 1525–50. Jean E. Runzo (thesis, University of Michigan)

Cardinal Giovanni Morone and the Italian Reformation. James Bullard (thesis, Stanford University)

Electoral Influences in Five English Counties, 1586–1640. Kathleen Sommers (thesis, Yale University)

The Leiden Vroedschap, 1572–1600. Sterling A. Lamet (thesis, University of Massachusetts, Amherst)

Hospitals and Social Welfare in Sixteenth-Century London. Susan Diamondstone (thesis, Stanford University)

The French Council of Commerce, 1700–15. Thomas J. Schaeper (thesis, Ohio State University)

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Arranged in consultation with the Modern European History Section

CHAIR: Donald Lach, University of Chicago

The Politics of Leisure: The Dopolavoro and the Organization of Workers' Spare Time in Fascist Italy, 1922–39. Victoria de Grazia, Lehman College, City University of New York (thesis, Columbia University)

The Social Composition of the Nazi Party, 1919–30. Paul Madden, Ohio Northern University (thesis, University of Oklahoma)

The Diehards: A Governing Elite in an Era of Crisis, 1880–1914. Gregory D. Phillips, Stanford University (thesis, Harvard University)

From Schoolmasters to Schoolteachers: The Making of a Modern Professional Corporation in Prussia, 1750–1850. Anthony J. La Vopa, North Carolina State University (thesis, Cornell University)

The Department Store and Social Change in France: The Case of the Bon Marché, 1869–1920. Michael Barry Miller, University of Pennsylvania

Nation, Société, Loi, Représentation: Political Language and the Philosophes. Gerald Oppenheimer (thesis, University of Chicago)

Kaunitz and the Reforms of the Co-Regency of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, 1765–80. Franz A. J. Szabo, McGill University (thesis, University of Alberta)

Freud and Clio: A Historiographical Inquiry into Psychohistory. Gary Sanders, Texas State University

GENERAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

PRESIDING: Mack Thompson, American Historical Association

AWARD OF PRIZES: Herbert Baxter Adams Prize; George Louis Beer

ANNUAL MEETING 1976

Prize; Albert J. Beveridge Award; John H. Dunning Prize; Clarence H. Haring Prize; Howard R. Marraro Prize; Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize; Watumull Prize

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: "*We the People of the United States*": *The Bicentennial of a People's Revolution*. Richard B. Morris, Columbia University

Wednesday, December 29

38. THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

CHAIR: Robert F. Durden, Duke University

America: Experiment or Destiny? Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., Graduate School, City University of New York

COMMENT: James A. Field, Jr., Swarthmore College; George E. Mowry, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

39. POLITICS AND COMMUNITY: PARTY DEVELOPMENT IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA

CHAIR: Jon L. Wakelyn, Catholic University of America

The Structure of Maryland Elites: The First and Second Party Systems. Whitman H. Ridgway, University of Maryland

Party Structure and Leadership at the Grassroots: Genesee County, New York, 1821-40. Kathleen Smith Kutolowski, State University of New York, Brockport

The Social and Political Bases of the Acceptance of Party: Missouri, 1825-40. Paul W. Brewer, Albuquerque, New Mexico

COMMENT: Ralph A. Wooster, Lamar University

40. RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY

CHAIR: John Headley, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

The Holy Shrine: Its Role in the Origins of the Reformation and the Influence of Popular Religion in the Evolution of Early Modern German Culture. Lionel Rothkrug, Concordia University

Demands for Reform by Urban Dissidents during the German Peasants' Revolt. Lawrence P. Buck, Widener College

COMMENT: Steven Ozment, Yale University

41. INTELLECTUALS IN SEARCH OF AMERICAN CULTURE

CHAIR: Alan Trachtenberg, Yale University

Constance Rourke in Context. Joan Shelley Rubin, Toronto

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Van Wyck Brooks and the Culture of Progressivism. James Hoopes, Brown University

COMMENT: Richard H. Pells, University of Texas, Austin; Neil Harris, University of Chicago

42. PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL ORDER IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY

Joint Session with the Conference Group on Central European History

CHAIR: Theodore Hamerow, University of Wisconsin, Madison

The Concept of Stand as a Reflection of Social Change before 1848. Robert Berdahl, University of Oregon

Bismarck's Quest for a Social Consensus. Otto Pflanze, University of Minnesota

Awareness of the Industrial Age in Imperial Germany. Felix Gilbert, Institute for Advanced Study

COMMENT: Konrad Jarausch, University of Missouri, Columbia

43. BEYOND WESTERN CIVILIZATION: REBUILDING THE SURVEY

Joint Session with the Committee on History in the Classroom

CHAIR: C. Warren Hollister, University of California, Santa Barbara

Three Perspectives on the Challenge. William H. McNeill, University of Chicago; Lewis W. Spitz, Stanford University; Giles Constable, Harvard University

COMMENT: Frederic L. Cheyette, Amherst College

44. GENERATIONAL SUCCESSION WITHIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANT GROUPS

CHAIR: Howard P. Chudacoff, Brown University

Farm and Family: A German Settlement on the Minnesota Frontier. Kathleen Neils Conzen, University of Chicago

City and Family: Italians and Jews in Industrial Rhode Island. Judith Smith, Brown University

COMMENT: Josef Barton, Northwestern University; Lynn Lees, University of Pennsylvania

45. THE FORGOTTEN TRIANGLE

Joint Session with the Canadian Historical Association

CHAIR: Robin W. Winks, Yale University

The Rise and Fall of the Free Trade Idea, 1947–48. R. D. Cuff, and J. L. Granatstein, York University

ANNUAL MEETING 1976

Anglo-Canadian Relations in the Age of American Dominance, 1944-49. R. S. Bothwell, University of Toronto, and J. R. English, University of Waterloo

COMMENT: Daniel Yergin, Harvard University

46. IDEOLOGY, MODERNIZATION, AND NATIONALISM IN RUSSIA, 1825-55

CHAIR: Robert E. Jones, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

S. S. Uvarov's Concept of Enlightened Autocracy. Cynthia H. Whittaker, Baruch College, City University of New York

Higher Education and the Challenge of Modernization. Steven H. Allister, Yale University

Great Russia and the National Minorities. Orest Pelech, Princeton University

COMMENT: Patrick L. Alston, Bowling Green State University

47. POLITICAL YOUTH AND FASCISM IN EUROPE: THREE CASES

CHAIR: Stephen J. Tonsor, University of Michigan

Eastern Europe: Fascist Youth in Hungary and Rumania. Nicholas M. Nagy-Talavera, California State University, Chico

Germany: Political Youth and the Rise of National Socialism. Peter H. Merkl, University of California, Santa Barbara

France: Collaborationist Youth under the German Occupation. Bertram M. Gordon, Mills College

COMMENT: Eugen Weber, University of California, Los Angeles

48. THE BOURBON MONARCHY

CHAIR: John Wolf, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

The Crisis in the 1680s. Andrew Lossky, University of California, Los Angeles

Proprietary Dynasticism. Herbert Rowen, Rutgers University

COMMENT: William F. Church, Brown University

49. ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR AND POLITICS IN MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

CHAIR: H. J. Hanham, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The Political Demography of Cambridge, 1832-68. J. P. Cornford, University of Edinburgh, and J. C. Mitchell, Jesus College, Oxford

Social Structure, Voting Behavior and Political Change in Victorian London. Marc Baer, University of Iowa

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Industry, Paternalism and Politics in Nineteenth-Century England.
Patrick Joyce, University of London

COMMENT: H. J. Hanham; D. C. Moore, University of California,
Los Angeles

50. AN APOCALYPTIC EXPECTATION IN ANTIQUITY, THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE

CHAIR: John Mundy, Columbia University

*The Byzantine Legend of the Last Roman Emperor and Its Messianic
Origins.* Paul J. Alexander, University of California, Berkeley

The Methodian Last Emperor in Italian Renaissance Thought. John
Monfasani, State University of New York, Albany

COMMENT: Donald Weinstein, Rutgers University

51. REPARATIONS RECONSIDERED

CHAIR: Fred Stambrook, University of Manitoba

The Myths of Reparations. Sally Marks, Rhode Island College

France and Reparations: The First Phase. Marc Trachtenberg,
University of Pennsylvania

COMMENT: Stephen A. Schuker, Harvard University; Gerhard
Weinberg, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

52. THE COLONIAL PORT CITY IN ASIA

CHAIR: Thomas R. Metcalf, University of California, Berkeley

Calcutta and Canton: Western Trade and Entrepreneurship, 1827–47.
Dilip Basu, University of California, Santa Cruz

Colonial Madras: The Growth of the City. Susan Neild, University of
Chicago

Popular Movements and Mercantile Elites in Canton, 1895–1928.
Winston Hsieh, University of Missouri, St. Louis

COMMENT: Ming Chan, Stanford University

53. CODEBREAKING AND INTELLIGENCE IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER, WORLD WAR II

Joint Session with the American Committee on the History of the
Second World War

CHAIR: Arthur L. Funk, University of Florida

*The Significance of Codebreaking and Intelligence in Allied Strategy
and Tactics.* David Kahn, New York University

COMMENT: Telford Taylor, Columbia University; Jürgen Rohwer,

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Director, Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte, Stuttgart; Harold C. Deutsch, U.S. Army War College

54. CECIL RHODES: IMPERIAL COLOSSUS OR EXPLOITING CHARLATAN?

CHAIR: Robert I. Rotberg, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Rhodes: The Economic Man. John Cell, Duke University

Rhodes: His Character and Psychology. Miles Shore, M.D., Harvard Medical School

COMMENT: John Flint, Dalhousie University

55. LATIN AMERICA: THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CRISIS

CHAIR: J. Benedict Warren, University of Maryland

Mining in the Economy of Seventeenth-Century Spanish America.

Peter J. Bakewell, University of New Mexico

The Seventeenth-Century Crisis in the Spanish Empire: Myth or Reality? John J. TePaske, Duke University, and Herbert S. Klein, Columbia University

COMMENT: Woodrow Borah, University of California, Berkeley; Murdo J. MacLeod, University of Pittsburgh

56. MEDIEVAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

CHAIR: Kenneth Setton, Institute for Advanced Study

Italian City and Countryside, Southern Etruria and Florence. Franklin K. Toker, Carnegie-Mellon University, and Anthony Luttrell, Malta

Where Is Edward II? George Cuttino and Thomas Lyman, Emory University

COMMENT: Dale Kinney, Bryn Mawr College

Luncheons

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

PRESIDING: John A. Lukacs, Chestnut Hill College

Presidential Address: The Bicentennial Revisited. Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., Catholic University of America

CONFERENCE ON LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

PRESIDING: Stanley J. Stein, Princeton University

Peasants and Social Change in Latin America. Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Colegio de México

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

GROUP FOR THE USE OF PSYCHOLOGY IN HISTORY

PRESIDING: Charles B. Strozier, Sangamon State University

Reflections on the State of Psychohistory. Bruce Mazlish,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

SOCIETY OF AMERICAN ARCHIVISTS

PRESIDING: Robert M. Warner, University of Michigan

Secrets of History and the Law of Secrets. Philip Buchen, Counsel to
the President

SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

PRESIDING: Raymond A. Esthus, Tulane University

War, Peace and Political Parties in Twentieth-Century America. Robert
A. Divine, University of Texas, Austin

57. THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE: A THEORY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

CHAIR: Murray G. Murphey, University of Pennsylvania

*From Colonial Communities to Modern Mass Society: A Social
Evolutionary Model of American History.* Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr.,
University of Michigan

COMMENT: James A. Henretta, University of California, Los Angeles;
Darrett B. Rutman, University of New Hampshire; Morris Janowitz,
University of Chicago

58. PAN-AFRICAN IDENTITY AMONG BLACK AMERICANS, 1900-20

CHAIR: Robert G. Weisbord, University of Rhode Island

Black American Intellectual Interest in Africa, 1900-20. Milfred C.
Fierce, Hunter College, City University of New York

Black American Churches and Africa, 1900-20. Donald F. Roth,
Austin, Texas

*William Henry Ellis and the Origins of Afro-American and Ethiopian
Relations, 1901-06.* William R. Scott, Wellesley College

COMMENT: John Bracey, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

59. EUROPEAN ARTISTS AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

CHAIR: Barbara Miller Lane, Bryn Mawr College

*The Dilemma of Liberalism: German Impressionist Painters and World
War I.* Marion F. Deshmukh, George Mason University

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Köpenick Revisited: Wilhelmine Satirists Look at War and Militarism.
Ann Taylor Allen, University of Louisville

Western European Avant-Garde Painters at War. Theda Shapiro,
University of California, Riverside

COMMENT: Beth Irwin Lewis, Wooster, Ohio

**60. THE MIND OF THE OLD SOUTH: NEW APPROACHES TO
SOUTHERN INTELLECTUALISM**

CHAIR: John L. Thomas, Brown University

*A Sacred Duty: The Role of the Intellectual and the Meaning of
Pro-Slavery Thought.* Drew Gilpin Faust, University of Pennsylvania

*Culture, Politics, and Modernism: Southern Intellectuals and
Secessionist "Reform."* Robert J. Brugger, University of Virginia

COMMENT: Donald G. Mathews, University of North Carolina, Chapel
Hill; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Case Western Reserve University

**61. THEORIES OF NATIONALISM AND NATIVISM: THE UNITED
STATES AND EUROPE**

CHAIR: Bruce Mazlish, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The Roots of Nativism: The American Case. Stanley Coben, University
of California, Los Angeles

Nationalism and the Modern Mind. Gale Stokes, Rice University

COMMENT: Michael F. Holt, University of Virginia; William O.
Shanahan, Graduate School, City University of New York

**62. LITERATURE AND SOCIETY IN PSYCHOHISTORICAL
PERSPECTIVE**

CHAIR: Stanley Mellon, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

Romanticism and the French Revolution: A Psychohistorical Approach.
Gerald N. Izenberg, Washington University

Flaubert's Youth and the Psychosocial Origins of l'Art pour l'Art.
Arthur Mitzman, University of Amsterdam

COMMENT: Dominic LaCapra, Cornell University; William C.
McGrath, University of Rochester

63. PEASANTS AND POLITICS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

CHAIR: Emiliana P. Noether, University of Connecticut

*Mass Peasant Resistance to Religious and Political Change: The First
Carlist War in Spain.* John F. Coverdale, Northwestern University

Peasant Revolts in Portugal, 1846-47. Joyce Riegelhaupt, Sarah
Lawrence College

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Political Mobilization of Peasants in Central Italy, 1890–1914: The Uses of Secularism and Anti-Clericalism. Roland Sarti, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

COMMENT: Edward E. Malefakis, Columbia University

64. ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY ARGENTINA

CHAIR: Thomas F. McGann, University of Texas, Austin

County Types and Voting Behavior in Argentina, 1914–30: A Quantitative Analysis. Joseph S. Tulchin, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Elections in the Province of Buenos Aires, 1912–46: The Socio-Economic Bases of Party Support. Barry Ames and Richard J. Walter, Washington University

COMMENT: Peter H. Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison; Peter Snow, University of Iowa

65. THE NOVEMBER 1917 REVOLUTION REVISITED

CHAIR: Andrew Ezergailis, Ithaca College

Crime as an Index of Social Unrest. George Jackson, Hofstra University

Where Was Stalin? Robert M. Slusser, Michigan State University

The Lenin-Latvian Axis in the Seizure of Power. Stanley W. Page, City College, City University of New York

66. RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Joint Session with the American Society for Reformation Research

CHAIR: Miriam Usher Chrisman, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

The Protestant Movement at Amiens: Its Social Composition and Character. David Rosenberg, Yale University

French Protestants in a Position of Strength: The Early Years of the Reformation in Caen, 1558–68. Maryélise Suffern Lamet, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Rural Faith in Northern France in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries. Alan G. Arthur, Brock University

COMMENT: Robert M. Kingdon, University of Wisconsin, Madison

67. THE CONSCIENCE OF THE VICTORIAN STATE

Joint Session with the Conference on British Studies

CHAIR: Samuel C. McCulloch, University of California, Irvine

The Whig Conscience. Joseph Hamburger, Yale University

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The Nonconformist Conscience. R. J. Helmstadter, University of Toronto

The Conservative Conscience. Peter Marsh, Syracuse University

COMMENT: Sheldon Rothblatt, University of California, Berkeley

68. ASPECTS OF WESTERN DIPLOMACY DURING THE FAR EASTERN WAR, 1937-45

CHAIR: Akira Iriye, University of Chicago

The Question of Indochina in Allied Wartime Diplomacy: The French Perspective. John E. Dreifort, Wichita State University

Bureaucratic Factionalism, Clandestine Operations, and the Formulation of America's China Policy 1938-45. Michael Schaller, University of Arizona

Nazi Party Activities in the Far East. Donald M. McKale, Georgia College

COMMENT: Robert J. Gowen, East Carolina University

69. RELIGIOUS RESPONSES TO WAR

Joint Session with the American Society of Church History

CHAIR: Clarence C. Goen, Wesley Theological Seminary

Religious Responses to the Seven Years' War. Howard Miller, University of Texas, Austin

Religious Responses to the War of 1812. William J. Gribbin, Virginia Union University

COMMENT: Nathan Hatch, University of Notre Dame; Richard D. Shiels, Boston University

70. ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION IN WORLD HISTORY: PERSPECTIVES ON THE LATE MARSHALL G. S. HODGSON'S "THE VENTURE OF ISLAM"

CHAIR: Howard A. Reed, University of Connecticut

The Gunpowder Empires and the Western Impact. Roderic H. Davison, George Washington University

The Religious and Psychological Dynamic in Islam. Fazlur Rahman, University of Chicago

The Rise and Decline of Science in Civilizations: The Islamic Case in Comparative Perspective. Lynn White, jr., University of California, Los Angeles

COMMENT: Halil Inalcik, University of Chicago

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71. EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES BEYOND THE ACADEMIC MARKET PLACE

CHAIR: Louis Bisceglia, San Jose State University

The Human Dilemma. Lawrence Bruser, Columbia University Law School

Looking beyond the Federal Paper Savers. Ann Morgan Campbell, Society of American Archivists

The Responsibility of Academe. Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, Syracuse University

COMMENT: Martha Tolpin, Brown University

72. USING THE COMPUTER TO TEACH HISTORY

CHAIR: John A. Schutz, University of Southern California

Computer in the (History) Classroom. Robert G. Schafer, University of Michigan, Flint

Congressional Game: History as a Lab Science. Robert Zemsky, University of Pennsylvania, Nicholas Westbrook, University of Pennsylvania, and William Koons, Germantown Friends School, Pennsylvania

Teaching American Urban History: A Quantitative Approach. Michael P. Weber, Carnegie-Mellon University

COMMENT: *Training Historians to Use the Computer in Research.* Jerome M. Clubb, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, University of Michigan

The Potential of Information Processing and Computer Use in Liberal Arts Education. Karl L. Zinn, Center for Research on Learning and Teaching, University of Michigan

73. WOMEN IN THE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

CHAIR: Alice H. Cook, Cornell University

Women in Pre-World War I Austrian Labor Unions. Roberta Till Retz, University of Oregon

The International Federation of Women Workers. Robin Jacoby, University of Michigan

COMMENT: Persis Hunt, Boston College; Claudia Koonz, College of the Holy Cross

74. LOGIC AND THE LAW

CHAIR: John W. Baldwin, Johns Hopkins University

The Logic and Illogic of Ratio Iuris in Roman and Canon Law. Kenneth Pennington, Syracuse University

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Ockham on Logical and Political Individuals: Are There Connections?
Arthur S. McGrade, University of Connecticut

The Reasoning of Fourteenth-Century Barristers. Donald W. Sutherland, University of Iowa

COMMENT: Leonard Boyle, University of Toronto

BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

PRESIDING: Richard B. Morris, Columbia University

Report of the Executive Director

Report of the Nominating Committee. Mary Maples Dunn, Bryn Mawr College

Reports of the Vice-Presidents:

Professional Division. Jean T. Joughin, American University

Research Division. Nancy L. Roelker, Boston University

Teaching Division. C. Warren Hollister, University of California, Santa Barbara

Other Business

PARLIAMENTARIAN: Paul K. Conkin, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Thursday, December 30

75. THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

CHAIR: Merrill D. Peterson, University of Virginia

Ideology and Political Culture from Jefferson to Nixon. Robert Kelley, University of California, Santa Barbara

COMMENT: Geoffrey Blodgett, Oberlin College; Ronald Formisano, Clark University; Willie Lee Rose, Johns Hopkins University

76. THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY BALANCE OF POWER: A MISLEADING PARADIGM?

CHAIR: Enno E. Kraehe, University of Virginia

Balance of Power or Equilibrium: The Uses and Meanings of "Balance of Power" Terminology. Paul W. Schroeder, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Austria and Europe in the 1860s: The "Balance of Power" Ignored. Richard B. Elrod, University of Missouri, Kansas City

COMMENT: Nancy N. Barker, University of Texas, Austin;
Enno E. Kraehe

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77. AFRICAN AND AFRO-AMERICAN RELATIONS DURING THE ERA OF IMPERIALISM

CHAIR: Willard Gatewood, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

Afro-American Perspectives on the Scramble for and Partitioning of Africa, 1870–1900. Sylvia M. Jacobs, North Carolina Central University

African Students in the United States, 1870–1900: A Case Study in Inter-Ethnic Relations. Walter L. Williams, University of Cincinnati

COMMENT: Lenwood Davis, Ohio State University

78. BICENTENNIAL PERSPECTIVES

CHAIR: R. W. Greaves, University of Kansas

British Politics and the American Revolution. I. R. Christie, University College, London

COMMENT: John A. Phillips, University of California, Riverside;
Jack Sosin, University of Nebraska; Donald E. Ginter, Concordia University

79. REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY AND THE MECHANIC CLASSES IN JEFFERSONIAN AMERICA

CHAIR: Eric Foner, City College, City University of New York

New York Tradesmen in the Age of Jefferson: Tactical and Ideological Perspectives. Howard B. Rock, Florida International University

Jeffersonian Ideology and Mechanic Consciousness: The Response to the First American Labor Conspiracy Cases, 1806–09.

Richard Twomey, Saint Mary's University

COMMENT: Richard Ellis, State University of New York, Buffalo;
Paul Failer, University of Massachusetts, Boston

80. MARRIAGE, PATRIMONY, AND KINSHIP IN EARLY MODERN FRANCE

CHAIR: Ralph E. Giesey, University of Iowa

Parisian Families in the Mid-Sixteenth Century. Barbara B. Diefendorf, University of California, Berkeley

Kinship and Social Structure in Seventeenth-Century Bordeaux. Robert Wheaton, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Marriage Alliances of the Nobility of the Election of Bayeux during the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries. James B. Wood, Williams College

COMMENT: Orest Ranum, Johns Hopkins University

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81. ELECTORAL REALIGNMENTS IN AMERICAN POLITICS

CHAIR: Richard P. McCormick, Rutgers University

Critical Value Changes and Elections in American History.

J. Zvi Namenwirth, University of Connecticut

Social Conflict and the Coming of the American Civil War: The Perspective of the New Political History. Joel H. Silbey, Cornell University

COMMENT: James A. Rawley, University of Nebraska; J. Morgan Kousser, California Institute of Technology

82. PROBLEMS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, 1919-29: FRENCH ECONOMICS, FOREIGN POLICY, AND THE GERMAN QUESTION

CHAIR: René Albrecht-Carrié, Emeritus, Barnard College, Columbia University

Treaty Executive versus Rhineland Revisionism: French Models for German Re-integration after Versailles, 1919-24. Walter A. McDougall, University of California, Berkeley

International Economics and Domestic Inflation in Briand's German Policy: Rapprochement and the European Union, 1926-29.

Edward D. Keeton, Johns Hopkins University

COMMENT: Denise Artaud, University of Paris—Sorbonne; Charles S. Maier, Duke University

83. WOMEN IN COLONIAL SPANISH AMERICA: A REAPPRAISAL

CHAIR: Robert C. Padden, Brown University

Dowries and Wills: A View of Women's Socioeconomic Role in Colonial Mexico. Edith Couturier, Northwestern University; Asunción A. Lavrin, Howard University

Race, Class, and Sex in Early Colonial Peru. Elinor Burkett, Frostburg State College

COMMENT: Keith Davies, Vanderbilt University; Susan Soeiro, York College, City University of New York

84. SPIRITUALITY, SOCIETY, AND ECONOMICS: STABILITY AND MOVEMENT

CHAIR: Lester K. Little, Smith College

Tenth-Century Cluny. Barbara Rosenwein, Loyola University of Chicago

Thirteenth-Century Metz. Charles McCurry, Institute of Medieval Canon Law

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The Spiritual Economics of Relic Thefts. Patrick Geary,
Princeton University

COMMENT: Caroline Bynum, University of Washington

**85. PATRIMONIALISM IN RUSSIA: A DISCUSSION OF RICHARD
PIPES' "RUSSIA UNDER THE OLD REGIME"**

CHAIR: Sergius Yakobson, Library of Congress

DISCUSSANTS: Karl Wittfogel, University of Washington (Emeritus)
and Columbia University; George Kennan, Institute for Advanced
Study; Jaroslaw Pelenski, University of Iowa

**86. THE TRANSFORMATION OF IRAN, 1700 TO THE PRESENT:
FEUDAL, ASIATIC, OR WHAT?**

CHAIR: Grace Goodell, Harvard University

Politics and Trade of Southern Iran and the Gulf, 1700–1850:
The Transformation of Feudal Iran. Thomas M. Ricks,
Georgetown University

*Nineteenth-Century Southern Iranian Production and British
Capitalism: Rise of Cash Crop Export Trade*. Roger T. Olson,
Georgetown University

*From Tribal Order to Bureaucracy: The Transformation of
Political Society in Boir Ahmad, Southern Iran*. Reinhold Löffler,
Western Michigan University

COMMENT: Ervand Abrahamian, Baruch College, City University of
New York; Maxime Rodinson, University of Paris—Sorbonne

**87. EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR HISTORIANS IN THE
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT**

CHAIR: Walter Rundell, Jr., University of Maryland

John Porter Bloom, *Territorial Papers of the United States*,
National Archives and Records Service; Alfred Goldberg, Department
of Defense; Richard P. Hallion, Smithsonian Institution; Robert M.
Utley, National Park Service

**88. ETHNOGENESIS: INDIAN-EURO-AMERICAN RELATIONS ON
THE GREAT LAKES FRONTIER**

CHAIR: Wilcomb E. Washburn, Smithsonian Institution

Shawnee on the Maumee: A Composite Community, 1793.
Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Newberry Library

*The Mixed-Blood Nexus: Métis Identity and Influence at Green Bay
and Michilimackinac, 1785–1835*. Jacqueline Peterson-Hornkohl,
Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History, Newberry Library

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Captain Billy Caldwell: The Reconstruction of an Abused Identity.
James A. Clifton, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay

COMMENT: Nancy Lurie, City of Milwaukee Public Museum

89. THE HISTORY OF HUMAN SEXUALITY

CHAIR: Martin Duberman, Lehman College, City University of New York

Sexuality, Psychology, and Social Control in Nineteenth-Century England. Elizabeth Fee, Johns Hopkins University

The Sexual Revolution, 1886-1976: A Short History of the Medicalization of Sex. Thomas Szasz, Syracuse University and the Upstate Medical Center

Teaching the History of Human Sexuality. Dennis Rubini, Temple University

COMMENT: Michael Phayre, Marquette University

90. HISTORY AND THE RELATED DISCIPLINES

CHAIR: Sam Bass Warner, Jr., Boston University

Sociology and History. Charles Tilly, University of Michigan

COMMENT: Edward Gargan, University of Wisconsin, Madison;
Gilbert Shapiro, University of Pittsburgh; Joan Wallach Scott, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

91. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AUDIO-VISUAL COLLECTIONS AS SOURCE MATERIAL FOR MEDIA PRODUCTION

CHAIR: James W. Moore, Director, Audio-Visual Archives Division
National Archives and Records Service

Behind Barbed Wire. James C. Curtis, University of Delaware

First Asian War or Last Indian War? Cheryl Hall, Delaware Historical Society

The Presidential Image as Reflected in Newsreels. Steven Schoenherr, University of Delaware

COMMENT: Nancy E. Malan, Still Picture Branch, National Archives and Records Service; David H. Culbert, Louisiana State University

92. INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN LITERARY AND HISTORICAL WRITING IN VIETNAM

CHAIR: William J. Duiker, Pennsylvania State University

Early Confucian Writing, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries. John K. Whitmore, University of Michigan

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Popular Writing, Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries. Huynh Sanh Thong, Hamden, Connecticut

New Forms of Writing, 1920–30s. Nguyen Ngoc Huy, Cambridge, Massachusetts

COMMENT: Marion W. Ross, University of Virginia

93. THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

Joint Session with the Immigration History Society

CHAIR: Philip Gleason, University of Notre Dame

Ethnicity and Religion in America. Timothy L. Smith, Johns Hopkins University

COMMENT: William A. Clebsch, Stanford University;
Martin E. Marty, University of Chicago

94. PROBLEMS IN THE DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE

CHAIR: Lutz K. Berkner, University of California, Los Angeles

Rural and Urban Patterns of Marriage: Imperial Germany as a Case Study. Mary Jo Maynes and John E. Knodel, University of Michigan

Fertility and Family Structure in the Bourbonnais Region of France. Nancy E. Fitch, University of California, Los Angeles

COMMENT: William Hubbard, Concordia University; Franklin F. Mendels, University of Maryland Baltimore County

95. SCIENCE IN THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN: CULTURE, POLITICS, AND INSTITUTIONS

Joint Session with the History of Science Society

CHAIR: Nathan Reingold, *Joseph Henry Papers*, Smithsonian Institution

Benjamin Franklin: The Anglo-American Context of His Physics. John L. Heilbron, University of California, Berkeley

The Comparative Study of Physics in the United States and Britain. Robert H. Kargon, Johns Hopkins University

The Comparative Development of Eugenics and Genetics in the United States and Britain since the Nineteenth Century. Daniel Kevles, California Institute of Technology

COMMENT: Ruth Schwarz Cowan, State University of New York, Stony Brook

96. SOCIAL THOUGHT IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT

CHAIR: Frank E. Manuel, New York University

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Physiocracy and Propertied Individualism: Science of Society, Science of Man. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, University of Rochester

The Other Side of Poverty: A Different Perspective on the Eighteenth-Century French Poor. Janis Spurlock, Université de Reims

COMMENT: Keith M. Baker, University of Chicago

97. TOWARD A DEFINITION OF FASCISM: RADICAL AND DISSIDENT FASCISM IN ITALY

CHAIR: Alan Cassels, McMaster University

Italo Balbo: From Radical Republican to Princely Dissident. Claudio G. Segrè, University of Texas, Austin

Giuseppe Bottai and the Failure of the Fascist Political Class. Alexander De Grand, Roosevelt University

Italian Industrialists and the Threat of Radical-Dissident Fascism. Franklin H. Adler, Antioch College

COMMENT: John Weiss, Lehman College, City University of New York

98. ORAL DATA AND WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY: THE CENTRAL SUDAN IN THE PRECOLONIAL PERIOD

CHAIR: Stephen Baier, Boston University

Slavery and the Slave Trade in Precolonial Hausaland. Jan S. Hogendorn, Colby College

The Plantation Economy of the Central Sudan. Paul E. Lovejoy, York University

COMMENT: A. Norman Klein, Concordia University; Marcia Wright, Columbia University

99. THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN HIGH AND POPULAR CULTURE IN EUROPEAN MUSICAL LIFE

CHAIR: Vernon L. Lidtke, Johns Hopkins University

Popular Entertainment in Eighteenth-Century Paris. Robert Isherwood, Vanderbilt University

The Rise of a Musical High Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe. William Weber, California State University, Long Beach

Prospects of a New Music Culture in the Third Reich. Michael Meyer, California State University, Northridge

COMMENT: Vernon L. Lidtke

100. RUSSIAN IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT IN THE 1880s: THE POLITICS OF COUNTER-REFORM AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

CHAIR: Charles E. Timberlake, University of Missouri, Columbia

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The Politics of Counter-Reform: Factions and Problems in Modifying the Great Reforms in the Church. Gregory L. Freeze, Brandeis University

The Politics of Counter-Revolution: The Government and the Revolutionary Movement. Norman M. Naimark, Boston University

The Politics of Counter-Reform: Autocracy's Failure in Its Frontal Assault on the Judicial Statutes of 1864. Theodore Taranovski, University of Puget Sound

COMMENT: S. Frederick Starr, Princeton University and the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies

101. PROPHECIES, DREAMS, AND VISIONS: INTIMATIONS OF FEMINISM IN MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE

CHAIR: Karen M. Offen, University of San Francisco

The Utopian Sources of French Feminism. S. Joan Moon, California State University Sacramento

The Religious Context of Mid-Nineteenth-Century German Feminism. Catherine M. Prelinger, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Yale University

COMMENT: Doris S. Goldstein, Yeshiva University; Amy K. Hackett, Highland Park, New Jersey

102. VISUAL AND VERBAL IMAGE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

CHAIR: Julius Kirshner, University of Chicago

The Presentation of the Self as Lord and Master in Late Antiquity. Richard Brilliant, Columbia University

The Bestowal of Power: On the Political Iconography of the Medieval Ecclesia. Robert Benson, University of California, Los Angeles

COMMENT: Gerhart Ladner, University of California, Los Angeles; Irving Lavin, Institute for Advanced Study

103. MANAGEMENT REFORM AND WOMEN'S WORK IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

CHAIR: Alice Kessler Harris, Hofstra University

The Work of Women Sales Clerks, 1900-40: Management Reform and Worker Response. Susan Porter Benson, Boston University

The Transformation of Work and Workers' Consciousness in the Telephone Industry, 1880-1925. Maurine Weiner Greenwald, University of Pittsburgh

Scientific Medicine and Scientific Management in the American Hospital, 1900-45. Susan Reverby, Boston University

COMMENT: Milton Nadworny, University of Vermont

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104. THE EMERGING HISTORIOGRAPHY OF BANGLADESH

CHAIR: Charles H. Heimsath, American University

Historic Consciousness and the Problem of Identity in Bangladesh Historiography. David Kopf, University of Minnesota

The Genesis of Muslim Women's Consciousness in Bengal: The Life and Thought of Begum Rokaya. Shahanara Hussain, Rajshahi University; Joanna Kirkpatrick, Bennington College

The Emancipation of a Historical Tradition from a Communal Heritage in East Pakistan, 1947-71. Ghulam Murshid, Rajshahi University

COMMENT: Leonard A. Gordon, Brooklyn College, City University of New York

105. PSYCHICAL RESEARCH IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES, CIRCA 1900

CHAIR: Michael R. McVaugh, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Psychical Research in the Netherlands: Frederik van Eeden. Ilse N. Bulhof, University of Texas, Austin

At the Edge of the Psychic Revolution: Spanish Psychiatry and Spiritism in the 1920s. Thomas F. Glick, Boston University

Psychical Research and the New Psychology in the United States. R. Laurence Moore, Cornell University

COMMENT: John C. Burnham, Ohio State University; Seymour H. Mauskopf, Duke University

106. NEW APPROACHES TO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH POLITICS

CHAIR: Corinne C. Weston, Lehman College, City University of New York

Court, Country, and Politics under the Early Stuarts. Derek Hirst, Washington University

The Emergence of Adversary Politics in the Long Parliament. Mark Kishlansky, University of Chicago

COMMENT: David Underdown, Brown University; Clive Holmes, Cornell University

107. TEACHING COLLEGE HISTORY IN HIGH SCHOOL: SOME NEW APPROACHES

CHAIR: Patrick J. Kelly, Adelphi University

College History Courses in High School: An Overview. Charles Meinert, New York State Department of Education

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Faculty Selection and Curriculum Development: The View from the College History Department. Patrick J. Kelly

Teaching College History in High School. J. Harris Nierman,
Francis Lewis High School and Adelphi University

COMMENT: The Audience

108. INSTITUTIONS AND DISCIPLINE: PERSPECTIVES ON THE SCHOOL, THE REFORMATORY, AND THE PRISON IN MODERN SOCIETY

CHAIR: Charles E. Rosenberg, University of Pennsylvania

Social Change, Discipline, and the Common School in Early Nineteenth-Century America. Carl Kaestle, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Nineteenth-Century Reform Schools: Prevention, Punishment or Rehabilitation. Barbara Brenzel, Harvard University

Prison and Factory Discipline in England, 1770–1880: The Origins of an Idea. Michael Ignatieff, University of British Columbia

COMMENT: Barbara G. Rosenkrantz, Harvard University

109. THE SPANISH NOBILITY IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

CHAIR: Julian Bishko, University of Virginia

The Grantees and Titled Nobles and the Royal Service in the Sixteenth Century. Peter O. Pierson, University of Santa Clara

The Nobility as Borrowers and Lenders: A new Look at Censos, 1500 to 1700. Helen Nader, Stanford University

COMMENT: Richard L. Kagan, Johns Hopkins University

110. THE BRAZILIAN MILITARY AND THE ORIGINS OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC

CHAIR: Alexander Marchant, Vanderbilt University

The “Questão Militar” Reconsidered: The Army before the Golpe of 1889. William S. Dudley, Southern Methodist University

Military Government in Brazil, 1890–94. John H. Schulz, Queens College, City University of New York

Positivism and the Military in Power, 1890–1900. Robert G. Nachman, Washington State University

COMMENT: June E. Hahner, State University of New York, Albany