

ews etter

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The Secret Reclassification **Program**

Matthew M. Aid

eginning in the fall of 1999, and continuing unabated for the past seven years, at least six government agencies, including the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), the Defense Department, the military services, and the Department of Justice, have been secretly engaged in a wide-ranging historical document reclassification program at the principal National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) research facility at College Park, Maryland, as well as at the presidential libraries run by NARA.

Since the reclassification program began, some 9,500 formerly declassified and publicly available documents totaling more than 55,500 pages have been withdrawn from the open shelves at College Park and reclassified because, according to the U.S. government agencies, they had been improperly and/or inadvertently released.

The Genesis of the Document **Reclassification Program**

The beginnings of this classified multiagency historical document reclassification program can be traced back almost eleven years to April 17, 1995, when President Bill Clinton signed Executive Order 12958 Classified National Security Information. The central provision of E.O. 12958 was the requirement that U.S. government agencies declassify all of their historical records that were twentyfive years old or older by the end of 1999, except for those documents that fell within certain specified exempt categories of records, such as documents relating to intelligence sources and methods, cryptology, or war plans still in effect (1).

Some U.S. Government agencies moved rapidly to comply with the terms of E.O. 12958. The State Department and Department of Energy (DOE) were notable in this regard, moving quickly to begin declassifying many of their older historical records. In 1997, the Moynihan Commission on Government Secrecy specifically comFrom the OAH President

Border Crossing Richard White



y grandfather was an illegal immigrant, although no one in my family ever thought of him as that. He was from Ireland and came over the border at Detroit in the 1920s. He got caught (a piece of ineptitude that startles me still), and was deported back into Canada. His brother, a Chicago cop, came to Detroit, crossed over to Windsor, and escorted my grandfather through customs. Eventually, he filed for

legal immigration and brought my mother over. This is the family story.

My other grandfather nearly got deported back to Russia, where he was born, for crimes of "moral turpitude," until he became, as my father liked to say, the only Democrat ever pardoned by Herbert Hoover. My wife's father spent his last demented year in Arizona trying to persuade his wife to rent a jackhammer to cut into their slab foundation and hide the money from the Mexicans, whom he thought were about cross the border en masse. My brother-in-law was born in Mexico, and became a citizen in the last amnesty.

I consider myself part of a pretty normal American

It is spring of 2006 as I am writing this, and the immigration debate is raging, and I have been thinking about this personal past-an agglomeration of stories, memories, and a history that I have tracked down-and trying to figure out what difference it makes.

What is most obvious to me is that when I think about the present, I nearly automatically think about the past. These stories are not all history, although some of them

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2006 OAH/NCPH Annual Meeting

American Historians Descend on Washington

ore than 2,400 OAH and National Council on Public History members made their way to Washington last month for the joint meeting the two organizations host every four years. The good news was the glorious spring weather on the first two days. The bad news was the glorious spring weather on the first two days. Many historians played hooky and took advantage of the sunshine in the nation's capital. But the rain on Friday and Saturday filled session rooms and crowded the exhibit hall. There was plenty of historic fare upon which to feast. University professors, public historians, and high school teachers joined colleagues from two- and four-year colleges, to sample the latest research, teaching strategies, and presentation techniques.



OAH debuts its new book, The Best American History Essays 2006, edited by Joyce Appleby, at the annual meeting.

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The Organization of American Historians promotes excellence in the scholarship, teaching, and presentation of American history, and encourages wide discussion of historical questions and equitable treatment of all practitioners of history.



AH Newsletter

ORGANIZATION OF

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Public History and Civic Dialogue

Barbara Franco

The Ford Foundation's Civic Dialogue, Arts and Culture

Tor the past two decades public historians and history organizations have been experimenting with new ways to involve the public in dialogue with each other and the past. Much of the early work involved specific communities of geography or ethnicity. When John Kuo Tchen's article, "Creating a Dialogic Museum: The Chinatown History Museum Experiment," was published in 1992 his ideas about engaging community members in using personal memory and testimony to inform historical scholarship had been in practice for a decade at the New York Chinatown History Project, now the Museum of Chinese in America (1). Ron Chew, director of the Wing Luke Asian Museum, describes his experiences since 1992 as changing the role of the museum in relationship to its community "from an inward looking citadel into an active

Throughout the 1990s, the American Association of Museums made Museums and Communities a central initiative. A few mainstream history museums, the Chicago Historical Society, Minnesota Historical Society and Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for example, all experimented with community-based history exhibitions that

struggled with issues of insiders and outsiders, multiple voices and contested Each of these projects concluded that working in a dialogic way with communities required endless meetings, facili-

ANIMaTING identities. DeM^OCRACY

tation skills, diplomacy and unlimited time—a new set of skills and new ways of working for historians and museum staff. Few of these individual exhibition projects were repeated or permanently changed the museums' approaches to public history projects.

Americans for the Arts recently embarked on a multiyear initiative with support from the Ford Foundation to demonstrate that civic dialogue and art could come together to stimulate public discussion about difficult issues and at the same time encourage broader and more diverse participation in the arts. Civic Dialogue, Arts and Culture and an accompanying series of published case studies document both the process and the diverse projects that involved 35 institutions from 2000 to 2004 (3). While the original goals of the Animating Democracy initiative were to increase involvement of individual citizens in public dialogue through the unique capacities offered by the arts and humanities, the most lasting outcome of the initiative may be the development of a consistent methodology that can be used for a wide variety of artistic and historical projects.

The Animating Democracy methodology addresses many of the problems that earlier community history projects faced. Getting people to discuss difficult topics outside their normal comfort zones requires a safe place to disagree and discuss. Dialogue is different from argument and assumes that a variety of perspectives can lead to a new understanding rather than one side winning or losing. These new rules of engagement and best practices for civic dialogue require a change in thinking for both historians and artists. The role of the historian or scholar in civic dialogue must be focused on creating safe places for disagreement rather than on documenting facts or achieving a coherent thesis. Similarly, artists engaged in civic dialogue must take on new roles of facilitation, often putting the ultimate creation of an art work aside to allow the process of dialogue to unfold.

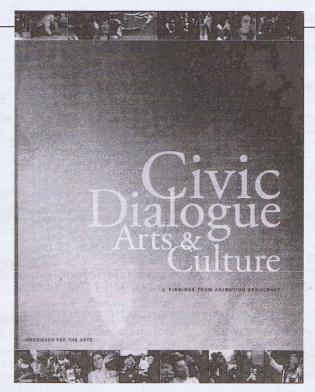
Animating Democracy also found that "Arts-based civic dialogue requires an understanding of the relationship between feeling and thinking, and a rethinking of the assumption that emotion is private, not public, or that public dialogue equals rational dialogue (4). A documentary film by Katrina Browne tells the story of her DeWolf family ancestors and their role in the American slave trade. In the summer of 2001 ten DeWolf relatives retraced the steps of the Triangle Trade from Bristol, Rhode Island, to the slave ports of Ghana and sugar plantations of Cuba. Browne writes in her case study that "we purposely went on a physical journey, because that would at least create action and visuals. But even so, the real journey is internal and

> was hard to convey without being too wordy. It is also important to note that shifting attitudes is not as rational, cognitive and clean a process as is often assumed. Emotions are key All of these competing tensions have

led me to feel increasingly, as the project has progressed, that the power of stories is pivotal. Stories lie somewhere between reason and emotion" (5).

While oral historians have long stressed the importance of narrative and stories in understanding history, historians, both public and academic, are rediscovering how powerful personal stories can be in engaging public audiences in serious historical analysis. When I worked on developing exhibits for the 1992 opening of the Minnesota History Center, our exhibit development teams explicitly focused on giving visitors an opportunity to make a personal connection to the experiences of people in the past through interactives, personal accounts and theatrical role playing. Audience research at the Minnesota History Center confirmed that visitors who had an emotional experience as part of their museum visit were better able to absorb, analyze and discuss the intellectual content of the exhibits. An audio visual object theater in an exhibit on Families brought many visitors to tears and was also the element of the exhibition that most people remembered and talked about long after their visit.

The recent Slavery in New York exhibit at the New-York Historical Society used stories of individuals as an effective way to reintroduce a history that had been previously ignored in the collective memory of New Yorkers and allowed visitors to share their reactions to the sometimes jarring content of the exhibition. Nontraditional audiences in-



cluding young black men and families with children were engaged by the use of first person narrative in a video recreation of a slave recounting the uprising of 1712 in both Akan, the language of Ghana, and in English. When I visited, I had to stand in line to listen to audio presentations of four emotionally wrenching stories of how slavery personally affected individual lives. Recording booths allowed visitors to leave their own reactions to the exhibition.

Many of the Animating Democracy projects took place after the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001. Like many historians, artists in the Animating Democracy projects found themselves confronting their own identity as citizens in deeper ways than the outward trappings of patriotic symbols. Artist and writer Suzanne Lacey concluded that, "For an artist, art is commitment. For a certain kind of artist, like those in the Animating Democracy projects, that commitment is linked to social justice and public good, and gives us a fortitude that delivers us through the pains and doubts of public life" (6).

Ron Chew at the Wing Luke Museum has been enormously successful in adopting a dialogic approach to exploring both art and history in a public venue. The web site for the Wing Luke Museum outlines their current New Dialogue Initiative to address community concerns about contemporary social issues and current news events. "New Dialogue's goal is to bring together community members, artists, and other professionals to jointly shape and implement the programs. The Initiative strives to connect diverse people in the dialogues and create innovative ideas. As various members of the Asian Pacific American community collaborate on each program, our hopes are for the New Dialogue Initiative and the community itself to be transformed and strengthened" (7).

See DIALOGUE / 6 ▶

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CENTENNIAL

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James Edward Smethurst, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, The Black Arts Movement: Literary Nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s (University of North Carolina Press)

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Catherine Clinton, Writer, "Mrs. Lincoln"

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Leo P. Ribuffo, George Washington University, Sophia University, 20th–Century U.S. History

Paul R. Spickard, University of California, Santa Barbara, Kansai University, Japanese American History

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Evan Matthew Daniel, New School for Social Research, "Rolling for the Revolution: A Transnational History of Cuban Cigar Makers in Havana, South Florida, and New York City, 1850s-1890s"

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Visit <www.oah.org/activities/ awards> for competition rules. Submission deadline for the book awards is October 1, and December 1 for most others.



1907-2007

Transformation is essential to the process of dialogue. Patricia Romney's essay on "The Art of Dialogue" points to the work of Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975) who saw the goal of dialogue as "responsive understanding" and believed that dialogue always meant change (8). The case studies of the Animating Democracy projects make clear that the institutions and their staffs were as changed as the community participants. But how sustainable is that change? Historian David Thelen realistically notes in his introduction to history-based projects, that while civic dialogue may be held up as an ideal and become a new buzz word, it is still easier said than done (9). There are many possible dialogues-between artist and viewer; between museum and audience; among viewers; between museum and community. What degree of mediation is necessary to spark meaningful dialogue? How much time can cultural organizations devote to this work? Without support from the Ford Foundation will these institutions be able to continue to develop these models?

William Westerman, a folklorist recently named director of the Cambodian American Heritage Museum in Chicago, presented a paper at the ICOM general conference in Seoul, Korea, in October 2004. His paper entitled, "The Queen City Manifesto: The Potential for Civic Engagement in Local Folklife Museums," argues that museums need to break down what the theater community refers to as the "fourth wall" dividing the audience from the stage and to invite communities into the museum as full participants. He describes his experience with an oral history project and exhibition on the 1963 March on Washington at a local historical society that achieved its community goals only to have the Board insist on a return to safer colonial period exhibits of old things (10).

This cautionary tale is all too familiar. I have heard many presentations at national meetings that describe model projects in history museums both large and small that embrace the methodology and philosophy of civic dialogue and community participation. Most presentations end with enthusiasm for the success of the undertaking, but realism that it will not be repeated or sustained because of lack of funding, changes in leadership or institutional fear of risk. Until public historians and the institutions they work for can truly change the way they work with communities, it is hard to imagine how these experiments can become sustainable models. Institutions like the Lower East Side Tenement Museum and the Wing Luke Asian Museum have adopted missions that include public dialogue and openly embrace the need to change both museums and the communities they serve, but they are among only a handful of organizations that have institutionalized this process.

The methodology of Animating Democracy is not limited to art projects or museum presentations. Troubled by the fact that the concept of citizenship has become so politicized that K-12 students are no longer taught the basic tools of democracy, some history museums, public history projects and humanities programs are looking at ways to reconnect American citizens with the civic dialogue that is necessary to sustain democracy in a pluralistic nation. The National Constitution Center in Philadelphia is part of a Pennsylvania coalition to improve civic learning for K-12 students (11). As a supporter of PennCORD's educational goals, Pennsylvania's First Lady, Judge Marjorie Rendell, likes to point out that, "The Constitution was the creation of people disagreeing in fundamental ways about

principles and that's how they created this extraordinary document" (12). "Imagining America: Artists and Scholars in Public Life" is committed to artistic, critical and historical work that contributes to public debates, public consequences and public value with programs at more than 75 participating universities (13).

Here in Pennsylvania, seven communities are using the civic dialogue model to create Pennsylvania Civil War Trails that tell more complex stories of how surrounding communities participated in the prelude and aftermath of the Battle of Gettysburg by including women and children under siege, contributions of African Americans, home front support as well as battles and troop movements. Bringing together tourism agencies, local historical societies, reenactors and historians, each community is delving deeper into their local history, forging new relationships and changing how they see and present their heritage.

In the future, civic dialogue and the benefits that it can offer both communities and cultural organizations, will depend on whether we can harness both reason and emotion to truly initiate dialogue that changes us as well as the public we engage. The Animating Democracy case studies are a great place to start.

Barbara Franco is the Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Animating Democracy's publications may be ordered by calling 1-800-321-4510 or online at http://www.AmericansForTheArts.org/bookstore. For more information about Animating Democracy, visit: http://www.AmericansForTheArts.org/AnimatingDemocracy.

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are. Virtually all of them, however, at least as told within the family before they are sanitized for public consumption, are ironic, funny, full of unintended consequences, and surprisingly nonjudgmental and nonnationalistic. My grandfather, for the trouble he eventually endured to get American citizenship gave it up and went back to County Kerry. There he pined for the Chicago White Sox and was for the rest of his life known as the Yank. I remember asking my brother-in-law if he was going to use the amnesty to get citizenship. "Why?" he replied. But he did.

Except for the immigrants themselves, the current public discussion usually involves the usual suspects and is idiotically simple. It is about principles: secure borders and punishing lawbreakers on one side and economic justice and the rights to citizenship on the other. Or, alternatively, it is about economic calculations: immigrants do or do not help the economy. If these discussions were part of my family stories, they would be the blustering uncles, growing red in the face. Everyone else in the room would ignore them.

My being a historian earns me as much derision as respect from my family—"the professor" my mother calls me with both disdain and pride—but for all their differences, there is one place where family stories and academic history resemble each other. They both evoke a nuanced and complex world, and they both appeal to practice more than principles.

A public debate more informed by the complexity of family stories and actual practices of our past would be a better debate, but settling for that is a cliché. If I thought that the take home lesson for historians was that we should be presenting the public with the facts about past immigration laws and the experiences of past immigrants because this would lead to more informed and better decisions, then I would come perilously close to what I have come to think of as the Millard Fillmore fallacy. Whenever I hear someone complaining about Americans' ignorance of history, I think of Millard Fillmore. Would this be a better country if every American knew about Millard Fillmore? I may be going out on a limb here, but I don't think so.

But we might be a better country, and better citizens, if we spent less time thinking about easy principles and more time thinking about complicated practices. The best source of complicated practices is the past. History is a habit of mind and not a collection of facts. Most historians know that, just as their families know that families are not run on principles. The hard part is figuring out how to put this knowledge into collective public practice.

Richard White, Margaret Byrne Professor of American History at Stanford University, is president of the Organization of American Historians.

Capitol Commentary

Bruce Craig

Executive Director, National Coalition for History



Bush Administration to Prosecute Journalists

On January 30, 2006 the Bush administration stated in a court filing that journalists can be prosecuted under current espionage laws for receiving and publishing classified information. "There is plainly no exemption in the statute for the press" stated the Justice Department brief that was filed in response to a motion to dismiss charges against two former lobbyists for

the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. The lobbyists reportedly received classified information during conversations they had with government officials, one of which told the two men that they were receiving "highly classified 'Agency stuff.'" That official subsequently pleaded guilty to violating the Espionage Act.

The government asserts in the brief that lobbyists "have no First Amendment right to willfully disclose national defense information." But the government went on to say "we recognize that a prosecution under the espionage laws of an actual member of the press for publishing classified information leaked to it by a government source would raise legitimate and serious issues and would not be undertaken lightly, indeed, the fact that there has never

been such a prosecution speaks for itself." We now know where lobbyists and journalists stand in the eyes of government prosecutors, but exactly what the status of historians and scholars is remains unclear.

Coalition Calls For NARA Oversight Hearing

On March 22, 2006, the National Coalition for History delivered a letter to Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee Chair Susan M. Collins renewing the history coalition's previous requests for the Senate to conduct general oversight hearings on the management, programs, and activities of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

Both before and following the confirmation of Archivist of the United States Allen Weinstein last year, the coalition advanced to Collins's committee a request that a general oversight hearing be conducted. With the exception of Weinstein's hour-long confirmation hearing, it has now been over a decade since the Senate paid any attention to the operating programs under NARA's administration and jurisdiction. During his confirmation hearing, Weinstein welcomed the opportunity for the Senate to scrutinize NARA's program and, according to inside NARA sources, his attitude has not changed since then.

The letter points out a number of issues that make a Senate hearing at this time especially timely. Added to the list of concerns mentioned in earlier requests—i.e. concern over stolen documents, and improperly handled

documents by high government officials (most recently National Security Advisor Sandy Berger)—the letter notes the need for Senate investigation into the alarming "secret" reclassification program that the Archivist recently ordered a moratorium on pending completion of an ISOO audit. The letter also points out the need for a progress report and a discussion of the long terms needs of the Electronic Records Archives project; discussion of administrative aspects of the presidential library system (including the recent agreement between NARA and the Nixon Library foundation); the need for scrutiny over the implementation of the Presidential Records Act; as well as the need to consider a proposal for a higher authorization for the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC). All these, the letter states, are deserving of the Senate's "scrutiny and serious consideration."

NCH staff anticipate meeting with Senate staff on the letter in the near future.

House Approves Clinton Birthplace Home as a National Park Unit

On March 8, 2006, by a vote of 409 to 12, the U.S. House of Representatives granted approval to the Secretary of the Interior to designate President Bill Clinton's birthplace in Hope, Arkansas, as a National Historic Site thus making it a unit of the National Park System. The bill is somewhat unusual as it empowers the Secretary of the Interior to designate the home rather than have the site created through the more common process where Congress alone makes the designation.

The legislation provides that the Hope residence located at 117 South Hervey Street will be established as a unit of the National Park Service and given the name the "President William Jefferson Clinton Birthplace Home National Historic Site" once the Clinton Birthplace Foundation donates the house and related property to the federal government. Figures provided by the National Park Service and Congressional Budget Office estimate the costs of preparing and operating the site would be about \$1 million a year.

National Park Service (NPS) insiders report that there was no contextual study to assess and compare the "suitability, feasibility, and historical significance" of this site with others associated with President Clinton. The NPS was not requested by the committee to comment on the proposal. NPS policy discourages designations of birth-places as NPS units and instead favors designations of other sites more closely associated with a president's historical significance. Congressional supporters of the Clinton site maintain that "While there are numerous residences associated with Clinton, this property is the one most closely identified with his youth and early development." The designation also has the support of President Clinton.

NARA Releases State Department Digital Records

On March 22, 2006, the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) released for online access an unusual and significant collection of diplomatic records: more than 400,000 State Department telegrams and other records from a collection titled "Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973-1974." The Central Foreign Policy files consist of State Department telegrams determined to have permanent historical value from 1973-1974, index references to paper documents created in 1974, and withdrawal notices for permanently valuable telegrams and index references which could not be released for national security or other reasons. Items released include a report of a television interview with former Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan concerning the West Bank, a report of an interview with the Syrian Defense Minister discussing Israeli nuclear weapons, and a summary of possible French reactions to Indian nuclear testing. As the State Department continues its declassification review, files for later years will be added to the collection.

NARA reports that access to these newly released electronic records is enhanced by the recent redesign of the National Archives Access to Archival Databases (AAD) system, a research tool that makes a selection of the Archives' most popular electronic records available to the public over the Internet. AAD currently includes over 86 million electronic records from 48 series in some 29 record groups and three collections of donated historical materials. These long awaited digital records are publicly accessible at the National Archives website at http://www.archives.gov/aad. \Box

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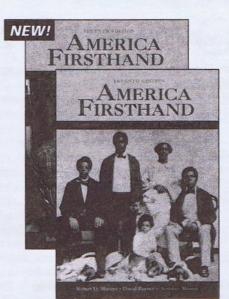
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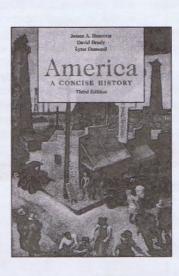
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From the Archivist of the United States

The NHPRC: Small Investments Bring Big Rewards

Allen Weinstein



Weinstein

Ithough the National Archives and Records Administration's mission is that of the nation's record keeper—the steward of the Federal records created since the beginning of the republic that tell the story of our democracy—its holdings do not tell the full story of the American experience. Records in state and local ar-

chives, colleges and universities, nonprofit organizations, and private collections add, in incalculable ways, to the account told by the records in the National Archives. NARA also offers help in preserving and making accessible these important historical documents that are not part of our holdings. This work is done through the National Histori-

cal Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC). The Commission, NARA's grant-making affiliate, promotes the full preservation and use of the nation's documentary heritage and holdings whether housed at NARA or elsewhere.

Unfortunately, the FY 2007 budget sent to Congress by the White House in February proposed no funding for NHPRC grants or administration. Since it began making grants in 1964, the Commission has awarded \$169 million to 4,200 projects involving records held by various institutions across the country. These grants are used for preserving records, publishing them, making them accessible to the public, and establishing archives.

The NHPRC's reach extends into all states and the District of Columbia, into all types of records repositories, and deeply into classrooms, the media, and scholarship

at all levels. For example, NHPRC grants have helped to establish or modernize public records programs throughout the country, from places like Seattle and Boston to Lauderdale County, Mississippi, and Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania.

NHPRC grants have also helped to preserve and make accessible oral history and tribal records of a number of Native American tribes. The Commission has provided funding for publication of some or all of the papers of sixteen U.S. Presidents, as well as those of prominent military leaders, jurists, members of Congress, inventors, innovators, and civil rights leaders.

Grants have supported 296 publishing projects involving nearly 900 individual volumes of original documents and 9,100 reels of microfilm. NHPRC-funded archival projects at the state and local levels, in colleges and universities, and with nonprofit groups are of great assistance to scholars, family and local historians, journalists and authors, documentary film makers, lawyers, and many others.

Other grants have created "cyber archives," which in turn have made available massive amounts of primary source materials on the Internet. Additional grants were made for research into ways to preserve and make accessible records created or stored in digital format.

Recently, the NHPRC has played a role in the Gulf States recovery efforts. At my urging, the Commission provided grants to Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas to help assess the damage wrought by Hurricane Katrina to archives and records. Many of the records that suffered damage were those vitally needed by individuals and families to prove citizenship and eligibility for benefits.

NHPRC grants often have an impact that goes well beyond the immediate needs of the recipient organization or agency—a ripple effect that increases the impact of each grant immeasurably. For example, NHPRC grants have supported the organization and publication of papers of two Founding Fathers, John Adams and Alexander Hamilton. These papers were invaluable in the research for two award-winning books, David McCullough's *John Adams* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001) and Ron Chernow's *Alexander Hamilton* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004).

Grants like these, which have underwritten the publication of papers of historical figures, have also spawned spin-offs, such as curriculum guides for teachers and documentaries for television. In short, NHPRC grants act as catalysts, providing seed money for projects that increase the number and availability of sources of American history and deepen our appreciation of the forces that have established and preserved our democracy for these 230 years.

NHPRC also helps the National Archives fulfill its larger role as civic educator. NARA has a responsibility not only to preserve and make accessible the documents that tell the nation's history, but also to promote the study of history as important to the survival of the vibrant American democracy. NARA also feels a responsibility to meet the needs of history educators at all academic levels, from kindergarten programs in our neighborhood schools to postgraduate work at our finest universities. NHPRC's impact goes far beyond the modest investment of Federal funds made for its grant program. An NHPRC grant is a perfect example of how a little spending by NARA can go a long way.

For more information about NHPRC and the grants it has made over the years, go to http://www.archives.gov/nhprc.



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The Public History program at Middle Tennessee State University welcomes Dwight T. Picaithley, chief historian of the National Park Service from 1995 to 2005, as its 2006 Visiting Distinguished Public Historian. During his residency, June 5–July 7, Dr. Pitcaithley will preside at a public forum, "Rethinking the Civil War after 150 Years," cosponsored by the MTSU College of Liberal Arts, Eastern National, and the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area.

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MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY mended the State Department for aggressively declassifying historical documents on U.S. foreign policy and making them available to the public as part of its acclaimed Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) series of publications. Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary declassified historical nuclear weapons stockpile figures and other formerly classified information, such as 1.6 million pages of historical records on human radiation experiments. This was an enormous advance in transparency, especially because Secretary O'Leary worked closely with the Russian government in prompting their release of information on the entire series of nuclear tests undertaken by the Soviet Union under strict secrecy during the Cold War. Secretary O'Leary's "Openness Initiative" was strenuously resisted by the Defense Department. Both State and DOE also aggressively moved to dramatically reduce their backlogs of FOIA requests (2).

But by 1999, however, there had been a sea-change within the Clinton administration concerning security classification issues. A controversy over Chinese nuclear espionage, epitomized by the 1998-1999 Wen Ho Lee spy scandal, led to a number of investigations into DOE security practices, and Hazel O'Leary's successor as Energy Secretary, Bill Richardson, tightened the agency's security and halted the Department's document declassification program (3). Moreover, security officials at DOE had become concerned that the implementation of E.O. 12958 had led to the inadvertent release in State Department and other agency records at NARA of "unmarked" restricted and formerly restricted data on nuclear weapons. In the fall of 1998, Congress formally authorized the Department of Energy to remove from public document repositories any and all sensitive nuclear weapons design-related information pursuant to Section 3161 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1999, entitled "Protection Against Inadvertent Release of Restricted Data and Formerly Restricted Data." This legal provision is better known as the Kyl-Lott Amendment, named after its two principal sponsors, which was signed into law on October 17, 1998 by President Bill Clinton (4). (For a skeptical look at the Kyl-Lott process see "DOE Puts Declassification Into Reverse," by George Lardner Jr., The Washington Post, May 19, 2001.)

According to press reports, the Defense Department and the U.S. intelligence community were also strenuously resisting implementing the provisions of E.O. 12958, with Defense Department and CIA officials making no secret of the fact that they were pressing for a general rollback of the mandatory declassification provisions of E.O. 12958. These agencies used a range of tactics, including delay. For example, at the request of the Department of Defense, E.O. 12958 was amended in November 1999 to extend the automatic declassification deadline another eighteen months until the end of October 2001.

By the fall of 1999, the CIA and the rest of the U.S. intelligence community had become increasingly intransigent in terms of their willingness to declassify documents concerning past covert action operations needed for inclusion in the State Department's Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) series. In April 1998, a State Department advisory committee comprised of outside historians and chaired by Warren F. Kimball wrote a letter to then Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright warning that the official record of U.S. foreign policy was in danger of becoming "an official lie" because of the CIA's continuing refusal to declassify documents for the FRUS series (5). More than a year later, the relationship between the State Department and the CIA had further deteriorated. According to comments made before in September 1999 by the then head of

the State Department's History Office, William Z. Slany: "What has become apparent and obvious is the Agency's unwillingness to acknowledge amounts of money, liaison relationships, and relationships with organizations, information that any 'reasonable person' would believe should be declassified. The process has revealed the bare bones of the CIA's intransigence" (6).

The battle between the State Department and the U.S. intelligence community over the declassification of historical records came to a head in the fall of 1999, when shortly after the Kyl-Lott Amendment took effect, six U.S. government agencies, including the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Department of Defense, all three of the military services, and the Department of Justice, wrote a letter to NARA stating that it was the shared belief of all of the agencies signing the letter that a number of State Department documents at the National Archives had been inadvertently declassified when they had been released by the State Department, in some cases ten years before. According to NARA officials, the agencies stated that four specific groups of State Department intelligence records, or Lot Files, totaling 55 records boxes had been improperly declassified in that the initial declassification review did not take into account their "equity" in the classified information contained in the documents (7).

In 1999, NARA officials withdrew from the public shelves at the National Archive's main College Park, Maryland archival facility all 55 boxes comprising the four "INR Lot Files." According to information provided by NARA, all 55 boxes were once again reviewed by security teams belonging to 13 government agencies between 1999 and 2000, resulting in approximately 1,400 documents totaling 9,750 pages being reclassified and withdrawn from public circulation. The 55 boxes of State Department records were not, however, returned to the open shelves at College Park. Instead, they were retained in the classified storage area on the sixth floor of the College Park facility. The fact that these 55 boxes of State Department records had been withdrawn from the public shelves was not discovered until the author submitted a request to review these records in November and December 2005.

Outside historians who were members of the State Department's Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation vehemently objected to the reclassification of historical documents long residing on the public shelves at NARA, but to no avail. According to the transcript of a December 17, 2001 meeting of the Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation, committee chair Warren F. Kimball: "strongly and repeatedly expressed his concern over the reclassification of material that was already in the public domain" (8).

Trying to Put the Toothpaste Back in the Tube: Expanding the Document Reclassification Program in 2001

Apparently, at some point after the Bush administration took office in 2001, the expanded group of U.S. government agencies engaged in the security review of the State Department INR records, now demanded the right to go through all other records held at NARA's College Park facility. The central contention of the multiagency group was that the same widespread inadvertent declassification of documents that they had discovered in the four State Department Lot Files in 1999-2000 almost certainly had occurred in virtually every other declassified record group at the National Archives containing defense, foreign affairs, and/or intelligence related documentary materials. At the heart of their argument was the claim that because of a lack

of "equity recognition" by the original declassification review teams, in some cases going as far back as the 1970s and 1980s, many additional cases of inadvertent release of classified information had occurred. As a result, the government agencies in question told NARA that they intended to rereview all national security document holdings then sitting on the open shelves of the National Archives in order to find and remove any other documents containing classified information that might also have been inadvertently disclosed.

NARA, which has no classification authority, and as such, no control whatsoever over the records it is a custodian of, had no choice but to comply with the demand of the government agencies. According to NARA officials, a classified interagency Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) lays out the underlying nature and purpose of the historical document reclassification program, and governs the conduct of the reclassification effort at the National Archives. Presumably, NARA is a party and/or signatory to this classified MOU. NARA officials have refused to provide any details concerning the contents of the MOU, citing the fact that it is secret. The National Security Archive has a pending FOIA request for the MOU.

Unlike the Department of Energy, whose document security review program is covered by 1998 Kyl-Lott Amendment and enjoys its own congressionally approved line-item funding, the post-2001 multiagency document reclassification program does not enjoy either. According to information currently available, the current multiagency document reclassification program has not been authorized or approved by Congress, nor has any money been specifically appropriated for this program by either the House or Senate Intelligence Committees.

Lacking Congressional approval for the program, the government agencies involved in the reclassification effort initially resorted to subterfuge to hide their efforts. Beginning in October 2001, each record box designated by NARA staff members for security review was given a label that stated that the records needed to be security reviewed pursuant to the 2001 NARA directive on "Records of Concern."

The CIA's leading role in this effort was made clear at the June 4, 2003 closed session of the State Department's Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation, where the CIA representative (identified in the Committee's minutes only as "Sue K.") stated unequivocally that: "Agreement still needs to be reached on documents produced by other agencies with CIA equity, where the documents have been declassified without CIA coordination. If a CIA document was mistakenly declassified by the CIA, the Agency will stand by that decision (9). But if another agency declassified a document with CIA equity that the CIA never had a chance to review, the Agency would like a chance to review that document and consider re-classification." The chairman of the Committee asked the CIA representative where these documents were physically located, and if they had been published. The CIA representative stated that: "... some were in Foreign Relations, some were in NARA, and some were in [the forthcoming State Department History Office FRUS Germany manuscript which were recently declassified by State. The CIA made the point that formal reclassification might draw attention to these documents considered sensitive by the CIA. A simple redaction might work" (10).

Sheltering History in the Eye of the Storm

Bruce Cole



ast August, the Gulf Coast central to this region's unique identity. suffered one of the worst calamities in our nation's history. No one was immune to the images on television. The human and financial tolls exacted by Katrina and Rita were staggering. So, too, was the historical/cultural toll: overnight, priceless elements of our past were reduced to memories.

As families across Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama cared for their loved ones and took stock of

their personal losses, local communities also began looking at the cultural heritage that had been destroyed or put at risk of being lost forever: the millions of documents, artifacts, books, and works of art that for centuries have been

It does not take someone from Washington to tell members of the OAH how important a sense of place is to cultural identity. Nor did the people ravaged by the storm need to be reminded that they inhabit distinctive American places, rich with tradition, history, and art.

At the Humanities Endowment, we too are well aware of this and of the toll the events of last summer continue to exact. Within days of the Katrina calamity, the Endowment authorized the award of \$30,000 to the state humanities councils in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, and made available one million dollars in emergency humanities grants to help museums, libraries, historical societies, and cultural agencies salvage and preserve what was

In December 2005, we released an additional \$250,000 for hurricane relief. In all, more than thirty grants have

been awarded, six of which came under the auspices of We The People, an NEH initiative launched at the president's direction in 2003, and designed to promote the study and teaching of American history and culture.

Here are just a few examples of how some of NEH's emergency grants are helping:

■ A grant to the nonprofit organization, Heritage Preservation, is helping to support the work of the Heritage Emergency National Task Force, a coalition of national organizations and federal agencies concerned with protecting cultural treasures from disasters. The Task Force has been coordinating the efforts of its members and other organizations eager to help salvage collections through national conference calls, expanded web resources, and distribution of disaster recovery information and tools.

■ At the Biloxi Public Library, funds are being used to clean and restore local artifacts, books and historic documents. Elsewhere in Mississippi, they are helping restore and preserve the irreplaceable collections of Jefferson Davis's Beauvoir, and conserve damaged American art at the William Carey College's Sarah Gillespie Gallery.

■ At Tulane and Xavier Universities in New Orleans, funds are helping preserve rare, historic works chronicling the lives of women and African Americans in the Gulf South. The New Orleans Notarial Archives, located near the Superdome, is using its grant to salvage and dry flooddamaged public records, from property sales to acts of incorporation, that go all the way back to 1734.

While several of these grants are helping rescue, restore and preserve national treasures, like the works of Gaugin, Monet and others at the New Orleans Museum of Art, many are also assisting small communities. In Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana, for example, a grant is helping salvage the endangered collections of the Historic Fort Jackson Museum. In Mississippi, the Department of Archives and History is using NEH grant money to help Bay St. Louis, Waveland, and Pass Christian-three small communities ravaged by wind and water-to save the only existing papers documenting their civic and public history.

At the end of March, I announced that the NEH will provide a round of smaller Preservation Assistance Grants, of up to \$5,000, to help small cultural institutions get back on their feet. We also are sponsoring a nationwide conference through the nonprofit Heritage Preservation to take the lessons that we have learned from Katrina and Rita, and help train librarians, archivists, and curators to preserve their collections and prepare for future disasters.

In March, I had the opportunity to travel to Louisiana and Mississippi, where I saw for myself what had been on television, and what our friends from the Gulf region had been telling us. I was reminded that the humanities are about the things that last, that have staying power. This includes physical things, like architecture, art, and literature. But they also encompass programs in history and culture that are seemingly ephemeral, but which lead us in an exploration down to the very core of who we are.

In the wake of the hurricane, the Mississippi Humanities Council had emerged as a central force within the state for providing information and distributing funds, thus confirming our conviction in the power of the humanities to sustain community and renew hope. NEH provided additional emergency funds to support the council's efforts and its steadfast commitment to keeping the state's rich stories and traditions accessible to all.

The network news has moved on to newer, fresher stories. Americans are gradually and expectedly turning the channel. We do not have that luxury, for this is not a problem that is going away anytime soon. It will keep us occupied for years to come. And it is incumbent on all of us as historians, educators, and public servants, to see that this cultural rebuilding continues. Too much is at stake.



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OAH Annual Meeting Hotels and Financial Matters

Lee W. Formwalt



Formwalt

The OAH executive board always meets at the annual meeting and this year was no different. One of the items that often appears on the agenda is the selection of a future meeting site. This spring in Washington, however, it was last year's annual meeting that occupied our attention. The cost of the decision to move the 2005 annual meeting from San Francisco to San José

weighed heavily on board members as we considered its impact and that of other revenue shortfalls on next year's budget (FY 2007). Although many OAH members have a lot of sympathy for hotel workers, the executive board members reminded ourselves that we moved the 2005 meeting in order to have as normal a meeting as possible. We had witnessed the noise and distraction accompanying picket lines in San Francisco when we held our fall board meeting there at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel in 2004. It was inconceivable that this kind of racket and discord would allow for a learned society's scholarly meeting to take place without disruption. The board was also concerned that should we hold our meeting in San Francisco and face a picket line, which the hotel workers' union assured us would occur, many OAH members would not attend. We calculated that the cost of staying in San Francisco under such circumstances would actually be higher than breaking the contract and

moving the entire meeting to

San José.

The San José meeting wassuccessful—the program was excellent, and members who came to San José were delightfully surprised by all the city had to offer. But the move did entail unbudgeted expenses including attrition charges at two hotels we contracted with but whose rooms we did not fill There was also the matter of settling with the Hilton San Francisco for breaking the contract, the full penalty for which was \$390,000. Last summer we negotiated with Hilton officials and reached a settlement that included a confidentiality clause which severely restricts what we can disclose about the terms of the settlement. What we are allowed to say is that OAH made a cash payment and agreed to sign several more contracts with Hilton for future meetings in 2011 through 2014.

Back in the fall of 2004, the OAH Executive Board voted to require that all future hotel contracts include "labor disputes" in its escape clause. Until that point, our contracts provided that disruptions caused by strikes would annul a hotel contract, but in San Francisco we faced a lockout and then

a boycott, neither of them a full-fledged strike. "Labor disputes" in future contract language would allow us to get out of contracts in situations like San Francisco.

During negotiations with Hilton for the contracts required by the settlement, it became clear that Hilton would not sign the final three contracts if they contained the labor disputes clause. This placed the OAH Executive Board between the proverbial rock and a hard place. If we stuck to our guns and refused to budge on the labor disputes clause, the settlement would unravel and we would be facing the \$390,000 penalty. If we conceded and removed "labor disputes" from the escape clause, we would be vulnerable to possible San Francisco-like disputes in the future. Several weeks before our deadline for signing the contracts, the board met by conference call and decided that signing the contracts for 2011, 2013, and 2014 without the labor disputes clause was the lesser of two evils.

A major consideration in this decision was that the board felt it could not take actions that would increase further the cost of moving the 2005 meeting. The 2005 fiscal year ended with a substantial deficit, a large portion of which was due to moving the meeting to San José. (Other factors contributing to the deficit included revenue shortfalls for our *Magazine of History* expansion efforts.) In order to cover these costs, the executive board had to borrow \$328,000 from the OAH General Endowment. In our December 2005 conference call, executive board members concluded that we could not jeopardize the settlement and risk having to borrow more funds from the Endowment.

Last month, the consequences of 2005's deficit were evident as the board considered the proposed budget for FY 2007. The board agreed that it would pay back the \$328,000 debt to the endowment over a five-year period which means that \$66,000 out of each year's budget through FY 2011 will be returned to the Endowment. Also the failure to fully fund the expansion of the OAH Magazine of History with an increase of revenue for that purpose over the last two years will require cutting back its frequency from six to four issues a year. The cost of moving Talking History-OAH's weekly radio program-from Kansas City to Bloomington and producing the program here next year was beyond our means and the executive board decided to suspend production this summer. Finally, two full-time positions whose staff have left or will be leaving will become part-time this summer.

This will not be the first time that OAH has had to pause after some important growth and make a mid-course correction. And it is certainly not the first time we have had to deal with a deficit situation. In fact, in the last two decades of the twentieth century, OAH had as many years with deficits as it had surpluses. Of course, any deficit is a matter of concern and we are taking the necessary measures to keep our spending in line and to increase our revenue. And we are making sure that whatever was borrowed from the Endowment will be repaid. We value too much our members' trust and our own fiduciary responsibility to do otherwise.

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News of the Organization

Fall 2005 Action Items of the OAH Executive Board

The following actions were taken by telephone or email by the executive board subsequent to its fall 2005 meeting and prior to its spring 2006 meeting.

 By conference call on December 7, 2005, the OAH executive board voted unanimously to move OAH investments from Wells Fargo Bank in Lincoln, NE, to the Indiana University Foundation.

- By conference call on December 7, 2005, the OAH executive board voted unanimously to remove the requirement that contracts with Hilton Hotels for annual meetings in 2011, 2013, and 2014 include labor disputes in its escape
- By email on January 4, 2006, the OAH executive board voted to present Geoffrey C. Ward the Friend of History Award at the OAH Annual Meeting in Washington, DC, on April 22.
- By email on January 13, 2006, the OAH executive board voted to sign on to an amici brief in the case of Berman v. C.I.A.

Spring 2006 Action Items of the OAH Executive Board

At its spring 2006 meeting at the Hilton Washington, April 19 and 22, the OAH Executive Board took the following actions.

 Approved unanimously the minutes of the fall executive board meeting in Washington, October 21-22, 2005, including actions subsequent to the meeting.

 Approved the FY 2007 annual budget including a five-year plan to pay back to the General Endowment \$328,000 withdrawn in FY 2005 and FY 2006 to cover the FY 2005 deficit and costs relating to the move of the 2005 Annual Meeting from San Francisco to San José.

 Approved issuing a statement of concern about the Showtime-Smithsonian agreement in the form of a letter to Lawrence M. Small, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, with a copy to members of the congressional authorizing and appropriating committees for the

 Approved three bylaw amendments relating to the Treasurer's duties, business operations, and the Budget Review Committee. The amendments were then brought to the OAH Membership at the Business Meeting on Satur-

day, April 22. (See below.)

Approved Journal of American History Editor Edward T. Linenthal's appointment recommendation for the following board and committees: Journal of American History Editorial Board: Nancy K. Bristow, University of Puget Sound; Leslie M. Harris, Emory University; Dwight T. Pitcaithley, New Mexico State University; Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, Ohio State University. Pelzer Prize Committee: Stephen Kercher, University of Wisconsin Oshkosh. David Thelen Prize Committee: Kate Delaney, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Udo Hebel, University of Regensburg.

 Approved the future publication of Recent Scholarship in the online version only, thus eliminating it from the paper version of the Journal of American History begin-

ning with the June 2006 issue.

 Approved the establishment of a Darlene Clark Hine Award for the best book on African American women and gender when a minimum of \$48,000 is raised for that purpose and deposited in the OAH Prize Fund.

 Tabled an invitation to join INMEX (Informed Meetings Exchange), a new organization created by the labor union UNITE HERE for academic and professional associations which hold regular meetings and conventions.

2006 Annual Business Meeting

The following actions were taken by the membership of the organization at the Business Meeting on Saturday, April 22, during the 2006 Annual Meeting in Washington.

- Approved replacing Bylaw 2.d. under "Duties of Officers" with:
 - "d. The Treasurer shall review all disbursements of funds, shall report to the membership annually on the financial status of the Organization, shall together with the Executive Director and Editor prepare a proposed budget each spring for submission to the Finance Committee, shall serve without a vote on the Finance Committee, and shall serve as financial adviser and consultant to the Organization."
- Approved replacing Bylaw 3 "Business Operations" with:
 - "a. The books and accounts of the Organization shall be audited by a certified public ac-
 - "b. All payments of funds of the Organization shall be numbered serially, approved by the Executive Director, and reviewed quarterly by the Treasurer."

Approved replacing Bylaw 4.b.1. Service Committees, Budget Review with:

"1) Finance. This committee shall consist of the incumbent President, President-elect, and immediate past President as voting members, and the Treasurer, Executive Director, Editor and Chair of the Leadership Advisory Council or designee as nonvoting members. The Committee shall receive and review quarterly reports on the financial situation of the Organization, such reports to be provided by the Executive Director. The committee shall meet each fall to review the budget and overall financial situation of the Organization, including investments, to develop any necessary budget adjustments for proposal to the executive board, and to develop recommendations for ongoing operations and investments. The committee shall meet each spring to review, modify, and approve the proposed budget prior to its presentation to the executive board, and to consider other matters within its responsibility. The committee shall also project long-range needs and probable constraints-budgetary and otherwise-with regard to future years. The committee shall meet at all other times when called by the President, Executive Director, or Treasurer. Committee meeting may be conducted in person or through an electronic medium."

2006 OAH Election Results

OAH PRESIDENT: Richard White, Stanford University. OAH PRESIDENT-ELECT: Nell Irvin Painter, Princeton University; OAH EXECUTIVE BOARD: David J. Weber, Southern Methodist University; David Stephens Trask, Guilford Technical Community College (NC); and Linda Shopes, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. OAH Nominating Board: Donna R. Gabaccia, University of Minnesota; George J. Sánchez, University of Southern California; and James A. Percoco, West Springfield (VA) High School.

₹2006 Midwest

LINCOLN, NEBRASKA • JULY 6-8, 2006



The third regional OAH conference will be held in Lincoln, Nebraska, July 6-8, 2006. Its theme, "Historic Heartland: Celebrating a Century of OAH," aims to reach members and other historians and teachers living in or having an interest in the Midwest and Great Plains. The conference will also launch the centennial celebration of OAH, which was founded in 1907 in Lincoln, Nebraska, as the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

The opening plenary session surveys the origins, history, and future of the OAH. Nearly forty sessions explore compelling historical topics, including the civil rights movement, gender and sexuality, politics and war, Native American history, the westward movement, African American history, and agriculture. The meeting will also present state-of-the-art methodological perspectives on teaching, community history, oral history, digital scholarship, and public history. Speakers will include Devra Weber, University of California, Riverside, and James T. Patterson, Brown University.

Two unique events will celebrate the time and special place of this conference. On Friday evening, a reception at the Nebraska State Historical Society will commemorate the centennial of the founding of the OAH. The meeting will conclude with an oldfashioned barbecue, complete with all the historic trimmings, at Homestead National Monument.

The 2006 OAH Midwest Regional Conference in Lincoln promises intellectual stimulation amid the pleasures of the heartland. All historians—college and university professors, high school teachers, archivists, public historians, students, and anyone with an interest in learning and sharing new perspectives on American history—are welcome.

To access the complete program with specific sessions, for more information, and register online, visit: http://www.oah.org/ meetings/2006regional>.

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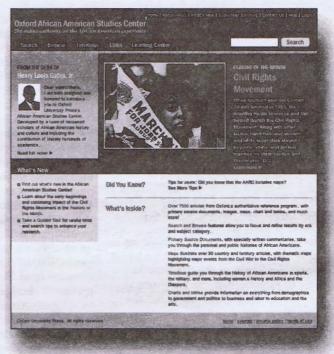
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- · Black Women in America, Second Edition
- Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience, Second Edition
- · The Concise Oxford Companion to African American Literature
- Encyclopedia of African American History: 1896-Present (scheduled for publication in Fall 2006)
- African American National Biography (scheduled for publication in 2008)
- Encyclopedia of African American Art and Architecture (scheduled for publication in 2007)

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From the Editor of The Journal of American History

Recent Scholarship and RSO

Edward T. Linenthal

The Journal of American History staff is updating the way we provide "Recent Scholarship" (RS) to OAH members while increasing public access to its listings. This change involves discontinuing the print version of Recent Scholarship.

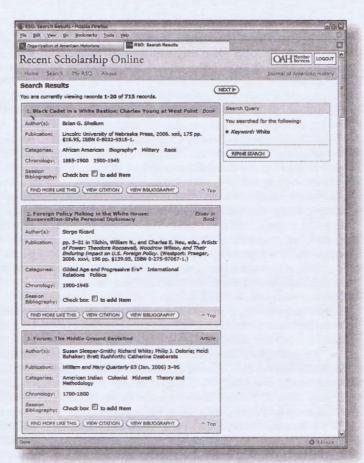
As of June 2006, the JAH will offer a more robust "Recent Scholarship Online" (RSO). Currently available as a service to OAH members, RSO is a searchable, cumulative database of citations for U.S. history-related books, book chapters, dissertations, CD-ROMs, and articles drawn from over 1,200 journals. It includes citations to foreign scholarship on U.S. history provided by JAH international contributing editors. The database begins with the Recent scholarship listed in the June 2000 JAH and is continually updated. OAH members already find many current features of RSO useful. They can browse and search for citations; create, save, and print bibliographies resulting from keyword and subject searches; and sign up to receive personalized monthly email updates of citations to works in their thematic and chronological specialties. We will augment the capabilities of RSO by adding such features as the ability to browse JAH book reviews and check recent search histories.

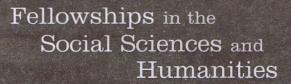
The JAH mission in providing RS is to foster interest in and awareness of new historical scholarship. To fulfill that mission better, we would like to reach a broader audience of both members and nonmembers. It is our plan to make a version of RSO available to all who visit our web

site, continuing the tradition of free, ungated online access to parts of the *JAH* that began with "Teaching the *JAH*" section, which is browsable by all. The ungated version of RSO would be analogous to the current print version of RS. Readers who prefer the traditional print format can still view each issue's RS online, treating it as a distinct work if they choose—a reader may even print out a version that will be similar in form to the present print RS. To serve the archive-like function of the print version, we plan to have a virtual repository for these online browsable documents, arranged issue by issue.

We believe that our expanded online offerings improve on the print version in every way. Ultimately, this change allows us to save a considerable amount of money without lessening the service that we provide. That money will be put toward other projects to keep improving the *Journal*. The time that our staff saves will be redirected from the production of printed pages to the better gathering and categorizing of RS. During the period of transition, the *JAH* will provide additional technical support options, including email, instant messaging, and telephone assistance.

Current OAH members may access our RSO database at http://www.oah.org/members/>. \square







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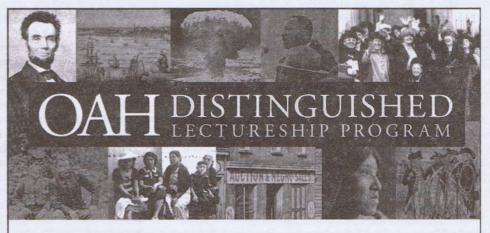
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Raiding the Presidential Libraries

It is now evident that the multiagency historical document reclassification program was expanded in or about 2003 to include the NARA-run presidential libraries, especially a review of previously declassified documents housed at the Kennedy and Johnson libraries. The following excerpts from a September 15, 2003, meeting of the State Department's Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation dramatize the troubling issues as well as some of the absurdities raised by the secret reclassification program:

"Nancy Smith, of [NARA's Office of Presidential Libraries], noted that DOE and AF [Air Force] reviewers were going to presidential libraries to review information from the open stacks for quality control. Smith said that a problem has arisen occasionally when the Presidential Libraries have documents that were previously published in Foreign Relations and the same document may no longer be able to remain declassified. NARA cites FRUS as a declassification authority, if the DOE or AF reviewers have a concern. So far the Kennedy and Johnson libraries have not alerted Smith to any problems."

"Kimball asked how many documents were affected, and whether the HAC should be concerned. Smith said that she would check into this. Schauble said that there were some 2,000 documents in Department of State records and that some had been published in Foreign Relations."

"Schulzinger noted that there were two types of documents at issue: the first are documents published in Foreign Relations, which the AF would like to remove from the presidential library shelves on principle. The second are documents not published in Foreign Relations, which contain the same type of information found in Foreign Relations documents, but which are in fact different documents. Schulzinger said that he could see the sense in wanting to classify the latter."

"Schulzinger then asked whether documents published in Foreign Relations had been taken off of presidential library open shelves. Smith confirmed that NARA had been instructed, by Ken Stein of the DOE, to reclassify some Foreign Relations published documents.

■ NARA has told the AF that it would be self-defeating to withdraw documents from NARA that are so readily and widely available at non-NARA venues. The AF reviewers working at NARA say that the real goal of their review is damage assessment; i.e. trying to figure out how much information there was that should not have been released. However, the AF is taking a harder line. Schauble did not know what the AF would ultimately decide on this issue" (11).

The Damage Done

The results of the multiagency reclassification effort since it began have been dramatic and disturbing. According to figures released by NARA, since 2001 security personnel from the agencies involved have "surveyed" 43.4 million pages of documents held by NARA (i.e., NARA records boxes were sampled to determine if a page-by-page security review of these records was required); 6.1 million pages of NARA documents have been reviewed on a page-by-page basis (the NARA term of art for this process is "audited"); and that as a result of these reviews, since 2001 9,500 documents totaling 55,500 pages have been reclassified and withdrawn from public circulation. Most of the documents removed to date contained either military or intelligence related information, in some cases dating back to World War II (12).

Worst hit by the reclassification program have been the records of the U.S. State Department. According to figures released by the NARA, as of January 2006 a total of 7,711 formerly declassified State Department documents comprising 29,479 pages had been reclassified and removed from the public shelves of the National Archives (13). After the State Department, worst hit by the security reviewers have been the records of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, from which 478 documents totaling 13,689 pages have been reclassified and removed from the public shelves at the National Archives since 2001 (14). The third group of formerly declassified records that military and intelligence community screeners have intensively reviewed are the records of the Headquarters of the U.S. Air Force, from which a total of 282 documents aggregating 5,552 pages have been reclassified and removed from public access at the National Archives (15).

Many of the documents that have been withdrawn by the screeners since October 2001 fall somewhere between mundane and banal on the security classification sensitivity scale (16). Moreover, many of the recently withdrawn documents contain information which could easily be construed as embarrassing to the U.S. intelligence community. "Embarrassment," however, is not a subject matter covered under the various exemptions to E.O. 12958. Perhaps the reclassifiers need to be reminded that Section 1.7 (a) (2) of Executive Order 12958, even in the version revised by President Bush, stipulates that "no ... information shall be classified in order to prevent embarrassment to a person, organization, or agency." For example, one document contains a complaint from the Director of Central Intelligence to the State Department about the bad publicity the CIA was receiving after its failure to predict anti-American riots in Bogota, Colombia, in 1948. Another document deals with an early unsanctioned CIA psychological warfare program to drop propaganda leaflets into Eastern Europe by hot air balloon that did not go particularly well and was cancelled after the State Department objected to the program.

Some of the reclassification decisions by the multiagency security screeners border on the ludicrous. The intelligence community security personnel have reclassified and removed from the NARA open shelves documents that have been published elsewhere, or are publicly available via electronic media from other U.S. government agencies. The security screeners have also reclassified and withdrawn documents that had previously been sanitized to remove sensitive classified information. Worse still, the multiagency reclassification is far from over. According to information provided by NARA, the multiagency historical documentation reclassification effort is not scheduled to be completed until at least March 31, 2007.

The remarkable scale of this historical document reclassification effort highlights the diversion of resources that could be used to review "Records of Concern" that currently reside on the open shelves at NARA. Included in this group of documentary records are items such as sabotage manuals dating back to World War II, instruction manuals on how to manufacture high explosives from common garden-variety materials, and technical documents relating to cold war chemical and biological weapons programs that no one would wish to fall into the wrong hands.

To try to correct the reclassification abuses, I am working with historians and the public interest community. The first step was a meeting at the National Archives on January 27, 2006 where NARA officials provided a detailed briefing.

At Deadline: NARA Issues Reclassification Audit Report

n April 26, 2006, National Archives officials released an audit report of what has been characterized as a "secret" National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) sanctioned document reclassification effort by the CIA and several defense-related federal agencies. The 28-page audit report titled "Withdrawal of Records for Public Access at the National Archives and Records Administration for Classification Purposes" (http://www.archives.gov/isoo/reports/2006-audit- report.pdf>) revealed that while the reclassification of about two-thirds of the documents pulled from NARA's public shelves was technically justified, a third-some 25,315 historical documents-were "clearly inappropriate" and did not contain sensitive information that justified classification. Another 12 percent were deemed by auditors as "questionable" candidates for reclassification. The report demonstrates that the reclassification effort was far more extensive than what had been previously disclosed.

The report also raises serious questions about NARA and ISOO oversight of rereview efforts and brings to light new concerns about overclassification, quality control, and the integrity of ongoing classification programs currently being conducted by federal agencies. The audit revealed that NARA acquiesced too readily to the withdrawal of records, partly because it has not had the resources available to keep pace with the agency rereview. But the most significant deficiency identified in the audit is, according to a NARA statement, "the absence of standards, including requisite levels of transparency governing agency rereview activity at the National Archives" a concern that Archivist Allen Weinstein through his actions has sought to aggressively address. The sheer size of the rereview effort has surprised some observers. Five different agencies were involved: CIA, Air Force, Department of Energy, Federal Emergency Management Agency, and the National Archives. The audit revealed that document rereview was conducted not just at NARA's College Park facility but at the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Bush presidential libraries as well. The audit also found that in many of these instances, withdrawal did little to mitigate potential damage to national security, especially if the record had been published elsewhere, such as in a Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) volume, the official compilation of State Department records that for decades has been systematically issued by the Department of State's history office.

According to NARA sources, affected agencies have agreed to interim guidelines that require the public be informed when records are withdrawn from public access. Existing memoranda of understanding between NARA and agencies involved with the withdrawal effort will be replaced with interim protocol guidelines. Agencies have agreed in principle to creation of a pilot National Declassification Initiative that will address the policies, procedures, structure, and resources needed to create a more reliable executive branch-wide declassification program. Finally, and perhaps of most concern to researchers, NARA has pledged to work with agencies to insure that documents removed improperly from open shelves "will be restored to public access as expeditiously as possible." -Bruce Craig

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Adjuncts and Accrediting Commissions: Unlikely Allies?

Rusty Monhollon

In 2003, the Executive Board of the Organization of American Historians endorsed standards regarding the employment of part-time and contingent faculty. The standards, prepared by the joint AHA-OAH Committee on Part-time and Adjunct Employment (CPAE), included guidelines for the appropriate proportion of courses taught by contingent faculty, fair treatment in pay, and proper administrative support—office space, computer and telephone access, library privileges, copying access—that universities should provide to these instructors (1).

The CPAE's report emerged from the alarming trend, in history and other academic fields, of replacing tenure-track faculty with nontenured and part-time instructors. This practice has resulted in significantly fewer lines of full-time tenured and tenure-track faculty, which means that a larger percentage of college-level courses are being taught by contingent faculty. The most recent data, taken from the 2001-2002 AHA Survey of History Departments, found that full-time tenured or tenure-track faculty taught less than 50 percent of all history courses. At Ph.D.-granting institutions full-time tenured or tenure-track faculty taught 36.1 percent of the introductory course and 53 percent of all history courses, with contingent faculty teaching nearly two-thirds of the intro courses and 47 percent of

all courses. The CPAE standards recommend that research institutions have contingent faculty (including graduate students) teach about 20 percent, and not more than 30 percent, of their history courses. At four-year institutions, the standards recommend contingent faculty teach about

An institution that relies excessively on

quality of the education it provides.

contingent faculty, no matter the dedication

and expertise of those instructors, is diluting the

10 percent, and nor more than 20 percent, of history course. According the AHA survey, these types of institutions came closer to meeting these recommendations but still fell short, as full-time tenured or tenure-track faculty taught 65.1 per-

cent of introductory classes and 73 percent of all history courses. The figures for community colleges were similarly skewed. The AHA standards recommend 30 percent as ideal, and 40 percent as the maximum, yet tenured or tenure-track faculty taught only 50.2 percent of the introductory courses and 48 percent of all history courses (2).

Convincing universities and colleges to adopt and adhere to these standards will not be easy, even though it is in their best long-term interests to do so. While many administrators are aware of the problem they often face great

pressure, from governing boards and state legislatures, to cut costs by using part-time and contingent faculty. We must find allies and make them aware of the danger this issue poses to institutions of higher education. Students and their parents are potential allies, and that is one area in

> which we should direct our efforts. Other potential allies are the higher education accrediting commissions, whose influence on the institutions themselves could be a powerful tool in addressing the problem.

Every ten years institutions of higher

education undergo a rigorous process of accreditation by accrediting commissions in their region. The purpose of accreditation is to assure the public that colleges and universities meet certain standards of quality and integrity, in areas such as institutional resources, leadership and governance, educational offerings, admissions, student support services, and faculty. At the end of a successful accredita-

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This meeting also allowed the editor and representatives from the National Security Archive, the National Coalition for History, and Public Citizen to voice their concerns. The most recent step is a letter, dated February 17, 2006, sent to J. William Leonard, the director of the Information Security Oversight Office (ISOO), which plays a key role in monitoring and encouraging more rational classification and declassification practices. The letter describes the problem and asks that Leonard initiate an audit of the documents reclassified at NARA as well as work with the CIA and other agencies in developing more reasonable guidelines for the declassification review of historical documents. The letter also asked Mr. Leonard to issue a public record on the results of the audit and to initiate the return of documents to the files, with excisions only in instances where legitimate secrets need protection. Updates on the latest developments will be posted on the National Security Archive web site.

Matthew M. Aid has served as a senior executive with a number of large international financial research and investigative companies over the past twenty years. Aid was the coeditor with Cees Wiebes of Secrets of Signals Intelligence During the Cold War and Beyond (London: Frank Cass, 2001), and is currently completing a multivolume history of the National Security Agency and its predecessor organizations covering the period 1945 to the present. Aid is also the author of a number of articles on intelligence and security issues, focusing primarily on issues relating to Signals Intelligence (SIGINT). This article was first published by the National Security Archive http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/.

Endnotes

1. A copy of the original April 17, 1995 Executive Order 12958 signed by President Clinton can be found at http://www.fas.org/sgp/clinton/eo12958.html.

2. Senate Document 105-2, Report of the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy, 1997, http://www.dss.mil/seclib/govsec/secrecy.htm.

3. Associated Press, June 23, 1999.

4. A copy of Section 3161 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1999 can be found at http://www.fas.org/sgp/congress/hr3616am.html.

Letter, Kimball to Albright, March 6, 1998, http://fas.org/sgp/advisory/state/hac97.html. See also Tim Weiner, "Panel Says CIA's Secrecy Threatens to Make History a Lie," New York Times, April 9, 1998, p. A21.

6. Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation, September 13-14, 1999

Minutes, located at http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/adcom/mtgnts/11696.htm.

7. The State Department records in question were INR Lot Files 58D776, 58D528, 59D27, and 60D403, all of which were contained in NARA Record Group 59, which houses the bulk of the State Department's historical records at College Park, Maryland.

8. Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation, December 17-18, 2001

Minutes, located at http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/adcom/mtgnts/11613.htm.

9. It should be noted that the statement by the CIA official cited above is, in fact, not true. Between 1997 and 1999, the CIA released approximately 100 pages of formerly classified documents from three of its archival records groups (referred to as "Jobs") and placed them along with other declassified CIA records on the CREST computer database of declassified CIA documents, which researchers can view in the Library of the NARA research facility in College Park, Maryland. After the author and other researchers printed out materials from these three specific record groups, in 2003 the CIA hastily withdrew these three Jobs from the CREST database. Repeated attempts by the author to get the CIA to re-

lease the already declassified records from these three CIA records groups through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) have to date been unsuccessful. The now missing three CIA records Jobs are: 78S03377A, 78S00977R, and 78S00763R

 $10.\ Advisory$ Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation, June 4-5, 2003

Minutes, located at http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/adcom/mt-gnts/21201.htm.

11. Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation, September 15-16, 2003

Minutes, located at http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/adcom/mt-ents/25125.htm.

12. By comparison, since 1999 the DOE's Kyl-Lott document review has only resulted in the removal of 5,508 pages of documents determined to contain Restricted Data/Formerly Restricted Data (RD/FRD) nuclear weapons design related information.

13. The bulk of the State Department records on file at the National Archives are contained in Record Group 59.

14. These records were taken from Record Group 330, which contains the records of the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

15. These records were taken from Record Group 341, which contains the records of the Headquarters of the U.S. Air Force.

16. Other examples abound. In December 2005, a dozen documents (none classified higher than confidential) were withdrawn from Box 22 of RG-59, Entry 1561, Lot 58D776 INR Subject Files 1945-1956 (Folder: Exchange of Classified Information with Foreign Governments Other Than U.K.) pertaining to the Guatemalan agrarian reform program. From the same file, an unclassified document was withdrawn concerning the "Feasibility of Participating in Exchange Program with USSR to Study Highway Transportation in the USSR." Also from INR Subject Files, Box 22 (Folder: Miscellaneous-1958) an April 17, 1956 unclassified document was removed concerning translations from the Soviet Encyclopedia. From Box 26 of the same INR Subject Files a restricted document was withdrawn from the folder entitled "INR-Travel/Public Appearances 1958-1959" entitled, "Foreign Travel in FY 1959." Also from Box 26, File: INR Reorganization, a confidential document was removed concerning "Travel Plans for FY 1959."

History as Cocaine

Lee W. Formwalt

eah, we're the gateway drug. We're the pot and you're the cocaine." I'm not sure that the couple hundred American historians at the 2006 OAH convention plenary session on presidential assassinations had ever thought of themselves as the cocaine of history. Or that the popular purveyors of history like Assassins libretist John Weidman and the quirky writer Sarah Vowell who made this crack were the gateway drug that brought readers to seriously intoxicating professional history. But the metaphor did give some of us pause. And it suggested that in many ways popular and professional historians are in the same business—bringing the past alive. We may do it in different ways and for different purposes but we are not enemies—we should at least be collaborators.

Collaboration was much in evidence at our 99th annual meeting in Washington last month. The conference was our regular quadrennial joint meeting with the National Council on Public History and public history was well integrated into a number of sessions, including the evening plenaries. The opening night featured the directors of four Smithsonian history museums, the National Museum of American History, the National Portrait Gallery, National Museum of the American Indian, and the not yet built National Museum of African American History and Culture.

Another good example of collaboration was a ses-

sion on Friday on Prince Hall and African American fraternalism. This panel, according to session organizer and chair Donald Yacovone, "embodied the spirit of this year's convention and represented a number of firsts. The panel drew from public and private historical agencies, included academic, independent, and public historians, and male and female and black and white participants. . . Even the audience reflected the convention's

spirit. Rather than the usual Harris tweed-bound academics, the audience included a broad range of people, Park Service employees, historians, and a large number of our friends from the Masonic community. Indeed, the Grand Master of the Prince Hall Lodge . . . in Boston, really the head of all the 47 Prince Hall Grand Lodges across the country, attended, as did the Lodge's Grand Historian and representatives of local Masonic lodges, black and white."

Another OAH constituency well represented in Washington were precollegiate teachers. K-12 history teachers now number over 1,700 and comprise close to

Receptions provided an opportunity for all attendees, both young and not so young, to socialize.

one-fifth of our membership. The opening day of the convention witnessed 150 early attendees discussing the impact of the Teaching American History (TAH) grant program on historians and the historical community. This preconference symposium brought together academic historians and precollegiate teachers in a collaborative way as do the five hundred or so TAH projects around the country.

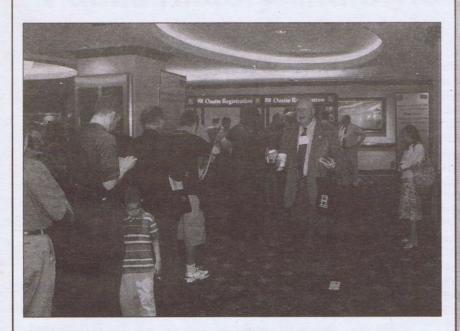
Community college historians, perhaps the most underrepresented group of American historians in OAH, also let their voice be heard in Washington. They met with the community college committee, at the community college



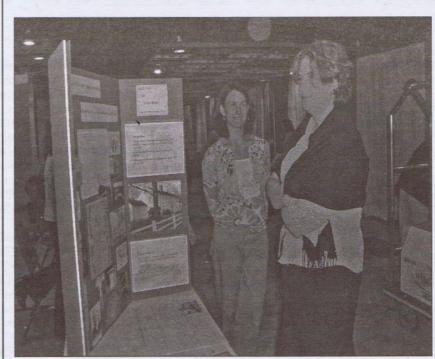
The exhibit hall was a popular spot on Friday and Saturday afternoons. More than 100 booths showcased new books, textbooks, and electronic resources.



Presiding over the business meeting (from left), Jonathan Lurie, Lee W. Formwalt, Vicki Ruiz, Robert Cherny, Rick Halpern, and Edward T. Linenthal, react to a light-hearted moment during the OAH business meeting on Saturday, April 22.



Long lines in the registration area moved quickly as the more than 2400 attendees picked up badges and registration materials.



Sandy Perot, University of Massachusetts, Amherst (left) presents *Refining the Parsons: Manners, Music, and Mobility 1719-1840* at the NCPH poster sessions on Friday, April 21.

reception, and at several community college sessions. In addition, a number of them called for an additional meeting to discuss a new community college effort for which OAH is seeking federal funding.

Business, networking, and the discussion of the latest American history scholarship all happened at the Washington annual meeting. Members also made plans there for future meetings. We distributed programs for the Midwest Regional Conference in Lincoln on July 6-

8 http://www.oah.org/meetings/2006regional/. The Centennial Committee and 2007 Program Committee also deliberated about next year's centennial convention in Minneapolis. At an initial meeting with incoming president-elect Nell Irvin Painter and her program committee chair Deborah Gray White, we discussed some of our ideas for the 2008 meeting in New York City. Later that year we are planning for a regional conference in Vancouver, British Columbia. By that time American

citizens will need a passport to enter Canada, so start making your plans now. And for those of our members who like long-range planning, put the following OAH conventions on your post-2008 calendars: Seattle, 2009; Washington, 2010; Houston, 2011; Milwaukee, 2012; San Francisco, 2103; and Washington, 2014. In the meantime, get ready for our big centennial party next March in Minneapolis when we wish ourselves a happy 100th birthday!



Attendees used the busy registration area to meet friends and colleagues.



More than 400 attendees gathered to honor the 2006 OAH award winners and OAH president Vicki Ruiz.

Paul Avrich

Paul Avrich, distinguished historian of anarchism, died on February 16, 2006 at the age of seventy-four. Every research historian charts his or her own path, revels in the discovery of the new amidst the written remnants of the old. Paul Avrich literally forged a new field and legitimized it with spectacular, prolific scholarship that became the basis of all work on the history of anarchism thereafter. Avrich described the evolution of his transnational research on anarchism as "the vision of a stateless society without coercion or exploitation which dates back to ancient times." His work on American anarchism was part of a larger investigation of libertarian movements that he began in graduate school at Columbia University, which he attended from 1957 to 1961. As he recalled, "My research at Columbia began with a study of the factory-committee movement during the Russian Revolution, a form of revolutionary syndicalism in which rank-and-file workers assumed control of their factories and shops. This led, in turn to a general history of Russian anarchism (published in 1967) and to related histories of the Kronstadt rebellion of 1921 and of popular risings in Russa during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." In 1971, he broadened the scope of his work to include the United States and other countries.

By necessity, Avrich became a master of difficult-tofind primary sources, written in many languages, gathered from collections in archives and basements across the globe (and with tremendous respect and appreciation, gave due credit to the archivists and anarchists who helped him along the way). He grounded his work in the life stories of the individuals whose actions and ideas were part of the colorful and complex mix of the history of anarchism. Although he was never able to complete his vision, Avrich left a weighty bookshelf of remarkable historical works, most of which appeared in several languages. These include The Russian Anarchists (Princeton University Press, 1967), Kronstadt 1921 (Princeton University Press, 1970); Russian Rebels 1600-1800 (Schocken, 1972); American Anarchist: The Life of Voltairine de Cleyre (Princeton University Press, 1978): The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States (Princeton University Press, 1980); The Haymarket Tragedy (Princeton University Press, 1984); Bakunin and Nechaev (Freedom Press, 1987); Anarchist Portraits (Princeton University Press,1988); Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background (Princeton University Press, 1991); and Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America (Princeton University Press, 1995). These works, along with two edited volumes on Kropotkin (1970, 1972) and one on the Anarchists of the Russian Revolution (1973), and a cascade of articles in both scholarly and anarchist journals, are testimony to his dedication to the written legacy of those who he considered "the finest people" and to his belief in the importance of their contribution, and to his underlying assumption that "every good person deep down is an anarchist." In the years before he died, he was writing a definitive biography of Alexander Berkman, who he so admired and wished to emblazon into the historical record in new ways.

In keeping with his affection for the people whose lives he honored in his work, he befriended his "subjects" and enhanced his scholarly life with what evolved into a lively almost familial engagement across generations. His students came not only from Queens College in New York City where he had taught for over thirty years and where he was named a distinguished professor of history, or from CUNY Graduate Center, or from his earlier years on the fac-

ulty of Wesleyan University and Columbia University, but from many universities and mutual aid societies across the world. Filmmakers, playwrights, novelists, biographers, a variety of scholars and research historians sent him a steady flow of queries. His home was a pilgrimage destination for all those seeking accurate information about anarchism. Paul's responses were always diligently prepared, respectful, and remarkably generous. His patience with all entry level points, opened doors to further research in the field. He acted as ad hoc advisor to the Emma Goldman Papers Project—shepherding us as we harvest the pasture he sowed.

Paul Avrich, the foremost historian of anarchism in the world, was a humble scholar, a spellbinding speaker, a welcoming mentor. He was quick-witted and gentle. Respect, integrity, and the quest to document the undocumented rebels of the past, were the touchstones of his life. His presence will be missed, but not forgotten.

Candace Falk
The Emma Goldman Papers
University of California, Berkeley

C. William Heywood

C. William (Bill) Heywood, (1921-2005) honored teacher, scholar, college administrator and community leader, died in his home in Mount Vernon, Iowa on November 16, 2005 after a long illness. A graduate of Earlham College, he completed his doctoral work at the University of Pennsylvania, taught briefly at the College of Wooster and came to Cornell College in 1954, retiring in 1987.

During his years at Cornell College he taught American, Latin American and European history but his primary interest was in the early national period. He introduced one of the first courses in African American History in 1966. A long acknowledged leader of the faculty, he served as dean of the college, 1983-1987. He was awarded the honorary Doctor of Humane Letters by Cornell in 1987 in honor of his distinguished service to the college and the community. He returned to serve Cornell from 1992 to 2002 as a member of the board of trustees and briefly as acting president of the college in 1994.

During his retirement he began writing the first serious history of Cornell College, *The Sesquicentennial History of Cornell College 1853-2000*. Declining health caused him to invite a colleague and friend to complete the two-voume work. Bill published many reviews and was a frequent contributor to academic conferences. He was a lifelong member of MVHA/OAH.

Heywood was active in the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) during his entire career and served two years as national vice-president. He was highly regarded as an investigator and negotiator for AAUP in difficult situations. His service to the Mount Vernon community was marked by long service on the board of education and election to the city council.

Bill was one of the founders of the Iowa History Teachers annual conference and a leader of a team of scholars who authored a report on the teaching of history in Iowa schools. For his many efforts to preserve and present Iowa history he was honored by the Iowa State Historical Society.

A devote Quaker, Heywood was a conscientious objector in World War II and a lifelong advocate for peace and justice. He is remembered with respect, fondness and affection.

Bill married the former Vivian Yergey in 1950 and is survived by her, one daughter, two sons and three grandchildren. \square

Richard H. Thomas Cornell College

William H. Seiler

William H. Seiler, Professor Emeritus of History at Emporia State University, Emporia, Kansas, died January 16, 2006, in McPherson, Kansas. He was eighty-seven.

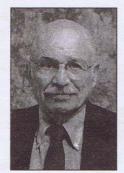
Bill was born on August 21, 1918, in Clinton, Iowa, the son of Harry and Hazel Bock Seiler. He earned his bachelor's (1940), master's (1941), and doctorate (1948) degrees from the University of Iowa. Prior to beginning his doctoral studies, he married Eulalia M. Klingbeil on June 19, 1941, in Postville, Iowa. Following his first semester in Iowa's Ph.D. program, after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Bill enlisted in the U.S. Navy as a lieutenant and served in the Second World War, seeing action in North Africa as well as the invasions at Sicily, Salerno, and Omaha Beach. Following the war, Bill resumed his Ph.D. work, completing it in the summer of 1948. Bill's scholarly abilities caught the eye of the rising scholar George L. Mosse, who enlisted the young veteran while yet a graduate student as coeditor of a manual for teaching the comparative history of Europe and the United States in the early modern period, published in 1947. The following year, as a newly-minted Ph.D., Bill began teaching at Kansas State Teachers College (later Emporia State University). He remained there his entire career, retiring in 1983, and for two full decades served as chair of the Division of Social Sciences, from 1958 to 1978.

Bill's professional work focused especially on the southern colonies, and his doctoral dissertation, directed by H. T. Thornton, was entitled "The Anglican Parish in Tidewater Virginia." Although never published as a monograph, the dissertation yielded three articles, including one in William and Mary Quarterly and two in the Journal of Southern History. Of the latter, "The Anglican Parish Vestry in Colonial Virginia," published in 1956, was a seminal work that was yet required reading in colonial graduate seminars when this writer was doing doctoral coursework in the late 1980s, no small feat after the publication of Rhys Isaac's celebrated The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790 (University of North Carolina Press, 1974). Bill continued to find inspiration in local studies of the colonial South, especially Virginia's tidewater region, and in 1978 his essay "The Anglican Church: A Basic Institution of Local Government in Colonial Virginia," was published in Bruce C. Daniels's Town and County: Essays on the Structure of Local Government in the American Colonies. Teaching so many preparing teachers at Emporia State, his work made the natural turn toward pedagogy, and he published several reports on effective mentoring and teaching of both high school and university students, as well as an outline and study guide to accompany a comparative European-American history textbook, and a history of the Division of Social Sciences at Kansas State Teachers College (1963). His courses were as wide-ranging as his scholarly interests, and he was known as an exceptional teacher.

Bill was a member of the executive committee of the Kansas Council for the Social Studies, and served as president of both the Kansas History Teachers Association and the Kansas State Historical Society. He edited more than twenty-five issues of *Emporia State Research Studies*. He was a fifty-year member of the Organization of American Historians and the Southern Historical Association. He was a member of the First Presbyterian Church and the Outlook Club in Emporia. His wife preceded him in death in 1990. He is survived by two sons, William H. Seiler, Jr., of McPherson, Kansas, and James R. Seiler of Overland Park, Kansas; one brother, James Bristol of Waukon, Iowa; five grandchildren, and five great-grandchildren. Memorial contributions can be made to the William H. and Eula-

lia Seiler Scholarship Fund at Emporia State University. Messages to the family may be left at http://www.stock-hamfamily.com. If life indeed imitates art, Bill Seiler's gentlemanly ways exemplified the ideal of those he spent his life studying. \square

Christopher Phillips University of Cincinnati



Arthur Zilversmit

Arthur Zilversmit, Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of History at Lake Forest College, died on August 22, 2005 following protracted illness. He was seventy-three. Departing Holland as a child, in the company of his parents and brother, they resettled in the United States to escape the Nazis. A graduate of Bronx High School of Science, he earned a B.A. degree at

Cornell University, M.A. at Harvard University, and Ph.D. at the University of California, Berkeley. He came to Lake Forest College in 1966 from Williams College. In addition to teaching history and chairing the department, he established and directed the Graduate Program in Liberal Studies. His course Theory & Methods, instituted in 1985, remains a lynchpin in the department's requirements. Arthur authored two books published by the University of Chicago Press: Changing Schools: Progressive Education Theory and Practice, 1930-1960 (1993), and The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North (1967). He edited Lincoln on Black and White: A Documentary History (Belmont, CA: Krieger, 1971). Zilversmit was awarded many honors including the College's Trustee Award for Outstanding Teaching and Campus Leadership, the Association of Graduate Liberal Studies Programs' first Outstanding Faculty Award, a fellowship at the Shelby Cullom Davis Center of Princeton University, and a Fulbright Senior Lectureship at the University of Rome. Responding to the turmoil of the late 1960s, at Lake Forest College he devised a governance system in place to this day. Devoted to fostering links between higher education and history teachers in the public schools, he directed two seminars underwritten by the National Endowment for the Humanities, served as academic director of the Ohio Academy of History for the National Council of History Education, and participated in a Teaching American History project underwritten by the United States Department of Education. An active member in professional organizations, he served on committees of the Organization of American Historians and the American Historical Association. The North Central Association frequently called upon Zilversmit to evaluate colleges and universities. Arthur Zilversmit is survived by Charlotte Zilversmit, his wife of fifty years, their son Marc Zilversmit of San Francisco, their daughter Karen Golden of Voorhees, New Jersey, his brother Rolf Zilversmit of New York City, and five grandchildren.

Contributions in Zilversmit's memory may be made to the Zilversmit-Gayle M/LS Program Fund at Lake Forest College, c/o Office of Development, Lake Forest College, 555 N. Sheridan Road, Lake Forest, Illinois 60045. □

Michael H. Ebner Lake Forest College

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tion process, current and future students, parents, faculty, and alumni are assured that their school has met those standards, the same ones by which other schools are also measured. The process of accreditation closely examines and evaluates an institution's finances, governance, faculty, and resources, among others, but the goal is to assess the institution as a whole.

Pared to its core, accreditation assesses an institution's commitment to maintain the quality and integrity of higher education. The practice of replacing tenure-track faculty with contingent faculty speaks directly to the quality and integrity of higher education. As colleges rely more heavily on part-time instructors, they face the prospect of creating what former OAH president Jacquelyn Dowd Hall has called "a permanent underclass of contingent faculty" (3). The costs, Hall warns, are great. Departments become more fragmented as the smaller pool of tenure-track faculty shoulder greater responsibility for departmental and university governance, curriculum development, and student advising, to name a few. These trends, Hall notes, threaten not only "the already diminished power of the faculty and the viability of tenure" but also, and perhaps most importantly, the sense of community and collegiality, which is vital to the academic mission.

This is not a criticism of part-time instructors, who overwhelmingly are dedicated and highly skilled, nor is it a criticism of the quality of teaching they deliver. But the fact is that contingent faculty typically are paid too little and not integrated fully into the campus community, thus they cannot be expected to deliver the same sort of instruction that full-time faculty provide. They may not spend as much time preparing courses, they usually are not paid to advise students or even to hold office hours, and they are not asked to serve on committees or to be involved in department or division issues such as curriculum development and hiring. As they often teach at more than one institution, they have precious little time to conduct research or to stay abreast of new scholarship in their fields. Since part-timers too often are treated as disposable second-class citizens in the academy it is likely that they are not able to deliver the best teaching, advising, or mentoring of students. An institution that relies excessively on contingent faculty, no matter the dedication and expertise of those instructors, is diluting the quality of the education it provides.

Although they have not gone far enough, accrediting agencies have at least acknowledged the increased use of adjunct faculty in their accreditation standards. For example, the Middle States Commission on Higher Education's (MSCHE) standards for Faculty notes that in "some institutions, functions previously assumed to be a part of traditional faculty roles are now the responsibility of other qualified professionals," by which it means part-time and adjunct instructors. It asserts that at "institutions relying on part-time, adjunct, temporary and other faculty on time-limited contracts, employment policies and practices should be as carefully developed and communicated as those for full-time faculty. The greater the dependence on such employees, the greater is the institutional responsibility to provide orientation, oversight, evaluation, professional development, and opportunities for integration into the life of the institution." Similarly, the Northwest Commission on Colleges and Universities' (NCCU) Accreditation Standard 4 (Faculty) requires schools that employ part-time and adjunct faculty to ensure that they are appropriately qualified. Moreover, it mandates that institutions regularly periodically assess their policies regarding the use of part-time and adjunct faculty in fulfilling institutional goals (4).

Interestingly, while these standards acknowledge that part-time faculty should be treated equitably they do not address what effect the widespread use of contingent faculty has on the institution as a whole. Both MSCHE and NCCU, for example, make similar assertions about the role and responsibility of the faculty. Both contend that the faculty is central to the mission of higher education, as it has primary responsibility for the quality of educational programs, academic planning, and curriculum development. Both commissions hold that the faculty's workload should allow for time and support for professional development, salaries and benefits should be sufficient to attract and sustain competent faculty, and institutions should have welldefined processes in place to recruit and appoint full-time faculty. Perhaps most important, institutions must foster and defend academic freedom for faculty.

It seems contradictory for accrediting agencies to ascribe so much responsibility for the institution's academic well-being to the faculty while ignoring the fact that on many campuses that responsibility is falling into fewer hands. Accrediting commissions must create stronger standards regarding the employment of part-time and adjunct faculty, and penalize those institutions that exploit them. They cannot, of course, dictate that every institution fit a specific model. They can, however, amend their accreditation standards regarding the use of contingent faculty, and punish institutions that do not meet those standards. By itself, this may not bring significant change. Having colleges and universities examine closely their use of contingent faculty through the process of adhering to accreditation standards, however, would force them, at the very least, to pay closer attention to the impact of contingent faculty on their institution's mission and goals, as well as the integrity of the institution itself.

Rusty Monhollon is an assistant professor of history at Hood College in Frederick, Maryland. A version of this article also appeared in the January 2006 of issue of Perspectives.

Endnotes

- 1. The standards can be found at http://www.oah.org/pubs/nl/2003aug/ptstandards.html
- Robert B. Townsend, "The State of the History Department: The 2001–02 AHA Department Survey," http://www.historians.org/Perspectives/Issues/2004/0404/rbtfaculty0404.htm retrieved August 17, 2005.
- Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "Part-time Employment Hurts the Entire Profession," OAH Newsletter (August 2003), 3.
- 4. Middle States Commission on Higher Education, Characteristics of Excellence in Higher Education (Philadelphia: Middle States Commission on Higher Education, 2002), iv; Northwest Commission on Colleges and Universities, Accreditation Standard 4, http://www.nwccu.org/Standards%20and%20Policies/Standard%204/Standard%20Four.htm retrieved June 17, 2005.

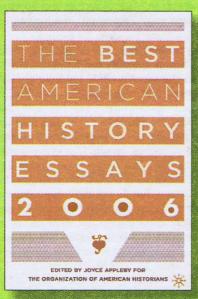
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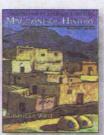
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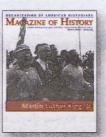
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Eric Arnesen

University of Illinois at Chicago

Eric Arnesen, professor of history and African American studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago, specializes in race, labor, and civil rights. He is author of Brotherhoods of Color: Black Railroad Workers and the Struggle for Equality



(2001), Waterfront Workers of New Orleans: Race, Class, and Politics, 1863-1923 (1991), and Black Protest and the Great Migration: A Brief History with Documents (2002), and is editor or coeditor of four other books. A regular contributor to the Chicago Tribune, he received the James Friend Memorial Award for Literary Criticism. He is currently writing a biography of civil rights and labor leader A. Philip Randolph.

- The Legacies of A. Philip Randolph: Civil Rights, Labor, and the New Black Politics
- The Divided Homefront: African American Politics and Protest During World War I and World War II
- African Americans and the Great Migration
- Myths of Solidarity: Race, the African American Labor Tradition, and the History of American Labor
- African American History, the Left, and Anticommunism



Gail Bederman University of Notre Dame

University of Notre Dame

Gail Bederman is associate professor of history and of gender studies at the University of Notre Dame. An award-winning teacher, she specializes in the history of women, gender, and sexuality in the United States. Her current research centers on

the earliest precursors of the English and American

reproductive rights movement, from William Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, and T.R. Malthus through Fanny Wright and Madame Restell. She is author of *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States*, 1880-1917 (1995).

- Contraception and its Advocates in the U.S.A., 1831-1965: A Revisionist History
- Contraception and its Advocates in the U.S.A. before Margaret Sanger: A Revisionist History
- Revisiting Frances Wright's Nashoba: Slavery, Sex, and Liberty in Tennessee, 1825-1827
- Why the History of Sexuality in the U.S.A. Should Be Taught at Catholic Colleges and Universities: A Report from the Classroom

Carol Berkin

Baruch College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York

Carol Berkin is professor of history at Baruch College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York. She is author and editor of several books, including *Women of*

America: A History (1980), ed. with Mary Beth Norton; Women, War and Revolution: A Comparative History (1980), ed. with Clara Lovett; First Generations: Women in Colonial America (1986); A Brilliant Solution: Inventing the American Constitution (2002); Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence (2005); and the forthcoming Exploring Women's Studies: Looking Forward, Looking Back. Her current research focuses on women in the Civil War era. She is a frequent contributor to television documentaries and serves on the boards of the National Council for History Education, the Museum of American Women, the New-York Historical Society, and the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

- Women in the American Revolution
- · The Constitutional Convention

- · Angelina Grimké and the Abolitionist Movement
- · George Washington and the Newburgh Conspiracy



Ballard Campbell

Northeastern University

Ballard Campbell is professor of history at Northeastern University. He is past president of the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, and author of Representative Democracy (1980) and The Growth of American Government (1995). He is completing a work on

disasters, accidents, and crises in American history; writing Building the American State: The Long Nineteenth Century in Comparative Perspective; and researching the impact of depressions on society.

- · Disaster! Catastrophe and Crisis in American History
- · Economic Causes of Progressivism
- · Why the "Long" Nineteenth Century?

Richard Carwardine

St. Catherine's College, Oxford University

Richard Carwardine was elected Rhodes Professor of American History at Oxford University and a fellow of St. Catherine's College in 2002. He is author of *Transatlantic*



Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America 1790-1865 (1978) and Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America (1993). His analytical political biography of Abraham Lincoln won the Lincoln Prize in 2004; the American edition was subsequently published as Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power (2006). He is currently working on a study of religion in American national construction between the Revolution and the Civil War.

- · Abraham Lincoln, God, and the American Civil War
- Abraham Lincoln and the Fourth Estate: The White House and the Press during the American Civil War
- Battling for Souls: Interdenominational Warfare in the Early American Republic

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Saul Cornell

The Ohio State University

Saul Cornell specializes in early American history and legal/ Constitutional history. He is author of The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788-1828 (1999) and, most recently, A Well-Regulated Militia: The Founding Fathers



and the Origins of Gun Control in America (2006). Cornell also has a strong interest in teaching with technology and is writing a section of a new textbook, American Visions: A History of the American Nation.

- · The Early American Origins of Gun Control
- Neither Individual nor Collective: A New Paradigm for the Second Amendment
- Multimedia Teaching Strategies for the American History Survey
- Re-envisioning the American History Survey: Taking Visual Sources Seriously



Daniel Czitrom
Mount Holyoke College

Daniel Czitrom has been teaching American cultural and political history at Mount Holyoke College since 1981. He is coauthor, with Bonnie Yochelson, of the forthcoming Rediscovering Jacob Riis. He is also coauthor of Out of Many:

A History of the American People (5th ed. 2006), which was banned from Texas high schools in 2003. His Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan (1982) received the American Historical Association's First Book Award and has been translated into Chinese and Spanish. His current book project focuses on the history of New York City's underside and its uneasy relationship to the larger nation.

- Mysteries of the City: Politics, Culture, and New York's Underworld in Turn-of-the-Century America
- · Rediscovering Jacob Riis
- Banned in Texas: An Historian's Adventure in the Culture Wars
- · Media and the American Mind

Kathleen Dalton

Phillips Academy, Andover

Kathleen Dalton is Cecil F.P. Bancroft Instructor of History and Social Science at Phillips Academy, Andover, where she also codirects the Brace Center for Gender Studies. She is author of *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (2002) and *A Portrait of a*



School: Coeducation at Andover (1986). She has spoken widely about Theodore Roosevelt, including appearances on C-SPAN's Book TV, the History Channel, the Arts and Entertainment Channel, and public television; her writing has appeared in numerous newspapers. She is currently on leave from teaching while she edits the diaries of Caroline Drayton Phillips, Eleanor Roosevelt's lifelong

friend, and works on her next book, *The White Lilies and the Iron Boot*, a story of four friends (including Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt) and their attempts to shape U.S. foreign relations during a dangerous time.

- How Radical Was He? The Contradictory Politics of Theodore Roosevelt
- Presidential Bonds: What Franklin and Theodore Roosevelt Had in Common, Besides Loving Eleanor
- Environmental History Giants: John Muir Meets Theodore Roosevelt
- The Mystery of the White Lilies and the Iron Boot: Foreign Policy Making in the Era of Hitler and Mussolini
- Eleanor's Other Friend: The First Lady as Seen Through the Diaries of Caroline Drayton Phillips

Lynn Dumenil

Occidental College

Lynn Dumenil is Robert Glass Cleland Professor of American History at Occidental College. She specializes in U.S. cultural and social history since the Civil War. Dumenil is author of The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s (1995) and Freemasonry and



American Culture, 1880-1930 (1984); and coauthor of Through Women's Eyes: An American History. She is currently studying American women and World War I.

- · World War I, Voluntarism, and Citizenship
- · Women, World War I, and Voluntarism
- . The "New Woman" in the 1920s
- Rethinking the "Feminine Mystique": American Women in the 1950s
- Multicultural Approaches to U.S. History: Ethnic Conflict in the 1920s
- · Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930

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Jonathan Earle University of Kansas

Jonathan Earle is associate

professor of American history at the University of Kansas, where he also directs programming at the Robert J. Dole Institute of Politics. He is author of the Routledge Atlas of African American History (2000) and Jacksonian Antislavery and

the Politics of Free Soil (2004), which won the Byron Caldwell Smith Award and the Best First Book Prize from the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic. His research interests focus on the antislavery movement and the political events leading up to the Civil War. He is currently working on a book about John Brown's raid.

- Free Soil and the Rise of Political Antislavery in the United States
- John Brown, Bleeding Kansas, and the Making of an Irrepressible Conflict



Glenn T. Eskew

Georgia State University

Glenn T. Eskew has an abiding interest in southern history having taught the subject at Georgia State University since 1993. He has published a variety of essays and books focusing on race relations since the Civil War. His But For

Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle (1997) received the Francis Butler Simkins Prize of the Southern Historical Association and Longwood College for the best book in southern history by a new author. He is currently editing Savannah lyricist Johnny Mercer's unpublished autobiography and studying civil rights monuments and institutions in the Deep South. Eskew serves on a number of national, regional, state, and local boards, and promotes historic preservation by working to restore nineteenth-century structures and landscapes in the state.

- · Civil Rights Memorials
- · The Life and Career of Johnny Mercer

John Ferling

University of West Georgia, emeritus

John Ferling, professor emeritus at the University of West Georgia, has written on topics ranging from warfare in colonial America to the lives of the Founders.



The American Revolution, however, is his real passion. He is author of the award-winning A Leap in the Dark: The Struggle to Create the American Republic (2003), biographies of George Washington and John Adams, and a work on Loyalists during the Revolution. He is also author of Adams vs. Jefferson (2004), a history of the pivotal election of 1800. He is currently writing a history of the War of Independence.

- · Flawed Icon: Reassessing General Washington
- Myths of the Revolutionary War
- America's First Band of Brothers: Common Soldiers in the Revolutionary War
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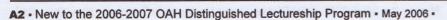
Elliott J. Gorn

Brown University

Elliott J. Gorn teaches history at Brown University. He has written on sport and popular culture, and specializes in nineteenth- and twentieth-century American history. Gorn has received awards from the Guggenheim Foundation and the National Endowment for the

Humanities. His most recent book is *Mother Jones: The Most Dangerous Woman in America* (2001).

- Searching for Mother Jones
- John Dillinger and Depression-Era America



April Lee Hatfield

Texas A&M University

April Lee Hatfield is associate professor of history at Texas A&M University. She is author of Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century (2004). She is currently working on a book that explores Anglo-Spanish relations in the



Caribbean and in southeastern North America between 1588 and 1748, examining in particular how imperial rivalries, commercial concerns, and religious animosities affected local officials', merchants', and colonists' dealings with one another.

- · The Black Legend, the Powhatans, and Jamestown
- · Ambassadors, Smugglers, and Spies: Negotiating Imperial Rivalries in the Early Modern Atlantic World
- Religion, Politics, and Trade in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean



Woody Holton

University of Richmond

Woody Holton is associate professor of history at the University of Richmond. His first book, Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia (1999)

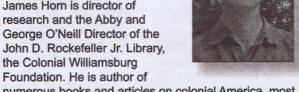
won OAH's Merle Curti Award. His article, "Divide et Impera': The Tenth Federalist in a Wider Sphere," was selected for inclusion in OAH's Best American History Essays 2006. In 1990, Holton founded the environmental advocacy group "Clean Up Congress," which campaigned in support of proenvironment candidates.

- · Abigail Adams, Bond Speculator
- · Reining in the Revolution: Angry Farmers and the Origins of the Constitution
- · The Accidental Revolution
- · Revolt of the Ruling Class: How Indians and Slaves Helped Transform Jefferson and Washington into Revolutionaries
- · "Divide et Impera": The Tenth Federalist in a Wider Sphere

James Horn

John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

James Horn is director of research and the Abby and George O'Neill Director of the John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, the Colonial Williamsburg



numerous books and articles on colonial America, most recently A Land As God Made It: Jamestown and the Birth of America (2005), and is currently editing the writings of Captain John Smith for the Library of America series.

· A Land As God Made It: Jamestown and the Birth of America

Matthew Frye Jacobson

Yale University

Matthew Frye Jacobson is professor of American studies, history, and African American studies at Yale University. He is author of Roots Too: White Ethnic Revival in Post-Civil Rights America (2006); Barbarian Virtues: The United States



Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917 (2000); Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race (1998), winner of the John Hope Franklin and the Ralph Bunche Prizes; and Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish Immigrants of the United States (1995). He is currently at work on a cultural history of the Civil Rights era, Politics by Other Means.

- · Race, Immigration, and U.S. Citizenship
- The History of "Whiteness" in U.S. Political Culture
- · The Civil Rights Era as Cultural History
- · Annexing the "Other": Immigration and Imperialism, 1876-1917
- · White Ethnic Revival in Post-Civil Rights America



Carl F. Kaestle

Brown University

Carl Kaestle is University Professor and professor of education, history, and public policy at Brown University. His teaching interests include the history of American education, current policy issues in education, and the history of print culture in

America. His writings on these subjects include Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860 (1983) and Literacy in the United States: Readers and Reading Since 1880 (1991). Recently he was a principal consultant and "talking head" in the PBS documentary "School."

- · "Print in Motion": The History of Reading and Publishing, 1880-1940
- · Readers and Writers in 1880: A Tour of Print Culture in Victorian America
- The Federal Role in Education since World War II: Ever more?
- · The Invention of the American Public School

Michael Kazin

Georgetown University

Michael Kazin is professor of history at Georgetown University. He is author of four books about American politics and social movements including, most recently, A Godly Hero: The Life of William Jennings Bryan (2006), and



coeditor of Americanism: New Perspectives on the History of an Ideal (2006). He writes frequently for scholarly and popular periodicals.

- · The Failure and Success of American Radicalism
- · William Jennings Bryan and the Fate of the Christian

- · How to Understand the 1960s and How Not To
- · The Causes of Conservative Victory, 1964-2004
- The Use and Abuse of Americanism

Michael J. Klarman University of Virginia

Michael J. Klarman is the James Monroe Distinguished Professor of Law and professor of history at the University of Virginia, where he has taught since 1987. He has won numerous awards for his teaching and scholarship,



which are primarily in the areas of constitutional law and constitutional history. His book, From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality (2004), received the Bancroft Prize in History.

- · Why Brown v. Board of Education Was a Hard Case
- · Brown and the Civil Rights Movement
- · Various topics in American constitutional history



Jon Kukla

Red Hill, The Patrick Henry National Memorial

Jon Kukla is executive vice president and director of Red Hill, The Patrick Henry National Memorial. He is a recognized authority on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century American

history, with special emphasis on the early history of Virginia. He has written extensively about American history and culture for the major historical journals and in several books, including A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America (2003). His current book project is entitled Mr. Jefferson's Women.

- · All Men are Created Equal: Thomas Jefferson and Women
- Monroe and Livingston vs. Lewis and Clark: The Louisiana Purchase and American Civic Memory
- Patrick Henry and the American Revolution
- Thriving Outside the Grove: Reflections of a Public
- The Louisiana Purchase in its World-History Context

Jill Lepore

Harvard University

Jill Lepore is author of New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan (2005), A is for American: Letters and Other Characters in the Newly United States (2002); Encounters in the New World: A History in



Documents (1999); and The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity (1998), winner of the Bancroft Prize. She teaches history at Harvard University and is especially interested in crosscultural encounters in early America and in the writing of history.

- · The Paradox of American Nationalism
- · Speculation and Historical Writing
- · Solving the 1741 New York Slave Conspiracy



Carl Lounsbury
Colonial Williamsburg
Foundation

Carl Lounsbury has been a member of the architectural research department of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation since 1982. His books include An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern

Architecture and Landscape (1994) and The Courthouses of Early Virginia (2005). He is currently working, with fellow historians at Colonial Williamsburg, on books about early Chesapeake architecture and early American churches and meetinghouses, as well as the "Big Book of Williamsburg". He is cofounder of the National Institute of American History and Democracy, a program in early American history and material culture sponsored jointly by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and the College of William and Mary, where he teaches architectural history and field recording methodology.

- Changing Perceptions of the Restoration of Colonial Williamsburg
- · The Study of Early American Architecture
- The Architecture of Early American Churches and Meetinghouses
- · Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake Architecture
- · Courthouses of Early Virginia

Stephanie McCurry

University of Pennsylvania

Stephanie McCurry is professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania. Her research and teaching focus on the history of the nineteenth-century United States, particularly on the history of the South and of women and gender. Her first book, Masters of Small Worlds:



Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the South Carolina Low County (1995), on the antebellum period and the politics of secession in South Carolina, initiated an exploration of the social history of politics and the gendered history of political culture that she continues to pursue. The book she is currently writing is a study of the Confederate political project and its undoing in the course of the nation's bloodiest war.

- · Soldiers' Wives and Confederate Politics
- The Perfected Republic of White Men: The Confederate Project and Its Undoing
- · The Confederate Debate Over Arming the Slaves



Patrick B. Miller Northeastern Illinois University

Patrick B. Miller is professor of history at Northeastern Illinois University, author of the forthcoming *The Playing Fields of American Culture: Athletics and Higher Education, 1850-1945*, and coauthor (with David K. Wiggins) of *The Unlevel Playing Field: A Documentary History of the African American*

Experience in Sport (2003). He has also edited The

Sporting World of the Modern South (2002) and coedited The Civil Rights Movement Revisited (2001).

- Muscular Assimilationism: Sport and the Paradox of Racial Reform
- The Unlevel Playing Field: Interpreting the African American Experience in Sport
- "Fields of Friendly Strife": College Sport and the Shaping of American Culture



William Pencak

Pennsylvania State University

William Pencak is professor of history at Pennsylvania State University. His recent Jews and Gentiles in Early America: 1654-1800 (2005) stresses that as early American society became more democratic, it also became more antisemitic.

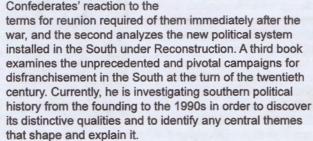
His current research is on the Jay family, focusing on the accomplishments and limits of aristocratic reform over several generations. He is also finishing a book on how Rev. William White shepherded a discredited Church of England at the end of the Revolution into the well-respected American Episcopal Church, which rejected the emotional religious fervor of the more populist denominations while supporting education for women, social reform, and rights for African Americans.

- Desecrating Jewish Cemeteries in Early America: Antisemitism, Religious Toleration, and Jewish Gentile Relations before 1800
- An Enlightened Faith: Bishop William White of Philadelphia, the Rejection of Enthusiasm, and the Creation of the American Episcopal Church
- From Huguenot Immigrants to the American Huguenot Society: Four Generations of the (John) Jay Family, 1725-1890
- Rejecting Darwinism and Determinism: Charles Sanders Peirce's Writings on History

Michael Perman

University of Illinois at Chicago

Michael Perman is Research Professor in the Humanities in the history department at the University of Illinois at Chicago. He has published two studies on the politics of Reconstruction. The first deals with the former



- Disfranchisement in the South: Causes and Consequences
- · The Destruction of Reconstruction, 1870-1900
- American Exceptionalism: A Beguiling yet Dangerous Idea
- · Is there a Southern Political Tradition?

Dwight T. Pitcaithley

New Mexico State University

Dwight T. Pitcaithley is College Professor of History at New Mexico State University. He retired from the National Park Service in 2005 as Chief Historian, a position he held for ten years. He has contributed chapters to Slavery and Public



History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory (2006), Preserving Western History (2005), Public History and the Environment (2004), Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape (2001), and Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West (2001). In 2005, the Organization of American Historians awarded him its Distinguished Service Award.

- The National Park Service: Is There a Future for the Past?
- Confronting the Causes of the Civil War in Public:
 The National Park Service and American Memory
- John Singleton Mosby was Right: Slavery and the Coming of the American Civil War



Linda Reed

University of Houston

Linda Reed is associate professor of history at the University of Houston. She is author of the forthcoming From Freedom to Freedom: The Modern-Day Civil Rights Movement in Historical Perspective, coauthor of America: Pathways to the Present (2000),

and coeditor, with Darlene Clark Hine and Wilma King, of "We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible": A Reader in Black Women's History (1995). She is currently working on a book about the life and times of Fannie Lou Hamer as well as coauthoring Black Women in America, 1619-2001.

- The Role of African American Women in the Civil Rights Movement
- Fannie Lou Hamer: New Ideas for the Civil Rights Movement and American Democracy

Daniel K. Richter

University of Pennsylvania

Daniel K. Richter is the Richard S. Dunn Director of the McNeil Center for Early American Studies and professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania. His research and teaching focus on colonial North America and on Native American history before 1800.



He is author of Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America (2001) and The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization (1992). He is coeditor, with James H. Merrell, of Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800 (1987) and, with William A. Pencak, of Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Colonists, Indians, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania (2004).

- · Native Americans and the Colonial Atlantic World
- Contested Space: The North American Origins of the Seven Years War
- The Peopling and Repeopling of Colonial North America

David Roediger

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Currently Babcock Chair of History at University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, David Roediger has written on U.S. movements for a shorter working day, on the history of radicalism, and on the racial



identities of white workers. His books include, most recently, Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past (2002) and Working Towards Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White (2005). He has also edited Covington Hall's Labor Struggles in the Deep South, W.E.B. Du Bois's John Brown, and Black on White: Black Writers on What It Means to Be White (1998).

- · Historical Notes on Race
- · Whiteness and Misery in the U.S.
- · Race and Class in the U.S. Past
- · U.S. Empire and Worlds of Race



Jacqueline A. Rouse

Georgia State University

Jacqueline A. Rouse has been a member of the history department of Georgia State University since 1991, teaching graduate and undergraduate courses in African American and African American women's histories. Her publications

explore the role of southern African American and indigenous women in social action reform, community building, and leadership. She is author of *Lugenia Burns Hope, Black Southern Reformer* (1989) and coeditor of *Women in the Civil Rights Movement, Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965* (1993). She is currently working on a biography of civil rights icon Septima P. Clark, principal organizer of the citizenship schools for Highlander Folk School and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

- · Women in the Modern Civil Rights Movement
- Black Women in the Modern Civil Rights Movement
- The Role of Faith Among Black Women in Social Activism/Racial Uplift
- The Black Clubwomen of the Early Twentieth Century
- Black Women Leaders: Clubs and Community Building

Ronald Schaffer

California State University, Northridge, emeritus

Ronald Schaffer is professor emeritus of history at California State University, Northridge, specializing in military history. While he considers tactics, strategy, logistics, and weapons, he also writes and speaks about the way media affect our imagined conceptions of battle; about the physical, psychological, and spiritual effects of combat on those exposed to it; and about the ways in which war has helped shape the evolution of American society. He is author of America in the Great War: The Rise of the War Welfare State (1991), among other books and articles.

- The United States Marine Corps and the "Lessons of History": From the Caribbean to Iraq
- American Bombing of Civilians, 1941-1945: Why Decision-makers Considered or Ignored the Moral Issues
- American Flyers Contemplate a Rendezvous with Death, 1914-1918

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Ellen Schrecker

Yeshiva University

Ellen Schrecker is professor of history at Yeshiva University who has written extensively about the Cold War red scare. Among her books are No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities (1986), The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents (1994), and Many Are



the Crimes: McCarthyism in America (1998). Her most recent volume is an edited collection of essays, Cold War Triumphalism: Exposing the Misuse of History after the Fall of Communism (2004). Former editor of the AAUP's magazine, Academe, she is currently working on a general study of political repression in the United States

- Political Repression in America from the Puritans to the Patriot Act
- McCarthyism in America: Political Repression during the Early Cold War
- Academic Freedom from the Age of McCarthyism to the Present



Leslie A. Schwalm University of Iowa

Leslie A. Schwalm is associate professor of history and women's studies at the University of Iowa, where she teaches U.S. women's history, North American slavery, and the Civil War era. Her research focuses on gender, race, and the transition from

slavery to freedom, in both the North and the South. She is author of "A Hard Fight for We": Women's Tranistion from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina (1997), which won the Willie Lee Rose Prize of the Southern Association for Women Historians. She is completing a book, Emancipation's Diaspora, on the politics of race and black migration on the northern home front during the Civil War.

- · Civil Rights in the Age of Emancipation
- "Overrun with Free Negroes": The Politics of Emancipation and Migration
- "In Their Own Way and At Such Times As They Think Fit": Women and the Transition from Slavery to Freedom

Thomas Alan Schwartz

Vanderbilt University

Thomas Alan Schwartz is professor of history at Vanderbilt University. He has written extensively on America's relations with Europe, especially Germany, and his research concerns alliance politics and the modern American presidency.



He teaches courses dealing with the history of U.S. foreign relations, the Vietnam War, and the Middle East. He is currently writing two books: a biography of former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and a short history of the Cold War.

- · Henry Kissinger: The Professor as Policymaker
- Europe's First Texan: Lyndon Johnson's Foreign Policy Reconsidered
- · Iraq and Vietnam: History's Lessons?
- Troubles in the Family: U.S.-European Disputes in Historical Perspective
- The Cold War as History



Marc J. Susser

U.S. State Department

Marc J. Susser is Historian of the U.S. Department of State and director of the Office of the Historian, part of the State Department's Bureau of Public Affairs. The office is responsible for the publication of the Foreign Relations of the United

States series, which is the official documentary record of U.S. foreign policy. Previously, he served as director of the Office of Country Reports and Asylum Affairs in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, responsible for the preparation of annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices. He joined the foreign service in 1984, before moving to the civil service in 1994, and has served overseas in Mexico and Spain as well as in several offices in the Department of State.

- History and Foreign Policy: Using the Past in the Present
- The Evolution of U.S. Policy on Human Rights

"It's wonderful that this program is available. We would not have been able to afford a speaker, had this option not been available. Being able to bring in this speaker in conjunction with an exhibition brought great publicity to the museum."

—Julie Browning, Curator, American Museum of Science and Energy



Elizabeth R. Varon

Temple University

Elizabeth R. Varon is professor of history at Temple University. She is author of We Mean to be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia (1998) and Southern Lady, Yankee Spy: The True Story of Elizabeth Van Lew, a Union Agent in the Heart of the Confederacy (2003).

The latter book - which won awards from the Virginia Historical Society; the James River Writers Festival and the Library of Virginia; and the Southern Regional Council - reflects Varon's ongoing commitment to integrating social history with political and military history. Varon is currently finishing a study of the origins of the Civil War, provisionally entitled *On the Precipice: The Discourse of Disunion and the Coming of the Civil War*.

- The Method in her Madness: Recovering the True Story of Elizabeth Van Lew, a Union Agent in Confederate Richmond
- On the Precipice: The Discourse of Disunion and the Coming of the Civil War

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—Edward S. Slavishak, Department of History, Susquehanna University

Sam Wineburg

Stanford University

Trained as a cognitive psychologist, Sam Wineburg directs the doctoral program in history education at Stanford's School of Education. His Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past (2001) won the Association of



American Colleges and Universities' Frederic W. Ness Book Award for the work that "best illuminates the goals and practices of a contemporary liberal education." Prior to moving to Stanford, he spent thirteen years at the University of Washington, where he was professor of cognitive studies in education, adjunct professor of history, and recipient of the university's "Distinguished Teaching Award."

- · Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts
- Making Thinking Visible in the University History Classroom
- Forrest Gump and Other Keys to Students' Historical Understanding

An OAH Distinguished Lecturer's Perspective

Michael Honey



In February, I gave an OAH Distinguished Lecture on "King's Unfinished Agenda: The Struggle for Racial and Economic Justice" at Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan. This lecture is based on research for my forthcoming book, Going Down Jericho Road: The Memphis Strike, King's Last Campaign. I have been working intensely on this book, so I found this lecture a

welcome opportunity to reflect upon King's work as a labor and civil rights advocate, particularly from 1965 to 1968.

My host, Daniel Clark of Oakland's history department, had published a book on textile union organizing in the South and is currently doing interviews with retired auto workers in the Detroit area, so we had a great deal to talk about (1). His students also made my visit a special treat, due to their interest in labor and community history. Taking time to be with students and faculty at another institution is highly rewarding.

When I gave my lecture, I met numerous people from the community as well as the history department and its

invited guests, who enlivened the evening with great questions and comments. Inevitably, our discussion led to the current policies of the Bush administration, which are antithetical to everything Dr. King believed in. Putting the current policies of war and repression into the context of a previous time, when a Democratic administration followed a similarly disastrous obsession with military solutions to social problems, provided a sobering but also energizing moment. We got beyond our daily frustrations to a discussion of what we as citizens can do when the people are manipulated and government misused.

I also had a special reason for enjoying my time at Oakland: it is where I went to undergraduate school, and I had not been back for 37 years. Then, we had 2,500 students; now, Oakland has 17,000 students. Then, we were in the boondocks; now, Oakland is surrounded by a more or less prosperous suburbia. Oakland is still a stone's throw from urban Pontiac and Detroit, where black leaders have taken charge, but the economic bottom has fallen out. At least today more people in the suburbs may be aware of the plight of the poor than they were during the massive Detroit riot of 1967, when we lived at Oakland. With the hurricane-like destruction of auto jobs in the area, hardly anyone there can be unaware of the difficulties workers face in the global

economy. For me, it was not exactly déjà vu all over again, but similar problems in a new context.

What made the trip especially memorable was being joined by my old classmates—political scientist and United Auto Workers attorney David Black and Jerry Hill, a world-traveling China scholar and attorney—as well as one of the great lecturers of our time at Oakland, Roy Kotynek, an intellectual historian who has lost none of his sharpness and wit. It was a great reunion as well as a great evening.

I recommend doing OAH Lectures. It is a great way to get out and see people, to test ideas among different audiences, and to get in touch with history students and professors at other institutions. And it also helps if you do it at your long-lost alma mater. \square

Michael Honey currently teaches at the University of Washington Tacoma and holds the university system's Harry Bridges Chair of Labor Studies.

Endnote

1. Daniel Clark, Like Night and Day, Unionization in a Southern Mill Town (University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

Our thanks go out to the following OAH Distinguished Lecturers who contributed their time and talent during 2005-2006 as well as to the institutions that hosted them. (Asterisks indicate federally funded Teaching American History workshops.)

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