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NEWSLETTER

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS

VOL.II, NO.2

MAY 1983



**The two new histories:
competing paradigms
for interpreting the
American past**

**Historians & computers:
word processing**

**FDR remembered:
statesman of
peaceful means**

**Hollywood history:
assaulting the past**

**Women's history
and the
humanities**

Direct action and constitutional rights: the case of the ERA



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Members of the OAH receive the Journal of American History, the Program to the OAH's annual meeting, and the Newsletter. Information about membership dues is available from the above address.

The editorial staff asks for suggestions and comments regarding the Newsletter's format and content. We appreciate your opinions.



Robert Swierenga on historians and computers

Thomas Clark on History Over the Years

James Klotter on publishing in state journals

Edith Mayo & Jerry Frye on anti-ERA rhetoric

Wilcomb Washburn on the Supreme Court's use and misuse of history

A preview of "Vietnam: A Television History"

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ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS NEWSLETTER

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COVER ILLUSTRATION: The Works Progress Administration, organized by Congress on April 8, 1935, was based on the tenet that employable individuals were to be taken from relief rolls and offered work within their skills and trades. For the first time, ability of the worker and his/her self-respect became the cornerstone of a relief program. By May 1935, the Federal Theatre Project had emerged as part of the WPA on Relief Administrator Harry Hopkins's insistence that workers in the arts were as deserving of support as those in other trades.

From its very beginning, the FTP recognized the importance of children's theatre. During the '30s, children were an untapped theatrical audience, and the FTP showed great foresight in trying to cultivate them. Thus, every major city boasted an FTP unit that produced plays, such as *The Ivory Door*, especially for children.

The cover illustration is reprinted through the courtesy of the Library of Congress Federal Theatre Project collection at George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia.

History over the years

Walter Johnson

INCREASED OPENNESS
EPITOMIZES the significant developments in the teaching of history and in the activities of the professional associations during my forty-two years of university teaching. This openness includes receptiveness to new fields of history and to neglected subject matter within established fields; and receptiveness within the Organization of American Historians and the American Historical Association to new activities to serve the discipline of history and its practitioners better.

This emphasis on increased openness reflects the fact that twice in my generation historians witnessed the most serious questioning of American society and its institutions at any time since the Civil War. The Depression of the early '30s and the Civil Rights Movement of the '60s revealed the gap between American ideals and American reality.

The belief that with hard work and thrift one could attain success was one of the ideals shattered by 1932. Horatio Alger was no longer a byword, and the inadequacy of the trickle-down theory of wealth was exposed.

The years of the Depression and the efforts of the New Deal to adjust capitalism to democratic institutions, the expansion of governmental power to cope with private economic power, the adoption of reforms to curb entrepreneurial greed, and legislation such as Social Security to provide individuals with

The Depression of the early '30s and the Civil Rights Movement of the '60s revealed the gap between American ideals and American reality

some protection against poverty had an important impact on my generation of American historians. It molded our thinking. With our faith that the struggle for human decency would certainly triumph in an open society, some of us underestimated how much the achievement ethic at home and abroad was threatening the ideals of

equality of opportunity, peace, and self-determination during the years of the Cold War.

The Civil Rights Movement burst the cocoon of complacency and demanded the reappraisal of the history of the United States, which still continues. It challenged the

The Civil Rights Movement burst the cocoon of complacency and demanded the reappraisal of American history

most glaring contradiction in American society and spurred and guided a wide variety of other movements which questioned the gap between American ideals and American reality, including, but not limited to: Students for a Democratic Society, the movement for peace in Southeast Asia, antinuclear groups, new environmental organizations, women's rights, the Chicanos, and the Native American Indian movement.

The challenges of the 1960s stimulated new courses, programs, conferences, articles, and books about the history of women, minorities, the whole underside of American history as nothing had done before. The grumbling of some historians and their resistance to the new courses offered within their departments was reminiscent of the objections of political and constitutional specialists to the growth of social history advanced in the 1920s and 1930s by such proponents as Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr. and Carl Russell Fish.

The "new" social and urban history and, more recently, the emphasis on quantification in history, speeded enormously by computers, made clear in my years of teaching and research that as we grope for a better understanding of the past we cannot afford to reject an approach any more than we can claim that one approach can solve all the mysteries of the past.

There was in the 1960s not just an increased openness to new subject matter in teaching and writing. There was as well a significant increase in the activities of the OAH and the AHA. In the early '60s, as a member of the Council of

the AHA, I and members of my age group voted to separate the editing of the American Historical Review from the other increasingly urgent activities facing professional associations. An Executive Director had become an obvious necessity by then. The small, academically-oriented association--dominated by faculty from the major universities--lacked the ability to cope with the pressing problems confronting undergraduate faculty, secondary school teachers, and public historians. It largely was closed to the world outside the discipline of history, although actions by both federal and state governments vitally affected historians. Freedom of speech in an open society is essential to the teaching and writing of history. Infringements on free speech by the House UnAmerican Activities Committee and a number of state committees, however, were not challenged in the 1950s in an organized fashion, since neither the OAH nor the AHA was prepared to deal with such abuses. Nor was either organization in a position to monitor and influence sufficiently proposed legislation and appropriations in a sustained fashion.

With the establishment of the position of Executive Secretary and supporting staff, the OAH and the AHA became more responsive to events around them. In 1974, both were able to take effective action when President Ford signed an agreement granting resigned President Nixon exclusive access and possession of presidential papers and tapes. Rather than remain passive, the OAH and the AHA joined with the American Political Science Association and the Reporters Committee for Freedom of Information in a lawsuit that blocked the "deal."

Even though some historians may view a particular president as benign, the powers of the Office of the President have grown so enormously as to pose dangers to an open society by covering up abuses under the cloak of "executive privilege" or "national security." Historians--and others--must have access to executive documents to be informed analysts. Then, through writing and teaching, they can be, in Madison's words, one of the auxiliary precautions to stop abuses of power which endanger an open society. The AHA Perspectives in December 1982 quite

properly stated, "We believe that all members regardless of the ultimate disposal of this case may take pride in the role of their (and other) associations as 'watchdogs' for openness and a well-informed public."

Freedom of speech in an open society is essential to the teaching and writing of history

Nixon's resignation and then Ford's assigning to him control of the presidential materials provided us as historians with an opportunity to bring about some rational policies on the disposition of presidential materials. We will have to watch, however, to see whether the new agreement is effective. If not, the two organizations, through their membership, must mobilize pressure on Congress to adopt necessary changes. But we should not stop with presidential materials. Historians must ensure that another Watergate is not necessary before the OAH and

Historians -- and others -- must have access to executive documents to be informed analysts

the AHA secure legislation covering the disposition of the papers of presidential aides, cabinet members, members of regulatory commissions, members of Congress, and justices. I remember reading through the manuscript material of Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius on the positions to be taken by the American delegation to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. After meeting with the President, at the close of each session, Stettinius dictated the instructions to his secretary. When he left office, his aides loaded the files on a truck and deposited the material at the University of Virginia. When I discovered that the Department of State did not have a copy of this dictation, I microfilmed it for their archives. Such individual action is no substitute, however, for a rational policy about papers in the public domain.

Since 1976, when the OAH and the AHA initiated the establishment of the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History, historians have had available an instrument to influence Congressional policy and, with today's twenty-four state committees, also state legisla-

History Over the Years

tive policy. The separation of the National Archives and Record Service from the General Services Administration is one of the important undertakings of the NCC. Another is the struggle to combat proposals from the Reagan Administration that will seriously weaken the Freedom of Information Act. The FOIA was needed in the first place to help make the executive branch responsible to the public. In addition to the lobbying of our organizations, individual historians must make sure their Senators and Representatives know how essential access to documents is for teaching and writing.

I have not touched upon discussions critical of overspecialization by historians and on the need to be more interdisciplinary, which have occurred in the past decade. These are important and continuing questions and, indeed, are concerned with the idea of openness. Others will, I am sure, use this column to discuss them more thoroughly than I. However, since 1946, all historians--but particularly historians of the United States--have had an invaluable opportunity to overcome too narrow, specialized training through teaching and research in other cultures facilitated by the Fulbright Exchange Program. Senator Fulbright, as he piloted the legislation for this program through Congress, explained that never before in American history was it so necessary for Americans to understand other cultures and for those from other cultures to understand America.

Historians must ensure that another Watergate is not necessary before the OAH and the AHA secure legislation covering the disposition of official government papers

Again, however, the Fulbright Program will not continue automatically in any significant fashion or improve without sustained support from historians and other professionals. My membership on the Board of Foreign Scholarships (BFS), 1947-53, demonstrated to me the necessity for a concerned constituency not only to influence appropriations, but also to help the BFS fend off opponents within the ex-

ecutive branch. Many people in the Information Agency, to which, unfortunately, the Fulbright Program was assigned administratively during the Carter Administration, are tempted to use it for propaganda purposes to defend American foreign policy at any time and everywhere.

The educational purpose of the program must not be jeopardized by short-range thinking. Individual historians who have had Fulbright grants should ensure that their members of Congress understand and support the program and, through the OAH, the AHA, and the Fulbright Alumni Association, add organized lobbying at critical moments in the executive branch as well as in Congress. In this, as in other concerns, a continuing relationship between elected officials and historians is desirable and productive.

Historians as individuals and as organization members must continue to be active in the disposition of the papers of officials, secure access to governmental materials, and exert influence on the appropriation and legislative process.



1985 OAH CALL FOR PAPERS

THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE for the Annual Meeting of the OAH, to be held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 17-20, 1985, invites suggestions for papers, workshops, or panels. Projects involving film, music, or drama are welcomed for consideration as part of the evening programming. Applicants should send three copies each of a brief vita and a two-page resume of the project summarizing its thesis, methodology, and significance. Proposals should be addressed to the Program Co-Chair, Gerald N. Grob, Department of History, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903. The deadline for receipt of proposals is February 15, 1984.

THE ISSUE NUMBER IDENTIFIER for the New York Times Index, 1851-1858 translates issue numbers, provides date equivalencies, and corrects old errors. It is available for \$5.00 ppd. from Douglas Shepard, 44 Maple Avenue, Fredonia, New York 14063.

OAH News



Report of the Executive Secretary

Joan Hoff-Wilson

THE PAST YEAR has been the best and worst of times for the Organization of American Historians. On several fronts, we have made considerable progress. In particular, we have held our own in the area of membership, put public advocacy efforts squarely in place, reached out to several new constituencies which had been neglected, and fine tuned a number of our ideas about improving the teaching of history from high school through graduate school.

Nevertheless, it has been a frustrating year for the Bloomington staff because many of our new initiatives have been made more difficult to accomplish because of an unexpected internal stumbling block; namely, a new computer program which was supposed to modernize our ability to serve members more efficiently and personally. To date, this promised technological advance has proven a classic example of one step forward and two backward.

Since last August, the Bloomington office has expended enormous time and energy trying to compensate manually for a computer program which we ultimately had to discard. We will have a completely new one on line by the end of May, but, in the meantime, I realize that many of you have not received issues of the Journal, Newsletter, and Program since you last renewed your subscription or changed your address. Please do not think that we have singled any of you out for individual persecution. You were simply a victim of a faulty program which only erratically updated the master list. I can't begin to tell you how embarrassing it was for the Bloomington staff not to be able to guarantee that when they entered your new expiration date or address on the computer it would "take"--even after three or four tries at the terminal.

All I can say in retrospect

about this experience is that I now better appreciate why the war in Vietnam dragged on and on. It is very difficult to know when to cut your losses when the experts are all telling you that if you will only be patient a few more weeks or months, all of your problems will be resolved. In other words, when you are repeatedly told that there is light at the end of the tunnel, it takes quite a while to realize that, indeed, there is not. Before switching over to the new computer program you can rest assured that we will make sure that the light is on this time before we enter the tunnel.

Turning from the worst to the best of last year's record, I am proud to announce that we stand out among the major professional associations in the country at the moment because we have held our own in terms of membership during the last decade. Most of the large groups belonging to the American Association of Learned Societies--especially those in the humanities--have lost from 10 to 40% of their membership since 1972. Following are a few examples.

The Modern Language Association's 1982 membership totals 26,656, a decrease of 11% over the past ten years. (Its 1972 membership was 30,158.) Likewise, the American Political Science Association's membership total for 1982 was 8,441, a 31% decrease from its 1974 total of 12,254. The American Historical Association has experienced a decrease of 35.7% in membership over the past decade, from 17,525 in 1972 to 11,300 in 1982. (It should be noted that the AHA figures are for individuals only; institutional subscriptions are not listed separately in their annual report.)

In contrast, the membership of the OAH is virtually the same today as it was a decade ago. Our current membership figure of 12,665 (including institutions) represents an increase of 916 members from its 1972 total of 11,749. Until this year, the Organization had reached its highest membership in 1971 when the figure was 12,278. Our present figure is slightly larger than it was in 1971. However, this stability of membership is unique among the large humanistic societies who are members of the ACLS--

OAH News

except for, interestingly, the American Philosophical Association which has doubled its membership from 3,000 to 6,000 in the last decade.

Since the OAH operating budget is derived almost entirely from membership dues, it is absolutely essential that the Organization not only maintains its current size, but also that it makes every effort to emulate the American Philosophical Association and increase membership. In fact, the OAH is one of the few large learned societies where there remains a direct correlation between subscriptions and operating expenses because it has no substantial endowment or investment portfolio on which to draw. The success of the Organization in maintaining its membership and some of our efforts this year to increase it raises, however, an economy of scale question which the new computer program is both symbol of and solution to.

Beyond any doubt, the OAH is being asked to do more for members than ever before. As our membership drives are aided by enhanced computer information the result will be an even more heterogeneous and even more demanding membership. While I think we will eventually triumph over these "growing pains," we are at a difficult financial situation because of rising expectations on the part of some of the heretofore neglected groups of historians which we have been courting for the last five or six years. In particular, I have in mind women, high school teachers, advocacy groups, and all kinds of trained historians working outside of academe, including the most visible of that group: the public historians.

Realizing that our constituency will never be homogeneous as it once was, we have tried to diversify our services to include, for example, more lobbying, publications, and development of grant proposals than in the past. In light of these expanded or new activities, one could actually argue that the OAH is too large for its current budget. While I accept the challenge of trying to do more for less in these inflationary times, the Organization has reached a point of diminishing returns on what

can be done without increasing our budget. That is, the staff and operating budget has not expanded although the work of the Organization has. Just as in any small business, there comes a time when management must decide whether it can continue to function efficiently without increasing its operating expenses.

In a word, we need to seek a more appropriate economy of scale. Once operational, our new computer capacity should enable us not only to determine what that scale is, but also help offset the expense of increased services by expanding our publications, predicting cash flow problems, providing more efficient renewal mailings, and by targeting potential new subscribers. At the moment, however, our economy of scale is not in balance. The dues increase the Executive Board voted at its April 6, 1983 meeting is only an interim solution to our search for an economy of scale operation suited to our size and expanded services. For that reason, the Board also created a long-range Development Committee to raise money for the operating and investment purposes. Clearly, we must either decide to retrench or go forward. The current office staff is stretched to its outer limits because of expanded or new activities, and the OAH simply cannot make any more contributions to advocacy work, History Day activities, or teaching conferences without increasing our operating budget. If we succeed in establishing a national History Education Center at Bloomington, some of the immediate financial and staff pressures will be alleviated. But we cannot rely indefinitely on this type of "soft" grant money or on membership dues for operating purposes in these difficult financial times.

Some of you have suggested ways in which we can conserve the Organization's finances, and the Executive Board has acted on a number of them by reducing committee expenses and eliminating its own per diem for both of its annual meetings. However, there is one suggestion that many of you have made which would be out of line with the economy of scale that we are trying to effect. It is the suggestion that we meet on campuses

rather than in cities.

Most universities cannot easily accommodate 1,500 or more convention participants (2,300 attended the 1982 OAH meeting in Philadelphia last year and 1,678 this year in Cincinnati). Even in Bloomington, where there is a major conference center, an OAH annual meeting would tax the facilities. Among other things, most university switch boards simply cannot handle the number of calls generated by large meetings.

But even more important, most campus conference services either require the host organization to make all room reservations or charge for this service. At Indiana University this past summer, the conference bureau charged \$10.50 per reservation for one meeting. Some campuses--like Berkeley, for example--require organizations to make their own reservations. This means that the OAH would have to hire additional staff to make reservations for campus meetings or pay \$20,000 or more to a convention bureau to make them. This additional fee would, of course, have to be added on to registration fees.

We have all attended a number of enjoyable smaller meetings on campuses during the summer without thinking of the logistics involved. It might seem logical for the OAH to experiment with one campus meeting in Bloomington. But this would entail not only additional staff to make reservations but also expensive arrangements for special transportation from Indianapolis and Louisville airports as well. Such extra expenses would probably not be as cost effective for the Organization as the current practice of meeting at hotels in urban areas.

Nonetheless, rooms and meals are now excessively high in most major cities. Because the OAH signs its hotel contracts five years in advance, it is guaranteed a maximum increase (usually no more than 10% per year) over the existing room rates in the year that the contract was signed. As a result, OAH members paid reasonable rates at the headquarters hotel in Cincinnati for the 1983 meeting (\$47 single; \$58 double).

But rates would be even lower if we did not meet during peak occupancy periods in the spring. This would mean meeting during the week before Easter or during Passover. These days are not considered peak occupancy periods by hotels, and, thus, the OAH could obtain very favorable rates. However, the Executive Board turned down this suggestion last year (and again this year) on the grounds that many members would not attend annual meetings which compete with these religious holidays. The fact remains, however, that even during these nonpeak periods little can be done about rising food prices in most hotels, and plane fares remain subject to the whims of deregulation.

For all these reasons, it has been suggested that the OAH consider meeting in Las Vegas or Reno where hotel rates, food costs, and airline tickets are all subsidized by gambling. No doubt, these cities would be problematic meeting sites for some members, but they would be the least expensive by far. Historic as Reno may be, slot machines are not usually associated with scholarship. So I would appreciate hearing from you about the possibility of a Nevada meeting in 1988.

Regarding the three areas of activity I outlined in my first annual report--reform of history curriculum, advocacy work, and outreach programs--I can report progress in all three. We have four grant proposals pending to fund regional teams of experts from various fields in American and European history who will evaluate and make recommendations to individual departments upon invitation. Over sixty prominent historians and 100 history departments across the country have indicated their willingness to take part in this project. This team approach to improving history curriculum will become the nucleus of a national History Education Center in Bloomington. The Center would act as a clearing house for instructional materials and curriculum reform from high school through graduate school building on the Lilly/OAH sponsored regional conferences and materials developed under a FIPSE grant over the last three years.

OAH News

The efforts of the OAH to broaden and consolidate the lobbying efforts of the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History has paid off handsomely largely due to the work of NCC Director Page Miller. Through her efforts, for example, NCC is credited for taking the lead in obtaining passage of H. Res. 621 to establish an office for the Bicentennial of the House. A professional historian will direct this new office. NCC also played a prominent role in thwarting attempts by the Reagan Administration to replace the current U.S. Archivist Robert Warner with a political appointee. In short, all of our public policy advocacy concerns are in the competent hands of Page Miller and NCC. I urge you to contribute \$5 or more a year so that we can guarantee the NCC Director a salary and staff commensurate with that of other heads of lobbying groups in Washington.

Finally, the OAH's outreach activities this past year have included cooperating with the National Park Service at in-service training seminars; cooperating with the Institute for Research in History on a multifaceted project to celebrate the centennial of

Eleanor Roosevelt's birth in 1984; working with the National Council on Public History in planning joint sessions next year at our annual meeting in Los Angeles; and on bicentennial constitutional projects which will reach the general public. Most impressive, perhaps, have been our efforts to reach out at the high school level. Largely due to the expertise of Jerry Bobilya, Assistant for Professional and Educational Programs, the OAH has become more actively involved with the problem of high school history teachers and in the development of materials for their use. We have also increased our membership among secondary teachers, primarily those in private schools and those teaching AP/CLEP history classes.

To reiterate: overall, it has been the best and worst of years. Once our computer problems are behind us, the Organization should be able to establish a new economy of scale that should carry us through the next decade both efficiently and effectively. Although I anticipate a few more years of organizational and budgetary adjustments, there is definitely more light than darkness in the tunnel already.

for teachers at next year's annual meeting.

REAFFIRMED OAH policy regarding open access to presidential papers wherever they might be located (see Business Meeting report for exact text).

APPROVED a memorial resolution in honor of Nikolai Vasilievich Sivachev, a strong supporter of Soviet-American exchanges (see Business Meeting report for exact text).

ESTABLISHED an ad hoc subcommittee of the Board to study the committee structure of the OAH.

FORMED an ad hoc committee of the Board to develop a permanent committee on long-range development to raise money for both an endowment and capital investments.

CONSENTED TO OAH participation in the Indiana University ceremonies celebrating the Bicentennial of the Treaty of 1783.

APPROVED endorsement of the recommendations emanating from the College Board sponsored conference on Independent Scholarship to aid and encourage the work of unaffiliated historians.

Business Meeting Minutes

PRESIDENT ALLAN G. BOGUE called the meeting to order at 5:00 p.m. The meeting approved the Minutes of the last Business Meeting as printed in the May 1982 Newsletter.

Treasurer Robert K. Murray gave the Treasurer's Report. The past year has been extremely difficult because of unanticipated expenses and a decline in revenues. The unusual outlays included expenses incurred by the retirement of Evelyn Leffler, installation of a new telephone system mandated by Indiana University, and cost overruns of the new computer system. The actual deficit for 1982 was \$36,500. The budget for next year anticipates a deficit of \$12,400 despite no increases in any category over the 1982 budget. The projected deficit in 1983 combined with the 1982 shortfall requires a new dues schedule one year earlier than originally planned. The new dues structure will take effect with the first billing in 1984. The modest increase in dues will provide approximately \$59,000 in additional revenue, assuming no more than a 5% drop rate among the members. This will eliminate the debt for 1982 and 1983 and provide an adequate base for 1984-86 if there is no marked increase in activities of the Organization and inflation remains at its present rate. In no dues category, except for institutions, does the increase represent more than a 6% annual increase since the implementation of the present dues structure. Murray emphasized that the OAH is financially solvent and will remain so with the new dues structure. The dues increases are as follows: institutions from \$30 to \$40; income under \$10,000 from \$12 to \$15; \$10,000-\$14,999 from \$20 to \$25; \$15,000-\$19,999 from \$25 to \$30; \$20,000-\$24,999 from \$30 to \$35; \$25,000-\$29,999 from \$35 to \$40; \$30,000-\$39,999 from \$40 to \$45; above \$40,000 dues are \$50; students' dues remain the same at \$10; associate from \$20 to \$25; foreign scholars from \$25 to \$30; dual membership remains the same at \$50; and retired from \$20 to \$25. The Treasurer's Report was accepted.

Treasurer Robert K. Murray reported that a ballot will appear in the May issue of the OAH Newsletter (see back page) to change by-law 3(a) by removing the word "certified" from the requirement that a "certified public accountant" examine the Organization's financial records each year. Murray explained that public accountants will audit the books at a less expensive rate than a Bloomington or Indianapolis CPA. Murray then moved the adoption of the new dues structure. His motion was seconded and approved by the meeting.

Acting Editor B. Edward McClellan gave the Editor's Report which will be printed in the September 1983 Journal of American History. The report was accepted.

Executive Secretary Joan Hoff-Wilson reported on the operation of the national headquarters of the Organization.

Executive Board Actions

THE OAH EXECUTIVE BOARD met April 5 and 6, 1983 at the Stouffer's Towers in Cincinnati, Ohio. The Board took the following major actions:

APPROVED a new dues structure proposed by Treasurer Robert K. Murray. (See report on the Business Meeting for details.)

SET the rate for the sale of the OAH mailing list at the price recommended by the American Association for University Presses.

ESTABLISHED the policy, over the objection of the Executive Secretary, that the OAH will only cosponsor projects approved in advance by the Board or its Executive Committee when 1) projects directly relate to the Organization's programs and purposes, and 2) there is staff time available for monitoring them.

APPROVED submission of a grant to improve the teaching of history in high schools submitted to the Rockefeller Foundation.

APPROVED OAH cosponsorship

with the Institute for Research in History of projects to commemorate the centennial of Eleanor Roosevelt's birth.

APPROVED a memorandum of agreement with the Association for Bibliography in History to establish a basis for cooperation between the two groups.

AUTHORIZED President Anne Firor Scott to appoint search committees to find replacements for Editor Lewis Perry and Treasurer Robert K. Murray, both of whom announced to the Board their intention to resign during 1984.

AUTHORIZED appointment of the first Avery O. Craven Award committee for a prize on Civil War and Reconstruction history (see ballot for final membership approval).

ACCEPTED an offer from ABC-Clio to establish an award and authorized a committee of the Board to negotiate the specific terms of the award.

EXEMPTED from the registration fee and the membership requirement high school teachers who attend workshops



OAH News

Page Putnam Miller, Project Director of the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History (NCC), reported on the committee's work. She thanked the OAH for its support during the past year as the NCC increased its advocacy activities and state committee network.

She reported that in December the House of Representatives created a historian's office as the Senate has had for the last six years. The House and Senate have passed a resolution designating the week of March 8 Women's History Week. The Reagan Administration has withdrawn its plan to replace Robert Warner as Archivist of the United States with a political patronage appointment. This has again highlighted the need for separating the National Archives from the General Services Administration, and Senator Thomas F. Eagleton has again introduced legislation (S. 905) to do this. There are fifteen cosponsors, and the aim is to reach forty so that similar legislation will be introduced in the House. Historians should follow this legislation and support it whenever possible. Representative Jack Brooks has introduced legislation to extend funding for NHPRC. Congressional sources indicate that the National Endowment for the Humanities may actually receive an increase in funding instead of a 14% cut as recommended by the Reagan Administration. Historians who have received aid from NEH should let their Senators and Representatives know what this aid has meant to their research. The Justice Department has established new guidelines for fee waivers for processing Freedom of Information Act requests. The new guidelines may make it more difficult for scholars to receive exemptions from the fee, and Senator Leahy has introduced legislation to clarify that scholars do qualify for the fee waiver. Miller's report was accepted.

Bogue read the results of the 1983 balloting. Elected were: President, Anne Firor Scott; President-Elect, Arthur S. Link; Executive Board, Eric Foner, Mary Beth Norton, and Kathryn Kish Sklar; Nominating Board, Darlene Clark Hine, Heather Huyck, Joan M. Jensen, and Ronald G. Walters. The nominee for 1984 President-Elect is William E. Leuchtenburg.

Bogue announced under items of old business that the proposed Avery O. Craven Award will be submitted to the membership on a ballot included in the May issue of the OAH Newsletter. The prize will be for the most original book on the coming of the Civil War, the Civil War years, and the Era of Reconstruction with the exception of works of purely military history. Bogue explained that the exception reflects and respects Professor Craven's Quaker convictions.

Bogue read a resolution from the Executive Board on presidential libraries. The resolution was passed.

Professor Robert Kelley read a resolution from the Executive Board regarding Soviet-American scholarly exchange. The resolution particularly expressed regret regarding the death of Professor Nikolai Sivachev, director of the study of American History at Moscow State University. The resolution was approved.

The meeting adjourned at 5:50 p.m.

1983 OAH AWARD WINNERS

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD: Thomas A. Bailey, Stanford University; Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania; John Caughey, University of California, Los Angeles.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER AWARD: Rosalind Rosenberg, Wesleyan University, for *Beyond Separate Spheres*.

PELZER MEMORIAL AWARD: Lacy K. Ford, University of Southern California, for "Rednecks and Merchants: Economic Development and Social Tensions in the South Carolina Upcountry, 1865-1900."

RAY A. BILLINGTON AWARD: David Weber, Southern Methodist University, for *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico*.

BINKLEY-STEPHENSON AWARD: Joyce Appleby, University of California, Los Angeles, for "Commercial Farming and the 'Agrarian Myth.'"

1982 Financial Report

Operating Account

Cash Balance January 1, 1982	\$20,053.41	
Receipts:	1982	1983 Budget
Memberships	\$251,837	\$267,525
Sale of Publications	10,439	11,800
Journal and Newsletter	30,464	32,500
Advertising		
Annual Meeting	64,335	63,000
Trust Account Income	20,000	20,000
Interest and Income (restricted funds)	7,248	11,550
Other	2,954	2,840
Totals	\$387,277	\$409,215

Disbursements:

Salaries and Benefits	\$159,336	\$157,200
Office and General Administration	38,730	24,400
Printing	119,457	113,900
Travel	5,440	6,000
Annual Meeting	23,892	20,000
Newsletter	12,352	12,500
Membership Promotion	7,754	8,000
Boards and Committees	21,153	33,220
Awards	5,000	6,100
Editorial	25,793	35,032
Other	4,893	5,400
Totals	\$423,800	\$421,752

Cash balance December 31, 1982 \$1,386.35

Revolving Funds

Beginning Balance January 1, 1982	\$-2,143.98
Receipts	70,301.38
Disbursements	67,140.86
Ending Balance December 31, 1982	\$1,016.54

Trust Account

Income Cash Balance January 1, 1982	\$973.15
Receipts:	
Interest and Dividends	22,520.38
Sale of Securities	14,863.55
Disbursements:	
Agency Fees	1,056.07
Paid in to Operating Budget	20,000.00
Purchase of Securities	16,301.01
Income Cash Balance December 31, 1982	\$1,000.00

Summary of Investments Held December 31, 1982

	Cost Value	Market Value
Short Term	\$25,780.71	\$25,780.71
U.S. Govt. and Agencies	96,062.50	94,850.00
Corporate Bonds	80,056.25	57,821.08
Common Stocks	33,554.29	65,997.50
Totals	\$235,453.75	\$244,449.29

CHARLES THOMSON PRIZE: Carol S. Gruber, William Patterson College of New Jersey, for "Manhattan Project Maverick: The Case of Leo Szilard."

ERIK BARNOUW AWARD: Ken Burns for *Brooklyn Bridge*.

MERLE CURTI AWARD: Norman Fiering, Institute of Early American History and Culture.

SPECIAL U.S. NEWSPAPER PROJECT AWARD: Thomas Clark, (Emeritus) Indiana University; Gale Peterson, Cincinnati Historical Society; Walter Rundell (posthumous award), University of Maryland.

OAH News

Report of the Treasurer

Robert K. Murray

THE YEAR 1982 was an extremely difficult one for the Organization. Caught between cumulative inflationary pressures from the past, closing costs for a retiring member of the Bloomington staff, expansion and modernization of the Bloomington office, and declining membership revenues, the Organization saw its 1982 budget stretched beyond the breaking point. Although we can proudly point during these past several years to a three-quarter time executive secretary, expanded organization functions and publications, and a modern computerized office system, we have also inherited a precarious financial future.

The 1982 budget anticipated a deficit of \$11,168, based on revenues of \$398,127 and expenditures of \$409,295. Actual revenues came to only \$387,276 while expenses ballooned to \$423,800. Membership revenues were down approximately \$16,000 at a time when the cost of the Journal was up \$5,300; telegraph and telephone charges rose \$2,700 over budget, office expenses increased \$5,900 more than we provided for, and the computer switch-over was \$8,600 more than we expected. The actual deficit for 1982, therefore, was \$36,524. While some of these costs represent only a one-shot expenditure which will not reoccur, others reflect continuing inflationary trends.

The budget for 1983, which allows for no increases over the 1982 budget, still includes an expected operating deficit of \$12,457. This imbalance, when added to the unexpectedly large deficit for 1982, places the Organization in a somewhat more serious situation than was planned. A dues increase was to have been presented to the business meeting in April 1984 for implementation immediately thereafter. The treasurer deemed it prudent to ask the 1983 business meeting to pass on a new dues structure at once so that it can be phased into the first membership billing for 1984, thus pushing the original schedule ahead some four to six months. This action will enable us to offset this mounting deficit before we would be forced to sell off any of the investment trust or secure commercial loans to maintain an adequate cash flow.

The treasurer wishes to emphasize that the Organization is now, and has been, on sound financial footing. This is due mainly to the fact that we have always operated on a "pay as you go" basis, never allowing our expenditures to outstrip our income and endanger our solvency. Since we are almost exclusively a dues-paying organization, membership fees provide the bulk of our funding. As promised, 1984 was the year that we knew we would have to go to the membership for additional support, if the functions and activities of the Organization were to continue at their current levels. The treasurer recommends that such action be taken now.

OAH Prizes & Awards

Merle Curti Award: The OAH announces the 1984 Merle Curti Award in American intellectual history. Books published in 1982 and '83 in any subfield or period of American intellectual history are eligible. Three copies should be in the hands of the award committee by October 1, 1983; earlier submission will be appreciated. Final page proofs may be used for books to be published after October 1 and before January 1, 1984. The award consists of a \$500 prize to the author plus a medal and a certificate. A copy of each entry should be mailed to Professor Barbara Rosencrantz, Department of the History of Science, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

Frederick Jackson Turner Award: works accepted for publication by college and university presses will be eligible. Each press can submit only one entry. The work must be published or scheduled for publication in the 1983 calendar year and must deal with a significant phase of American history by an author who has not previously published a book-length study of history. If the author has a Ph.D., she/he must have received it no earlier than seven

years before the manuscript was submitted for publication. Copies of the work must be submitted to the presses and mailed to each of the judges. The prize for the author will consist of a medal, a certificate, and \$500. In addition, the college or university press that will publish the book will be given a subsidy of \$3,000 to be used for the publication of another work in American history by an author who has not previously published a book-length work of history. Award committee members are: Professor Allan Bogue, History Department, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin 53706 (Chair); Professor Rowland Berthoff, History Department, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri 63130; Professor Nell I. Painter, History Department, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514. The deadline for submissions is September 1.

Ray A. Billington Award: The OAH invites submissions of books on American frontier history for the 1985 Ray Allen Billington Award. American frontier history is defined broadly to include the pioneer periods of all geographical areas and comparisons between American frontiers and others. All books in this field published in 1983 and '84 are eligible. A copy should be sent to each member of the committee by October 1, 1984; earlier submissions will be appreciated. Final page proofs may be used for books to be published after October 1, 1984 and before January 1, 1985. The award will consist of \$500 and a medal to be presented to the author at the April 1985 meeting of the OAH. A copy of each entry should be mailed to Professor Sandra Myres, History Department, University of Texas at Arlington, Box 19529, Arlington, Texas 76019 (Chair). Contact the office of the Executive Secretary, 112 North Bryan Street, Bloomington, Indiana 47401 for the names and addresses of other committee members.

Pelzer Memorial Award: is presented to a student enrolled in a graduate program in history for the best essay in American history. Essays must deal with a period or topic in the history of the U.S. and must not exceed 7,500 words. Entries should be submitted by January 1, 1984 to Lewis Perry, Journal of American History, Ballantine Hall 702, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405.

Charles Thomson Prize: honors Charles Thomson, American patriot. Begun in 1975, the prize is cosponsored by the National Archives. To be eligible, an essay must have been researched in the holdings of the National Archives, regional archives, or in one of the presidential libraries, and the subject may be any person, incident, or aspect of American History. The article must be submitted by August 1 and will be published in Prologue, the journal of the National Archives. Submit entries to Professor Mary P. Ryan, University of California at Irvine, Irvine, California 92717.

Richard Leopold Prize: is awarded every two years for the best book written by a historian connected with federal, state, or municipal government in the areas of foreign policy, military affairs (broadly construed), the historical activities of the federal government, or biography in one of the foregoing areas. The award recipient must be employed in a government position for at least five years. The prize will be awarded in 1984 and will consist of a medallion and a monetary award. Submit entries by September 1 to Professor Robert Ferrell, History Department, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405.

Erik Barnouw Award: is given annually to "an outstanding television or film program dealing with American history." Submit one copy of entry on either 3/4" video cassette or 16mm film by December 1, 1983. Films completed since January 1, 1983 are eligible. Send entries to the award committee chair: Professor David Culbert, History Department, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803.

Binkley-Stephenson Award: is given for the best article published in the Journal of American History during the preceding calendar year. The last articles considered appear in the December issue.



OAH News

Resolution

Following is a resolution proposed and adopted by the OAH Executive Board concerning the death of Nikolai Vasilievich Sivachev, Head of the Chair of Modern and Contemporary History, Moscow State University, USSR.

The officers and members of the Organization of American Historians note with profound regret the untimely death at the age of forty-nine, on March 4, 1983, of Professor Nikolai Vasilievich Sivachev, Head and Chair of Modern and Contemporary History, and director of the Program in American History at Moscow State University.

Professor Sivachev, holder of a Doctor of Science degree at Moscow State University, had also pursued graduate study at Columbia University in the early 1960s under Professor Richard Hofstadter, benefiting during those years from the friendship of Eleanor Roosevelt. In subsequent years, he conducted extensive research into American history during numerous visits to major archival collections and libraries in the United States. Out of this research came six books and sixty articles on the U.S. For a number of years, years, his interest had been in the political history of the New Deal. In December 1981, he became the first Soviet scholar ever to present a scholarly paper before a session of the American Historical Association, his work and insights into the party politics of the 1930s earning the well-merited respect of the large audience.

Professor Sivachev's most striking achievement was in creating a large program of scholars and students at Moscow State University devoted to the careful study of American history. Graduates of this program, by far the largest and most completely developed in the Soviet Union, now teach in

secondary and higher education and conduct research in many cities in the USSR. He played a major role in developing the Fulbright Program and other scholarly exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union. For each of the past ten years, through Professor Sivachev's efforts, an American professor of United States history has offered a lecture course at Moscow State University during the spring semester which is part of the required curriculum of all students in the United States history program. They are also attended by the program's faculty. Thus, American and Soviet professors and several hundred students have developed friendly relations and fruitful intellectual interchanges based upon the enhancement of their knowledge of each other and their respective societies. As in all educational exchanges, the long-range influences of this program in mutual understanding and good will will ultimately be passed on to wide constituencies in both countries.

Professor Sivachev, a man of warmth, intelligence, and great scholarly and administrative energy, was deeply committed to the ideology and hopes of his country, entertaining a firm belief in and loyalty to the Soviet Union. He believed, too, that the United States, a country which fascinated him and absorbed his lifetime's study and teaching, and the Soviet Union, the land of his nativity, could live in peace and friendship without either nation sacrificing its basic principles. The Organization of American Historians expresses its deep gratitude for the vision, the humanity, and the great achievements of Nikolai Vasilievich Sivachev. We hope that his enduring monument will be the continuation and expansion of his work at Moscow State University in the building of persisting bridges between historians in the United States and the Soviet Union.

Resolution

Inasmuch as the Organization of American Historians has long supported making governmental archival materials accessible to researchers, the possibility that the Nixon Presidential papers will be brought to the University of California at Irvine, causes the Executive Board to reaffirm that policy. (Since passage of this resolution, representatives of former President Nixon decided not to establish his library at Irvine because of requirements stipulated by the faculty.)

The two new histories: competing paradigms for interpreting the American past

What was once seen merely as the mixed heritage of the '60s and '70s must now be accepted for what it really is: two paradigms of historical understanding. Both sides argue that the other has the wrong theory or no theory at all

Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr.

IT IS BECOMING increasingly evident that the historiographic trends of the 1960s and 1970s have resulted in two quite different paradigms for understanding the American past. The various so-called new histories started in the 1960s and were often overlapping and fused in that decade and the next, but now it is clear in the 1980s that the new economic, political, social, urban, education, labor, and other histories revolve about two conflicting sets of assumptions and moral judgments.

One of these histories started with quantification and social science terminology and hypotheses. The other began by focusing upon workers' lives and looking at society "from the bottom up." The first was represented at first by work on the economics of slavery, the study of social mobility, or the analysis of electoral and legislative voting patterns. By the mid-1970s, this version of history had eventuated in such books as Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, Time on the Cross: The Economics of Slavery (1974, especially the supplementary volume); Stephan Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970 (1973); and J. Morgan Kousser, The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910 (1974). The other version of history can be said to stem from the articles by Jesse Lemisch, Herbert Gutman, and David Montgomery (among others) in the 1960s and found fruition in such books as Alan Dawley, Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn (1976); Susan Hirsch, Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of

Crafts in Newark, 1880-1860 (1978); Lawrence Goodwyn, Democratic Promise: The Populist Movement in America (1976); and Dan Clawson, Bureaucracy and the Labor Process: The Transformation of the U.S. Industry, 1860-1920 (1980).

As can be seen from my choice of authors and books, the two histories do not divide over whether one covers the elite versus the common people while the other does not. Both deal with the multitude of people. Both define "social" broadly. In fact, both versions of history purport to present a social interpretation of American history, for both embrace all aspects of society: family as well as politics, education as well as economics, ideas as well as institutions. Both histories take as their realm nothing less than the whole of American society and its manifestations over time. What separates the two histories, rather, are their basic assumptions about the nature of that society over time, the source and scope of theory, proper methods of evaluating data and drawing conclusions, and the nature (and role) of moral judgments in the writing of history. Both may claim to be scientific, but their results as well as their ways of proceeding are quite different. What was once seen merely as the mixed heritage of the 1960s and 1970s must now be accepted for what it really is: two paradigms of historical understanding. To facilitate my discussion of these two paradigms I shall label one social science history and the other radical history after the titles of the journals published by the two organizations most dedicated to developing the differing paradigms of history: The Social Science History Association and The American Historical Association.

sociation and the Middle Atlantic Radical Historians' Organization. (It must be remembered that many members of the Workers and Industrialism Network of the former prefer the paradigm advanced by the latter. Although I write as if historians belong(ed) exclusively to one or the other paradigm, their practices are not as consistent as I imply they ought to be.)

Both histories stress theory and method but in the end look to different methodologies. There is some overlap among practitioners of the two histories, but at the core the two paradigms look to different sources of theory and rely upon different methods. For the social science quantifiers, the sources of theory are the hypotheses and models of the social sciences, and their methods are derived from the attempts of the social sciences to be scientific. Social science historians may debate whether one should wrench hypotheses from the larger theoretical frames in which they may be found in the social sciences, but they agree that the social sciences provide whatever theories and models they use. They also agree that quantification means more than counting; it is a whole approach to hypothesis formation and testing. The use of computers to process data, statistical

The two histories do not divide over whether one covers the elite versus the common people while the other does not. Both deal with the multitude of people

methods to establish association of variables, and the use of numbers and measurement in general to give precision to discourse, once so important a rallying cry, is now subordinated to the larger methodology that self-consciously employs explicit hypotheses and systematic procedures for testing them, or so the ideal would have it. For these historians, macrotheory is to be generated by the accumulation of empirical studies based upon the testing of microtheories. To historians of this persuasion, articles are as significant as books, and synthesis takes second place to quality of data and nature of inference.

Although the radical historians may employ quantification, they claim

that the larger truths of history do not derive from such seemingly bare-footed empiricism. Their patron saint, according to numerous citations, is Edward P. Thompson. Thus, their macrotheory is not to be derived or proven so much as it is to be applied or elaborated, for in the end their work is inspired directly or indirectly by Marx--although, more likely, the New rather than the Old Marx, the humanist and voluntarist Marx rather than the deterministic or economic Marx. These historians possess already the larger systematizing social theory that synthesizes the realms of life that, they say, capitalism and industrialism wrenched apart first in life and thereafter in scholarship. In the end, many of these historians feel, along with James Henretta talking about quantitative studies of social mobility, that "numerical analysis is based on the fiction that the actions of different individuals or cultural groups are, epistemologically speaking, the same--that they are identical and discrete entities which can be compared with one another in a scientific manner (Labor History, XVIII [Spring 1977], 167).

Social class, for radical historians, cannot be measured by quantitative analyses of wealth percentiles or occupational rankings but only according to a theory of classes that must in the end be either emancipatory of the "people" (usually based upon a two-class model of elite-masses or oppressor-oppressed) or supportive of the status quo past and present (a pluralistic, three-or-more-class model). To choose the words "strata" or "classes" indicates a historian's choice of politics as much as method. Michael Katz ("Social Class In North American History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XI [Spring 1981], 583) bases his strong argument for the use of the two-class model upon the distinction between the two terms: "In. . . [the social science] conception class is confused with stratification. It becomes synonymous with the divisions on a rank-ordering of the population according to some variable, usually the assumed socio-economic position of occupations or, sometimes, wealth or income. Class, however, should be distinguished sharply from stratification because class is an analytical category that refers to the social relationships which derive from

the ways in which material life is reproduced."

Working-class history for radical historians must, therefore, be more than the story of labor organizations; it is nothing less than the operation of the whole socio-economic system. In contrast to economic historians, radical historians oppose describing labor as merely another factor of production or studying the economy as an autonomous system with laws unto itself. The relations of production only make sense, they argue, as integral to the reproduction of power relationships in the total society. As with labor so with all other thoughts and activities of the working class in society: all should be linked to the politics, social structure, and other facets of the total society and its workings. And the overall manifestations of these workings are best found in the story of social classes, power, and conflict.

What some leading historians are proclaiming as the "return to narrative" is actually the old narrative itself in the form of radical history. At its most simple, the plot of the story becomes a capitalist plot

Although the two histories would, at first glance, seem compatible, the methodological carping between the two "sides"--or, even worse, the neglect of each other--would seem to indicate that their larger presuppositions about the nature of society as well as how to go about studying it are at issue. Both sides argue that the other has the wrong theory or no theory at all. Those historians who see the broader implications of radical history argue that much of the work of the social science historians rests upon the rational, individualist man model most at home in neoclassical economics or, equally bad, the so-called modernization and developmental theories that glorify the stages of Western industrial growth. In fact, such stage theories, radical historians argue, conceal the actual dynamics of the historical situation. They are, in the words of one, short-circuiting thoughts that evade the real goal of the historian to ferret out how the social system actually changes. Theorists of radical history accuse the best of the social science historians of being, on one hand, too the-

oretical or abstract in their devotion to structural-functional or neoclassical economic man models or, on the other hand, of not being theoretical enough in using some kind of total or macrotheoretical model that would connect all the facets of study together.

On the other side, the social science historians immediately see the larger macrotheory of the radical historians as no theory at all, because to them it is unverifiable, at worst, and difficult to test, at best. These scholars look to a model of scientific explanation used in the social sciences and perhaps best exemplified in the no-longer-so-new economic history. In the end, their theory is supposedly comparative, and their methods are presumed to enable replication. On the other hand, the radical historians espouse at base, I believe, a version of historicism that relies upon the so-called genetic explanation common to narrative story-telling. Rather than being comparative in the sense of replication, their history is contextualist with a tendency to stress the unique and the dynamic in any given society treated as a totality--even if across national boundaries, as, for example, in a "Capitalist World-system," to use Immanuel Wallerstein's term.

In fact, the two paradigms disagree upon what shows the dynamics of the situation. Radical historians profess to find the social dynamics everywhere, and their story embodies the ever-changing struggles of social classes in their concrete manifestations. Social science historians must hope for some form of complex multivariate, long-term time series analysis. No social science has achieved such a model, hence the lack of dynamics in social science history. Such historians must still resort, therefore, to old historical modes of story-telling--frequently embodying the idea of community in the early days of the genre--in order to present a picture of change and seeming dynamics, because no social science model or theory or set of theories embraces such a wide spectrum of variables and ways of explaining their change and interconnection over time as historians purport to encompass in their narratives. Radical historians presume that the dynamics and their macrotheory provide a

heuristic guide to, if not validated theory of, where to look and what to see as the source of dynamics.

Radical history's presuppositions are also natural to story-telling and traditional history understanding. It not only employs old methods of doing history, but also old emplotments (including the idea of community), old narrative techniques, old (omniscient) viewpoint, and even, in a sense, an old story told earlier by the Progressive Historians. Its results and its interpretation are easily grasped by traditional historians for the methods and the presentation are congenial to the fundamental presuppositions of traditional historical understanding. What some leading historians are, therefore, proclaiming as the "return to narrative" is actually the old narrative itself in the form of radical history. At its most simple, the plot of the story becomes a capitalist plot, as Anthony F. C. Wallace discovered in Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution (p. xvi).

The different approaches to theory and methodology stem, as one would expect, from divergent root assumptions about the nature of society. Both histories profess to study society, but the two embrace contradictory perspectives upon its workings. Social science historians connect pieces of the social system by methods of statistical association. They assume that these pieces can be studied separately, because at bottom society exemplifies a pluralistic model: interest groups compete for their goals in the societal arena. The government is just another agency to the competition or is responsive ultimately to the various competing groups. If most peoples' access to the system is not equal, at least the competition can lead to results somewhat satisfying to many if not all. The radical historians see the state as a major aid to, if not the instrument of the ruling class so that pluralist assumptions are farcical. Even if society exhibits real or potential conflict, the state is never a neutral observer and actor. The effort of radical historians to see the social system as a whole leads them to look at society and state more monistically. Thus, larger social processes in society always revolve about the forms

and methods of "domination" in the society at large.

Electoral politics reveal little to radical historians about the determinants of the lives of the masses of people; the socio-economic system conceived broadly tells most about how and why most people think and act as they do. Social science historians--especially of the ethnocultural kind--infer subjective "attitudes" from electoral results or other actor-produced data, while radical historians deduce the objective "interests" of the electorate through class analysis. What the former accept as true indications of the actors' understanding of their own interests, radical historians often depict as evidence of false consciousness. To radical historians, the election of 1892 or 1896 was the last national referendum in which the American people had a real choice between a cooperative, free society and an industrial, corporate state. Twentieth-century elections offer no real alternatives, therefore, but consumer sovereignty seduces the people into thinking they still live in a society of free choice. The dramatic decline in the turnout of the electorate proves this contention in the eyes of radical historians.

The different approaches to theory and methodology stem from divergent root assumptions about the nature of society

In line with the opposing perceptions of interests and attitudes are the differing definitions given culture by the two histories. Social historians try to study belief systems as "scientifically," that is, systematically, as possible. For them, therefore, culture is a question of determining how many people held how many ideas, opinions, and so on, in common. In lieu of polls and surveys, they must derive opinions from content analysis of mass media or from electoral results and other behavioral surrogates. Social science historians believe their use of culture is neutral politically and morally. Radical historians frequently use culture to mean the counter-hegemonic belief systems of the "common people." Such counter-hegemonic culture usually rested upon the values of an earlier agrarian or artisanal way of life that came into conflict with subsequent mercantile or

industrial capitalism. I heard a lecturer last year refer to the tale of Rip Van Winkle as a counter-hegemonic thrust at emerging bourgeois culture, but he noted that Washington Irving's publication of the story itself represented, ironically, the commodification of the artisanal story-telling tradition. What social science historians describe as culture is often said to be "hegemonic" by radical historians, because they believe that the "dominant ideology" is perpetuated in the interests of the ruling class(es). Social science historians charge that radical historians' attributions of culture are erroneous because they are not proven through such systematic procedures as content analysis or statistical inference. Radical historians, in reply, condemn social science historians' use of positivistic methods of getting at public opinion as naive studies of the false consciousness of past peoples according to the false consciousness of the present.

As a result of contrasting approaches to culture, classes, and power, the two histories embrace varying views of social reform ideas and institutions. For radical historians, educational, philanthropic, and social welfare rationales and organizations were devices of the ruling classes to preserve their privileged places and perquisites as the United States underwent industrialization. Thus, schools, churches, hospitals, asylums, and reform organizations were as useful, if not as obvious, for the social control of the populace as prisons, police, and military. What once was portrayed as humanitarian idealism and democratic advances has, under revision, become crass and craven in the support of class and hegemony. Likewise, the growth of professional organizations in law, medicine, education, and social welfare little helped the mass of people they professed to serve, but rather were agencies to monopolize skills for the social and economic benefits of the practitioners thereby promoting new forms of "structured inequality." Social science historians criticize such generalizations as being too partial or too simplistic in their explanatory assumptions. They prefer a multivariate analysis of the complex interaction of ethnicity, religion, rural or urban location, demography,

and values in addition to occupation, wealth, and economic variables.

With such varying assumptions about the workings of society and about each other, no wonder radical historians see their opponents as bourgeois liberal apologists, and the social science historians accuse the radical historians of being Marxian polemicists. The social science historians support the status quo past and present, their critics allege, because their methodology begins "by accepting the 'facts' imposed by current social organization. Then, without questioning or changing any of these facts, allow free play to morality and attempt to moderate or counteract that which this social organization requires." Alternatively, the social science historians believe radical historians prejudge not the outcome of the continuous conflict they see so much as the parties to and the modes of conflict.

As a result of contrasting approaches to culture, classes, and power, the two histories embrace varying views of social reform ideas and institutions

These historiographic polemics point to the different moralities professed by the two histories. The social science historians seek what they claim is neutrality in their descriptions and explanations. The others view such "neutrality" as support for the liberal state and industrial capitalist economy because its methodological assumptions are consonant with and do not question them. The radical historians frequently challenge the results of industrialism and the premises of the liberal state. As a consequence, they espouse a history that must be critical of past and present social arrangements. In the minds of many of these historians, history has political ends: to criticize the present power structure through questioning the past arrangements of American society. Such critical history, according to the social science historians, seems to prejudge the outcome as well as the participants in the competition.

What I see as two paradigms of historical understanding may point to several conclusions. One, the academic division of labor reflects conflicts in the larger, frag-

mented American society--a conclusion congenial to one side in this debate of sorts. More specifically, the methodologies echo the current divisions in the humanities and the social sciences between Marxian-oriented scholars and pluralist and/or positivistic ones. The narrative history form is more consonant with the Marxian than the positivistic paradigm. The nature of scientific explanation according to academic philosophy, however, is more supportive of the latter than the former at the moment. Given these dichotomies, I see no hope of a congenial fusion, especially when we add the political component. Although historical practitioners may try to fuse in practice what I have argued must remain asunder, I think the logical underpinnings of each paradigm are mutually exclusive in ultimate source of theory, in method and criteria of verification, and in moral and political positions. The two histories are not like two ships passing in the night upon the same sea of history; rather, they are like two ships sailing upon two quite different oceans, maybe at different times given the history of historiography. In consequence, their chances of communicating seem only slightly less remote than their chances of colliding.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This essay marks the beginning of a new interpretive series in the OAH Newsletter focusing on controversial and/or changing interpretations in various fields of American history. High school teachers in particular have indicated that it is difficult for them to keep up with general historiographical trends through scattered journal articles or monographs. To keep abreast of the rapid changes in research and methodology that have occurred in the last fifteen years, many of us need summary reviews (such as the preceding) given the demands on our time. The OAH editorial staff welcomes any suggestions for essays that you may have for this new, informative series.

A SERIES OF ARTICLES about history teaching in the schools will begin with the August OAH Newsletter. That issue will contain an essay on AP exams. Please send suggestions for authors and/or articles to the editors.

Hilda Smith

WOMEN'S HISTORY, SINCE it emerged as a definable field within historical scholarship more than a decade ago, has benefited from public humanities institutions. One wonders if the large growth in research, courses, conferences, and publications would have developed as they did without the financial support, in particular, of the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Education Program Division of the Ford Foundation.

The Rockefeller Foundation was especially important in enabling scholars to hold conferences in the area of women's history. For example, the first three Berkshire Conferences on the History of Women were supported with grants from Rockefeller's Humanities Division. Then, as interest grew sufficiently in the "Berks," registration fees, combined with much in-kind and financial commitment from various women's colleges, were sufficient to fund future conferences. Rockefeller also funded an international conference in women's history held at the University of Maryland in 1977.

In turn, the National Endowment has allocated significant sums to further the knowledge of women's history among high school teachers through summer seminars conducted by scholars in the area, and to promote the integration of women's history into American and European survey courses.

The reason for this commitment is not wholly clear. Generally, it seems to be the presence of certain people who recognized the worth of women's history and encouraged funding among colleagues.

My personal experience with the 1977 international conference confirms this view. Lydia Bronte, who was Assistant Director of the Humanities Division at Rockefeller, took a special inter-

Women's history and the humanities

A feminist framework provides an underlying structure through which the general effects of historical changes can be tested

est in our project, guided it through the Rockefeller hierarchy, came to the conference, permitted us to use excess funds for the publication of a special issue of Feminist Studies, and, in general, provided useful, supportive advice. Such has been the case for federal and foundation funding generally.

Likewise, Mariam Chamberlain, former program officer at the Ford Foundation, played a major role in the development of research centers, many of which developed projects and programs in women's history. During the last decade, Ford has also given individual fellowships to historians of women.

In addition, program officers at the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education provided early support for women's projects. For example, FIPSE awarded the first major grant to the Organization of American Historians to integrate the new scholarship in women's history into U.S. and Western Civilization courses. They also gave the first grant to the Association of Black Women Historians to survey the current state of historical research on black women.

But has this support from humanities groups been warranted? Has women's history pursued the goals of humanities scholarship over the last decade? Some people currently have their doubts apparently. Yet, women's history, as much as other areas of historical scholarship--and, I would contend, more than most--raises the kind of fundamental questions about human behavior, social relationships, and historical development that form the heart of a humanities perspective.

After spending a number of years trying to understand what constitutes women's history, during the past two I have been focusing more on understanding what we mean by the term "humanities." Is it

more than the fields listed by Congress as forming the legislative mandate of the NEH: history, philosophy, languages, literature, linguistics, archeology, jurisprudence, history and criticism of the arts, ethics, comparative religion, and those aspects of the social sciences employing historical or philosophical approaches?

Such listing, of course, does not address the issue of intellectual approach or perspective. Another important effort at defining the "humanities" appeared in the report of the Rockefeller-supported Commission on the Humanities, entitled The Humanities in American Life, published in 1980. Like many other committee productions, the first few pages are devoted to an attempt at definition and are vague and rambling, highlighted by a quotation from the late Charles Frankel: "the humanities are that form of knowledge in which the knower is revealed; . . . when we hear the human voice behind what is being said." In connection with this idea, the Report concludes that the humanities are committed to encouraging "insight, perspective, critical understanding, discrimination, and creativity."

The study of women's past contributes to the enhancement of intellectual accomplishments in all the humanities disciplines

Certainly, the study of women's past contributes to the enhancement of each of these intellectual accomplishments in all the humanities disciplines. Insightful reassessment of intellectual truisms is bound to occur if there is a serious recognition of the significance of sex distinction as an organizing category for understanding past and present human behavior in a way that makes clearer the value assumptions and implications that are at the heart of humanistic knowledge.

In attempting to ally women's history with humanistic study, a number of conflicts develop. A humanities perspective is often said to represent a critical, open-minded approach to scholarship—one untainted with political or personal biases. Yet, women's history, when it raises fundamental questions about historical scholarship and human behavior, has traditionally relied on feminist insights as the most workable theoretical framework for the study of women's past and women's position within a broader society. And, women's history, as it has moved further from its feminist origins during the 1960s, has become more descriptive, more closely allied with family or demographic history, and less questioning of the social, economic, and ideological constraints on the lives of both men and women. Thus, the fundamental questioning—the encouragement of "discrimination," "insight," and "critical understanding"—central to humanities scholarship has traditionally been tied to feminism for the area of women's history and, therefore, to a particular political perspective.

Women's history which omits discussion of women's oppression is often seen as more scholarly and less polemical, but, in reality, it is often less analytical, less given to comparative approaches—especially avoiding comparison between the lives of men and women of a particular class or period—and is ultimately more narrowly focused and descriptive. Perhaps not inevitably but usually, studies of women when not tied to a perspective that requires consideration of accepted norms, tend to contribute less to the critical questions and questing than a humanities focus.

While doing a survey of journal articles in women's history for an earlier historiographical essay, I was struck by the distinction between articles written in the field during the late 1960s and early '70s and those written during the later years of the '70s and during the 1980s. (See "Female Bonds and the Family: The Current Direction of Women's History," *For Alma Mater: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Feminist Scholarship*, eds., Paula Treichler, et. al. [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, forthcoming.]) The topics of the latter studies

seem narrower, and the conclusions more limited and seldom reflective of women's broader role within society. If this is true, the trend represents, in part, simply the growing importance of demographic and quantitative studies generally, but it holds particular significance for the study of women's past. Much has been written on women's historians moving beyond the view of women as victims, on stressing the positive aspects of women's contributions to the past, and on avoiding the laments of nineteenth-century feminists and their followers concerning women's historical oppression. These arguments have, for the most part, carried the day.

Dependence upon demographic and official documents directs scholars studying women's past to the kinds of information governments choose to collect about women

Hence, unexpected is the conclusion of Cissie Fairchild's review in the January 1982 issue of *Social History* (pp. 87-91) of Peter Laslett, Karla Ossterveen, and Richard M. Smith's (eds.) *Bastardy and its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan*. Fairchild argues: "the most serious objection to this new interpretation—and to this book—is that they paint too rosy a picture of illegitimacy, especially in regard to its consequences for the women who bore bastard children. Demographic records are inevitably biased towards a 'happy' picture of illegitimacy, since they reveal broad patterns of similarity between illegitimate courtship and relationships which led to legitimate marriage. But they reveal little about the actual circumstances of the individual involved. Sources which do, English court records and French *Declarations de grossesse*, paint a less happy picture. They show that at least some illegitimacies resulted not from lower-class courtships but from the sexual abuse of lower-class women by upper-class men. And they show that even within 'courtships,' the sexual exploitation and abuse of women was common. They also suggest that the problems of women who entered into such relationships did not end with their child's birth. . . . Illegitimacy may, as the new in-

terpretation suggests, be a means for us to explore popular courtship and marriage practices, but it is vital that we remember that an abusive exploitation of women lay at their root."

Generally, in demographic analyses of women's position during a particular period, such comments are rare. And their rarity is not to be lamented merely because of a lack of feminist analysis on the part of demographers; rather, it is to be regretted most significantly because, by ignoring the reality of women's role in illegitimate births, historical reality and complexity are distorted.

Another example of what is missed when women's oppression is ignored in writing women's history is clear in Roderick Phillips's 1979 article in the *Journal of Social History* (553-67). Much has been written using court records to determine why people seek divorce, and at what rate in various periods, what general effect the divorce rate has on society, and which groups are most apt to divorce: rural or urban, the newly- or more long-term marrieds, and so on. Much of this discussion

Exploring the tensions between attitudes and reality, always especially strong in women's lives, gives added complexity to historical explanations

ignores the distinct role that men and women hold in marriage which makes the decision to divorce a very different one for a husband and a wife. Thus, Phillips's article is again somewhat surprising in its insistence on using women's secondary position in marriage as one of the major categories for analysis of divorce statistics for eighteenth-century Rouen. He discovers that divorce was an urban phenomenon, and that four times as many divorces occurred in Rouen from 1792-1802 as in the surrounding countryside among an equal population following the liberal divorce law of 1792. Women sought divorce in greater numbers than men, and he has some difficulty explaining that phenomenon. He certainly believes they had more motivation for divorce. As he states, "In general terms, women were likely to be oppressed within the family, more likely to be beaten, mentally abused, or subjected to all manner of cruelty such as being evicted from the

house by day or night, being chained up, and being denied food." And these factors, in his words, "made it far more likely that they would require external aid—divorce in this case. . . ." Yet, many wives noted fear of reprisals from their husbands if they were to file for divorce, and others were influenced by social customs which viewed divorce in a negative light. Thus, his study emphasizes both the relative freedom of women to seek and win divorces in Revolutionary France and the sufficiently serious nature of the unhappiness and mistreatment that made them willing to do so in the face of major obstacles.

Phillips could have simply added up his figures, done a comparison between rural and urban populations, looked to see if there were any class differences in the divorce rate, if people divorced more readily at a particular point in the life cycle, without taking into account what he terms "the inferior position allocated to women" within the marriage. Yet, by working from interrelated assumptions that women had both greater reason to divorce and greater restraints against doing so, he was able to deepen his understanding of the human realities underlying the statistical patterns he discovered.

A feminist framework provides an underlying structure through which the general effects of historical changes such as urbanization, modernization, and industrialization can be tested. Understanding women's secondary position within society provides the researcher with a series of questions based centrally on the dialectical relationship between what women are told to do and what they actually do. A feminist perspective can aid in pinpointing those areas in which women are apt to develop feelings of guilt as a result of this conflict. Often, women's behavior seems irrational or not in their own best interest, but by focusing on the dichotomy between what women believe they should do versus the reality of their lives, it is clear that what appears misguided behavior is, in fact, necessary attempts to accommodate conflicting influences. It also clearly raises questions of relative gains and losses in changing situations. Does a woman

measure her success or failure against other women generally, against earlier women, against women only of her class or race, against men generally, or against men of the same class or race? Exploring these tensions between attitudes and reality, always especially strong in women's lives, gives added complexity to historical explanations.

This interaction between values and social and economic realities, so clear in women's lives, is fundamental to a humanities perspective. The continual interplay of ideas, social customs, and economic and political realities stand at the center of humanities scholarship—at least in its interdisciplinary mode. Women's history fits squarely within the humanities when questioning women's status and treatment in varying historical settings, or when raising historiographical questions concerning traditional periodization about reliance on prescriptive literature and institutional documents, or relative to a single norm for assessing a country's progress. Yet, as women's history becomes more purely social history, as historians of women develop case studies building upon the theories of others, and as the field becomes more closely allied with family and demographic history, it moves further from a humanities perspective which pursues the question of human norms within the bounds of particular social structures and realities.

Arguments against reliance on prescriptive literature often lead to an abandonment of the study of attitudes altogether. Dependence upon demographic and official documents directs scholars studying women's past to the kinds of information governments chose to collect about women. Seldom were those choices based on a desire to understand all aspects of women's lives, or their status in a particular society. It is, of course, too much to ask of earlier record keepers that they maintain documents in a manner that aids us in placing women into broader social or familial structures. Yet, students of women's history must realize that, if they only summarize the materials available in government records—on women's fecundity or work productivity, for example—they miss the complexity of women's lives, particularly the way in which women deal with conflicts

between being "proper" women and functioning in their society or their family. Obviously, all people face similar controls and have ideals or goals which are beyond their reach or values that impede as well as promote social success, but women, lacking more explicit controls, have had their behavior more prescribed than other groups. As Carroll Smith-Rosenberg pointed out in "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman: A Case Study in Sex Roles and Social Stress in Jacksonian America" (*American Quarterly*, vol. 23, 562-84), the inability of the young nineteenth-century woman to maintain her innocence, sweetness, and naivete following the sexual and organizational demands of marriage led to numerous physical and psychological illnesses among middle-class women.

In major ways, a feminist and humanist perspective insist on the same thing: one must care about the question the personal ideals and decisions and struggles by which people define their lives and from which history is made

Yet, a number of historians have seen a discussion of values or a focus on the relative status of men and women at a particular period as counterproductive. They contend that we have been kept too long from the facts of what women did by being overly concerned with what the men of their age, but often not of their class, wanted them to do. By focusing on broad topics such as "status," which is ill-defined at best, we have missed the very real, measurable contributions of women in a particular time and place. And, by concentrating on attitudes, we have over-emphasized a bourgeois understanding of the vast majority of women who were poor and often illiterate. This position is outlined clearly and succinctly in the introduction to Louise Tilly and Joan Scott's *Women, Work and Family* (1978). "The book does not consider questions about the connections among women's work, status, power, and 'consciousness.' Nor does it deal with the cultural and ideological determinants of the position and activities of women."

Patricia Branca in *Women in Europe Since 1750* (1978) is similarly definite about her refusal to compare women's and men's economic progress or

status during the process of modernization. Earlier histories have erred because women's work "has normally been studied strictly in comparison to men's work, which produces interesting results but inevitably leads to the conclusion that women workers are inferior to men" (p. 46). In response to modernization, women workers, she contends, adapted to their own brand of work: temporary, low status, little chance of advancement, and physically less demanding than men's. They followed such a pattern because "women simply did not define their lives through work."

According to Branca, by overly emphasizing a comparison with male employment patterns, one cannot grasp the real progress women made. If men are ignored, then the significant improvement in women's lives following industrialization and the medical advances of the nineteenth century can be pinpointed. And, just as importantly, nineteenth-century women believed they were better off because they did not compare themselves to men.

Certainly, much has been learned from studies which have outlined the demographic and economic realities of women's lives. Those who wish to build new analyses about women's role in a particular society or about comparisons between men's and women's progress during a particular age, would not be able to go far without the valuable data collected by those specializing in quantification, and demographic or economic history.

Yet, it seems important not to analyze the gathered data only from the perspectives of social, labor, economic, or demographic history, but to analyze them as well from the standpoint of women's interests. If women's historians do not raise such questions, probably no one will, and basic issues tied to humanistic and historic understanding will be neglected. There should be as much room for the kind of statement with which Cissie Fairchild's concluded her review as for the following conclusion drawn from Howard Chudacoff's article on "The Life Course of Women: Age and Age Consciousness, 1865-1915" in a 1980 issue of the *Journal of Family History* (274-92). "Behavioral and demographic analyses show that by the early twentieth century the life courses of an

important segment of Providence's female population followed patterns in which the experiences of certain events became more closely identified with a particular age or age interval. Moreover, parental functions filled a smaller proportion of adult careers. . . the span of life which women spent in childbearing was contracting but. . . key transitions made by native women as they passed from adolescence into adulthood were occurring almost simultaneously. . . rates at which native women left home, married, and had their first child. . . indicat[e] that the transition from youth to adulthood was abrupt and [indicate] how distinct those two stages of life had become. In contrast, foreign-born women, manifesting a more traditional pattern, experienced transitions over a much longer period of time. The discrete Providence data support Uhlenberg's conclusions from aggregate data that from the late nineteenth century into the twentieth, life courses of native women were becoming more uniform."

To gather data as Chudacoff does on patterns of women's lives is valuable, but it becomes truly telling about women and about the society that surrounds them only if humanistic questions are raised about why, out of what human dilemmas and choices, and to what social effect such changes occurred. In major ways, a feminist and humanist perspective insist on the same thing: one must care about and question the personal ideals and decisions and struggles by which people define their lives and from which history is made. Only in this way can one, to use Frankel's words, "hear the human voice behind what is being said" and ponder the broad and difficult questions that should always be raised in humanistic thought.



NEW YORK STATE in revising the social studies curriculum has reduced the emphasis on history as the major discipline. It has cut the required 11th grade American history to one semester. Chronological history would be subordinate to or replaced by a framework of social science concepts. Please express concern before the end of June to Dr. Gerald L. Freeborne, State Education Department, Albany, N.Y. 12234.

Historians & computers: word processing

Richard Jensen

WORD PROCESSING IS the black magic art of writing on a computer. Over two hundred "hardware" microcomputer systems are on the market, together with nearly a hundred "software" programs that tell the equipment what to do in response to instructions typed on a keyboard. After using microcomputers for word processing for three years, I have discovered that I can not only hit the keys faster but also can produce letters and papers in a fraction of the time it took with the help of a secretary.

College professors and academic departments account for a reasonably large portion of the two million microcomputers that will be sold this year. The reason is that they remove most of the drudgery from writing, and give the author far more command over the text than anyone accustomed to fountain pens or typewriters could imagine.

Electronically they work because computer chips can be built for \$10 to handle strings of letters at speeds measured in millionths of a second. That may seem too fast for historians who think in terms of centuries, but it means that machines can handle certain tasks that would take forever otherwise. Proofreading is an example. Authors proof their texts by going over every word and seeing if it "looks" right; a person who knows how to spell and how to concentrate can do this exceedingly boring task at the rate of a minute or two per page. When errors are caught, a sharp pencil and a bottle of white-out are used to correct the meaning of the text, usually at the cost of neatness. Important documents are retyped over and over until no more typos are spotted. A spelling program, by contrast, works by looking up each word in the text in a dictionary at the rate of 1,000 or more words per minute. If the word is not there, it will be marked for the author's attention.

Microcomputers start at \$55 retail (the Timex) and range above \$10,000. High quality word processing requires an investment of about \$1,600 to \$2,000 for the computer and the software, plus \$350 to \$600 for a printer. Also necessary is an investment in time to figure out how the programs work, and a willingness to overcome the phobia that all new technologies elicit at first. It helps to know how to type, but anyone who took an extra history course in high school instead of typing can be assured that there are inexpensive programs (\$30-\$40) that will teach the skill on Apple and Atari computers.

The historian sits before a keyboard that looks just like a typewriter (but with a few special keys), a monitor that looks like a TV set (but which is much sharper), and a small metal box (the

disk drive) that holds floppy disks that look like 45 rpm records. Startup procedures vary slightly according to the equipment used. Usually a program disk is inserted into the drive, and the power to the unit is switched on. In a few seconds, the machinery comes alive, and asks the user for a prompt to get started. In Word Star (the most popular program) all that is needed is to type the letters WS. An early discovery: the user needs to know almost nothing about the equipment or computers or programming languages. What is needed is knowledge of the prompts that the word processing program uses to undertake different tasks. A blank page appears and the major task, the actual typing, is done as on a typewriter. If a user hits the wrong key, she/he backspaces and retypes the correct letter; the mistake vanishes as if it never existed.

How much of the text appears on the monitor varies among systems. The better ones show twenty-four lines at a time, each one eighty columns wide. How crisp the resolution is also varies; inexpensive systems that use television sets instead of real monitors are simply inadequate. Obviously, if a text runs more than twenty-four lines, only a portion can be seen at one time. Think of the text as a continuous stream of lines, perhaps hundreds of them. Each system has a procedure for moving forward or backward through the text, which might run 10,000 or more words. When the user is finished, the entire text can be stored on the floppy disk, and a copy can be made (a "backup") on another floppy. The Radio Shack Model 12 has very large disk drives, so that a single document can be as long as 100,000 words--a full book!--with each page available for instant recall.

The power of word processing comes in the editing stage. It is very easy in all systems to delete letters, words, sentences, or other portions of the text. The remaining text fills up the gap. Insertion of new material is also simple. Blocks of text can be marked and moved around. In ScreenWriter, for example, two keys are held down simultaneously to mark the start of a block. Using the special keys, the blinking dot ("cursor") that marks the place where action will happen is moved to the end of the block, and the control and D keys are pressed simultaneously. The marked text immediately disappears and is automatically stored in a part of the computer memory called a buffer. It can be inserted somewhere else in the document, or it can be relocated into another document (thus, five pages can be moved from chapter three to chapter seven). Perfect Writer allows the user to see both documents simultaneously, and to move text back and forth. Scissors and paste are no more necessary than white-out.

The format of the printed output is determined by a sequence of codes that

are unique to each program. A dot command like .SS2 signals the system that the text which follows is to be double spaced; the ".SS2" command appears on the screen but not on paper. Format options include line spacing, centering lines, ragged or right-justified right margins, page numbering, header (title) lines for each page, and setting margins for top, bottom, and sides of page. ScreenWriter and Perfect Writer contain an indexing option; extra software for other word processors will construct a complete index of words designated by a special character. ScreenWriter and Perfect Writer also allow automatic placement of footnotes at the bottom of the page.

When the text is edited and spelled to the author's satisfaction (or at any time), it can be printed out. Two types of printers are popular. Heavy, expensive "daisy-wheel" printers work like toy typewriters. A wheel with all the characters moves across the paper, stops, spins, and hits the ribbon and paper. The print quality is excellent, and it takes about one minute to print a full, double-spaced page. The cheapest daisy-wheel printer is a slow, clumsy Smith Corona at \$700; better machines cost \$1,200 to \$2,500.

Much smaller, faster, cheaper, and more versatile than the daisy wheels are the dot matrix printers. A printhead moves across the paper and stops momentarily. A combination of wires hits the ribbon and paper to form part of the letter "T"; the printhead then moves 1/100 of an inch and forms the next part of the letter. Speeds of eighty to 160 (and more) characters per second are possible this way. In practice, they can churn out a page in fifteen to thirty seconds. Furthermore, it is possible to enter special codes when editing the document so that the printer suddenly switches to italic type, or to a smaller or larger pitch (for example, pica for the text, elite for footnotes, double size for the title page). Dot matrix print has had a poor reputation because the superfast printers at computer centers turn out text with broken letters, ugly dots, light printing, and other defects. The new dot matrix printers are capable of printing text that letter-for-letter looks as good as an IBM typewriter, and overall looks better, because the margins are straight and no white-out is needed. Plus, they are as fast as small photocopy machines for turning out multiple copies of the same document. Pin-feed devices allow use of continuous feed paper; they will also handle single sheets. Although word processing packages do not include graphics capabilities, other inexpensive software exists (especially for Apple and IBM equipment) that can draw highly detailed graphs, charts, and maps. The Epson FX-80 at \$600 retail is an excellent machine that prints 160 characters per second; the NEC-8023 (at \$450) and the inexpensive Gemini Star (\$350 mail order) print 100 characters per second, and can handle graphics. The reliability is exceptional; the average dot matrix printer will produce 100,000 pages before it needs repair.

Word Processing

The bewildering array of possible systems may inhibit buyers, as will the knowledge that costs of equipment and programs are dropping at the astonishing rate of twenty percent per year. Postponing a purchase, however, means postponing savings in time and money, as well as remaining in the dark about a technology that is changing society even more than inexpensive automobiles and electricity did. My recommendations for a system include: a dot-matrix printer (Epson, NEC, Gemini, C. Itoh, or Okidata--cost about \$330 to \$600), plus one of the following microcomputers: Apple IIe (or Franklin Ace 1000) with monitor, two disk drives, Grappler interface card, and ScreenWriter (cost: about \$2,200, depending on dealer; school discounts are common); Osborne I portable with large monitor, two double density disk drives and WordStar (cost: \$2,000); KayPro II portable with built-in monitor, two disk drives and Perfect Writer (cost: about \$1,700)--a best buy; Morrow and Sanyo desk machines similar to the KayPro (cost: about \$2,000); an IBM system, which, depending on options and discounts, might run \$3,000-\$4,000. The IBM sells by virtue of its reputation more than anything else; it has no striking features; the Radio Shack Model 12 with two drives, Scripsit and the Radio Shack speller (cost: about \$4,500 list; twenty-two percent school discounts available)--the most powerful system.

An important criterion is the availability of a helpful dealer. Software can be purchased mail order at low cost, and so can hardware. But anyone new to microcomputers will have difficulty determining how to get the system running, or repairing anything that breaks. The manuals for most of the word processors are dreadfully oblique--with the exception of Scripsit, which includes a good manual and an excellent set of lessons on audio cassettes.

The historian thinking in terms of a word processor should also consider alternative uses such as games and educational programs for children; programming opportunities for high school and college students; graphics, charts, and map-drawing; and home accounting programs for personal finances. For all these purposes, the Apple is superior. The best word processor for the Apple is ScreenWriter; it only costs \$85 mail order, and is about as versatile as WordStar (which is very expensive for the Apple because additional circuit boards are needed).

A history department also has to consider alternative uses, especially statistical and "spreadsheet" packages for teaching quantitative methods, and list management programs for tracking students or bibliographies. The Apple systems can handle these jobs, but the Osborne, KayPro, and Morrow include some valuable software free. The Radio Shack 12 does not include any free hardware, but its ability to handle large data

sets or long texts is awesome, and there are dealers everywhere. In terms of productivity, the most important advance will be to break the chain whereby an author types one draft of a document, a secretary retypes it, the author marks it up, and the secretary types it again. Once authors discover that they can rapidly and efficiently edit and print their own work, then secretaries can handle more interesting tasks. The prospective job market for people with word processing skills is favorable.

A small journal or scholarly organization could use a microcomputer not only to set camera-ready copy for the printer, but also for keeping track of memberships, generating mailing labels, and handling the bookkeeping. In a year or two, it will be common for authors to transmit their texts over telephone lines to an editor. This is possible now with any microcomputer by adding a telephone connector (a "modem") and the necessary software (total cost: about \$150-\$200). The author could mail a disk to the editor, but that will only work if they have the same microcomputer. In general, the disks that fit one machine will not work on a different brand.

Three mistakes should be avoided. Buying a game-oriented machine with the intention of eventually upgrading to a full system would cost more and do less. If games are important, buy an Apple, or buy one game machine to hook onto the color TV set and a microcomputer to work on.

A good word processor might cost \$7,000 to \$15,000, and it will handle word processing a little better than the best microcomputer. But it will not do anything else, and unlike the microcomputer will probably become obsolescent. These machines are designed for corporate word processing stations, where the tax write-offs and the problem of training new typists are major concerns.

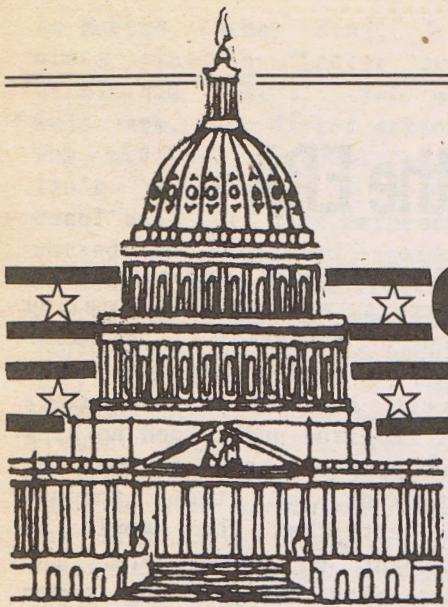
The campus computer center might offer word processing through a terminal hookup to the main computer. The range of word processing programs, spellers, indexing routines, and so on available for large ("mainframe" computers) is small, and they are designed primarily for engineers who write FORTRAN programs. Computer centers tend to fear the advent of microcomputers, and will warn that they are "toys." For the purposes of the historian, however, the micros are much easier to learn and to use, and are much more versatile in what they can do. The big machines do big jobs well, but they require elaborate staffs and very expensive programs. The micros do small jobs well, require no technical staffs, and have generated a huge market for inexpensive software programs that thousands of programmers are busy trying to meet.

Does the word processor interfere with the writing process? It does change it. I could never compose at a typewriter; I had to have pads of paper, a comfortable chair, and a fountain pen. Manuscripts that would be scratched up

with sentences inserted, paragraphs moved around, pages misnumbered, and footnotes out of order would then go to a secretary for straightening out. A few days later--long after I had lost my train of thought--the typescript would come back for another wave of revisions. After starting on a word processor, I no longer call on the secretary; now I do not have one and get along just as well. I now can compose on the machine, electronically deleting words I do not like and inserting material anywhere. The words are counted (actually, I count spaces). The footnotes are still easier to place at the end of the manuscript, but now they are very easy to rearrange and renumber. The grammar has not changed much, nor I think the style. But the spelling meets dictionary standards, and I take special pride in the neatness of the final printed copy--often to the point of rearranging the entire text and printing another version. Old drafts no longer become palimpsests, nor do they vanish into electronic nothingness. My office is now cluttered with different versions of papers and chapters, each with a version number and date, and every month or so I go back through the disks to erase obsolete materials so I can reuse the disks (which cost \$2 or \$3).

I teach a course now on microcomputers--really just quantitative methods using the new equipment. But I train all the students in word processing, and look forward to the day when my survey classes will present papers neatly printed on a word processor, with the spelling checked, and ready for easy revision and resubmission. One software company already sells a "grammar checking" program, and claims that it is putting the University of Chicago Manual of Style onto a disk. If in five years most students will be using such programs, I will not be quite as reluctant to read their papers. But other dangers lurk: already on the market is a program that will create instruction manuals for software. Can a program to create term papers be far behind? If so, we can expect a program that will read and grade them, while the professors and students head over to the lounge for some earnest conversation.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Historians & Computers is a new regular column appearing for the first time in the May issue in the OAH Newsletter. Future columns will be written by Robert Swierenga professor of history at Kent State University; Lawrence Douglas, associate dean for Academic Affairs and associate professor of history at Plymouth State College; Donald Parkerson, a specialist in quantitative social history at the University of Illinois at Chicago and former assistant director of the Family and Community History Center at the Newberry Library; Steven Henson, coordinator of Academic Computing at Haverford College; and Charles Howlett, AP History Director at Amityville Memorial High School with Ed McDaniels, current editor of NIMBL Newsletter (National Institute for Microcomputer Based Learning). If you are interested in contributing, contact the editor.



CAPITOL COMMENTARY

Page Putnam Miller

Women's History Week

DURING THE WEEK of February 28 the House of Representatives and the Senate each passed by unanimous consent a joint resolution to designate the week of March 8 as Women's History Week. On March 8, President Reagan signed the resolution that calls upon the people of the United States to observe such a week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The resolution noted that despite major contributions of women to the economic, cultural, and social development of our country, "the role of American women in history has been consistently overlooked and undervalued in the body of American history." Museums, secondary schools, universities, libraries, and communities across the country recognized Women's History Week with a variety of special events. Barbara Mikulski, the sponsor of the resolution in the House, summed up the essential purpose of Women's History Week when she asserted on the House floor that "just as women who are half of the population have not been written into the Constitution, they have also not been written into our history." Furthermore, she argued that "women were there beside their husbands, their fathers, their brothers, and their friends. They sailed the seas, tilled the soil, built cities, and raised the families. Women's History Week," she concluded, "says to people all over this nation that women are achievers, women are important, women are half of all this country is."

National Archives and
Records Service

On March 23 Senator Eagleton (D-MO) introduced S.905, a bill to separate the National Archives and Records Service (NARS) from the

General Services Administration (GSA). This legislation would establish NARS as an independent agency in the executive branch. S.905 is similar to S.1421 which Eagleton and Charles Mathias (R-MD) introduced during the last session of Congress. In a speech introducing the new bill, Eagleton stressed that fourteen Senators had joined him as cosponsors of this measure. "In my view," he stated, "this bipartisan group of cosponsors reflected the growing understanding within the Senate that the plight of the Archives is serious and that independence for NARS is a crucial ingredient for strengthening the Archives in the future." An examination of the relationship of NARS and the GSA presents a picture of persistent problems related to the low priority given by GSA to NARS. The U.S. Archivist no longer has control over archival policy or personnel decisions.

In addition to the fifteen sponsors and cosponsors for S.905, approximately twenty-five more are needed to give this legislation the backing necessary to move it through the committee process and bring it to the floor for a vote. Many historians and archivists have targeted S.905 for special attention this spring. The number of additional senators who can be persuaded to become cosponsors of S.905 will have a direct bearing not only on whether the Senate hearings become a forum for substantive considerations but also on the interest and commitment to this legislation in the House of Representatives.

The following Senators have joined Eagleton as cosponsors of S.905: Mathias (R-MD); Kassebaum (R-KS); Sarbanes (D-MD); Cranston (D-CA); Sasser (D-TN); Levin (D-MI); Nunn (D-GA); Cohen (R-ME); Danforth (R-MO); Moynihan (D-NY); Jackson (D-WA); Durenberger (R-MN); Glenn (D-OH); and Hatfield (R-OR). If your Senators are not among this list and you would like more information on this bill in order to urge them to become

cosponsors, contact Page Miller at the NCC office, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

National Historical Publications and Records Commission

Jack Brooks (D-TX) introduced on March 21 H.R.2196, a bill to extend the authorization of appropriations of the NHPRC for five years for an amount not to exceed \$3 million each year. A hearing on this bill was held on April 7. Samuel R. Gammon, the Executive Director of the AHA spoke on behalf of the Joint Committee on Historians and Archivists of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians and the Society of the American Archivists, and urged support of reauthorization of NHPRC funding. NHPRC has an outstanding record of using federal funds to stimulate private contributions and has served as a model of cost-sharing programs. The withdrawal of federal funds, if allowed to go unchallenged, would mean the end of the records preservation program and the termination of more than half of the documentary editing publications projects.

National Endowment for the Humanities

Although the Administration is requesting a cut of only 14% for the FY '84 budget for NEH as opposed to the 50% cut recommended two years ago, there seems to be considerable support in Congress for increasing instead of reducing the NEH budget. The Senate authorizing committee for NEH has recommended an FY '84 budget of \$136 million, and the House authorizing committee has targeted \$158.9 million. The authorizing committees' recommendations, which are not binding, are sent to the House and Senate Budget committees for their consideration. The hard work on the firmer budget figures will take place later this spring when the appropriations committees hold their hearings.

Despite the fact that these are only suggested amounts, it is encouraging that both the Senate and House have recommended amounts in excess of the FY '83 budget of \$130 million.

Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education

The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE) was created by the Education Amendments Act of Higher Education in 1972 to assist institutions in making reforms and developing new programs. Over the past ten years, FIPSE has funded many programs that have significantly enhanced the quality of higher education in this country. On January 31, President Reagan requested Congress to approve the rescission of \$5.7 million for FY '83 from the \$11.7 million budgeted for FIPSE. The Senate and House Subcommittees on Labor, Health, and Human Services, and Education refused to consider or to approve the rescission. The Administration had recommended a FY '84 budget for FIPSE of \$6 million, a cut of over 50% from the FY '81 level of \$13.5 million.

Funding for Historic Preservation

The President's budget for FY '84 once again contains "zero" funding for the state historic preservation program and for the National Trust for Historic Preservation. One of the key justifications for state funding has been the argument that the states' historic preservation offices carry out federally mandated activities such as National Register nominations and Tax Act certifications. The Administration is attempting to thwart this argument by making the state role in nominations and certifications "optional."

**Remember
to vote
See ballot on
back cover**

Direct action and constitutional rights: the case of the ERA

Berenice A. Carroll

On June 3, 1982, a group of women calling themselves the Grassroots Group of Second-Class Citizens chained themselves to the railings before the Illinois State Senate Chamber, in a demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment. They remained there for four days before being carried out of the State Capitol by the Secretary of State's police at 4:20 a.m. on June 7.

Members of the group then returned throughout the month of June to disrupt legislative sessions, conduct sit-ins at the Governor's Office and on the floor of the House itself, and ultimately to write in blood the names of ERA opponents on the marble floors of the State Capitol building. It was the most sustained series of militant actions in the history of the decade-long ERA ratification struggle, and evoked intense reactions from both pro- and antirratificationists. Many proponents as well as opponents predicted that such "extremist" tactics would alienate people and turn legislators' votes away from the ERA. (A photograph of the Grassroots Group of Second-Class Citizens [unnamed] appeared in the January 1983 issue of *Life* ["Year in Review" issue]. Berenice Carroll was a member of the group and participated in some but not all of the group's actions; for consistency and to avoid claiming undue credit, she refers to the group in the third person.)

In the end, there was little if any evidence that the vote count was significantly affected by the actions of the Grassroots Group. While one might conclude that this proves the essential inefficacy or irrelevancy of militant tactics, the campaign cannot be judged entirely--nor even mainly--by its short-term impact on the legislative vote count. Direct action may appear to focus on short-term objectives and immediate, dramatic tactics, but in essence it is a long-term strategy for securing constitutional rights and social change.

In the January 1983 issue of *MS.* magazine, Gloria Steinem and her co-editors argued that the ERA failed for three reasons: "too many peo-

ple, both men and women, dislike women; most of the majority expressing support in the polls remained, at best, complacently expectant instead of becoming politically insistent; and the opposition was better organized." It is doubtful that this analysis can stand up to careful scrutiny.

First, while the reality of widespread misogyny in this society is undeniable, the fact is that nationally the public, both men and women (whether or not they "dislike" women), overwhelmingly support the ERA. Moreover, when one examines closely the attitudes of women who opposed the ERA, as Jane DeHart Mathews has done, it appears that it may be men, not women, they dislike ("The ERA and the Myth of Female Solidarity," American Historical Association paper, December 29, 1982).

As to the second point, it is, of course, true, but it is not an explanation for the defeat of the ERA. The same can be said of the public on almost every political issue, and public nonengagement was equally true--or, rather, more true--when the ERA passed the U.S. Congress and was ratified in thirty-five states.

As to the third point, it seems hardly demonstrable that the anti-ERA forces were "better organized" than the pro-ERA forces. The national and state ERA campaigns were superbly organized as political action and lobbying forces. As Mathews put it, the pro-ERA organizational style was marked by "leadership staffs, paid personnel, grass-roots action teams, organizational charts, computer printouts, poll data, telephone banks, and media spots. . . . [with] formal structure, professional expertise, and rational argument based on skilled data collection and analysis." The organizational methods and style of the anti-ERA forces were different, but that they were "better organized" is doubtful.

Why, then, did the pror ratification campaign fail? Obviously, the answer must be a complex one. Previous essays in this series have addressed the broad cultural and political factors involved, particularly those relating to

the substance and implications, or the imagined dangers of the ERA, and to the right-wing coalition that opposed it.

Yet the question remains: why did the legislatures of certain key states decline to ratify the ERA by narrow margins or by parliamentary chicanery, in defiance of the public majorities in favor of ratification in their states?

First, in face of organized opposition to the ERA after 1973, the predominantly male legislators and executive officers of the nonratified states did not see the ERA as a priority sufficiently compelling to brook the opposition and risk its political costs.

Second, the failure to make it a more compelling priority was not a failure of the "complacently expectant" public majority, but was at least in part a failure of political policy and strategy (not organization), in particular the failure to incorporate tactics of civil disobedience and nonviolent direct action on a substantial scale.

Previous essays in the OAH Newsletter series on the ERA have noted in passing the role of militancy in the suffrage movement, and its association with Alice Paul, author of the ERA. Paul had returned from England in 1912 inspired by the militancy of the Women's Social and Political Union, and had introduced some of its tactics to the U.S. suffrage movement. "Deeds Not Words" was their motto, as the militants picketed, disrupted meetings, chained themselves to gates and pillars, wrote slogans on sidewalks, defied police and courts, went to prison, and endured hunger strikes and forced feedings. On both sides of the ocean, the militants were a minority, and there were bitter internal struggles over the use of these tactics. In England, the W.S.P.U. moved ultimately to the destruction of property, smashing the windows of 10 Downing Street and elegant shops in London's West End, tearing up the turf of polo fields, disrupting mail and communication services, even fire-bombing buildings.

These methods eventually split the Pankhursts from some

of their most dedicated supporters, particularly Emmeline and Frederick Pethick-Lawrence, but Emmeline Pankhurst argued that the rulers of England understood nothing but property, and it was by striking at them through property that they would be brought to understand the necessity of granting women the vote. Yet, throughout the struggle, the W.S.P.U. remained dedicated to non-violence in the sense of noninjury to people. "The only recklessness the militant suffragists have shown about human life has been about their own lives and not about the lives of others," declared Emmeline Pankhurst, "and I say here and now that it never has been and never will be the policy of the Women's Social and Political Union recklessly to endanger human life" (Albert Hall Speech, October 17, 1912).

Historians have differed greatly in assessing the role of militancy in the suffrage movement, as they have with regard to the role of militancy in every other movement for social change. The English suffragettes pioneered many of the methods of non-violent direct action. Gandhi's first satyagraha campaign in South Africa (July 1907) followed by nearly two years the first imprisonment of Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney for suffrage militancy (October 1905). Gandhi, while developing his own methods, was in correspondence with the suffragettes and observed their struggle directly during his first visit to England in 1909. ("Suffragettes," a term first used by opponents to demean the suffragists, was later adopted by the W.S.P.U. as a badge of honor and was the title of their journal [after their split with the Pethick-Lawrences] in the years 1912-14; in the U.S., it remained a term of opprobrium for the suffragists.)

Since the first decade of the twentieth century, such methods have been adopted, developed, and extended in many contexts, in this and other countries. Whether they have been "decisive" or "successful" (however that is measured), one may reasonably argue that they have played an essential part in the very complex processes at work in movements for social change.

As Martin Luther King, Jr., wrote in his "Letter from Birmingham Jail": "You may well ask, 'Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn't negotiation a better path?' . . . I have earnestly worked and preached against violent tension, but there is a type of constructive non-violent tension that is necessary for growth. . . . Non-violent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored."

Militancy has been infrequent in the contemporary women's movement, but not entirely absent. The best-known examples have been associated not with the ERA but with struggles for reproductive rights and against misogynistic pornography. In February 1969, women disrupted a New York State legislative hearing on abortion laws (Robin Morgan, *Sisterhood is Powerful*, p. 278). In the same month, a "nude-in" protest disrupted a *Playboy* magazine promotional appearance at Grinnell College. In April 1970, about thirty women occupied the executive office of Grove Press. In October 1977, Rochester Women Against Violence Against Women broke the display windows at a movie theatre to destroy a poster advertising *Snuff*, spray-painted and chained the theatre doors, and put glue in the locks. "During our brief stay in jail," the Rochester women wrote later, "many more women learned of *Snuff* [a movie purporting to show the actual murder and dismemberment of a young woman for sexual stimulation of men]. The protests intensified. . . . We had acted in desperation, had not planned our arrest, and did not foresee the consequences of this action. The apathy that preceded our militant action disappeared after our arrest. Rather than alienating women, our dramatic and direct action inspired others to demonstrate against *Snuff*" (Laura Lederer, ed., *Take Back the Night*, pp. 263, 268, 282, 272).

Prior to 1980, militancy appears to have been absent (with one significant exception) or unknown in connection with the Equal Rights Amendment. Why Alice Paul did not pursue militancy in her decades-long advocacy of the ERA remains to be examined. Direct action did, in fact, play a key role in 1970 in gaining active consideration

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of the ERA in Congress. In February 1970, Wilma Scott Heide and a group of about twenty other members of the National Organization for Women disrupted hearings of the Senate Judiciary Committee on the eighteen-year-old vote to demand that hearings be scheduled on the ERA; before they left, Senator Birch Bayh had promised to schedule such hearings, which were held in May 1970.

Prior to 1980, militancy appears to have been absent or unknown in connection with the ERA

If there were other incidents of direct action for the ERA in the decade of the 1970s, they seem to be lost to history. The disruption of the Senate Judiciary hearings in February 1970 was carried out by members of NOW, but not by NOW as an organization. NOW, which spearheaded the ERA ratification campaigns, never endorsed civil disobedience or other militant actions. Nor did NOW ever adopt a formal policy against such forms of action, but they appear to have been informally discouraged. When this type of action began to reappear in 1980, it was not endorsed in the major ERA campaign organizations and was viewed with much doubt, if not hostility.

Nevertheless, incidents of direct action began to appear and spread around the country. On August 26, 1980, Women's Equality Day (the sixtieth anniversary of the suffrage amendment), twelve women chained themselves in front of the Republican National Committee headquarters in Washington, D.C., blocking the doors so that occupants were obliged to go in and out through the windows. On November 17, 1980, twenty-one women were arrested for chaining themselves to the gates of the Mormon Temple in Bellevue, Washington. On Women's Equality Day in 1981, twenty women chained themselves to the White House fence, blocked the driveway, and were subsequently arrested for blocking the street. On February 15, 1982, women were arrested for climbing over the White House fence. On April 22, 1982, women trespassed on the Governor's lawn in Chicago to protest Governor James Thompson's failure to give active support to the ERA, but were not arrested (personal communications from participants).

In the early spring of 1982, as the extended ratification deadline drew near with no encouraging signs of change in the unratified states, plans for direct action intensified, with a focus on Illinois. Illinois, the only northern industrialized state that was still unratified, had a legislative majority favoring the ERA, but ratification was blocked by a three-fifths rule for constitutional amendments. While the Grassroots Group of Second-Class Citizens was formulating plans for civil disobedience in the State Capitol building, another group of women (some of whom had been involved in the earlier events mentioned above) began to plan for a different type of action: a fast, to begin in mid-May and continue until the ERA was ratified or possibly until June 30, the ratification deadline.

A fast is not an act of civil disobedience, nor a tactic of intervention or disruption. But a public fast is a highly confrontive, dramatic tactic with some of the characteristics of direct action. The seven fasters received widespread attention, local, national, and worldwide. Their fast aroused tremendous sympathy among proponents of the ERA, despite much debate on its wisdom and effectiveness. The National Organization for Women, while not endorsing the fast as a tactic, agreed to support the fasters by providing accommodations and assistance. On the other hand, the fast aroused extreme hostility from opponents of the ERA, and exposed the unreliability of some alleged supporters. The fasters were vilified as "blackmailers," condemned for undertaking a "suicidal" course that would deprive their children of mothers, ridiculed as "dieters," and harassed by red-clad "antis" eating pizza and hotdogs in front of them during their daily vigils in the Capitol. State Senator Forest Ethredge, an alleged supporter of the ERA, vowed to vote against the amendment and against any change in the three-fifths rule as long as the fast continued. Governor James Thompson saw fit to show his support for the ERA by telling the fasters when they arrived that the fast "would not change legislators' minds."

Some two weeks later, Thompson extended these supportive remarks to the tactics of the Grassroots Group of

Second-Class Citizens: "All I'm saying is protesting, fasting and chaining isn't going to pass ERA [and]... is having counterproductive effects" (Bloomington Pentagraph, June 5, 1982, A7). On June 8, Thompson went further, declaring that he would not blame legislators for voting against the ERA because of the protest tactics (WCIA News, June 8, 1982). Such remarks were surely not helpful. Moreover, they were fundamentally beside the point.

Governor Thompson was right in his prediction that fasting and chaining would not pass the ERA in June 1982, but direct action is not addressed primarily to an immediate change in legislative votes or government policies. Its short-term effect on legislators and officials is likely to be expressed in ridicule or outrage on the part of opponents and the indifferent, and in fear or revulsion on the part of uncertain allies. As Gandhi

Direct action must be understood as a process which requires time to gather impact. It is a process of both action and reaction

wrote in 1910: "Of the many accomplishments that passive resisters have to possess, tenacity is by no means the least important. They may find their ranks becoming daily thinned under a hot fire. . . . They may be reviled by their own. . . . They may be misunderstood, and they must be content to labor under misrepresentation. . . . [They] must still stand their ground" (Louis Fischer, The Essential Gandhi, p. 92).

Direct action must be understood as a process which requires time to gather impact. It is a process of both action and reaction, a process of exposing and dramatizing repressed levels of conflict, with the ultimate objective of changing the balance of forces. The process does not end with the dramatic actions themselves, nor even with the immediate reactions of authorities, press, and public. I continue with debate and dialogue on those actions and reactions, with analysis and evaluation, with similar action repeated elsewhere, elsewhen. If the process fails to gain momentum, it will be limited in impact but may resurface, even decades later, with other per-

sona. Direct action seizes the imagination and consciousness of participants and observers with experiences not readily expunged.

Crystal Eastman wrote of this process as it operated in the suffrage movement: "Indifference is harder to fight than hostility, and there is nothing that kills an agitation like having everybody admit that it is fundamentally right. . . . As I look back over the seven-year struggle I sometimes suspect that many bold strategies were employed more to revive the followers than to confound the enemy. . . . Organizing the women voters of the suffrage States to defeat democratic candidates, picketing the White House, the hunger strike, burning the President's war speeches--each of these policies was begun under a storm of protest from within and without the movement. Yet each proved in the end good political strategy and at the same time had an enormous re-enlivening influence on the suffrage movement. Those who stood by suffered so from the almost universal criticism that they gained the power and faith of crusaders. And the more conservative suffragists who opposed these policies were stimulated to more and more effective action along their own lines from a sense of rivalry. And so the movement grew and grew from the mighty dissension in its ranks" (Blanche W. Cook, ed., Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution, pp. 65-66).

Eastman focuses here on the effects of direct action on the movement itself, effects of rallying followers and challenging critics within the movement. The process of direct action also has effects upon a wider public and upon those in positions of authority. To both these groups it makes highly visible and urgent a conflict or a demand that has been obscured by silence, indifference, timidity, conformity, apathy, or despair, and impresses on them the depth of commitment to the cause on the part of its adherents. At the same time, it imposes certain costs upon those authorities whose actions or policies are directly confronted by the demonstrators. It exposes them to public scrutiny, and requires them to confront, on a face-to-face basis, those who are seeking to hold them accountable by a public, bodily witness. In addition, it imposes

upon them tangible costs in money, time, energy, personnel, resources, reputation, and psychological stress. These costs may have the initial effect of engendering anger and hostile responses, but in the long run, such costs must be weighed in the balance by lawmakers when they determine their priorities.

That these effects were not negligible in the campaign conducted by the Grassroots Group of Second-Class Citizens in Springfield in June 1982 is attested by many sources, from press and television coverage to the arguments of the Secretary of State's attorneys in court hearings and briefs. One of the clearest testimonies appeared in an article by Diane Ross of the Capitol press corps in *Illinois Issues* in August 1982. Ross arrived at a rather unsympathetic conclusion about the "chain gang," as the press generally called the group, but acknowledged its dramatic impact upon a legislature in which the ERA edged its dramatic impact upon a legislature in which the ERA "had never claimed the priority of either party": "It was the chain gang--not the fasters--that electrified the atmosphere in June at the Statehouse. Attitudes toward the protestors shifted from tolerance to tension; nerves were frayed, blood pressures went up. Then legislators literally lost their tempers. It was the sit-in around the speaker's podium--not the splattering of blood on the floors in front of the doors to the House, Senate and Governor's Office--that made legislators mad as hell and determined not to take it anymore. It was the disruption of the proceedings of government--not economics, not politics--that in a single day turned this least dramatic of sessions into the most dramatic. No one had ever dared to confront legislators on their own turf. No one had ever been allowed to walk onto the floor of the House, march down the aisle, sit down in front of the speaker's podium. No one, no one from the outside that is, had ever caused the House to adjourn in chaos--and gotten away with it. The disruption stunned the House."

Historically, direct action has stood in a dual relationship to constitutional rights. On the one hand, it has often taken the form of extra-constitutional means to achieve goals of social justice. On the other hand,

it has often been used to secure constitutional rights unlawfully denied, as in civil rights struggles, or not yet recognized, as in the suffrage movement (see especially April Carter, *Direct Action and Liberal Democracy*). Direct

Historically, direct action has stood in a dual relationship to constitutional rights

action is not always civil disobedience, and the line between demonstrations which are unlawful and those which are constitutionally protected forms of freedom of speech and assembly may fall in a grey area of interpretation where governmental authorities and the Supreme Court have disagreed (for example, *Cox v. Louisiana*, 1965; *National Socialists v. Skokie*, 1977). Even where direct action crosses over into civil disobedience, however, it is essentially nonviolent in character. Nonviolent demonstrations may call down violence on the demonstrators, and sometimes they may respond spontaneously with violence. (See Carter, *Direct Action and Liberal Democracy* on the difficulty of separating direct action from all violence.) Direct action may also involve destruction of property, as noted above. But in intent and method, both direct action and civil disobedience are unarmed and nonviolent in the sense of rejecting injury to people as an acceptable means. Campaigns of unarmed and systematic violence may be called revolution, insurrection, guerrilla warfare, or terrorism, but not direct action. It is, in fact, its unarmed, nonviolent character that distinguishes direct action as a militant approach to seeking social change or constitutional rights.

That the campaign of direct action carried out in Springfield in June 1982 did not win ratification of the ERA was no surprise. The use of these tactics in the preceding years had been too isolated, cut off from endorsement and support by the main organizations conducting the ratification campaign, beset by inexperience and doubt. Under those conditions, there was no time for the long-term impact of direct action to develop. But members of the Grassroots Group of Second-Class Citizens believed that it was necessary to launch this strategy before the ERA went down, as an expression of the anger and com-

mitment of women conscious of their second-class citizenship, and as a signal for the future.

Whether feminists will take up civil disobedience as a major part of the general strategy of the women's movement today remains to be seen. The fact that Sonia Johnson won 40% of the vote for the NOW presidency in October 1982 on a platform advocating more

confrontive tactics is highly suggestive, but the form and rallying points of future militancy are still unclear. Perhaps it was too early to adopt such a strategy before the defeat of ERA last June, but perhaps that defeat--temporary as it is--will prove to have given the impetus to a renewed, and more militant, mobilization of energies to secure constitutional equality for all people.

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A Review

"The Winds of War"

Russell F. Weigley

IT IS ALWAYS tempting for scholars to emphasize the flaws that mar television's popularized presentations of history. Too often, as with the CBS series *The Blue and the Gray* in November 1982, it is the flaws that appallingly cry out for emphasis. The ABC version of Herman Wouk's novel *The Winds of War*, however, which was telecast for eighteen hours February 6-13, 1983, offered solid merits, and, in my observation, created a new awareness of World War II and some of its serious issues among enough viewers who would never have been reached by scholarly books or university courses. I believe historians should acknowledge its merits rather than sniff at its flaws.

The Winds of War and its companion novel, *War and Remembrance*, grew out of relatively modest intentions: a decision by the author of *The Caine Mutiny* to write another naval story, a novel about the battle of Leyte Gulf, fought in October 1944 during the American recapture of the Philippines. To create a satisfactory setting for Leyte Gulf in time and significance, Herman Wouk found himself drawn further and further backward chronologically and farther and farther outward geographically, until *The Winds of War* became a novel beginning in 1939 and progressing only as far as the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Leyte Gulf had to await a second novel. In the process, the war in Europe and, most particularly, the Holocaust elbowed American naval actions aside as the most compelling themes of *The Winds of War* and, still more, of *War and Remembrance*. The principal narrative power and moral force of both novels lie in Wouk's portrayal of the tragedy of European Jews, personified through the experiences of his fictional characters Natalie, Aaron, and Berel Jastrow.

That Wouk's novels underwent this shift of focus and the anomalies created by it help account for problems in the teleplay, which have to be acknowledged even in the course of taking a positive view. Ostensibly, the central character of the novels and the teleplay is Commander, later Captain and, in the second novel, Admiral, Victor "Pug" Henry, portrayed for television by Robert Mitchum. If the narrative had remained focused on the Pacific Ocean naval war and particularly on Leyte Gulf, Henry would have remained genuinely the novels' hero. But the expansion of themes left the ostensible hero often a mere observer of events, opening almost a vacuum at the novels' center, while at the same time creating a requirement that Pug Henry participate in a series of journeys and changes of assignment that utterly strain credibility. Wouk uses these to enable Henry to meet the principal leaders of all the major belligerents and observe all the major theaters of war. Pug Henry sees so much--horrors as well as heroics--yet

actively influences so little, that Mitchum's stolid, almost expressionless performance, forever undaunted by all the changing winds of war, is about the best that could have been done with the part. Mitchum's imposing physical presence goes about as far as possible toward concealing the weakness at the center of the narrative and in the characterization.

The emphasis on the Holocaust toward which Wouk's novels evolved made Pug's daughter-in-law, Natalie Jastrow Henry, the most vivid personality in the novels, and ultimately as near an approach to a central character as the sprawling narrative can develop. On television, however, the demands of realizing this character proved beyond Ali McGraw's abilities. One sympathizes, nevertheless, with the actress's problems, because the full development of the character takes place only in the untelevised second novel. For the present, Wouk's machinations designed to transport Natalie in time to Theresienstadt and Auschwitz demand that throughout the first novel and the television series, she and the reader or viewer must put up with the relentless obtuseness of her supposedly brilliant Uncle Aaron. Without Aaron's blind rejection of one opportunity after another to get out of Europe while the getting was good, Wouk could not so well have confronted us with the death camps in *War and Remembrance*. But Aaron Jastrow's endless dithering in Siena and Rome must have tempted thousands to switch to another television channel. The arid stretches with Uncle Aaron also exemplify, like the necessity to shift Pug Henry all around the world by abrupt fits and starts, Wouk's difficulties in enlarging his fiction to match his grand-scale vision of the history of the world at war.

That grand-scale vision has offered the best motive for reading the Pug Henry-Natalie Jastrow novels. The novels present the lay reader with an overview of the history of World War II not surpassed in quality by many of the nonfiction survey histories of the war now available. Wouk labored as diligently as most historians do to get his facts straight. He writes better than most historians, and the moral earnestness of his preoccupation with the Holocaust gives his novels at least as good a sense of the appropriate priorities of the war as, for example, such a nonfiction work as B. H. Liddell Hart's *History of the Second World War*. That book features Liddell Hart's obsessive concern for the unconditional surrender policy as a source of our postwar troubles.

While Herman Wouk is a better historian than novelist, the television version of *The Winds of War* suffers because its effort to grasp and hold the viewers' attention seemed to demand putting fiction in the foreground and relegating history to the background. In the novels, much that the fictional characters think, say, and do is transparently contrived to place them in settings where Wouk can develop his history of the war. On television, the

fictional characters nearly monopolize the viewing time, and the odd contrivances that Wouk used to carry them into the maelstrom of historical events remain unredeemed by any development of those events on the generous scale of the novels.

For all that, *The Winds of War* on television is an admirable presentation of World War II to a mass audience, as some examples may suggest. Natalie Jastrow's trip to Poland with Pug Henry's son Byron (her husband-to-be) to attend a wedding there on the very eve of the German invasion in 1939, is one of the oddest of Wouk's contrivances. It does permit a depiction of Poland at war that not only includes the obligatory scenes of German aircraft machine-gunning refugees, but also conveys a sense of the toughness of the Polish army, a force that inflicted proportionately higher casualties on the Germans than either the French or the Soviets did in a comparable period of time. Although blatantly anti-Semitic among his Poles, Wouk is fair enough to convey an undercurrent of that defiant determination to resist everything a hostile world might inflict on Poland. Or again, Pug Henry's participation in a Royal Air Force bombing mission to Berlin suggests much of the aircrews' patient endurance of cold, hunger, tight quarters, tedium, the sudden perils of flak and interceptors, and the awareness that given the number of missions they must fly and the casualties per mission, statistically they were already dead men. We might wish for a hint that what Bomber Command was doing was almost as questionable morally as the Holocaust--but again, we are considering a popularization of history.

The portrayal of historical characters are generally not quite up to the level of the best of the vignettes of historical events. The outstanding exception to this observation is Ralph Bellamy's Franklin D. Roosevelt. Bellamy has done Roosevelt so often that he has the mannerisms down pat. When he speaks, you can close your eyes and almost be convinced that you are listening to the real Roosevelt. And there is just enough conviction in this portrayal, beyond the mere mannerisms.

If, then, Wouk's fictional creations often do little more than clutter up the historical landscape, why bother with the fiction at all? If everyone were a historian, the question would not need to be asked. We historians would probably almost all prefer to take our history straight, not in teleplays like *The Winds of War*, or in films like *Reds*, or in historical novels like *Gone With the Wind*, perhaps not even in *War and Peace*. The best of historical fiction remains diluted stuff compared with history. But all the world does not consist of historians, and because historians so much write and speak only to each other, somebody else has to take history to the rest of the world. Herman Wouk and ABC have done a pretty fair job. Those historians who are dissatisfied with it might try to find a way to do better.

FDR remembered: statesman of peaceful means

Arnold A. Offner

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT dedicated his New Deal to redressing the ravages of the Great Depression but ultimately was drawn to a greater rendezvous waging war and peace on a global scale.

There were as many facets to FDR's conduct of American foreign relations as there were to his magnificently elusive personality

There were as many facets to Roosevelt's conduct of American foreign relations as there were to his magnificently elusive and complex personality. He was at once idealistic and moral, given to clarion calls and masterful direction of the machinery of government and body politic, and singularly able to pursue alternate courses without

choosing between them until the final moment, if then. He was also ruthlessly practical and expedient, if not callous, oblique if not devious, and given to political timidity and irresolution. But a half century after his inauguration, we might glimpse a few essentials of Roosevelt's diplomacy if, like this patrician, democratic, professional politician we are wise or compassionate enough to remain undaunted by ambiguity or intellectual inconsistency, by laudable but failed judgment or efforts, or by the constraints of American national politics as an intractable world order.

Roosevelt was fundamentally a statesman of peaceful means who from the first days of his presidency repeatedly deplored the "insane rush" to arguments and speed with which nations,

including those seeking redress from prior political or economic injustices, reverted to the "law of the sword." Even after he proclaimed in 1940 that the United States must become that "great arsenal of democracy," he told Assistant Secretary of State Adolf A. Berle, Jr., that the keystone of every nation's security and economic solvency was the elimination of costly armaments and the residual costs of war. And Roosevelt raised the issue of world-wide arms reduction, or "freedom from fear" of aggression, to the level of one of his Four Freedoms.

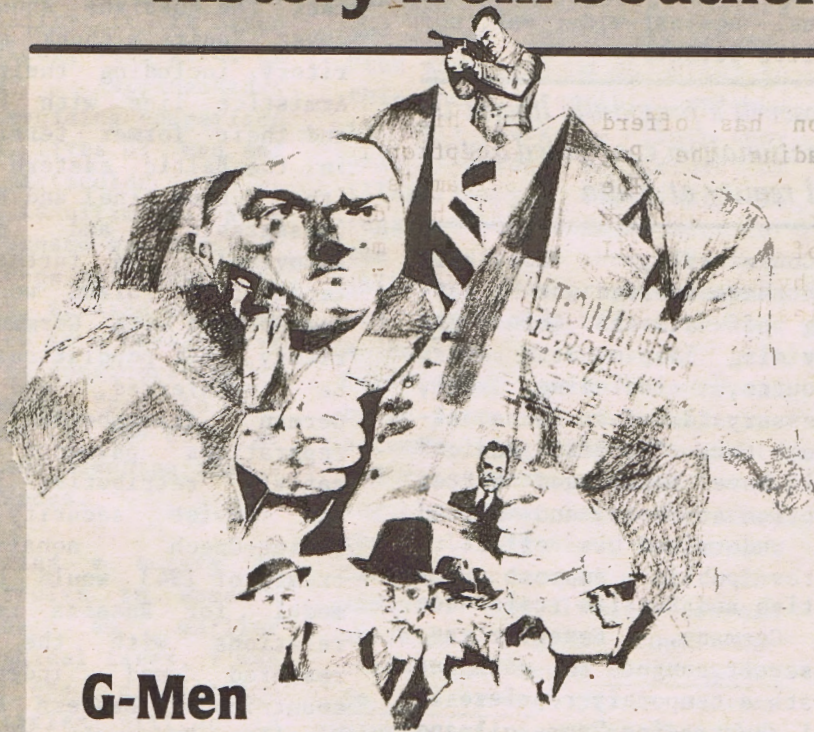
Similarly, he made freedom from want, or equal and expanded trade opportunity, a prerequisite for peaceful international relations, and he incorporated these principles, along with his commitment to national self-determination and world political and social security, into the Atlantic Charter. And, whereas some historians have insisted that Roosevelt's liberal tenets were merely rhetoric, or worse, Open Door tactics to assault German autarchy or British imperial preferences, they slight the powerful anti-

monopolist and antiimperialist underpinnings of Roosevelt's thinking and ignore the fact that he acquiesced in critical German-American trade arrangements that violated Open Door precepts, inclined to accept German economic predominance in the Balkans, and did not invoke trade warfare measures until Germany invaded Europe in 1939-40. Moreover, while he bargained hard with the British over trade, Lend Lease, postwar loans, and Bretton Woods agreements, the terms proved relatively generous and reflected the pervasive mutual ambivalence of Anglo-American relations and certain inevitable American predominance in the international order.

During the 1930s, Roosevelt shared the prevalent view that European instability stemmed chiefly from Germany's efforts to throw off the Treaty of Versailles and from the acute political and economic dislocations and rivalries within, and great power rivalries over, the East European states carved out of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Roosevelt respected tradi-

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tional German culture: in 1933 he longed for a return to that "German sanity of the old type," and as late as 1939 he wrote approvingly of German upbringing, independence of family life, and property-holding traditions, which he contrasted to Russian "brutality." He was repelled, however, by Nazi brutality, saber-rattling diplomacy, and war preparations, yet he searched, to a fault, for peaceful means to revise the post-Versailles order so that a prosperous and content Germany could play its proper role in Europe.

FDR would have better served the nation's legitimate interest by more forthright policy, even at risk of sharp domestic political conflict

Consequently, Roosevelt sought to effect political and economic appeasement through variations upon the theme of Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles's proposed world conference in 1937 that envisaged establishment of universal codes for international relations, trade practices, arms limitation, and peaceful revision of treaties. Admittedly, the welter of international rivalries weighed too heavily against this convocation, and an irresolute President was dissuaded from trying first by his excessively cautious and suspicious Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, and then in early 1938 by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's cold response and Hitler's diplomatic and military purges and brutal diplomacy in the Anschluss. Roosevelt ambivalently encouraged appeasement over Czechoslovakia, while thereafter he promoted "methods short of war" to resist aggression by arguing that the British would not have gone to Munich if they had had more airplanes. Once Germany began hostilities in 1939, Roosevelt honestly insisted that Americans did not have to be neutral in thought, and he feared that American security was jeopardized by Nazi-Soviet partition of Poland and the Russians' "dreadful rape" of Finland, which raised the spectre of Hitler and Stalin ruling from Manchuria to the Rhine--and beyond. Nevertheless, without choosing between appeasement or resistance, Roosevelt sent Welles to Europe in early 1940 to assess prospects for a negotiated settlement with Germany, although the President shied from a

political guarantee. Hitler's spring invasions made peace talks unthinkable, however, and thereafter Roosevelt spoke only of an unappeasable totalitarian Nazi state locked in an "unholy alliance" and bent on global conquest.

Unmistakably, Roosevelt sought to sustain the British through his unneutral Destroyer Deal, Lend Lease, Atlantic "patrols," "hemispheric defense" that he stretched to Iceland, and undeclared Atlantic warfare. He also was quick to perceive both the Soviet Union's capacity to withstand Germany's invasion of June 1941 and the opportunity he now had to alter the military balance of power by providing "the Devil" with Lend Lease. Roosevelt was certain that the British were fighting for "their liberty and our security," that most Americans wished to support them--if not the Russians--to the verge of war, and that it was necessary to vanquish the Nazi regime. Yet, he was so fearful of resistance to his policies that he insisted too much that they would keep America out of war, while he also strained his executive authority beyond fair use; misrepresented or provoked incidents in the Atlantic; used dubious documents to allege German plans to conquer the Western hemisphere; and sanctioned illegal FBI "special operations" against political opponents. He, thus, clouded his goals, compromised democratic principles, and set unfortunate precedents for later administrations. He would have better served the nation's legitimate interest by more forthright policy, even at risk of sharp domestic political conflict, especially because his ends were too important to be achieved by less than honorable means.

Contrary to many past and present critics, however, Roosevelt did not seek conflict in the Far East and had few illusions about politics or power there. He regretted that the "money changers" had exploited China, and he knew that Chiang Kai-shek's regime sought chiefly to entrench and enrich itself, fight communists, and wait for the West to restrain Japan. Roosevelt concluded that it would take years and "possibly several revolutions" to build the "new China," which no Western society could affect deeply. He had to endorse the Hoover-Stimson and League of Nations doctrine of nonrecognition of

Japan's conquest of Manchukuo in 1933, but during the next six years he only deplored Japan's rapidly expanding undeclared war and China's inability or unwillingness to resist. And whereas by 1940-41 he envisioned the wars in Europe and in Asia as a "single world conflict," his policies accorded with the view of the Joint Board of the Army and Navy in November 1941 that Nazi Germany was the primary enemy, that conflict in the Pacific diminished capabilities in the Atlantic, and that not even China's imminent defeat justified American war with Japan.

Roosevelt never thought that the small loans and few planes and pilots he afforded China in 1940-41 would regenerate the Kuomintang politically or produce battlefield miracles; he hoped, rather, to slow Japan's southward advance to avert military defeat for the British, which he feared would bring devastating consequences in Europe and Asia. Similarly, he did not license exports to the Japanese until they occupied southern Indochina in July 1941, and then he hesitated to retreat from an advanced position after he discovered that the State Department had converted licensing into a *de facto* oil embargo. Yet, Roosevelt's primary intention was to signal against wider war, not inflict defeat.

Roosevelt's pragmatic liberal internationalism confronted history and reality at Yalta

Conceivably, Roosevelt might have averted war by cutting off aid to China and providing Japan with every resource, including oil, necessary to defeat China, although this "Pacific Munich" would have occasioned bitter reaction at home and abroad and undermined his effort to foster public support for British and Russian resistance to Germany. Nevertheless, Roosevelt sought to gain at least a temporary reprieve in 1941 by trading "some oil and rice now--more later" for limited Japanese troop withdrawals, despite the scant likelihood of Japanese acceptance. He was prepared to go forth on November 26 when he concluded that Japan's massive military movements toward Southeast Asia signalled "bad faith." In fact, the Japanese had decided to subdue China and to drive the British and French from the southwestern Pacific, but to achieve this

Japanese military strategy demanded either the continued flow of American resources or a preemptive strike against American installations in the Pacific. In the final analysis, Roosevelt could have avoided war only by fueling Japan's war machine and conceding rapid Western withdrawal, or defeat, in the Pacific. He was no more prepared to do this in 1941 than the Japanese were prepared to abandon their effort to create--even by war--their imperial Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Moreover, by then Roosevelt's overarching concern was the fact that Germany and Japan had repeatedly sought to use their military "alliance"--"bluff, power, or accomplishment," in his words--to intimidate other nations and that both had repeatedly made war and conquest instruments of national policy. Thus, they had created an intolerable state of "world lawlessness," which led him to welcome, albeit ambivalently, their decisions for war against the United States as his means to create a more peaceful world order.

Convinced that waging war and preserving peace were vitally linked, Roosevelt wished to meet the Soviet Union's legitimate military needs and its territorial-security claims. He believed that the Russians should recover "quite a chunk" of territory, including their 1940 Armistice line with Finland and their former territories in the Baltic, eastern Poland (the Curzon Line) and Rumania (Bessarabia and perhaps Bukovina). He further intended that Poland would be compensated with German territory, that populations would be transferred, and that German dismemberment and reparations payments would satisfy retributive justice and Soviet security. The Soviet-Czech nonalignment treaty of 1943 would be the model for Russian regional relations with the fully restored and independent countries of Eastern Europe. Finally, Roosevelt hoped to entice Stalin into a great power (or leader) consortium that would "police" the world and foster accommodation and orderly change through a Wilsonian United Nations acceptable to reluctant Americans.

Ironically, Roosevelt the realistic diplomat and commander-in-chief might have best advanced his goals by meeting Stalin's calls in 1942

for a territorial agreement and a Second Front. The President could have negotiated to "contain" the beleaguered Russians with their former territory and acceptable ethnographic-security lines, while a successful Second Front that foreshortened the European war might have both precluded or minimized the brutal military campaigns and civil war politics that marked the Russians' advance into Eastern Europe and limited their ultimate claims against Germany. But Roosevelt the politician shied from a political agreement because of his Atlantic Charter strictures and State Department objections to secret treaties, a "Baltic Munich," and the "spread of Communism." Similarly, Churchill's recalcitrance, and worker-material shortages, led Roosevelt to abandon both the Second Front in 1942 that he had pledged to Stalin and the 1943 invasion that the Joint Chiefs of Staff preferred.

Most historians have conceded that despite the circumstantial justifications, Roosevelt's diplomatic and military postponement policies heightened Stalin's suspicions of the West, but more significantly, in reality postponement meant that the Soviets would have to fight their "great-patriotic" political and military war in the East virtually alone against the bulk of the Nazi forces, while the Anglo-Americans would fight their "peripheral" contest in the Mediterranean before launching their long-delayed invasion in the West in June 1944. These separate wars in the East and West virtually guaranteed that wherever Russian armies went from the Baltic to the Balkans they would seek to impose absolute security and their social systems, while Roosevelt and Churchill collaborated with their "devils" and dictatorial regimes in North Africa, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece, and jointly maintained their atomic secrets.

Despite this great power divide, or perhaps because of it, Roosevelt pursued peace and great power accord consistent with his original goals. At Teheran in late 1943 he knew that he could do no more than ask Stalin for "plebiscites" to legitimize Russian reannexation of the Baltic states. Roosevelt also endorsed German dismemberment and reparations in principle, and then in 1944 he endorsed

the Morgenthau Plan, although War and State Department objections and election politics caused his retreat. Similarly, at Teheran Roosevelt accepted Churchill and Stalin's agreement to exchange eastern Polish for eastern German territory, although the President cited domestic politics to avoid formal concurrence. In 1944, however, he was consistent, if subtle, in his diplomatic representations to the Polish government in exile that it needed to reach a boundary accord and to broaden its political base, and that neither the United States nor the United Kingdom intended to wage war in its behalf against the Soviet Union. And then Roosevelt told congressional leaders in January 1945 that each side was incontestably predominant in the spheres where its armies were, and that the only practicable course was to ameliorate matters in Eastern Europe.

Finally, during 1943-44 Roosevelt pursued a realistic although flawed policy in China. He perceived its potential as Asia's most powerful nation, hoped to have it "on our side" on most issues, and, thus, insisted that it be accorded great power status and the return of its conquered territories. At the same time, Roosevelt understood that China was at the brink of civil war and revolution, and he tried through his civilian and military emissaries to press Chiang for political reform, more vigorous prosecution of the war, and then coalition with the Communists. Roosevelt came closest to facing down Chiang politically and militarily when he pressed him in September-October 1944 to give General Joseph Stilwell command of both KMT and CCP forces. But then Roosevelt retreated in the face of Chiang's perpetual intransigence and American concern about China's sovereignty and a public debacle. Roosevelt should have tied economic and military aid more closely to political reform and--perhaps--dealt directly with the Communists and used Stilwell to challenge Chiang for control over China's destiny. But this would have violated Roosevelt's long-held conviction that only the Chinese could determine their ultimate fate.

At Yalta in February 1945, however, Roosevelt sought global detente. His beliefs and prior commitments

determined German dismemberment and reparations policies. His recognition of the Soviet Union's preponderant political and military influence in Poland and Eastern Europe determined his assent that the government in Warsaw would not be "new" but "reorganized," and that there would not be machinery to ensure the free elections which his Declaration on Liberated Europe sanctioned. But Poland's eastern boundary was readily fixed at the Curzon Line, and its western recompense was approximated at German expense. In the Far East, Roosevelt would meld his desire for an expeditious end to the war and support for the crumbling Kuomintang by proffering minor territorial concessions--mainly reversals of prior Russian losses--to Stalin, who scheduled Russian entry into the war and agreed to deal only with Chiang in China. And Stalin accepted the American formula for Great Power veto rights in the United Nations' Security Council.

Roosevelt's pragmatic liberal internationalism had finally confronted history and reality at Yalta, where he and Churchill secured the best that they--or anyone else before or since--could get: the framework for global detente. Afterwards, of course, Roosevelt would obscure reality by declaring that Yalta marked the end of unilateral action and spheres of influence, and he was infuriated at Stalin's behavior in Rumania, his insistence on a "thinly disguised" Warsaw regime, and "vile misrepresentations" about American-German surrender talks. And in his last days, Roosevelt implored Churchill to minimize the Soviet problem yet insisted that advancing Anglo-American armies meant that they could now be "tougher" with the Russians.

Roosevelt's purposefully ambiguous policy, and the subsequent debates as to whether he intended further to appease the Russians or to resist them have obscured somewhat the dominant theme or purposes of his diplomacy. First, as he wrote to a friend in 1916, the millenium might arrive some day, "but you and I will not be there." Surely, then, Roosevelt did not expect that the Second World War would bring a secular millenium. Then, as he told Congress on March 1, 1945, the "structure of peace cannot be the work of one man, one party, or one Nation." Peace depended on the

"cooperative effort of the whole world." And finally, as he wrote in the April 1945 Jefferson Day Address that he did not live to deliver, peace meant not only an end to the current war but "an end to the beginnings of all wars" and the resolution of conflict by other than the "brutal, inhuman... mass killings of people."

FDR's threefold emphasis was always on incremental progress toward a distant vision, collective responsibility for peace, and peaceful means to resolve conflicts

Roosevelt's threefold emphasis, thus, was always on incremental progress toward a distant vision, collective responsibility for peace, and peaceful means to resolve conflicts. Taken as the standard by which we might judge the record of his diplomacy in the 1930s and '40s, we might now better appreciate the multitude of national and international forces which at once moved him and constrained him as he sought first to appease nations which suffered alleged injustices, then to rally a divided nation to combat aggression, then to sustain an alliance forged by cruel necessity, and finally to create the framework for a more peaceful world order. If evaluation of the past means relentless probing of the record, but judgments tempered by compassion, then reason and our current condition would suggest that we yet must be grateful to Roosevelt for his leadership and appeals to humanity's decent instincts in an age otherwise dominated by depression, dictators, and global war.



FREDERICK CASONI is writing a book on Lyndon Johnson's handwriting and would appreciate photocopies of anything signed by him. Contributions will be individually acknowledged. "Sincerely, Lyndon: The Handwriting of Lyndon B. Johnson" will be available on November 1, 1983. The volume already contains LBJ's correspondence to the Kennedys, Richard Nixon, FDR, Felix Frankfurter, Clark Clifford, Averell Harriman, Jake Pickle, and dozens of other VIPs. Contact Frederick Casoni at 4226 Vermont Avenue, Alexandria, Virginia 22304.

Hollywood history: assaulting the past

This is part of a continuing series of Newsletter articles, which explores applications of documentary and dramatic films to classroom teaching. To obtain information or to make recommendations concerning the series, contact Robert Brent Toplin, Editor, Department of History, University of North Carolina at Wilmington, Wilmington, North Carolina 28406.

David Courtwright

TELEVISION AND FILM are the most potent media for presenting history to a mass audience. Although few of us care to admit it, a single successful production can influence the historical perceptions of more people than the life's work of any scholar, no matter how polished or prolific. The press run today for a typical historical monograph is about 1,500 copies; the first-run attendance of Gone With the Wind (1939) was over 25,000,000.

As we all know, screen history is appallingly bad history

Yet as we all know, screen history is appallingly bad history. With a very few exceptions, historical films--feature films purportedly about real historical figures or events--contain fabrications, distortions, or anachronisms. For example, Arthur Penn's Bonnie and Clyde (1967) attributes several of John Dillinger's exploits to a much-glamorized Barrow gang, despite the fact that nearly all their contemporaries (including, ironically, Dillinger) saw them as murderous punks. Claiming new documentary evidence, The makers of The Lincoln Conspiracy (1977) showed Stanton and other officials plotting to kidnap Lincoln (he was thought to be soft on the South), only to be preempted by Booth's successful assassination attempt. When scholars like Harold Hyman examined the "evidence" it simply evaporated--but only after the film had been shown nationwide. Thus, films generally invert basic historical values: they favor fiction over truth, myth over actuality.

Newsreels, documentaries, and other "films of record" have their inaccuracies, too, but space limitations prevent

me from discussing them. For good analyses of these inaccuracies, see the essays by William Hughes and Nicholas Pronay in The Historian and Film, Paul Smith, ed., particularly pages 55-65 and 95-119. Another category not considered here is the fiction film in an historical setting: for example, Don Seigel's passing-of-the-frontier allegory, The Shootist (1976). Such films are unobjectionable as long as they do not attempt to disguise their fictional nature. They become objectionable when they do otherwise: for example, D.W. Griffith's extravagant claims for the historical accuracy of The Birth of a Nation. As the newspaper editor in John Ford's The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance (1962) succinctly put it, "When the legend becomes fact, print the legend."

Films generally invert basic historical values: they favor fiction over truth, myth over actuality

But if history means anything at all, it means just the opposite: print the facts, not the legend. I do not want to seem naive about this; anyone who has read Carl Becker well understands the relativity of historical "facts." Nevertheless, there is a difference--a moral and an epistemological difference--between those who do their imperfect best to tell a true story about the past and those who plunder it, wrenching chunks of human lives out of context and rearranging them into a story that never happened. Too many historical films are filled with deliberate untruths calculated to achieve ulterior ends; that is to say, they are filled with lies--powerful lies, deceiving millions.

Let me be clear: I am not concerned with the minor fudging inevitable in practically any historical film. We must recognize that, when sources are fragmentary, it is often necessary to invent patches of dialogue or infer episodes for the sake of dramatic and visual continuity. (The 1982 PBS production of "Denmark Vesey's Rebellion" is a good example of what can be done despite limited evidence.) But reasonable interpolation based on careful research differs from outright

revision, where known facts are sacrificed for commercial or thematic ends.

Consider John Wayne's The Alamo (1960). Everything revolves around a single message: the cause of freedom requires unity and sacrifice. There is "manly" talk about republican virtue, enough cruciform symbolism to embarrass the makers of E.T., and a carefully balanced dramatic structure, in which Crockett attempts to mediate between Bowie, a drunken but plain-spoken scrapper, and Travis, a haughty but well-intentioned martinet. In the midst of the bickering, word arrives that Fannin's troops have been massacred; there will be no reinforcements. Bowie then prepares to lead his men out of the mission fortress, but at the last moment he dismounts and comes to Travis's side. Crockett and the other men join them. Unified, they accept certain death to "buy precious time" for Houston's army. Never mind that Houston actually gave orders to destroy the mission, or that Bowie lay delirious and dying during the siege, or that Fannin's troops were massacred at Goliad three weeks after the Alamo fell; facts are tailored to the plot, the plot is tailored to the message, and the message is tricked out with enough action to sell.

Reasonable interpolation based on careful research differs from outright revision, where known facts are sacrificed for commercial or thematic ends

Curiously, most historians have remained indifferent to these abuses, as if they were somehow inevitable or harmless. That, or scholars have finessed the problem, concentrating instead on the cultural and political values implicit in film. The premise of much recent work has been that movies reveal a good deal more about the era in which they were made than the subjects they are supposedly about. There have been several variations on this theme. Marc Ferro, for example, has studied Stalinist ideology by microscopically analyzing a single film, Tchapaev (1934), while John Lenihan has examined post-World War II political, intellectual, and social trends by tracing variations in a single

genre, the Western. (The title of one of Lenihan's chapters, "Cold War-Path," gives the flavor of this type of work.) Michael Wood has used Hollywood films from 1939 to 1963 to illustrate his freewheeling, Tocquevillean essays about American life and its submerged anxieties; Pierre Sorlin has gone the international route, focusing on representative historical films from France, Italy, Soviet Russia, and the United States. Sorlin believes that history films, no matter how distorted, can yield clues about how people living at a certain time understood their own past. (See Marc Ferro, "The Fiction Film and Historical Analysis," in Paul Smith, ed., The Historian and Film; John Lenihan, Showdown: Confronting Modern America in the Western Film; Michael Wood, America in the Movies; and Pierre Sorlin, The Film in History: Restaging the Past.) This is only a partial list; a number of other European and American scholars have tried their hand at extracting contemporaneous values from film, with varying results.

The premise of much recent work has been that movies reveal a good deal more about the era in which they were made than the subjects they are supposedly about

Still, the larger problem remains. Just because a history film embodies (offhandedly, as it were) something of the Zeitgeist, should we close our eyes to the distortions it contains? I think not. The reason for this is that most viewers, lacking sufficient background and a critical turn of mind, take these films literally: they become history, howlers and all. For most Americans John Reed is Warren Beatty, sexy bohemian and denatured radical; the handsome Beatty has also become our Clyde Barrow, erasing the memory of the sadistic killer who spread misery and terror across nine states. But if we take seriously our mission as educators, and the notion that truth is central to our discipline, then we ought to oppose such flagrant misrepresentations.

Filmography

The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance, The Alamo, Gone With the Wind, and The Shootist are available through Films, Inc.;

Bonnie and Clyde through Swank Motion Pictures, Inc.; *The Lincoln Conspiracy* (sale only) through Lucerne Films, Inc.; Tchapaev through Corinth Films; *The Birth of a Nation* through the Museum of Modern Art; "Denmark Vesey's Rebellion" was produced by WPBT of Miami, P.O. Box 61001, North Miami, Florida 33161.

A HISTORY SYMPOSIUM, "Preserving Our Heritage," is sponsored by the National Park Service and the N.J. Historical Commission. It will be held on June 11 starting at 9 a.m. at the Morris Museum of Arts and Sciences, Normandy Heights Road, Morris County, N.J. For information contact Richard Waldren, 609-292-6062; or Lynn Wightman, 201-539-2016.

ARCHIE P. McDONALD has assumed the editorship of *Encyclopedia USA*. The publication was begun last year and is now through its first three letter manuscript volumes. McDonald's labors will assume the work in the letter "B." If anyone is interested in writing essays for entries, contact McDonald at *Encyclopedia USA*, Box 6223, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, Texas 75962.

Preserving the past for the future: cultural resources in the National Park Service

Mary Maruca

WHEN JOHN ADAMS died, his descendants saved the wing-backed chair he died in. When Abraham Lincoln died, the blood-soaked pillow cases survived as an inheritance from generation to generation.

As Americans, we savor our past. We collect it, display it, study it for some reflection of ourselves. And like us, the Federal Government does the same. It collects mementos of vanished time. To visit a historic house is to understand in a small way how we became who we are. The National Park Service (NPS), overseer for many of these historic and prehistoric sites, safeguards objects as diverse as the sites themselves. It collects cigar butts and campaign buttons, top hats and walking sticks, slave manacles and Lincoln Continentals--treasures and trifles. How the NPS works with this diversity will determine which cultural

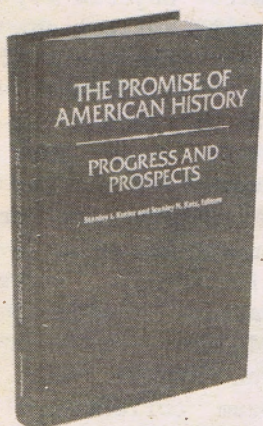
resources survive.

Cultural resources may be defined as the collection of beliefs and material remains with which a group distinguishes itself from other groups. They may range from an Anazasi dwelling at Chaco Canyon to a metal washtub at the Frederick Douglass Home, or a living memorial such as San Antonio Missions where worshippers still come to pray. Each of the 334 parks in the National Park system commemorates a special part of the American experience. Parks awaken visitors to their past as that past has evolved into their present. Park collections enhance this experience. They attempt to represent the numerous facets of our national history fully.

But visitors mustn't confuse diversity with clutter. Whatever the interest--from sculpture to scuba gear--the diligent visitor can probably find it. And in most cases, the object has a distinct

reason for being there. At the Clara Barton National Historic Site, the old Victorian house ably speaks for both Barton and the Red Cross. The furniture may be as simple as a packing crate or as ornate as a stuffed Victorian chair; either way, it reflects her personality. Barton frugally painted peach crates blue, then turned them over for use as end tables. She recycled Red Cross relief supplies to furnish the various rooms of her renovated warehouse. She also displayed finer pieces--for example, a loveseat given by the Grand Duchess Of Baden, daughter of Kaiser Wilhelm, gilt-edged so that "it shone like a throne," according to one of Barton's secretaries. Another remarkable piece is Clara Barton's desk chair. She sawed off the back support to demonstrate the virtues of good posture. Barton would sit erect at her desk, a woman in her eighties, patiently completing the work of less resilient spirits.

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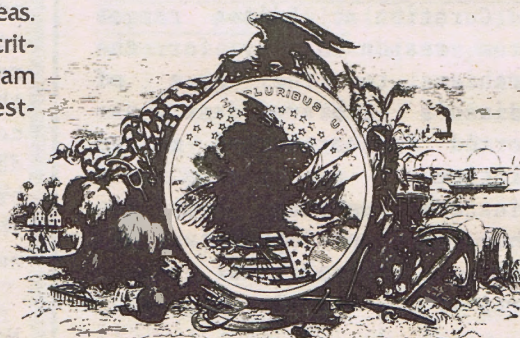
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OAH News

Resolution

Following is a resolution proposed and adopted by the OAH Executive Board concerning the death of Nikolai Vasilievich Sivachev, Head of the Chair of Modern and Contemporary History, Moscow State University, USSR.

The officers and members of the Organization of American Historians note with profound regret the untimely death at the age of forty-nine, on March 4, 1983, of Professor Nikolai Vasilievich Sivachev, Head and Chair of Modern and Contemporary History, and director of the Program in American History at Moscow State University.

Professor Sivachev, holder of a Doctor of Science degree at Moscow State University, had also pursued graduate study at Columbia University in the early 1960s under Professor Richard Hofstadter, benefiting during those years from the friendship of Eleanor Roosevelt. In subsequent years, he conducted extensive research into American history during numerous visits to major archival collections and libraries in the United States. Out of this research came six books and sixty articles on the U.S. For a number of years, years, his interest had been in the political history of the New Deal. In December 1981, he became the first Soviet scholar ever to present a scholarly paper before a session of the American Historical Association, his work and insights into the party politics of the 1930s earning the well-merited respect of the large audience.

Professor Sivachev's most striking achievement was in creating a large program of scholars and students at Moscow State University devoted to the careful study of American history. Graduates of this program, by far the largest and most completely developed in the Soviet Union, now teach in

secondary and higher education and conduct research in many cities in the USSR. He played a major role in developing the Fulbright Program and other scholarly exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union. For each of the past ten years, through Professor Sivachev's efforts, an American professor of United States history has offered a lecture course at Moscow State University during the spring semester which is part of the required curriculum of all students in the United States history program. They are also attended by the program's faculty. Thus, American and Soviet professors and several hundred students have developed friendly relations and fruitful intellectual interchanges based upon the enhancement of their knowledge of each other and their respective societies. As in all educational exchanges, the long-range influences of this program in mutual understanding and good will will ultimately be passed on to wide constituencies in both countries.

Professor Sivachev, a man of warmth, intelligence, and great scholarly and administrative energy, was deeply committed to the ideology and hopes of his country, entertaining a firm belief in and loyalty to the Soviet Union. He believed, too, that the United States, a country which fascinated him and absorbed his lifetime's study and teaching, and the Soviet Union, the land of his nativity, could live in peace and friendship without either nation sacrificing its basic principles. The Organization of American Historians expresses its deep gratitude for the vision, the humanity, and the great achievements of Nikolai Vasilievich Sivachev. We hope that his enduring monument will be the continuation and expansion of his work at Moscow State University in the building of persisting bridges between historians in the United States and the Soviet Union.

Resolution

Inasmuch as the Organization of American Historians has long supported making governmental archival materials accessible to researchers, the possibility that the Nixon Presidential papers will be brought to the University of California at Irvine, causes the Executive Board to reaffirm that policy. (Since passage of this resolution, representatives of former President Nixon decided not to establish his library at Irvine because of requirements stipulated by the faculty.)

The two new histories: competing paradigms for interpreting the American past

What was once seen merely as the mixed heritage of the '60s and '70s must now be accepted for what it really is: two paradigms of historical understanding. Both sides argue that the other has the wrong theory or no theory at all

Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr.

IT IS BECOMING increasingly evident that the historiographic trends of the 1960s and 1970s have resulted in two quite different paradigms for understanding the American past. The various so-called new histories started in the 1960s and were often overlapping and fused in that decade and the next, but now it is clear in the 1980s that the new economic, political, social, urban, education, labor, and other histories revolve about two conflicting sets of assumptions and moral judgments.

One of these histories started with quantification and social science terminology and hypotheses. The other began by focusing upon workers' lives and looking at society "from the bottom up." The first was represented at first by work on the economics of slavery, the study of social mobility, or the analysis of electoral and legislative voting patterns. By the mid-1970s, this version of history had eventuated in such books as Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, Time on the Cross: The Economics of Slavery (1974, especially the supplementary volume); Stephan Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970 (1973); and J. Morgan Kousser, The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910 (1974). The other version of history can be said to stem from the articles by Jesse Lemisch, Herbert Gutman, and David Montgomery (among others) in the 1960s and found fruition in such books as Alan Dawley, Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn (1976); Susan Hirsch, Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of

Crafts in Newark, 1880-1860 (1978); Lawrence Goodwyn, Democratic Promise: The Populist Movement in America (1976); and Dan Clawson, Bureaucracy and the Labor Process: The Transformation of the U.S. Industry, 1860-1920 (1980).

As can be seen from my choice of authors and books, the two histories do not divide over whether one covers the elite versus the common people while the other does not. Both deal with the multitude of people. Both define "social" broadly. In fact, both versions of history purport to present a social interpretation of American history, for both embrace all aspects of society: family as well as politics, education as well as economics, ideas as well as institutions. Both histories take as their realm nothing less than the whole of American society and its manifestations over time. What separates the two histories, rather, are their basic assumptions about the nature of that society over time, the source and scope of theory, proper methods of evaluating data and drawing conclusions, and the nature (and role) of moral judgments in the writing of history. Both may claim to be scientific, but their results as well as their ways of proceeding are quite different. What was once seen merely as the mixed heritage of the 1960s and 1970s must now be accepted for what it really is: two paradigms of historical understanding. To facilitate my discussion of these two paradigms I shall label one social science history and the other radical history after the titles of the journals published by the two organizations most dedicated to developing the differing paradigms of history: The Social Science History Association and The American Historical Association.

A different sort of collection, equally astounding for the mind it represents, is the George Washington Carver collection at Tuskegee. Like Barton, Carver committed himself to the cause of human survival. He experimented with peanuts as an inexpensive way to help the poor. The Tuskegee museum owns and preserves such curiosities as peanut meal, peanut medicine, and peanut elixir (combined with creosote for internal consumption). Carver also ventured into cosmetics. Peanut oil served as the basis for hair tonic. It appeared even in vanishing cream, though the women complained that it made their faces plump and refused to use it. In addition to peanut by-products, thirty jars of century-old vegetables occupy the display cases. Among them are whole heads of cabbage, onions, English peas, muscadine, apples, and turnips, each representing experiments with soils, seeds, and fertilizers.

Another type of monument to survival, the Grant Kohrs Ranch in Montana, commemorates over 120 years of ranch history. In summing up his tumultuous generation, Grant Kohrs remarked "... the range cattle industry has seen its inception, zenith, and partial extinction all within a half-century. The changes of the past have been many; those of the future may be of even more revolutionary character." A homemade footstool evokes these disparate forces. Mrs. Kohrs's embroidery covers the top, contrasting with cow horn legs--the rough and the delicate welded together. Surrounded by bunk houses, cattle pens, and 25,000 acres of ranch land, the Kohrs's household brought stability to a mercurial land. In this rough-hewn environment, even a six-foot sculpture of Cleopatra leaning against a two-headed elephant supplied something colorful, cultural, and, as one visitor exclaimed, "seductive." A house-warming present to the Kohrs from their cattle brokers, the object represented something tastefully cultural from the Columbia Exhibition in Chicago.

These showcase collections and historical curiosities commemorate a vanished way of life. Other treasures pinpoint dramatic moments of American history and pre-history. George Washington's campaign tent is preserved at the Colonial National Historic

Park, Chief Joseph's coat at Big Hole, the Presidential furnishings at the White House, and the derringer from Lincoln's assassination at Ford's Theater. Such objects--the cool, metallic shape of a derringer, for example--give history an irrefutable reality. Yet Park Service collections range even farther. They extend beyond specific explosions of death and national emergency, from our industrial present into our distant past. At Hopewell Village, the Park Service manages an anthracite furnace and a historic slag heap. At the Lyndon B. Johnson National Historic Site, LBJ's Lincoln Continentals reside in air conditioned comfort. Lowell National Historic Park retains fine examples of early mills as well as of machinery still actively used for water control. At the other end of the spectrum, Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon preserve evidence of ancient Indian cultures. Dinosaur National Park safeguards petrified dinosaur bones. Sitka National Historical Park displays totem poles of such power that visitors often sense the presence of ancestral spirits.

Scholarship is also represented. Edison National Historic Site owns over 50,000 photographs and three million pieces of paper, one of the largest collections of its kind in the National Park Service. The task of conserving so much paper (Edison's workbooks, journals, and his sudden, bright notes of inspiration) has been assumed jointly by four institutions: the National Park Service, the Smithsonian Institution, the New Jersey Historical Association, and Rutgers University. At its conclusion, the project will have selected ten percent of the total archives for microfilming, and from that another ten percent for a letter press edition of Edison's work. The project has generated much interest for the park, for Edison's work, and for the other exceptional objects protected there.

Curation at Edison ranges from responsibility for the archives to the care of Edison's library desk, assorted research and motion picture apparatus, a nineteenth-century machine shop, and an impressive collection of original phonographs.

"This isn't a white glove site," says curator Edward

Pershey. "A graveyard of technology has to be sorted through." To preserve the historical authenticity of the original recordings, something as elusive as sound must be monitored for over 20,000 phonograph records. Certain original materials and formats capture sound quality better than others. Where warping threatens, rerecording original sound onto tape preserves the pure tones of the original. Other phonographs require less complex maneuvers.

Olmsted National Historic Site also harbors a wealth of scholarly material. Housed at the site are the plans and workbooks for "Biltmore," the elegant Vanderbilt estate in Asheville, North Carolina. Here also are the plans and drawings for the early great urban parks: New York's Central Park, Chicago's Riverside, and Rock Creek in Washington, D.C., as well as over 115,000 other historical drawings originated by the Olmsted firm. This priceless collection represents the history of landscape architecture in America.

Park collections differ in size, type, and complexity. They also differ in geographical and historical emphasis. The Salem Maritime National Historic Site on the East Coast displays collections quite different from those housed at the National Maritime Museum, Golden Gate NRA, on the West Coast. Yet each collection is a tribute to the seafaring enterprise it represents. Salem Maritime NHS boasts the most complete collection of nineteenth-century Custom Service gear in existence. Gauges, weighing and measuring devices recall cargoes from China and the Spice Islands, exotic cargoes that won Salem the title of Pepper Port.

"We have everything from apples to doughnuts but no ships," says Curator John Frayler.

Instead, the wharfs show a clipped, attractive green, more like a park than a sea coast. "People have to realize that objects fit into the scheme of things," Frayler continues. "We are trying to do the impossible... to bring to the consciousness of the general public what will never exist again."

By contrast, Golden Gate National Recreation Area concentrates on coastal defense and maritime activities as

practiced along the Pacific coast. Here visitors have a veritable armada of ships to explore. Whaling industry paraphernalia as well as navigational odds and ends create a maritime identity quite distinct from the East Coast.

"If imagination can imagine it, the National Park Service probably has it," says Art Allen, Deputy Chief Curator, NPS. For curators, the incredible diversity only complicates their jobs. They must oversee and keep track of some ten million items.

Park Service curators have staunchly worked to familiarize themselves with what they protect. A streamlined method for cataloging has been initiated, along with an intensive push at the regional and park levels to complete the cataloging process. In the past, one object could not be documented in less than thirty minutes. The new process proposes to speed documentation. Still, curation has basements and storage bins full of half-remembered items. Losses occur through vandalism, weathering, or carelessness. Streamlined cataloging may help, but so may greater awareness of the value of organized collections management.

A second, philosophical problem concerns the nature of what parks collect. Does an object donated from a great uncle's attic qualify as a significant acquisition? Donated objects may duplicate existing collections or complicate the story of the park with irrelevant material. Once an object is donated, however, the park has few avenues for ridding itself of the excess. At present, a document known as a Scope of Collections serves "to maintain objects within guidelines... a kind of Magna Carta for managing museum collections in the parks," according to curator Allen. It helps analyze collections needs on a park-by-park basis, and helps distinguish between critical and noncritical acquisitions.

Perhaps the most pressing need is obtaining more trained curators for staff positions. In many instances, park rangers or historians and even naturalists double as curatorial specialists. Only thirty-one parks out of the 334 have people trained as curators, and only an additional twenty-seven have

museum aides, technicians, or specialists.

With diversity comes challenge. But a diversity of collections only reflects a diversity of interests. They stand for no one city, state, or ethnic group, but the accumulation of events, turning points, dramatic moments, and reserved silences that reflect the American experience.

Recent Deaths

William Franklin, 80, a retired official of the National Archives, died October 29, 1982. Dr. Franklin joined the National Archives in 1936. He was archivist of the territorial papers branch at the time of his retirement in 1972. He then did research for the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, which publishes state papers.

Arnold M. Shankman, 37, died on March 1, 1983. He taught at Oxford, Emory Colleges of Emory University, and joined the Winthrop College faculty in 1975 where he was a professor of history at the time of his death. His scholarly interests and achievements include over forty articles and four books, The Pennsylvania Anti-War Movement, Human Rights Odyssey, Ambivalent Friends, and American Indian Archival Material: A Guide to Holdings in the Southeast.

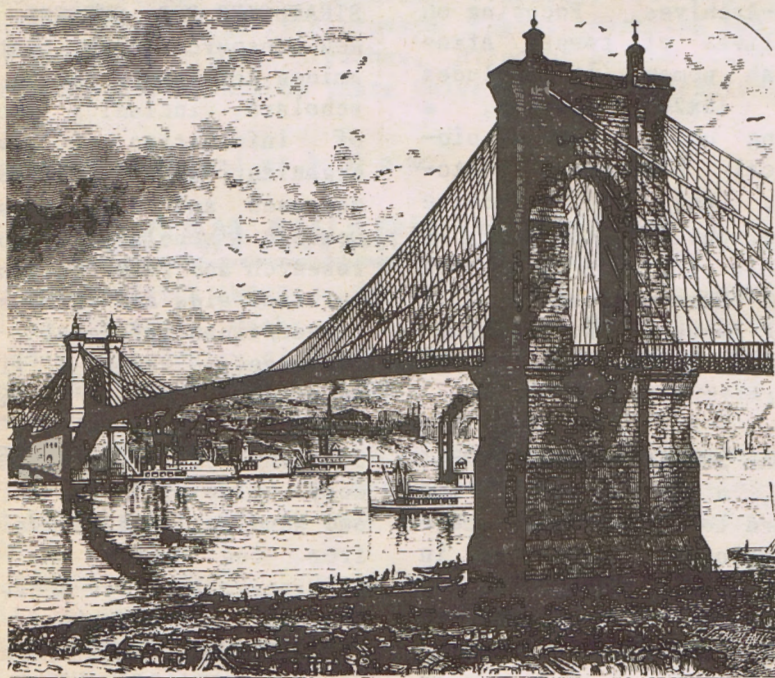
THE COVINGTON AND Cincinnati Suspension Bridge, the largest suspension bridge in the world at the time it was completed in 1866, has been named a National Historic Civil Engineering Landmark by the American Society of Civil Engineers.

The Covington and Cincinnati Suspension Bridge was cited by ASCE as the first permanent bridging of the Ohio River between Ohio and Kentucky. At the time of its construction, it had the longest suspension span in the world at 1,057 feet, and was also the longest suspension bridge in total length at 2,252 feet.

The bridge was also historically significant as a direct predecessor of Roebling's other great masterpiece, the famous Brooklyn Bridge. In addition, the bridge represented the first easy commercial access between North and South, and provided an economic boost to Cincinnati as the "Gateway to the South."

When opened in 1866, the Covington and Cincinnati Suspension Bridge was the marvel of the age. With a central span of more than 1,000 feet and huge wire cables which took eight months to weave from a million pounds of wire, it was a major attraction in itself. In just two days following its opening on December 1, 1866, some 166,000 people crossed it on foot.

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SUSPENSION BRIDGE, CINCINNATI TO COVINGTON, KY. 1

Courtesy of Cincinnati Historical Society

Professional opportunities

THE OAH BLOOMINGTON office is seeking a Ph.D. candidate in American history (beginning or continuing) to conduct general historical research and acquire computer and editing skills for producing newsletter. Starting date: September 1983 or January 1984. Salary: halftime, 12 months, \$5,500. Commitment for two or three years preferred. Please submit writing sample with application.

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The Salgo-Noren Foundation invites applications for a one-year appointment as the Otto Salgo Visiting Professor in American Studies at the University of Budapest for the academic year 1983-84. Candidates should have a Ph.D. in American Studies or a related field. Comparatists will also be considered. Knowledge of Hungarian and/or recent Hungarian ancestry is highly desirable, but not required. Candidates should offer solid academic preparation and experience, hold a tenured position at an American university, and be willing to serve as an informal cultural ambassador. Attractive salary, round-trip travel for self and spouse, housing and car will be provided by the Salgo-Noren Foundation. Full faculty status, office space, and secretarial assistance will be provided by the University of Budapest. Incumbent will be expected to assume responsibility for a normal load of undergraduate courses and graduate seminars in some aspect of American society and culture as well as the direction of graduate theses as needed.

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Upcoming Meetings and Conferences

JUNE

HENRY A. WALLACE AND IOWA AGRICULTURE is the topic of a conference to be held at the Sheraton Inn and the Living History Farms in Des Moines, Iowa on June 3-4, 1983. The conference is sponsored in part by the Iowa Humanities Board and the NEH. For further details, write to Richard S. Kirkendall, Department of History, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011.

THE SCIENCE FICTION RESEARCH ASSOCIATION will hold its annual meeting in Midland, Michigan on June 9-12, 1983. The theme will be "Science Fiction: Arts and Sciences." For more information, contact Joseph BeBolt, Department of Sociology, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48859.

THE NEW YORK STATE STUDIES GROUP will sponsor the annual Conference on New York State History on Friday and Saturday, June 10-11. It will be held at the Westchester County campus of Pace University in Pleasantville. The conference will include panels on teaching Native American history, politics and society, fugitive slaves, refugees, migration, and others. For information contact Conference on New York State History, Division of Historical and Anthropological Services, 3093 Cultural Education Center, Albany, New York 12230.

AUGUST

THE SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS (SHAFR) will hold its annual meeting on August 4-6, 1983 in Washington, D. C. For more information, contact Alan Henrikson, SHAFR Program Committee, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts 02155.

THE INSTITUTE OF THE AMERICAN WEST announces the first Inter-regional Conference on the Women's West, August 10-13, 1983. It will be held in Ketchum, Idaho, and focus on historical experiences of women in the trans-Mississippi west including western Canada.

A key focus will be the diversity of women's actual experience in contrast to their place in the mythology of the west. Participants will explore the following in multi-cultural perspective: family, community building, life cycle experience, work, land and sense of place, public policy, method and interpretation, and public presentation of western women's history. For information write to Institute of the American West, P.O. Box 656, Sun Valley, Idaho 83353.

SEPTEMBER

"OKLAHOMA INDIANS: A CONTINUING HERITAGE," is the theme of a symposium to be held at the University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma on September 29-October 1, 1983. Native American scholars will examine the Oklahoma Indian experience in a variety of fields: art, religion, literature, family life, women's issues, and others. For information, contact David Peeler, History Department, University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma, Chickasha, Oklahoma 73018.

OCTOBER

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION will hold a conference at Purdue University, October 6-8, 1983 on the study and teaching of Afro-American history. Funded by a grant from the Lilly Foundation, the meeting will address the research, writing, and teaching of Afro-American history. For more information, contact the AHA at 400 A Street, SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. Address all correspondence to the attention of the Black History Conference.



Publications of Interest

THE CHARLES COFFIN COLLECTION AT TUSCULUM COLLEGE: THE ORIGINAL LIBRARY OF GREENVILLE COLLEGE 1794-1827 has been published by Tusculum College with a grant from the NEH. The catalogue contains descriptive cataloguing for a collection of 1,656 volumes which comprised the original library of the oldest chartered college west of the Alleghenies. Tusculum, founded as Greenville College in 1794, is the only post-Revolutionary frontier college to retain its original library substantially intact. The volume is now available from Special Collections, Tusculum College Library, Tusculum College, Greenville, Tennessee 37743 for \$20.

LAWS OF THE ROYAL COLONY OF NEW JERSEY, 1760-1769, compiled by Bernard Bush, has been published by the Archives Section of the New Jersey State Library. The 606-page book is the third in a four-volume set that covers the period 1703-75. Volumes one (1703-45), two (1746-60), and three (1760-69) of the series may be purchased for \$25 each from the Office of Archival Publications, Archives Section, New Jersey State Library, 185 West State Street, Trenton, New Jersey 08625.

BLACK WOMEN IN AMERICA: CONTRIBUTORS TO OUR HERITAGE is available from the Bethune Museum-Archives. Focusing on the lives of twenty Afro-American women, it includes twenty 16x20" posters, a teaching unit, a book of biographical histories, photographs, and an extensive bibliography. The kit is available for \$38 from the Bethune Museum-Archives, 1318 Vermont Avenue, NW, Washington, D. C. 20005.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE CAREER DIGEST (CJCD), a monthly publication designed to communicate current employment vacancies in the criminal justice field, has expanded its format to publish articles addressing the many facets of career selection, training, advancement, motivation, and develop-

ment. CJCD is available at a \$30 subscription fee. Writer's guidelines and sample copy available upon request. Direct all inquiries to I. Gayle Shuman, Box 565, Phoenix, Arizona 85001.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS is published twice yearly and contains information from historical society publications, scholarly journals, and general periodicals, most of which are not indexed or abstracted in existing finding aids. Each number includes an index which is cumulative for the year in the second issue. Subscription price is \$18 per year; individual issues are \$10 per copy. For more information on Virginia Historical Abstracts, write to Box 3751, Arlington, Virginia 22203-0751.

THE BAREFOOT BRIGADE, a new novel by Douglas C. Jones, focuses on the adventures of the Third Arkansas Infantry Regiment, Confederate States Army during the Civil War. Jones won the 1980 Award for the Best Novel of the Year from the Friends of American Writers for an earlier Civil War novel, *Elkhorn Tavern*. The Barefoot Brigade may be purchased for \$17.50 from McRoy & McNair, Inc., 17 East Center Street, Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701.

HANDBOOK FOR WOMEN SCHOLARS: STRATEGIES FOR SUCCESS is a new resource book that examines key issues facing women scholars, including sections of information on advocacy organizations, professional caucuses and committees for women scholars, women's research and resource centers, survival aids and information, career/financial/legal resources, and fifteen selected topical bibliographies. Handbook for Women Scholars sells for \$10.95 per copy (plus \$1.50 for shipping and handling) and is available from the Center for Women Scholars, Americas Behavioral Research Corporation, 1925 Page Street, San Francisco, California 94117.

A LIST OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, compiled by Beverly D. Bishop and Janice L. Fox, is a seventy-seven-page publication which details basic information for approximately 1,000 collections. The price is \$2.50, and it may be ordered from the Missouri Historical Society, Jefferson Memorial Building, Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri 63112-1099.

JOURNEY TO PLEASANT HILL, the Civil War letters of Confederate army captain Elijah Parsons Petty, provides a detailed portrait of the social life and hardships of a region wracked by war. In addition to portraying life in the infantry, the letters are the narrative of a man torn between a deep love for his family and an uncompromising sense of duty and loyalty to his state and country. The volume is edited by Norman D. Brown. For more information, contact the Institute for Texan Cultures, Box 1226, San Antonio, Texas 78294.

CONSERVATION OF HISTORIC STONE BUILDINGS AND MONUMENTS is the report of interdisciplinary and international groups of experts brought together by the National Academy of Sciences' Committee on Conservation of Historic Stone Buildings and Monuments. The report includes recommendations on the characterization of masonry materials; mechanisms of deterioration; diagnosis of deterioration and evaluation of condition; and treatments and their evaluation for preservation and maintenance. The volume is available for \$21.25 from the National Academy Press, 2101 Constitution Avenue, NW, Washington, D. C. 20418.

THE MIDWEST ARCHIVES CONFERENCE has published papers prepared for its 1981 meeting on regional archival networks, which was held on July 14-17 in Madison, Wisconsin, together with an overview of the discussion sessions, summary information on eleven existing networks, a bibliography, and conclusions and recommendations drawn up by the participants. The publication appears as an expanded issue of the *Midwest Archivist*, MAC's semiannual journal. Copies are available for \$4.75 plus \$.50 for postage and handling. Orders should be addressed to MAC,

Room 19, Library, University of Illinois, 1408 West Gregory, Urbana, Illinois 61801.

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1951, Volume V, The Near East and Africa, was recently released by The Department of State. The *Foreign Relations* series has been published continuously since 1861 as the official record of U.S. foreign policy. Volume five is the fifth of seven volumes covering the year 1951. Three other volumes recording the years 1952-54 have also been released. The volume sells for \$21.00 and may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE announced that the first segment of the records of the Department for the years 1950-54 will be available for research in the Diplomatic branch of the National Archives and Records Service. For more information, contact the State Department.

THE OAH'S COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HISTORY will publish a booklet on historical editing in 1984 as the third title in the organization's public history series. The booklet will not only review developments in the field of historical editing, recommend bibliographical materials, and list current graduate programs in historical editing, but also will suggest ways in which writing and editing can be taught to history students at various levels and demonstrate how these skills can serve students in their careers. The preparers of the booklet are seeking materials (descriptions of historical editing programs, syllabi of courses, bibliographical information, and so on), or suggestions related to the training of historical editors for documentaries as well as journals and monographs. Address all correspondence to Suellen Hoy, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27611.

THE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL PRESS announces publication of *Religion and Politics in Colonial South Carolina*. The book, by John W. Brinsfield, discusses the influence of the Church of England, Presbyterian, Baptist, and other

denominations on the growth of democratic government in eighteenth-century South Carolina. The hard-back book is available for \$25.00 from Southern Historical Press, P.O. Box 738, Easley, South Carolina 29640.

THE SPRING ISSUE OF THE ARKANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY has been published by the Arkansas Historical Association. It contains articles on Sugar Loaf, on prepayment medicine in Arkansas, and one entitled, "Life in Confederate Arkansas: The Diary of Virginia Davis Gray, 1863-65, Part I." For further information or a copy of the publication write to Dr. Brown, Arkansas Historical Association, 12

Ozark Hall, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701.

HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION ANNUAL is a new journal published by the Faculty of Educational Studies at SUNY at Buffalo. The *Annual* includes articles about all historical approaches to the study of universities with special attention to the history of U.S. colleges and universities. Published 1982; forthcoming 1983. Subscriptions are \$5.00 an issue, payable to Faculty of Educational Studies, SUNY/ Buffalo. Send orders to E.D. Duryea, *Annual-Higher Education*, 367 Baldy Hall, State University of New York, Buffalo, New York 14260.

Grants, Fellowships & Awards

• JUNE •

THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES announces the availability of three categories of fellowships for 1984-85: Fellowships for Independent Study and Research; Fellowships for College Teachers; and Constitutional Fellowships. All fellowships are for periods of six to twelve months and stipends range up to \$25,000. The application deadline for 1984-85 is June 1, 1983. Application guidelines and materials are available from the Division of Fellowships and Seminars, Room 316, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C. 20506.

THE 1984 SENIOR SCHOLAR FULBRIGHT AWARDS for university teaching and postdoctoral research have been announced for 1984-85. Awards are offered in all academic fields for periods of two to ten months, in over 100 countries. All applicants must be U.S. citizens and have had college or university teaching experience and/or a Ph.D. or the equivalent. Write for information and applications, specifying the country and field of interest, to Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 11 Dupont Circle, Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20036. Application deadlines for 1984-85 awards are June 15, 1983 for American Republics, Australia, and New Zealand; and September 15, 1983 for Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East.

• JULY •

COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF SCHOLARS (CIES) is offering twelve long-term (six to ten months) and nine short-term (two to three months) research awards, without restriction as to field, in 1984-85. Applicants must be U.S. citizens at the post-doctoral or equivalent professional level. The fellowship program seeks to open new channels of communication between academic and professional groups in the U.S. and India, and to encourage a wider range of research activity between the two countries than exists now. Therefore scholars and professionals who have limited or no experience in India are especially encouraged to apply. Application forms and further information are available from the CIES, Indo-American Fellowship Program, 11 DuPont Circle, Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20036. Application deadline is July 1, 1983.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY offers a competitive program of small grants-in-aid for research in state, regional, local, and community history. At least fifty grants of up to \$3,000 will be available in 1983 and again in 1984. The competition is open to both individuals and institutions, including historical organizations and museums of any size, as well as colleges and universities. Students are ineligible if their research is part of the requirements for a degree. Projects may draw upon any of the dis-

ciplines in the humanities. The object is to foster understanding of the history and culture of states, regions, and localities. For more information, contact James B. Gardner, AASLH, 708 Berry Road, Nashville, Tennessee 37204. Application deadline is July 15, 1983.

MONTANA THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, published by the Montana Historical Society, announces the institution of an annual award named in honor of two of Montana's most influential and admired teachers of the state's history. The Merrill G. Burlingame--K. Ross Toole Award will be given to the best article-length manuscript written by an undergraduate or graduate student on a Montana or western history topic. The award will include a cash prize and publication in Montana the Magazine of Western History. Send manuscripts with a cover letter from the applicant and a letter of sponsorship from the faculty member to: William L. Lang, Editor, Montana the Magazine of Western History, Montana Historical Society, 225 N. Roberts Street, Helena, Montana, 59620. Deadline is July 1, 1983.

SEPTEMBER

THE CHARLES AND MARGARET HALL CUSHWA CENTER for the Study of American Catholicism and the University of Notre Dame Press are again sponsoring a competition to select for publication the best manuscript in American Catholic studies. To be eligible for publication, manuscripts must be pertinent to the study of the American Catholic experience. Since the series is not limited to studies in any one discipline, manuscripts from both the historical and social studies disciplines will be considered; unrevised dissertations normally will not be considered. The author of the award-winning manuscript will receive \$500, and the award-winning book will be published by the University of Notre Dame Press in the series, *Notre Dame Studies in American Catholicism*. Scholars interested in entering the competition should send two copies of the manuscript to the Director, Charles and Margaret Hall Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, 614 Memorial Library, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556. The deadline is September 1, 1983.

THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION will undertake management of the International Human Rights Internship Program with a two-year grant from the Ford Foundation. Some twenty U.S. and foreign nationals will be offered the opportunity to gain practical experience as interns in such major human rights organizations as Amnesty International U.S.A., the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in Costa Rica, the International Commission of Jurists, and others. The International Human Rights Internships will be administered by Ann Blyberg in IIE's Washington Office, 918 Sixteenth Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

THE MacARTHUR MEMORIAL FOUNDATION offers a limited number of grants to support graduate, doctoral, and post-doctoral research in the archives of the MacArthur Memorial in Norfolk, Virginia. Applications may be submitted at any time to the Archivist, MacArthur Memorial, MacArthur Square, Norfolk, Virginia 23510. Applications (no more than three single-spaced pages) must include a research prospectus, a statement of the intended use of research, a list of archival materials to be used, a summary of the scholar's special qualifications for the research, an explanation of financial need, an estimate of expenses and the dates of the proposed research.

THE FILSON CLUB announces the establishment of the Otto A. Rothert Award, which will be given annually to the author of the best article published in each volume of The Filson Club History Quarterly. The Filson Club was organized in 1884 "for collecting, preserving, and publishing historical material, especially that pertaining to Kentucky." The award carries a \$250 stipend. For information contact Nelson L. Dawson, Editor, The Filson Club, 118 W. Breckenridge Street, Louisville, Kentucky 40203.

**See OAH 1985
Call for Papers
On Page Four**



Calls for papers

THE EAST-CENTRAL AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STUDIES will hold its 1983 meeting on September 29-October 1 at the University of Delaware, in the eighteenth-century town of New Castle, Delaware, at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, and at Winterthur Museum. The topic of the conference is "Man, God, and Nature." Submit proposals for papers or for sessions to Professor Donald Mell, English Department, and Professor Lucia Palmer, Philosophy Department, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware 19711.

THE SOCIETY FOR HISTORIANS OF THE EARLY AMERICAN REPUBLIC will hold its fourth annual meeting on July 22-23, 1983 at Bentley College in Waltham, Massachusetts. The society's scope is the period 1789 to 1848. Proposals for individual papers or for whole sessions should be sent to Professor William Rorabaugh, Department of History, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington 98195.

"DIVERSITY ON THE APPALACHIAN FRONTIER: A COMPARATIVE VIEW" is the theme of a conference to be held at James Madison University in Harrisonburg, Virginia in November 1983. The conference will consider religious and ethnic diversity and pluralism in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Proposals may be sent to Richard K. MacMaster, History Department, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia 22807 or to Robert D. Mitchell, Geography Department, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20740.

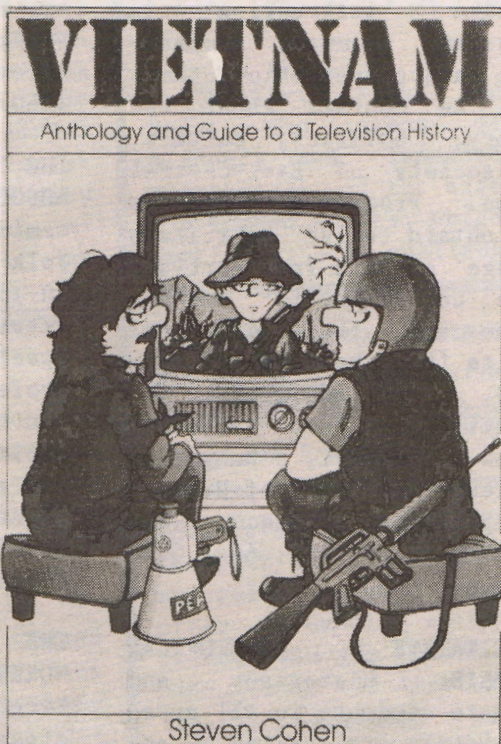
THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND VINCENNES UNIVERSITY are seeking proposals for papers on any aspect of frontier history from the Appalachians to the Mississippi, including: exploration, Indians, fur trade, military early settlements, transportation, religion, education, politics, medicine, architecture, and others. Papers should be twelve to fifteen double-spaced pages. Please submit a three to four hundred word summary of intended subject and a resume to Conference Committee, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, 401 South Second Street, Vincennes, Indiana 47591. Deadline for proposals is May 31, 1983.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON PUBLIC HISTORY will be holding its 1984 Annual Meeting in Los Angeles, April 4-7 in conjunction with the OAH. Some joint sessions will be held on matters relevant to historians inside and outside academe. Please submit proposals for papers or complete sessions by June 15, 1983. Program sessions may consider training public historians, opportunities for public historians, relationships between public and academic historians, ethical issues in public history, public history in the world of business or government, and so on. Historians who use their skills in the public arena may be considered public historians and should be included in the program. Proposals may be sent to the co-chairs: Dr. John Porter Bloom, The Holt-Atherton Pacific Center for Western Studies, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California 95211; or Dr. Barbara J. Howe, History Department, West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia 26506.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR FACULTY IN MEDICAL HUMANITIES, a section of the Society for Health and Human Values, has scheduled a conference during the annual meeting of the Association for American Medical Colleges, November 5-7, 1983. The meeting will be held in Washington, D.C. Papers (20 minutes) will be considered on any topic relating to health care and the traditional concerns of the Humanities. They will receive blind review so the author's name should appear only on the first page. Deadline for papers is July 1, 1983. Send five copies of each paper to Peter C. Williams, Department of Community and Preventive Medicine, Health Sciences Center, Stony Brook, New York 11794.

THE MAINE HUMANITIES COUNCIL announces a conference on Maine in the early republic to be held in Portland, Maine, December 2-3, 1983. It is entitled, "Maine at Statehood: The Forgotten Years, 1783-1820." Send proposals for papers or entire panels on any aspect of Maine history or culture to: Professor Charles Clark, History Department, University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire 03824 or Professor James Leamon, History Department, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine 04240.

► **COMING
FALL 1983**



"A decade after the last American troops left Saigon, Vietnam is sparking renewed interest. Many truisms about the war are being upset in the process."

— *The New York Times Magazine*, Feb. 13, 1983

VIETNAM A TELEVISION HISTORY

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Tet, 1968
Vietnamizing the War, 1968–1973
No Neutral Ground: Cambodia and Laos

"Peace Is at Hand," 1968–1973
Homefront USA
The End of the Tunnel, 1973–1975
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"This reader would be very good in Foreign Relations, Military History, and Recent U.S. History courses, and in U.S. Survey courses. Instructors, realizing the current generation of students is almost completely unfamiliar with the war, would welcome such a text."—James Gilbert, *University of Maryland*

VIETNAM: ANTHOLOGY AND GUIDE TO A TELEVISION HISTORY

BY STEVEN COHEN

The first anthology/guide on Vietnam from the perspective of the 1980s. Each chapter corresponds to a television program and includes a historical summary; points to emphasize; time lines; glossary of names and terms; documents with contextual headnotes, including photos, cartoons, maps, and charts; critical issues for discussion; and suggestions for further reading. ►

Alfred A. Knopf ► May 1983 ► Illustrated ► 448 pp. paperbound ► Order Code: 33251-2

► **INSTRUCTOR'S GUIDE** by William Graebner, *Fredonia State University, NY*
A valuable aid in using the ANTHOLOGY AND GUIDE for a wide range of courses.

► **VOICES FROM VIETNAM:** A 75-minute audio cassette will be available free to adopters.

Also available: **VIETNAM: A History** by Stanley Karnow ► Viking Press ► September 1983 ► 750 pp. hardbound

For an examination copy of **VIETNAM: READER AND STUDY GUIDE**, or a preview packet with additional telecourse information, contact: N. Kingsdale, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 201 E. 50th St., New York, NY 10022.

For more information about viewer's guide and telecourse licensing, contact: M. A. Roth, WGBH Education Foundation, 124 Western Avenue, Boston, MA 02134.

Calls for papers

Deadline for proposals is August 1, 1983.

THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN ASSOCIATION is seeking proposals for papers to be delivered at the Eleventh Annual Abraham Lincoln Symposium on February 12, 1984. It will be held in the Hall of Representatives, Old State Capitol, Springfield, Illinois. Papers on any phase of Lincoln's career or his relationships to associates or to events will be considered. Individuals are invited to submit a 300- to 600-word proposal or abstract along with a personal resume to Roger Bridges, Lincoln Symposium Committee, Illinois State Historical Library, Old State Capitol, Springfield, Illinois 62706. The proposal must be received by August 10, 1983.

THE INSTITUTE FOR MASSACHUSETTS STUDIES and the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library have issued a call for papers for a series of symposia on Massachusetts in the twentieth century. The program will be held at the JFK Library in Boston, on consecutive Tuesdays and Thursdays in March, 1984. Deadline for submissions is August 15, 1983. Please send papers to Martin Kaufman, Institute for Massachusetts Studies, Westfield State College, Westfield, Massachusetts 01086. Papers used in the series will be published by the institute.

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY will hold its spring 1984 meeting at the Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Colorado on March 29-31, 1984. The program theme is "Religion and Science" and the committee invites proposals for papers or entire sessions. Topics may include Religion, Health, Medicine, and Religion and Technology. Please submit topics and paper abstracts with curriculum vitae to Professor Nathan O. Hatch, Chair, History Department, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556. Deadline is August 15, 1983.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON PUBLIC HISTORY will be holding its 1984 meeting at The Iliff School of Theology in Denver, Colorado on March 29-31, 1984. The program theme will be "Religion and Science," and proposals for papers or entire sessions are invited. Please submit abstracts of proposed papers, formats for proposed sessions, or topics along with curriculum vitae to Nathan Hatch, Department of History, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556. The deadline is August 15, 1983.

THE SONNECK SOCIETY is planning its meeting in Boston, for the spring of 1984. The sessions will emphasize music in and around Boston during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Send abstracts or complete papers by September 1, 1983 to Steven Ledbetter, 65 Stearns Street, Newton Center, Massachusetts 02159.

Summer programs

THE HUNGARIAN STUDIES PROGRAM: From June 13 to July 22, 1983, an intensive six-week Hungarian Studies Program, will be held in Ada, Ohio. Besides language instruction in Hungarian grammar, composition, and conversation, there will be courses about the history, politics, culture, and society of East-Central Europe. Program participants can obtain twelve to fifteen college credits from Portland State University for the six weeks and two additional credits for the week of July 23-30. For additional information, contact Professor Andrew Ludanyi, Hungarian Studies, Department of History and Political Science, Ohio Northern University, Ada, Ohio 45810.

QUANTITATIVE HISTORICAL ANALYSIS: Historians and graduate students in all areas of history are invited to attend the 1983 Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research sponsored by the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The program is offered June 27-August 19. It includes general courses in research design, statistics, and data analysis at various levels. A workshop in Quantitative Historical Analysis (June 27-July 22) is designed to be an intensive practical introduction to the use of quantitative analysis in historical research. For information write to Henry Heitowit, ICPSR, Summer Training Program, Box 1248, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

THE VISUAL STUDIES WORKSHOP SUMMER INSTITUTE is scheduled for June 27-August 5, 1983. The program consists of 25 intensive one-week workshops in

photography and related media. It will include photography seminars, and workshops in process, printing, book arts, history, criticism, museum studies, and video. For information contact Bryan Kirksey, Summer Institute, Visual Studies Workshop, 31 Prince Street, Rochester, New York 14607.

THE NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION offers a summer seminar entitled "American Folk Art: '83 Views," July 10-15. The colloquium will attract over twenty folk art specialists, scholars, museum professionals, and collectors who will discuss a variety of topics in morning, afternoon, and evening sessions. For information write to NYSHA, P.O. Box 800, Cooperstown, New York 13326.

THE AUGUSTA HERITAGE ARTS WORKSHOP in Elkins, West Virginia, will offer sixty classes in traditional crafts, music, folklore, and dance. The workshop will run from July 10-August 14, and includes sessions in traditional vocal music, pottery, letterpress printing, quilting, and calligraphy. One session, Radio (Audio) Production of Oral History will cover techniques from field recording to tape editing and slide/tape programs. For information write to Augusta Heritage Arts Workshop, Davis & Elkins College, Elkins, West Virginia 26241.

"INSTITUTE ON THE STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY" will be offered at Salem State College August 8-10. The new institute will include seven workshops on aspects of local history, oral history, and historical records. Registration information is available from Professor John F. Fox, Local History Institute, History Department, Salem State College, Salem, Massachusetts 01970.

★ACTIVITIES OF MEMBERS★

ROBERT ABZUG, assistant professor of history at the University of Texas, has been awarded a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to analyze the ways in which Americans described the unspeakable conditions in German concentration camps in the half decade after the liberation of the camps. His research will be published in a book entitled "Memory and Forgetting: America Confronts the Holocaust, 1945-1950."

WENDELL D. GARRETT, editor/publisher of *Antiques*, has been appointed as a member of the Board of Trustees of the New-York Historical Society. The society was founded in 1804 and is the second oldest in the country. It houses an American fine and decorative arts museum and a major reference library of American and especially New York history.

DAVID HUMPHREY, archivist at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library at the University of Texas, received the H. Bailey Carroll Award for the best article appearing in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, published by the Texas State Historical Association. The article was entitled "Prostitution and Public Policy in Austin, 1870-1915."

LAWRENCE LEVINE, professor of American history at the University of California, Berkeley, received a MacArthur Prize Fellowship. He will receive \$46,400 annually for the next five years. The purpose of these fellowships is to free the individuals from economic pressures so they can devote themselves fully to their own research and creative pursuits.

LEONARD RAPPORT, archivist, Civil Archives Division, National Archives and Records Service, has been awarded a fellowship from the Bentley Historical Library of the University of Michigan. He will examine problems in the selective retention of case files of quasi-judicial and regulatory agencies at the state and federal levels of government.

EDWARD SCHAPSMEIER has been named Distinguished Professor of History by the Board of Regents of Illinois State University.

KATHRYN KISH SKLAR, University of California-Los Angeles, has been awarded a Newberry fellowship for 1982-83 for her study of Florence Kelley.

MICHAEL J. SMITH has been appointed Director of the Putnam Museum in Davenport, Iowa. Smith has served as Director of the Michigan Historical Museum and Deputy Director of the Michigan Department of State's Michigan History Division for the past nine years.

—READERS' RESPONSES—

Historians and Mass Media

I HAVE JUST read the material in the February OAH Newsletter regarding the promotion of history in high-quality, mass-circulation magazines (the letter from Richard Brown of Connecticut and the Executive Board's discussion of same).

It is a fact of life that journalists are very suspicious of academics and are not very receptive to their advice. I doubt that any newspaper or magazine would take kindly to the idea of an historian serving on an editorial advisory board unless that historian had already proven him/herself able to write for a mass-circulation audience, and, thus, able to understand the problems and issues involved. The example of Signs and Ms. is only an exception to the rule. I sense from the Newsletter that the Board understood this.

It is unfortunate that tenure and promotion committees, even in schools and departments of journalism and mass communications, do not give much credit to writing for mass audiences. If anything, I think, such committees consider this negative evidence. I wonder if one way the OAH might change this attitude would be to award financial remuneration for such writing on the part of professionally-trained historians in the form of an annual award. Criteria could include subject matter, the quality of writing, and the place of publication. This award might be particularly attractive to the OAH members who do not work in an academic environment and do not have the time or opportunity to write scholarly articles and monographs, but who still wish to develop their writing abilities.

Owen V. Johnson, Journalism Department, Indiana University-Bloomington

"The Blue and the Gray"

MAY I ADD one more footnote to "The Blue and The Gray" television miniseries? While browsing the paperbacks at the local drug store, I encountered The Blue and The Gray, a "novelization" of the TV series of the same name allegedly based on the nonfiction Reflections of the Civil War by Bruce Catton. Poor Catton must be spinning in his grave. How come no historians have complained that the miniseries created a fictional John Geyser instead of going with the real Geyser as delineated in Reflections? If Geyser (the real man) has descendants, maybe they should sue. Will the real John Geyser please stand up?

Abraham Hoffman, Department of History, Los Angeles Valley College

CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT BERKHOFER is the Director of the Program of American Culture at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. His many publications include Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indians, 1787-1862; A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis; and The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present.

BERENICE CARROLL is an associate professor of political science at the University of Illinois, Urbana. She is the author of Design for Total War: Arms and Economics in the Third Reich and the editor and coauthor of Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays.

DAVID COURTWRIGHT is the chair of the history department at the University of Hartford.

RICHARD JENSEN, professor of history at the University of Illinois at Chicago, is the author of The Winning of the Midwest, 1888-1896; Illinois: A Bicentennial History; and the coauthor of Historian's Guide to Statistics.

WALTER JOHNSON taught at the University of Chicago, 1940-66, where he was the chair of the history department from 1950-61. He also taught at the University of Hawaii from 1966 until 1982, served as a member of the Board of

Foreign Scholarship from 1947 to 1953, and edited the eight volumes of The Papers of Adlai E. Stevenson.

MARY MARUCA is a writer and editor for Cultural Resources Management with the Archeology Program in the National Park Service. She has been in that position for four years. Maruca received an M.A. degree in English Literature from the University of Maryland and has had articles published in Parks & Conservation, American Collector, and Washington Times.

PAGE PUTNAM MILLER is the Project Director of the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History.

ARNOLD A. OFFNER is professor of history at Boston University, where he teaches courses on twentieth-century American political and diplomatic history and international relations.

He is currently writing a book about President Harry S. Truman and the Transformation of American Foreign Policy.

HILDA SMITH is Director, Humanities and Schools Project of the Council of Chief State School Officers.

RUSSELL WEIGLEY is a professor of history at Temple University. His many publications include Towards an American Army; History of the United States Army; Eisenhower's Lieutenants: The Campaign of France and Germany, 1944-45; and The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy.

1983 OAH Scheduled Lectures

John Garraty

Mount Vernon College
Dallas, Texas

John Higham

Cleveland State University
Cleveland, Ohio

Darlene Clark Hine

Richland College
Dallas, Texas

Nathan Huggins

Cleveland State University
Cleveland, Ohio

Linda Kerber

University of Texas
at Austin

Richard S. Kirkendall

Georgia State University
Atlanta, Georgia

Gerda Lerner

Cleveland State University
Cleveland, Ohio

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Middlebury, Connecticut

Irene Neu

Northwest Missouri State University

Maryville, Missouri

George B. Tindall

Motlow State Community College
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Joseph F. Wall

Historical Society of Western

Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Richard Leopold

West Virginia University

Morgantown, West Virginia

Ballot (clip and return)

By-law change number one

yes_____ no_____

By-law 3(a) will be amended to remove the word "Certified" so that the by-law will read, "The books and accounts of the Organization shall be audited annually by a Public Accountant." This change has been recommended by the Treasurer and Executive Secretary and approved by the Executive Board. The Organization currently pays \$2,000 a year for a CPA to audit its books, and this is an exorbitant charge given the size of operation and its relatively unsophisticated financial structure. Qualified public accountants can provide the same service at approximately half the expense.

By-law change number two

yes_____ no_____

A by-law will be added to establish the Avery O. Craven Prize. This prize will honor the most original book on the coming of the Civil War, the Civil War years, and the Era of Reconstruction with the exception of works of purely military history. The exception recognizes and reflects Professor Craven's Quaker convictions. The prize will be given annually, and the winner will receive a certificate and \$500. The nonfunded prize committee will consist of three members appointed annually by the president.

Return ballots to the Organization of American Historians, 112 North Bryan Street, Bloomington, Indiana 47401 by September 1, 1983.

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