



NEWSLETTER

Organization of American Historians

Vol. 11, No. 3

August 1983

10th Anniversary Issue

The Supreme Court's Use and Abuse of History

Hollywood History, II: Defending the Past

Forging the Past

**Internal Migration: Research Themes
and New Directions**

A Preview: "Vietnam: A Television History"

**Foxes and Chickens:
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READERS' RESPONSES

• The Two New Histories •

THE INTERESTING ARTICLE by Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., on the "two paradigms" of modern social history (OAH Newsletter, May 1983) left me bewildered by the jargon of the contending theorists and wondering how my work fitted into all that. Except for high school mathematics, I am incompetent at numbers, I like to tell a story when its shows up in the sources, and I pass judgments; that makes me a Radical? But I gave up macrotheory a long time ago in favor of solving problems, and I do believe earnestly that there are scientific as well as other ways of doing history; that makes me a Social Scientist? To both questions, no.

It seems likely that different times and places require different theoretical approaches and different methods of research and presentation. Marx has been dead a long time, longer than Louis Pasteur; we may honor both for what they contributed, but if we cannot advance beyond it we should be ashamed. One must pick and choose what is valid from what has been refuted, especially in regard to Marx's era-bound notions on ethnicity and cultural evolution. What he had to say about social classes can be accepted for the classes he knew, but there were more complications even then in the world of colonies. To my knowledge no Marxist (nor any other theorist) was able to foresee Idi Amin and his tribal supporters. What is the theory to explain the Ayatolla Khomeini? Or, for that matter, Mohammed and the rise of Islam?

The Social Scientists have fallen victim to the numbers theory of science, appropriate enough perhaps in physics, until one runs up against Heisenberg's Principle of Indeterminism, but highly restricted in application to life sciences. A computer is useless to a botanist or anthropologist in the field. What counts in science is verifiability, and that is why Time on the Cross was so unscientific despite its parade of numbers. If sources permit, statistics can be most valuable, but it is as true as when I learned it in third grade that you cannot average apples and oranges without getting fruit salad. Physical scientists write nowadays about how they have hunches and flashes of insight, which they test. Other scientists

may lack the hunch, but they can repeat the test and verify the results. Historians cannot test past phenomena by repeating them, but we can verify each other's reportage of the sources and assess the sources' quality and appropriateness. That is why we document and why more attention should be paid to testing each other's documentation instead of accepting it at face value. Science has to be practiced in ways appropriate to available materials.

I suggest also that ways of doing history have something in common with ways of teaching classes. Different persons have different interests and different styles. To try to mold them all alike is to fight a lost cause. If a writer loves jargon, he will use it. If he is fascinated by numbers, he will play with them. If he likes a story, he will tell it. In the long run, nuggets of usable information will shake out of them all. History is not obligatory Scripture. Should I add, "Thank God"?

Francis Jennings, Director Emeritus, Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian

Freedom • of Information Act •

IT WAS INTERESTING to read of Athan Theoharis's success in obtaining at least a partial fee waiver from the FBI in his article, "FBI Research Through FOIA" [OAH Newsletter, February 1983]. It may be that the method of explaining the rudiments of historical research may have a favorable effect on some Justice Department attorneys. However, my own experiences in filing for a fee waiver (and subsequently filing an appeal to the Justice Department) make me very skeptical of the Department's interest in rendering a liberal interpretation of the "public interest" clause of the FOIA.

In September 1981, Mrs. Coretta Scott King, on behalf of the King Library and Archives, applied for the FBI files relating to herself, her husband, and two other named individuals and organizations. Shortly thereafter, in January 1982, she filed a request for a fee waiver (excluding the voluminous assassination files) on the basis of the public interest clause of the FOIA. Since both she and Dr. King were public figures, and since the copies would be made available to the public for

research in the King Library and Archives, we felt that a fee waiver was clearly in the public interest. In March 1982, when the request was denied, we filed an appeal to the Justice Department, which included affidavits from representatives of the Smithsonian Institution, the Birmingham Public Library, and UNC at Chapel Hill attesting to the importance of these records, and to the great public interest in these files.

To date, even though Mrs. King has stated her case directly in a meeting with Attorney General Smith, there has been no official response to our appeal. Contacts with the Justice Department, however, have indicated that our appeal will probably be denied.

The historical value of and the public interest in the FBI files on Martin Luther King, Jr. and his associates have been amply demonstrated in the host of scholarly and reportorial works which have used the FBI files on King. The never-before-released files on Mrs. King, especially since the FBI's electronic surveillance of her continued well after 1968, should prove equally important. And yet, the failure of the Justice Department to respond to our appeal in more than a year seems indicative of the administration's low regard for the FOIA in general, and the fee waiver clause in specific.

D. Louise Cook, Director,
King Library and Archives

-Direct Action- and Constitutional Rights

BERENICE CARROLL'S ARTICLE in the May 1983 OAH Newsletter, "Direct Action and Constitutional Rights: The Case of the ERA," stated that the failure of the ERA campaign was in part "a failure of political policy and strategy. . . in particular the failure to incorporate tactics of civil disobedience and non-violent direct action on a substantial scale."

The members of the CU certainly agree with that analysis. The Congressional Union (named in honor of the militant suffrage group created by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns which later became the National Woman's Party) was formed in the fall of 1980 in an attempt to expand and challenge the prevailing "political policy and strategy" on ERA and other women's issues in the Women's Movement by initiating non-violently militant actions

which contribute to an understanding of women's history and its uses in the formation of present-day political strategies to advance the rights and opportunities of women.

Noting the striking parallels between the ratification campaigns for Woman Suffrage and the ERA, CU members often utilized very symbolic dates and tactics to honor the memory of all women in the history of the United States who have fought for equality and died without it. This learning from and creatively building upon history approach can be found in the following examples of CU sponsored actions.

1981: January 19th-silent, banner-carrying procession on the eve of President Reagan's inauguration to herald rebirth of militancy in women's movement just as the suffragists had marched on the eve of Woodrow Wilson's inauguration; February 4th and every Wednesday after that-suffragist-style picketing campaign; July 4th-National Women's Independence Day Celebration (CD[Civil Disobedience]-no arrests); August 26th-"All Women Are In Chains Without ERA" demonstration (CD-23 arrests); November 11th-Watchfires For Equality protest patterned on suffragists' Watchfires For Freedom actions (CD-no arrests) all at the White House. In addition, CU members went to the conventions of both the National Woman's Party and the National Organization for Women to advocate a rebirth of militancy in the Women's Movement; December 17th-"No Celebration Without Ratification" protest at the national Christmas tree lighting ceremony in Washington, D.C. (CD-no arrests).

1982: January 9th-Chaining of the gates of Mormon Temple in Kensington, Maryland in honor of Carrie Chapman Catt's birthday (CD-no arrests); January 11th-Alice Paul's birthday demonstration at the White House/Lafayette Park where effigies of President Reagan and Mormon Judge Callister were burned (CD-17 arrests); February 15th-Susan B. Anthony Day celebration at the White House conducted by CU Washington Chapter where CU women scaled the White House fence (CD-24 arrested).

We are very proud of the CU women who participated in our White House actions as well as in activities in their home communities

Pam Elam, on behalf of the
CU Executive Committee

History over the years

The OAH and the Newsletter

Thomas D. Clark

AT THE END of the first decade of its existence, every legitimate and successful enterprise deserves some kind of recognition. The Newsletter of the Organization of American Historians is both highly legitimate and successful. How did the organization make it through its initial years of change without the Newsletter?

One looks back from the perspective of present day historical concerns and activities almost in disbelief that so many changes could have occurred in the last two decades. After the 1950s, the handwriting of necessary change on the wall of American historical scholarship was writ clearly. The wonderful and vibrant Mississippi Valley Historical Association of revered memory had almost doubly accomplished its original and central missions. It had firmly established the fact that both the mid- and western regions of the Republic had figured in major ways in American history and fought vigorously to establish this fact. Beyond this, the Association had assisted materially in the establishment of the historian in the rapidly expanding academic curricula of its region. Too, it gave phenomenal impetus to the collection, collation, and preservation of great volumes of manuscript and documentary materials.

Most important of all, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association had helped open intellectual opportunities to young historical scholars who otherwise would have been denied access to conferences and publication outlets for the presentation of their books and papers, the review of the works of their peers, and the enjoyment of the intangible benefits of the association of organized historians. Even the most cursory examination of the early documentary volumes of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review reveals how important these personal associations were to historians of the region.

Not only did the earlier Association help advance mature and fresh studies about the American frontier and the westward movement, it performed yeoman service in coordinating interest and study in both purely local and regional history. Tragically, as time passed, the local historian and the nonprofessionals were left by the wayside as the rising and more scientifically trained academic historians filled the membership roster. The names of the patriarchs began to disappear from the pages of the Review and from the annual and semiannual programs. Along with them went many truly capable and distinguished nonacademic scholars.

That part of the American historical profession which supported the Mississippi Valley Historical Association generated forces and conditions which led to its eventual metamorphosis if not demise. The more broadly and thoroughly young scholars were trained in their craft, the more threatening they were to the old and comfortable intimate regional body. The impact of World War II and the subsequent world-wide social and political changes stripped many provincial and regional American institutions of their former status. In 1942, the Chair of the Executive Committee of the Association gloomily predicted that civilization was nearing an end and that the organization would never hold another annual meeting.

Looking back to the late 1940s and forward into the 1960s, the fact becomes even clearer that the Mississippi Valley Historical Association could no longer thrive in its earlier regional form. Though local and regional history continued to have genuine places in the broader tapestry of national history, there was now being woven into the fabric new designs of national and international implications and meanings which could not be ignored by historians. Almost every problem considered by the governing body after 1950 reflected in some way the revolutionary changes which were taking place all through American society.

Every organized learned society in America found itself caught up in an era of soul searching and reevaluating its mission. Inevitably, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was caught up in the same forces and pressures of the times. The special planning committee in the first half of the decade 1960-70 envisioned the expansion of the organization so as to give it an enlarged national scope. To accomplish this objective, several stringent revisions were suggested. First was the important fact of the name change, and to gain rightful status with librarians and academic accrediting bodies. In order to give the Association greater thrust, it was mandatory that the title of the Review be revised. Finally, there was the recommendation that a permanent national headquarters be established which would function as freely as possible from historical society and university patronage.

By 1965, the affairs of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association had become too complex to be administered under the earlier dispensation of generous outside support. This fact was clearly demonstrated in several moves of the secretary's office. There was another area in which the organization, under whatever name might be adopted, had seriously to concern itself and that was in the field of national legislation which had direct bearing upon modern historical interests. The changing social status of women, blacks, and ethnic groups in American society was a matter of historical concern of vast proportions. The field of archival management in 1965 was light miles away from the beginnings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The management of both private and public repositories of historical materials had become an advanced science, and historians had a direct and vested interest in this field.

As an expanded national organization, the Executive Board of the Organization of American Historians had to be concerned with the development of scholarly tools, the encouragement of the publication of scholarly books, and the increasing amount of foundation and public funds available to historians since the support of research projects placed a heavy burden of communication on the office of the Organization.

When we began the organization of the permanent national headquarters in Bloomington in 1970, and when we checked back into the accumulated office files, one problem presented itself at once. At the cost of being repetitive in describing our predicament, I still shudder at the thought of the confused mess we found ourselves in with the membership of the Organization because of an ungodly addressograph mix-up in an Abilene, Kansas print shop. The proprietor had undertaken to recycle the plates which had once contained the mailing list of a local laundry; his efforts were in vain. One of the first stormy problems we faced was that of determining who belonged to the Organization, who had paid dues, and who was several years in delinquency. Most important to us at the moment was where

our members were located. There poured into the office a virtual torrent of correspondence complaining about missing issues of the Journal and other materials, all cast in the best of "assistant professor anger." We were almost two years straightening out the address confusion. I have wondered many times what the laundry's customers must have thought when suddenly they were billed for their dues to a historical association.

In a more fundamental vein, times and conditions have changed radically in the conduct of the affairs of organized history. Communication in more readily available form than the old means became a prime necessity by 1970. I thought I saw in the annual business meetings, for instance, an attitude that somewhere, somehow, the membership of the Organization should have more effective means of expressing its views on issues than was possible in the annual business meeting or the Journal. We had passed well beyond the day when a few timid resolutions were considered a bold effort at communication. The Journal, by its very nature and purpose, was hardly a suitable medium for communicating the problems of day-to-day operation of the Organization. Even secretary's reports had to be cut to the barest bones. Space in the Journal was too limited and too expensive for the inclusion of much nonscholarly matter. Every lost page meant that authors of articles and book reviews were robbed of their rightful space. At the same time, the preparation and mailing of special notices were equally as expensive and unsatisfactory.

Two conditions revealed further need for an additional medium of communication. The incident of the so-called Lowenheim dispute with the National Archives and the American Historical Association could have been greatly ameliorated had the lines of communication been clearer; certainly, this was true so far as the Organization of American Historians was concerned. I felt this fact was so clearly demonstrated in the joint meeting of the councils of the two historical associations in Philadelphia in 1969. So distressing was the lack of information as to what had happened that it bode ill for the future of both bodies. There followed this incident the formation of a joint committee of historians and archivists which has proved an effective means, not only in dealing with controversial matters, but also in presenting a unified front in considering vital public issues which concern all three groups.

In 1972, Ingrid Scobie and I went to the offices of the National Endowment for the Humanities to discuss support for the national newspaper project. The person with whom we talked asked us at the outset to clarify the difference between the Organization of American Historians and the American Historical Association. This question was unsettling and startling coming from so important a national body which had to do with scholarly advancement. At no time did I feel more fully the urgency for instituting an effective means of com-

munication than at that moment.

When the Organization of American Historians became a member of the secretarial section of the Council of Learned Societies in 1969, and we began to get an insight into the modes and problems of the operation of other societies, it seemed that we were considerably behind them in several areas of operation. Most of all, it was revealed that all of them actively communicated with their members, and at the same time, their members had open to them a channel for expressing their thoughts.

In those not too distant days, as now, concern with security at national meetings was almost a central topic of discussion. Some of the secretaries gave disturbing reports of incidents which had marred their meetings. This caused me to distribute to our membership a warning of the possibilities of security problems at the forthcoming Chicago meeting, which got into the local newspapers and caused me personal embarrassment. Immediately following that meeting, the combined professional societies conducted a seminar in Atlanta on the problems of security and confirmed what I had been told in the Council of Learned Societies about Chicago.

Faced with these growing needs, I tried in 1971, 1972, and 1973 to convince the Council that it should institute the publication of a newsletter which would be broadly informational in nature, but which in no way would encroach upon the prerogatives of the Journal of American History. The discussions which followed were disheartening. Members of the Council seemed not to conceive fully that in embarking upon a broad national mission we also incurred needs for broader communication than in former days. Definitely in the Council's behalf, it had no way of comprehending fully the pressures of the secretary's office. Too, the profession of historian had moved more and more into areas of concern with contemporary issues, and these seemed to change almost monthly.

At the Chicago meeting in April 1973, the Council voted to institute the publication of a newsletter of modest size. Neither it nor I perceived that within its first decade it would become a thirty-six page tabloid-size publication filled with all sorts of matter of professional concern. In addition, the Newsletter has opened a vital channel for historians to present their views on matters of concern to their craft which was not possible before.

If one needed justification for the decision to convert the regionally-oriented Mississippi Valley Historical Association into a broader national one, no better documentation can be presented than the growth of the Newsletter. In the past decade, its columns have revealed how broad the interests and concerns of our profession have become, but, well beyond this, it has documented the changing mores of American historical scholarship and the bearings

of the times upon a scholarly profession. The decision of the Council in Chicago in 1973 was one of its wiser and more timely acts. At the end of its first decade, the accumulated file of the Newsletter has become an important documentation of the changing times and their bearings upon the profession of historian.

Thomas D. Clark is Professor of History (Emeritus) at Indiana University-Bloomington and at the University of Kentucky. He served as the Executive Secretary of the OAH from 1970 to 1973 and is now Executive Secretary Emeritus.

Presidential Perspective

Anne Firor Scott

RETURNING TO THE Executive Board after a ten-year hiatus is a bit of a Rip Van Winkle experience, so much has the organization grown, so complex has its life become. As President, I find myself a little bewildered by the degree to which we, like so many other institutions in American society in the past few decades, have proliferated functions and taken on new responsibilities. Most of this has happened incrementally. No one sat down at a given moment in the past and said "it would be a good thing if the Organization of American Historians gave more prizes, did more lobbying, sponsored more historical projects, set up more committees, promoted affirmative action, concerned itself with radio, television, and film, applied for grants from the government and foundations," and so on. But bit by bit, one step at a time, we began doing one or another of these things, and in so doing have become a far more complex organism than we were even ten years ago.

Once upon a time, the Executive Board was a gathering of old friends who exchanged a little professional gossip, applauded the work of the Executive Secretary and the Treasurer (the only officers who really had to work much) passed a few resolutions, and adjourned for a good lunch. Now, by contrast, the Board is constantly engaged in making choices and decisions, some involving large sums of money, in overseeing projects for which we have received grants, in considering various forms of outreach. Meetings grow longer and longer; service on the Board, once only an honor, is now also a rather onerous chore.

Since it is always easier to begin things than to end them, it seems to me that it would be useful for all of us, as members, to give some thought to future directions. What do we want this association to be ten years from now? Closely related to wanting to accomplish certain goals is the inevitable question: where is the money coming from? Interest in the direction the organization takes is so low that a bare quorum attended the annual business meeting. Not one of the people who complained to

me after the April business meeting about the dues increase had been there to discuss the need for it. Surely if one belongs to an organization, one both cares what it becomes and has some responsibility for that becoming.

Some members are interested in resources: where is the money coming from and how best should it be used? Others care most about program in the broad sense: what should the organization be doing for the benefit of its members, the profession, and the nation? Perhaps some have radical ideas about the future. It has occurred to me, for example, that in this day of small travel funds and ever-increasing demands on time, perhaps the OAH and the Southern Historical Association should consider meeting jointly, or even (dare I suggest?) executing a semimerger. (Before the brickbats begin to fly, let me establish the fact that I am a tenth generation Southerner. . . .)

At any rate, I would like to urge all of you who have ideas to send them to me (History Department, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina 27706). I probably won't be able to answer your letters (if I have time to answer, you'll know the appeal was a flop), but I will read, think about, and pass on to the Board what you say; and provide a precis of what I hear in a subsequent column.

Anne Firor Scott, W. K. Boyd Professor of History at Duke University, is President of the OAH for 1983-84.

Coming This Fall: An OAH Publication Rights of Passage The Past and Future of the ERA

An anthology of essays by:

- Jane DeHart and Donald Mathews
- Elizabeth Pleck
- Frances Farenthold
- Amelia Fry
- Berenice Carroll
- Janet Boles
- Edith Mayo and Jerry Frye
- And an Overview essay

Most of the articles originally appeared in the OAH Newsletter.

Send inquiries to the OAH after
September 15.



Indiana Hosts Treaty of Paris Bicentennial

THE ORGANIZATION OF American Historians is one of the sponsoring organizations for the 1983 Treaty of Paris Celebration. The 200th anniversary of the signing of the treaty ending the War for American Independence is September 3, 1983. There will be various commemorative activities and celebrations in Indianapolis and Bloomington September 1-3. The ceremonies will culminate in a re-enactment of the signing of the Treaty of Paris at the American Legion Mall in Indianapolis on September 3.

The treaty set the borders for the Northwest territory which included the later states of Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan. There will be other national celebrations of the event, but because of the treaty's early implications for Indiana's eventual statehood this special celebration has been sponsored by the Lilly Foundation, Indiana University, the I.U. Alumni Association, the Benjamin Franklin Guild, the American Legion, and other organizations including the OAH.

Former President of France Giscard d'Estaing will speak in Bloomington on September 2 as part of the celebration. Other scheduled events include speakers Jean-Francois Revel, former editor of L'Express magazine, and historian Richard B. Morris, Columbia University. Morris will speak on the first day of the bicentennial activities on "The Meaning of the Treaty of Paris for the United States, the Midwest, and Indiana."

On Saturday morning, September 3, there will be workshops about the Treaty of Paris for secondary school teachers and students in Indianapolis. For a more specific list of activities or to register for workshops please contact Frank B. Jones, Treaty of Paris Commemoration Committee, Indiana Memorial Union, M-17, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405. (812) 335-5394.

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 National Museum of American History and "history"

Robert Kelley

PLANTED AROUND THE Mall in Washington, D.C. are the great museums of the Smithsonian, through which more than eighteen million visitors will range in the next twelve months. Nearest the Washington Monument, on Constitution Avenue, is the National Museum of American History. About five million people will mill around inside its cavernous spaces, listening to the hourly playing of nineteenth-century versions of the "Star Spangled Banner," while the immense tattered Fort McHenry flag is slowly uncovered. Crowds flock to the most popular exhibit, that on presidents' wives, and stream through the most recent (and skillfully prepared) display on the nation's peoples.

Just inside the Constitution Avenue entrance, in the Museum's choicest location, is its large bookstore with thousands of titles on every aspect of American history and culture. It is a crowded place usually. Paying for things requires a time of waiting in line, for on every level of the room, which steps upward like a choir stall, visitors are browsing along, lingering, enjoying the fact that many books are face up, (showing their colorful fronts), and gathering small arm-loads of them. A historian stands in the room and realizes people are not only being shown American history in this vast building, they are being told that it has a rich and intriguing literature, and being urged to take some of it home to enrich their enjoyment of the Museum's exhibits.

The Museum's inner nature, in a scholarly sense, is changing, though as yet this is only partially visible in the exhibits currently to be seen. It has been bringing in more staff members trained in the intellectual substance, as well as in the artifacts, of American history. It is also, we are told, reaching out to the academic historical community to establish stronger and more interactive ties. The fellows in the Program in American Society and Politics in the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars were recently invited across the Mall from their studies in the "Castle" (the original

Smithsonian Institution building) to learn current trends in Museum policy, Museum planning, Museum hopes.

Their host, a person high in the Museum staff, was gracious, informative, and genuine in his concern to have direct dialogue. But he was startled by the dialogue which occurred. "I've heard a rumor," one of the fellows said, "but I can't believe it: someone has said that the Museum actually intends to close the bookstore in its present location, put it down in the basement, and use the space for something else. Is this true?"

Oh yes, was the answer; that was decided long ago. It doesn't really make us any money. Protest sprang up around the table, to which, as if making an absolutely conclusive response, the Museum official remarked, "After all, that's prime exhibit space!"

We were stunned. History books do not qualify as an exhibit in a history museum? Are they just something to be thought of like the scarves and glass paperweights sold in the souvenir store? Books on American biography, the family, women, black Americans, Native Americans, clothing, industry, politics, ideas, immigration, environment: their only claim to being in the National Museum of American History is if they can pay their way?

One of the astonished visitors burst out, "Of course it's prime exhibit space! It's filled right now with exhibits. Hundreds of them, that people 'linger' over ["linger time" had come up earlier in the conversation as an important concern for museum people], pick up and leaf through, actually buy and take home to read: books! Books of American history!" The official was taken aback at the force of the reaction. "I had no idea you would feel so strongly." "What else do you expect?" was the response. "We spend years researching and writing them, and now you are saying they don't even qualify as an exhibit!" He repeated, in some dismay, that the bookstore costs them money, then went on to say that besides, it was their plan to make the basement a

more attractive and appealing place. "But yes, you're right: the bookstore will no longer have that prime location, just inside the door."

Surely there are more important questions in the world than the location of the bookstore in a Washington museum. Surely there are more important issues in our profession, quite aside from the world's worries. A tempest in a teapot, some sharp words on the fifth floor of a large Washington building, hardly qualifies for heavyweight treatment. But Washington is important for us, indeed, increasingly important in a professional sense. There is nothing else in America or the world like the Smithsonian complex. Five million visitors a year do visit the National Museum of American History, a multitude which is far greater than annual enrollments in academic history programs. And the leadership and staff of that Museum are reaching out to the historical profession. They genuinely want good relations.

If, as the reported conversation reveals, even the most well-disposed and professionally sophisticated of people in the nation's central historical museum think of barracks-room beds and first ladies' gowns and tattered flags as appropriate historical exhibits (as they are), but think that books of history, carefully researched and written, which open up that history in its depth and human richness, do not qualify as exhibits, where are we? What was Abigail Adams like as a person? What were her hopes, her tragedies, her ideas? What went on at Fort McHenry, where that great flag waved? What is the story of Martin Luther King, whose image appears in the exhibit on national politics?

If they think of books only as objects to make money out of, not as crucially important aids for Americans to dig deeper into their past after being stimulated to that quest by the Museum's displays, have we not a problem at the core of our profession? Why are books of history not given an even more integral part in the Museum's work, instead of being downgraded? Could there not be convenient lists of books currently available in the bookstore, concerning first ladies, quietly placed beside their exhibit? When people look at the thousands of artifacts in the political displays, could they not be told that to learn further,

they can choose from a (changing) list of titles currently on sale? There is a small-town post office and general store in the Museum in which people can buy stamps and candy: why not historical studies of the small town, rural life, the way most Americans used to live?

Taking their cue from the great central Museum in Washington, perhaps we might see museum directors in hundreds of other locations thinking to bring books of history prominently into what they present to their publics, giving them the same importance and care in display that they give to the artifacts. After all, the books which explain the past precede and provide the basis for the historical museums themselves. We are sometimes shown how an artifact is prepared, so that the museum visitor may understand the curatorial staffs' professional skills. Are we shown, also, where and how they got the information they must have to give the artifact its proper interpretation in time and space, in the life of Americans and in their history? Perhaps museologists might begin to think of books of history as not simply a revenue item, like ceramic mugs and small carved figures, but as an element integral to our understanding and display of the past. That this already happens in some museums is, perhaps, simply another demonstration that in a federal system, localities often lead the center.

What would the result be? Not a great deal of money for historians, though there would be nothing inherently wrong about that. It might, in fact, encourage publishers to take chances on publishing more books, which we all wish to see. It would also result in a richer and more rewarding fulfillment of our common goal, whether we are teachers of history or museum directors: deepening and broadening the American people's grasp of and appreciation for their past. This is, after all, our joint task. This is why a minor bureaucratic decision in a Washington institution, the consignment of a bookstore to the basement, has enough symbolic freight and potential impact on our profession for us to consider its meaning.

Robert Kelley, Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara, is currently a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

History Reconsidered

The Supreme Court's use and abuse of history

Why would the Supreme Court cite works which modern scholars would hesitate to suggest an undergraduate rely upon?

Wilcomb E. Washburn

IN HIS DISSENTING opinion in *U.S. v. Sioux Nation of Indians* (448 U.S. 371, 65 L. Ed. 2d 844, 100 S. Ct. 2716, 1980), decided June 30, 1980, in which the court considered U.S. liability for the taking of the Black Hills in 1877, Justice Rehnquist asserted that "the only thing that has changed [from the time of the 1942 decision of the Court of Claims, and subsequent considerations of the same matter in the Indian Claims Commission and in the Court of Claims] is an interpretation of the events which occurred in 1877." "There has not even been a change in the law," Justice Rehnquist pointed out, "for the Court today relies on decisions decided long before the Court of Claims decision

Justice Rehnquist: "It is the view of history, and not the law which has evolved."

in 1942. It is the view of history, and not the law which has evolved." Rehnquist went on to comment: "It seems to me quite unfair to judge by the light of 'revisionist' historians or the mores of another era actions that were taken under pressure of time more than a century ago" (2750-2751).

"Different historians," Justice Rehnquist went on, "not writing for the purpose of having their conclusions or observations inserted in the reports of congressional committees, have taken different positions than those expressed in some of the materials referred to in the Court's opinion." Rehnquist went on to question the inferences drawn by the majority from a letter written by General Sheridan

reporting on a meeting with the President (Ulysses Grant), the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of War. The letter, Rehnquist asserted, left a "stereotyped and one-sided impression both of the settlement regarding the Black Hills portion of the Great Sioux Reservation and of the gradual expansion of the national government from the Proclamation Line of King George III in 1763 to the Pacific Ocean" (2751).

The two historical references made by Rehnquist in his dissent were to Ray Allen Billington's *Soldier and Brave*, published by the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, in collaboration with Harper and Row in 1963, and to Samuel Eliot Morrison's *Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965) to show that the confrontation of Indian and white in the West was the "product of a long history, not a conniving presidential administration" and that "cultural differences. . . made conflict and brutal warfare inevitable" (2751).

Let us now turn to the majority opinion and its use of history. The majority opinion, written by Justice Blackmun, brings to mind Paul L. Murphy's conclusion in his 1963 article, "Time to Reclaim: The Current Challenge of American Constitutional History" (*American Historical Review*, vol. 69 [1963], 64-79), that "in virtually all of these rulings [concerning constitutional issues] the Court, when it cited history, either relied upon archaic historical works of the earlier devotees of 'revealed' history, turned to history written by nonhistorians, or trusted its own ability to reconstruct historical evidence from the sources themselves."

Principal historical reliance in the majority opinion in the *Sioux* case (especially 2720-2725) is placed upon D. Robinson (that is, Doane Robinson), *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians* published by the State of Minnesota in 1904. (The court follows the legal tradition of

not spelling out first names, which, as any beginning student of history knows, creates search problems when dealing with names like Robinson, Smith, and so on.) Another work relied on was Fred M. Hans, *The Great Sioux Nation* published in Chicago in 1907, the subtitle of which (not cited by the court) is "A Complete History of Indian Life and Warfare in America." The book contains not a single footnote.

Another work relied on is A. Tallent, *The Black Hills*, published in 1899. The full title of the book is Mrs. Annie D. Tallent, *The Black Hills: or, The Last Hunting Ground of the Dakotahs: A Complete History of the Black Hills of Dakota, from their First Invasion in 1874 to the Present Time* (St. Louis, 1899). The court cited the 1975 reprint of the book.

The court may not have looked at the introduction to the second edition of the book published in 1974 by Brevet Press, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, in which Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve, a Brule Sioux Indian and an editor of Brevet Press, begins: "*The Black Hills: or, Last Hunting Ground of the Dakotahs*, Annie Tallent's malicious, bigoted treatment of the Dakota or Sioux Indians, would best serve mankind if it were burned rather than reprinted in this edition to continue to perpetrate a distorted, untrue portrait of the American Indian."

Another individual relied upon by the majority was Edward A. Milligan, whose *Dakota Twilight* was published in 1976. The court, which does not normally cite place and publisher, was perhaps unaware that Milligan's book, subtitled *The Standing Rock Sioux, 1874-1890*, was published by Exposition Press of Hicksville, New York, a well-known "vanity press" publisher. Milligan's previous publications include *High Noon on the Greasy Grass: The Story of the Little Bighorn by Indians Who Were There*, published in Bottineau, North Dakota by himself in 1972. I wrote to Mr. Milligan while writing this paper, but

my letter was returned with the notation that he was deceased.

Another source cited by the majority is Frank Fiske, *The Taming of the Sioux* (Bismarck: Bismarck Tribune, 1917). Other references included Herbert Krause and Gary D. Olson, *Prelude to Glory*, published in Sioux Falls, South Dakota by Brevet Press in 1974, of which the subtitle, not cited in the court's reference, is "A Newspaper Accounting of Custer's 1874 Expedition to the Black Hills"; Grace R. Hebard and E. Brininstool, *The Bozeman Trail* (Cleveland, 1922) which is cited for details of Red Cloud's career; Donald Dean Jackson, *Custer's Gold: The U.S. Cavalry Expedition of 1874* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966); Jesse Wendell Vaughn, *The Reynolds Campaign of Powder River* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961); and William T. Hagan, "The Reservation Policy: Too Little and Too Late," in *Indian-White Relations: A Persistent Paradox*, ed. Jane F. Smith and Robert M. Kvasnicka (Washington: Howard University Press, 1976).

Of all the historians cited, only the last few mentioned meet the test of a historian by the standards of the profession today. To paraphrase Murphy in commenting upon Justice Black's majority decision in the school prayer case (*Engle v. Vitale*, 370 U.S. 421, 1962), why would the Supreme Court cite many works "which modern scholars would hesitate to suggest an undergraduate rely upon as anything but a once important, although now outdated view"?

The consequences of the neglect or misuse of history are nowhere more significant than in disputes between states and litigation involving Indian tribes.

The explanation may lie in the growing ahistorical, un-historical, or antihistorical bias of the judges who

determine the law, the law clerks who sometimes do the research for or prepare the drafts of opinions that issue forth as court decisions, the lawyers who argue the cases, and the political scientists who comment upon them. Charles A. Miller's The Supreme Court and the Uses of History (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), provides example after example to support this proposition. The consequences of this neglect or misuse of history are nowhere more significant than in disputes between states and litigation involving Indian tribes. "In no other fields of public law," Miller notes, "does history play so decisive a role and a decisiveness accepted by all parties to the litigation as well as the Court."

It was not always so. The greatest figure in Supreme Court history, John Marshall, was its best historian. Author of a five-volume Life of Washington, of which the first volume was a general political history of the country from the earliest colonial settlements, Marshall, author also of the court's most significant decisions in Indian matters, approached the role of the court with the historian's skill as well as with the jurist's obligation to interpret the law in accordance with a critical understanding of the historical facts involved.

Sometimes a single historical fact can prove instrumental in determining the outcome of a case. In the Sioux case, the "smoking gun"—to coin a phrase—was the discovery of a confidential letter from Lieutenant General Philip Sheridan, commander of the Military Division of the Missouri, to General Alfred H. Terry, Commander of the Department of Dakota, dated November 8, 1875, reporting on a meeting with President Grant, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of War at which the President had decided that the military should make no further resistance to the occupation of the Black Hills by miners, "it being his belief that such resistance only increased their desire and complicated the troubles" (2722). The history of the discovery of this letter throws light on the way history is "applied" to legal matters. In May 1975, fifteen days prior to their legal deadline and nearly fifty years after the case

began, the attorneys for the Sioux in the Black Hills case gave Professor Fred Nicklason, a historian from the University of Maryland, three days to turn up evidence that Grant secretly ordered the army out of the Black Hills where they were stationed to prevent the gold miners from invading the land the Sioux held by authority of a treaty. The Sioux attorneys' charge that Grant had so acted was undocumented, and the government attorneys pointed out, quite rightly, to the Court of Claims that no evidence existed in the record of the case that Grant had ever taken such an action. Nicklason, employing his historian's training and intuition, bypassed official military correspondence and went directly to General Sheridan's private papers at the Library of Congress. It took him less than five minutes to find the letter. The five minutes work was probably worth over \$100,000,000 to the Sioux. The letter is prominently featured in the historical exposition incorporated in the majority's opinion.

The majority opinion did not let pass Justice Rehnquist's sharp attack on the majority's use of an allegedly "revisionist" view of history upon which to base its decision. "The dissent fails to identify which materials quoted herein or relied upon by the [Indian Claims] Commission and the Court of Claims fit that description. The dissent's allusion to historians 'writing for the purpose of having their conclusions or observations inserted in the reports of congressional committees' post, at 2750, is also puzzling because, with respect to this case, we are unaware that any such historian exists. . . . The dissenting opinion does not identify a single author, non-revisionist, neo-revisionist, or otherwise, who takes the view of the history of the cession of the Black Hills that the dissent prefers to adopt, largely, one assumes, as an article of faith." The majority asserted that its reversal of the earlier findings was "more logically explained by the fact that the former decision was based on an erroneous legal interpretation of the Court's opinion in Lone Wolf" (2744 note).

How to explain the confusion? I believe the answer lies in the court's definition of history and historian. There is no question that

scholarship about Indian-white relations in the past fifty years has revised earlier views about that relationship, but the "revisionists" with whom the general public is most familiar are not professional historians but individuals who are able to convey a revisionist view of history through the press, through testimony on Capitol Hill, and through television interviews. This revisionist view is often presented in the context of exhibitionist or confrontational politics. American Indian Movement spokespeople—dearly beloved by the press because of their ability to fit their appearance and their message to the requirements of the media—are foremost in this category of "revisionists." No professional historian or elected tribal leader is able to command the pages of the New York Times, including the cover illustration of the New York Times Magazine, or the news shows and talk shows, as AIM leaders are. There are no professional historians who have played a supporting role in the media events through which the "revisionist" view of Indian history has been conveyed to the public.

In this day and age, when the word "research" has been devalued, it is not surprising that the Supreme Court should be reacting to a popular argument about history rather than evaluating the complex disagreements of professional historians.

Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, for example, a Cheyenne from Oklahoma, who did her Ph.D. in history at the University of California, Los Angeles, played a prominent role at the "Sioux Treaty Hearing" at Lincoln, Nebraska, in December 1974 before Federal District Judge Warren Urbom. Sixty-five defendants, charged with criminal acts allegedly done on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation during the Wounded Knee siege of 1973, participated in the hearing. The defendants claimed that the court and the United States lacked jurisdiction for acts occurring on Sioux land under the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. Most of the charges against the Wounded Knee defendants were dismissed, but not because the court accepted their position or believed that the United States lacked jurisdiction.

The defendants and their supporters claimed victory and produced an edited version of the hearings under the title The Great Sioux Nation Sitting in Judgment on America, edited by Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz and published by the American Indian Treaty Council Information Center, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, and Moon Books, an independent women's publishing company of Berkeley, California. Among those contributing to the book and/or participating in the defense of the defendants at Wounded Knee were a number of historians who can be given the label "revisionist": Wilbur Jacobs, of the University of California, Santa Barbara, Father Peter John Powell, author of a number of books about the Cheyenne Indians, and Alvin Josephy, formerly editor of American Heritage Magazine and author of several books on the American Indian, including his most recent Now That the Buffalo's Gone: A Study of Today's American Indian (New York: Knopf, 1982).

Among the anthropologists involved in the hearing were Raymond DeMallie, Jr., of Indiana University, William S. Laughlin, of the University of Connecticut, and Bea Medicine, a Sioux.

Other participants, noted for their command of the popular media, included Vine Deloria, Jr., the most influential and prolific Indian spokesperson (Custer Died for Your Sins, God is Red, and so on), and Russell Means, the most charismatic Indian political activist, and Dennis Banks, the outstanding intellectual leader of the Indian radicals. Banks, "chancellor" of D-Q University in Davis, California, and a fugitive from justice in South Dakota, fled from California where he had been protected by Governor Jerry Brown's refusal to extradite him, to the Onondaga Nation in New York State upon the election of George Deukmejian as Governor of California.

I suggested that the court's argument over revisionist historians was essentially over revisionist history as it is presented through the daily press, through television, through magazines, as well as through the filter of various law reviews, lower court decisions, and the reports of testimony of expert witnesses in the adversary proceedings in the Indian Claims Commission and the Court of Claims.

In this day and age, when the word "research" has been devalued by the assumption that any student looking in an encyclopedia is doing research, and when the word itself is barbarically used as a verb as well as a noun, it is not surprising that the Supreme Court should be reacting to a popular argument about history rather than evaluating the complex disagreements of professional historians.

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It is not so much that the facts of the Indian-white relationship, particularly in the Sioux case, have changed; it is, as Justice Rehnquist noted, that the interpretation of the facts has changed. The reason for the change is the broader base of sympathy and sharper sense of guilt over those facts on the part of the dominant white majority. That sympathy and guilt are more often evoked in dramatic and theatrical terms (through marches on Washington, demonstrations orchestrated for television, and the like) than in patient and exacting research into the facts. In its most extreme form, this view of history becomes a theatre of the absurd, ideology supplants history, and slogans replace facts. Generalizations such as "genocide," "sterilization," "exploitation," and "colonialism"—familiar charges by the radicals—become substitutes for historical reality.

The Supreme Court can ignore both the professional historians and the ideological warriors (sometimes incorporated in the same people). As scholars like Alfred H. Kelly, Paul L. Murphy, Charles A. Miller, Richard B. Morris, and others have pointed out, the Supreme Court does not have to interpret correctly, or even know, history. It has the power to proclaim history and to use its version of history any way it wishes to support its interpretation of the law. In this regard, it is like the 800-pound gorilla entering a crowded bar: it can sit wherever it pleases. But for the sake of appearances, it would be wiser for the court to support its reading of history by up-to-date works

rather than by citing antiquated or discredited works. But, ideally, the court should recognize "the entire fallacy of law-office history," as Alfred H. Kelly has put it in his "Clio and the Court: An Illicit Love Affair," (*Supreme Court Review*, 1965, 119-58, at 145). Kelly defines "law-office history" as "the selection of data favorable to the position being advanced without regard to or concern for contradictory data or proper evaluation of the relevance of the data proffered" (122n). The court has too often "confused the writing of briefs with the writing of history" (155). The use of history in the service of advocacy—the basis of American courtroom procedure—is antithetical to the use of history to ascertain objective truth. "Law-office history," in Kelly's words, "is almost completely irresolvable, even by the Supreme Court of the United States, into anything resembling historical truth, in large part because the premises that guided its preparation were radically different from those that should guide a professional historian" (156).

It is not that the Supreme Court should achieve some ideal of harmony and unanimity in its use of history. Justice Rehnquist, in his article, "All Discord, Harmony Not Understood: The Performance of the Supreme Court of the United States," (22 *Arizona Law Review* 973 [1980]), has emphasized the value and necessity of dissenting and concurring opinions which, "when not overdone, are quite true to the spirit of checks and balances which permeates the Constitution" (986). It is, rather, to make sure that when the court calls upon history as well as case law to support its reasoning, that it overlooks neither significant historical works nor important cases.

The court might consider hiring historians in the course of its work. As Norris Hundley, Jr., has noted in his article, "Clio Nods: *Arizona v. California* and the Boulder Canyon Act—A Reassessment" (*Western Historical Quarterly* 3 [1972], 17-51, at 50), "In the *Arizona v. California* case, for example [373 U.S. 546 (1963)], neither the court nor the special master sought the services of experts in engineering, geology, or hydrology, though representatives of these fields

testified, sometimes contradicting one another. Nor was a historian hired to analyze the legislative record." As a result, Hundley notes, this important predecessor to the contemporary Indian water cases contains facts and inferences that defy strict historical truth. Hundley comments on the Supreme Court's conclusion that Congress had provided for a "complete statutory apportionment" of Colorado River water in the Boulder Canyon Act: "Clio might have nodded in 1963 [the year of the decision], but she certainly did not lack imagination."

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The Supreme Court in its present term is hearing a series of cases involving Indian water rights, specifically, *Arizona v. California*, *Arizona v. San Carlos Apache Tribe*, as well as *Mescalero* and *Pyramid Lake* for a second time. These cases are being looked at with unusual attention by the court—which often finds Indian cases a bothersome burden as Bob Woodward and Scott Armstrong have noted in *The Brethren: Inside the Supreme Court* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979)—because they involve a scarce resource (water) in an area where the increasing demand for that resource by non-Indians means that justice cannot be done without one side or the other suffering. The issue is not merely theoretical but practical and related to the economic survival or health of the contestants. Will the narrow margin in support of the Indian position in most recent tests of Indian rights evaporate in the water rights cases? What will be the position of Sandra Day O'Connor, the newest justice, one whose initial votes have evinced a friendly attitude toward Indian aspiration? O'Connor comes from Arizona, one of the states most directly affected by the competition for water.

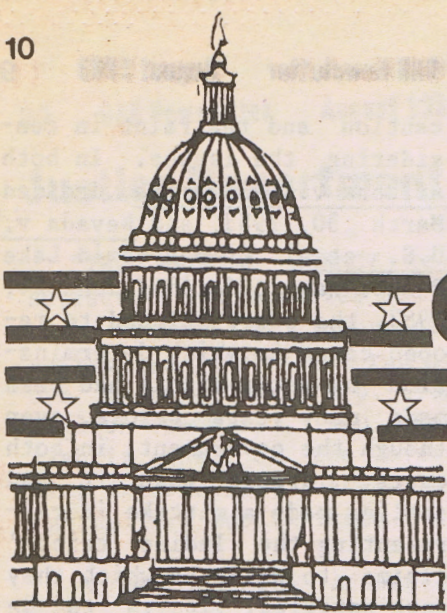
Whatever the outcome of the water cases in the present term, it is hoped that the court will make better use of history and historians. To judge by the two cases that have been decided as of the time this article went to press, the court is showing

caution and restraint in considering the issues. In both *Arizona v. California*, decided March 30, 1983, and *Nevada v. U.S. et al.* (the Pyramid Lake Paiute case), decided June 24, 1983, the court refused to reopen cases in which determination of water rights had been made many years before, even though the government, in both cases, argued that it had earlier made a mistake in representing the Indian tribes' claims to water to which they were entitled. It is to be hoped, for example, that the court will take into consideration Norris Hundley, Jr.'s articles "The Dark and Bloody Ground of Indian Water Rights: Confusion Elevated to Principle" (*Western Historical Quarterly*, 9 [1978], 455-82), and his "The 'Winters' Decision and Indian Water Rights: A Mystery Reexamined" (*Western Historical Quarterly*, 13 [1982], 17-42). Hundley, by careful examination of the manuscript sources, has explained much of the mystery surrounding that famous decision, including the fact that because of a clerical error, the name of the case should be *Winter v. U.S.* rather than *Winters v. U.S.* since the appellant in the case was Henry Winter, not Winters.

Justice Rehnquist ended his dissent in *U.S. v. Sioux Indian Nation* by asserting: "... that there was tragedy, deception, barbarity, and virtually every other vice known to man in the 300-year history of the expansion of the original 13 colonies into a Nation which now embraces more than 3 million square miles and 50 states cannot be denied. But in a Court opinion, as a historical and not a legal matter, both settler and Indian are entitled to the benefit of the Biblical adjuration: 'Judge not, that ye be not judged.'"

Both judges and historians are locked into the problem of interpretation of past events; both share a responsibility to the actors of history as well as to later generations who are affected by their actions. Although the responsibility of judges is vastly greater because their opinions have the weight of law, both judges and historians can enhance their understanding of the past by greater cooperation.

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CAPITOL COMMENTARY

Page Putnam Miller

- Archives Independence Bill - Gains Momentum

A SENATE BILL, S. 905, to restore independence to the National Archives and Records Service by separating it from the General Services Administration, is gaining substantial support in the Senate. Not only would S. 905 restore to the National Archives the integrity and purpose that was intended when it was created in 1934, it would also give the U.S. Archivist authority, which he is currently lacking, over the program, budget, and personnel of the National Archives.

The thirty-five Senators who have thus far signed on as supporters of this legislation include key leaders of the Democratic and Republican Parties. Joining Senator Thomas Eagleton (D-MO), the sponsor of S. 905, as co-sponsors are: 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), Hatfield (R-OR), Percy (R-IL), Bingaman (D-MN), Chiles (D-FL), Goldwater (R-AZ), Hollings (D-SC), Riegle (D-MI), Hawkins (R-FL), Kennedy (D-MA), Melcher (D-MT), Exon (D-NB), Andrews (R-ND), Pryor (D-AR), Stennis (D-MS), Pell (D-RI), Cochran (R-MS), Quayle (R-IN), Mitchell (D-ME), Huddleston (D-KY), Burdick (D-ND), Tsongas (D-MA).

Each week, our goal of reestablishing an independent National Archives seems more attainable as additional Senators add their names to the growing list of co-sponsors. If your Senator(s) is not on the co-sponsor list, a short letter indicating the importance of S. 905 would be most helpful. Key points to make are: the basic missions of the National Archives and General Services Administration are incompatible; the National Archives' lack of authority over its own budget, program priorities, and personnel management has caused a decline in the National Archives' ability to sustain core programs adequately; as long as the National Archives is under the authority of the GSA, there is the danger of politicizing archival activities; and the cost of administering an independent Archives could well be less than the present cost of administering the Archives as part of the GSA. The address for your Senator is U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.

- National Historical Publications and Records Commission

On June 21, H.R. 2196, a bill reauthorizing the NHPRC's grants program at a level of \$3 million a year for five years, passed the House. On June 21, Mark Hatfield and twenty-nine other Senators introduced S. 1513 authorizing the grants program at \$4 million for 1984 and '85 and at the level of \$5 million for the following three fiscal years. The appropriations committees for both the House and the Senate have indicated that they will be recommending inclusion of \$3 million for the NHPRC's grants program for the FY '84 budget in spite of the Administration's budget calls for zero funding for NHPRC's grants.

- Freedom of Information Act -

On June 28, Anna Nelson, a member of the OAH Access Committee, testified before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence on S. 1324, a bill to exempt the CIA operational files from FOIA requests. Nelson noted that while historians recognize the necessity of protecting sources and methods utilized in intelligence operations, they also know from hours in the National Archives and presidential libraries that operational files usually go far beyond sources and methods. "Traditionally they include the policy guidelines and planning process" which Nelson noted are "the heart of governmental decision-making." Furthermore, Nelson discussed the serious ramifications of exempting an entire category of files from search and review for an indefinite time, presumably forever. She pointed out to the committee that "there will surely be a continual temptation on the part of officials to place ever-increasing numbers of documents in file cabinets marked operational, including those that might be merely embarrassing." Nelson concluded that "as foreign policy becomes subsumed by national security policy, the records of the CIA will become even more essential to future generations of Americans seeking an understanding of American history."

- National Endowment Funding Increased -

On June 28, the House of Representatives passed legislation that appropriates \$150 million for NEH for FY '84. This represents an increase of 15% over the current budget and 30% more than the Administration requested. The Senate appropriations subcommittee is not expected to take action on NEH funding until later this summer.

- Bicentennial of the Constitution -

A Senate bill establishing a bicentennial commission has been approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee and awaits passage by the Senate. No action has been taken on the House bill, introduced by Representative Robert Garcia (D-NY). Staff members from the Senate and House committees are meeting now in order to reach compromises on the differing provisions. A satisfactory agreement on the composition of the commission and the specifications for private donations would undoubtedly expedite passage.

- House Historian to be Selected -

As a result of legislation passed this winter, a small working group of members of the House of Representatives is now meeting to interview the five finalists for the position of historian of the House of Representatives. By the end of the summer, the House will have a Historical Office staffed by a professional historian.

- Historian Recommended for Advisory Council on Historic Preservation

The National Historic Preservation Act specified that four of the members of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation will be experts from preservation-related disciplines. There are now two vacancies on the council, and only two of the remaining members are experts in the field—an architect and a cultural anthropologist. Contact President Reagan if you have historians to recommend for appointment on the Council.

- Christopher Columbus - Quincentenary Commission

October 12, 1992 marks the five-hundredth anniversary of the voyages of discovery of Christopher Columbus. Bills S. 500 and H.R. 1492 would establish the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission. The Commission would be responsible for planning, encouraging, coordinating, and conducting local, national, and international observances and activities. The thirty-one member commission would also be responsible for any books, films, lectures, exhibits, and ceremonies that are connected with the celebration.

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Forging the past

When the authenticity of historical documents is questioned, it becomes a matter of importance and concern, not just to the author or editor or publisher but to historians, archivists, and any other person who may read and rely on the validity of these documents.

Leonard Rapport

The following is a talk given, without intention of publication, at the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists in October 1982 in Boston. Its purpose, by recalling past episodes, was to help prevent archivists and curators, when confronted with suspect or questioned documents, from making fools of themselves. In light of the Hitler diaries, a review of these episodes might be of use to historians.

IN OCTOBER 1918, the United States government published in an edition of more than 137,000 copies a pamphlet containing about seventy documents. The publication included photographic reproductions of some of these documents; it also included a 2,300 word statement by two eminent historians attesting to the documents' validity.

"The documents show," read the publication's introduction, "that the present heads of the Bolshevik Government--Lenin and Trotsky and their associates--are German agents.

"They show that the Bolshevik revolution was arranged for by the German Great General Staff, and financed by the German Imperial Bank and other German financial institutions.

"They show that the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was a betrayal of the Russians by the German agents, Lenin and Trotsky; that a German-picked commander was to 'defend' Petrograd against the Germans. . . . They show, in short, that the present Bolshevik Government is not a Russian government at all, but a German government acting solely in the interests of Germany. . . ."

How did the U.S. government manage, in time of war, to get allegedly official documents revealing what the German and Russian governments must have been most intensely interested in not revealing?

It was simple. An American newspaperman and editor, temporarily a government employee, bought them from a Russian newspaperman. Other governments also bought some of them. They were, in a manner of speaking, being peddled on the streets of Petrograd.

The American, Edgar Sisson, had been sent to Petrograd in the winter of 1917-18 by George Creel, head of the U.S. World War I propaganda agency, the Committee on Public Information. Petrograd was the seat of the Bolshevik government at the time.

Sisson smuggled the documents out of Russia and in May brought them to Washington, where he turned them over to the State Department. That department shared neither his enthusiasm nor his belief in their authenticity. So a few days later, the documents and Sisson's report on them were delivered, probably by Creel, to Woodrow Wilson.

Four months later, to the surprise of the State Department, Wilson, through the Committee on Public Information, released the documents to the press. They appeared in installments during the week following September 15, 1918 in newspapers all over the country.

The press mostly accepted the documents as authentic, the main exception being the New York Evening Post. Its editor, Henry Alsberg (head of the WPA Federal Writers Project twenty years later), declared them forgeries. At the same time, Ambassador Walter Hines Page in London was reporting that the British government thought most of the documents "of a doubtful character. . . ."

Since the Committee on Public Information planned to publish these documents as a pamphlet, Creel wanted to allay these suspicions. He asked the National Board for Historical Service to appoint "an authoritative committee,

small in numbers" to review the documents for authenticity. The Board appointed J. Franklin Jameson, editor of the American Historical Review and Samuel Harper, Professor of Russian Language and Institutions at the University of Chicago. Creel submitted the documents to them.

Within a week, Jameson and Harper submitted a 2,300 word report that said of the most important documents, "we have no hesitation in declaring that we see no reason to doubt the genuineness or authenticity of these fifty-three documents."

In late October, the documents appeared under the title The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy. Included were Sisson's comments and the Jameson-Harper report. It later appeared in other editions in other countries.

With the ending of the war only weeks after publication, public interest in the documents faded. However, Sisson, a true believer, continued the effort to verify them. He got the State Department to interview people, study other documents, and query the British. But one thing the Department was not able to do was to examine the original documents. Creel, after a number of attempts, wrote in December 1920, "The situation is hopeless. The President will not let anybody go into his files and insists that he will look up the documents himself. I have put the matter in the hands of Mrs. Wilson and will keep up the search." After Harding moved in, the White House Secretary reported the documents not there. Mrs. Wilson curtly turned down efforts to locate them in Wilson's papers.

Unable to get the original documents, the State Department dropped the inquiry. The carton of materials the Department had created or accumulated during the inquiry moved from office to office

until, in 1955, it reached the National Archives.

In December 1952, a month before Harry Truman left office, the original documents surfaced. They, the Jameson-Harper statement, and a deposition by Sisson were found in a White House safe. They were offered to the National Archives and were accessioned.

It was fortunate that these documents became available when they did because they came under the scrutiny of a person uniquely qualified to examine them, George F. Kennan. In a long article in the June 1956 Journal of Modern History, and in several dozen pages of his 1957 Pulitzer Prize winning Russia Leaves the War, Kennan devastatingly attacked the claims of these documents. He attacked them on the basis of their general historical implausibility, their lack of accord with the normal usage of the Russian and German governments, and their technical errors of language, form, letterhead, seal, handwriting, and typewriting. He then suggested the real origin of the documents. For anyone interested in a definitive account of the Sisson documents, I recommend Kennan's article and his book that puts the story of the documents into historical context.

I will end the Sisson documents chapter by returning to Jameson and Harper. Why did Jameson, the father of the National Archives movement and a man so interested in authenticity of documentation, choose to authenticate documents written in a language he could not read and concerning people and events about which he knew almost nothing? Shortly after the pamphlet was published, Jameson wrote to a friend that he had fulfilled "that useful function, which some one on every committee

should fulfill of representing vulgar innocence."

Harper, who could read Russian and knew something about the events, long after the event confessed to a lesser degree of innocence. In his published memoirs appears this statement: "... with his country at war the academic man, when called upon by his government to use his academic talents for a war purpose, often faces a problem of duty in two directions and finds difficulty in properly protecting himself." Then in words that appear in his draft but not in the published memoirs, he goes on to say: "My experience with the Sisson documents showed clearly the pressure to which University men are subjected in time of war. My position was particularly difficult because my area of study was under the control of a new group which was talking peace, and I felt it was my academic duty to explain why the Bolsheviks were working against a continuation of war, not only on the part of Russia but in general. Thanks to the support of Professor Jameson I was able to hold out to a certain degree against a complete abandonment of the rules of the student but it was impossible for a University man not to make a contribution to the development of the war spirit, even if this involved the making of statements of a distinctly biased character."

I come now to the second forgery. Among his dreamed-up characters in Spoon River Anthology, Edgar Lee Masters had included one person from life. About her he wrote: "Out of me unworthy and unknown/The vibrations of deathless music;/With malice toward none, with charity for all./Out of me the forgiveness of millions toward millions,/And the beneficent face of a nation/Shining with justice and truth./I am Anne Rutledge who sleep beneath these weeds,/Beloved in life of Abraham Lincoln,/Wedded to him, not through union,/But through separation./Bloom forever, O Republic,/From the dust of my bosom!"

Americans, aware of the less than ideal marriage the melancholy president had had with Mary Todd Lincoln, chose to believe this tragic love of Lincoln's youth. Ann Rutledge was, however, barely more real than Spoon River Anthology's other characters. What is known about her is based almost entirely on reminiscences

collected after Lincoln's death by his law partner, Billy Herndon.

Thus in 1928, when the Atlantic Monthly received a letter from Wilma Frances Minor of San Diego, California saying that she had just written the "true love story" of Abraham Lincoln and Ann Rutledge based on original documents in her possession, the Atlantic and the Atlantic Monthly Press were interested. Among the many documents Minor had, she said, were ten letters written by Lincoln, including three to Ann Rutledge and four from Rutledge, two of these to Lincoln. Nothing heretofore written by Rutledge had ever been discovered. These documents and some of Lincoln's books had come to Wilma Minor through a great-uncle from Emporia, Kansas and afterwards from her mother.

The Atlantic brought Minor and her mother to Boston and put them up at the Ritz. What they showed the Atlantic strengthened the magazine's conviction that they had important evidence that Ann Rutledge had been Lincoln's "inspiration." They read a Lincoln letter, written thirteen years after Rutledge's death: "Like a ray of sun-shine and as brief--she flooded my life, and at times like today when I traverse past paths I see this picture before me--fever burning the light from her dear eyes, urging me to fight for the right. . . ."

The Atlantic decided to make Minor's material into a three-issue series in the magazine and then expand it into a book.

In the meantime, the Atlantic began verifying the material. They showed photostats to Lincoln authority William E. Barton, a minister. He was suspicious but did not condemn them outright. Then Worthington C. Ford of the Massachusetts Historical Society looked at the photostats and said flatly that they were fraudulent. But the will to believe had taken over at the Atlantic (as later, in the Howard Hughes-Clifford Irving forgery, it was to take over at McGraw-Hill). The Atlantic then turned to Ida Tarbell, seventy-one years old, who had written a biography of Lincoln. Ellery Sedgwick, editor of the Atlantic, wrote that Tarbell, after looking at the photostats was "joyful because the contention in

which she has always believed seems now proved to the hilt." Her opinion and the opinion of a chemist that the paper was of rag content and that the ink looked okay were enough to launch the Atlantic's campaign: "At last, after nearly a century during which their existence was always suspected and hoped for, appear the priceless documents which lift the veil shrouding the love affair between Abraham Lincoln and young Ann Rutledge. . . . This feature alone, the first printing of these documents, will make an Atlantic subscription for the coming year a life-long keepsake. . . ."

The Atlantic recruited another supporter. Lincoln biographer Carl Sandburg looked at the photostats and thought them authentic. But meanwhile, Paul Angle, secretary of the Lincoln Centennial Association in Springfield, Illinois, who the year before had published an article doubting the Ann Rutledge legend, and Oliver Barrett, the leading collector of Lincoln documents, declared the documents forgeries. Before the second installment appeared in January 1929, other Lincoln scholars joined them. But the Atlantic's will to believe persisted. "We must remember," wrote the editor to Wilma Minor, "that the greater the excitement now, the greater will be the triumph of the book. . . ." She replied, "Let us gird our armor and fight our way through to victory."

Before the January issue of Atlantic appeared, Angle, Barrett, and Worthington Ford issued a statement which appeared in the New York Times and other papers pointing out errors.

A friend advised Sedgwick, "Better eat your peck of dirt now before it becomes a bushel." He refused; but the evidence was piling up. Another handwriting expert told the Atlantic that the documents were forgeries. And a detective hired by the Atlantic reported that the details of the lives of Wilma Minor and her mother as told by them did not jibe with what the detective learned. Finally, an Atlantic staff member, who had established a rapport with Minor, travelled to San Diego and got a signed confession from her. According to Minor, her mother was in touch with the dead. Through her mother, Minor was able to ask questions of Lincoln and Rutledge and write down their answers.

After the third installment in the February 1929 issue, the Atlantic in April published "The Minor Collection: A Criticism" by Paul Angle. Although urged to publish the additional information that the Atlantic had, Sedgwick refused.

Robin Weeks in Historian as Detective (1968) reprinted Angle's article followed by the question, "Is the case here against the Minor Collection proven? Virtually but not entirely must be the reply." But in 1979, Professor Don E. Fehrenbacher of Stanford, a Lincoln scholar, using the Atlantic materials in the Massachusetts Historical Society, has proved (to me, at least) that there is no question about these forgeries. His pamphlet, "The Minor Affair: An Adventure in Forgery and Detection" (Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum, Fort Wayne, Indiana) is a readable and convincing accounting on which I have drawn heavily. And having seen the crude forgeries, now in the Massachusetts Historical Society, it is difficult to assign any reason (except a will to believe) for anybody accepting these as authentic documents.

The third forgery with which I would like to deal is the Horn Papers. In the July 1946 issue of the American Historical Review the following letter from Julian P. Boyd appeared: "Have you examined or assigned for review The Horn Papers, edited by W.F. Horn and 'published for a committee of the Greene County Historical Society' of Waynesburg, Pennsylvania? I have just examined these three volumes and I think the conclusion is inescapable that large parts of the documentary materials in the first two volumes, including diaries, maps, court records, memorandums, and even lead plates and hieroglyphs, are sheer fabrications. I do not know of any similar publication of fabricated documents among all of the thousands of documentary publications issued by American historical societies. It seems to me, therefore, that something more than an ordinary review of The Horn Papers is indicated. I believe a committee of investigation was appointed by the American Historical Association some forty years ago when a forgery of The Cape Fear Mercury was accepted by the credulous editor of a magazine of national circulation as being genuine. The committee made such an exhaus-

tive analysis of the forgery as to set all doubts permanently at rest. I venture to suggest the desirability of a similar procedure in the present instance." (For a reproduction of The Cape Fear Mercury and a discussion of the investigation, see Leonard Rapport, "Fakes and Facsimiles: Problems of Identification" American Archivist (January 1979), pp. 18-20.) Boyd concluded: "There is presented here an opportunity for a psychological study in motivation that might prove interesting. Obviously the volumes are not intended as a hoax. I think it equally obvious that they were not intended to defraud. But what was the motive?"

Not everyone agreed with Boyd that the Horn Papers were forgeries. Two experts on frontier history, Professors Paul Gates and Julian P. Bretz, both of Cornell University, were defenders of them. They wrote, "They add to what has been known about the dark ages of Virginia settlement, 1740-1750 on the headwaters of the Potomac."

A committee to investigate the Horn Papers was organized under the sponsorship of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg. The chair was Solon Buck, Archivist of the United States. The membership included Boyd, Lester Cappon, Lawrence Gipson, Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., and Douglas Adair.

The story that emerged was that of a native of Greene County in western Pennsylvania, William F. Horn, who, in 1873 at the age of three, moved with his family to the northeastern corner of Kansas (a section that also produced the Lincoln-Rutledge documents). According to Horn, a trunk of materials, boxed by an ancestor in 1795 and passed down through the generations, was finally opened in 1891. In it were records and artifacts of his eighteenth-century ancestors, Jacob and Christopher Horn. The documents were in poor condition. Horn copied them, and soon after most of the originals were destroyed.

In 1932, William Horn wrote to two newspapers in Greene and Washington counties in Pennsylvania, told them of the Horn Papers, and offered to prepare a set of historical articles based on them. The Greene County paper accepted

his offer. The documents and his articles created a stir in the historically-minded counties for they drastically revised and added to known history. Horn then began visiting the area of his birth, staying sometimes several months at a time. He was a willing and popular speaker; and he was always ready to help, without charge, anybody interested in tracing their genealogy. He led history walks. He became the area's historical oracle.

The diaries of his ancestors, which went back to 1735, included mention of some well-known frontier figures and events; they filled in gaps that had baffled historians. Thus, it was only a matter of time before there were plans to publish in book form the documents and Horn's text. The Greene County Historical Society raised funds, and in 1945 The Horn Papers: Early Westward Movement in the Monongahela and Upper Ohio, 1765-1795 by W. F. Horn appeared in three volumes.

It quickly became apparent that Julian Boyd was right. The anachronisms were glaring. In addition, there were doubtful words and phrases. The diary had the ring of the nineteenth rather than the eighteenth century. Documents allegedly written by different people had the same misspellings, the same anachronistic words, and the same historically incorrect or dubious statements.

For example, in eighteen different places in the volumes there appear accounts or mention of the Battle of Flint Top on September 17 and 18, 1748. Horn asserts that French troops participated in the battle and that it was one of the main events leading to the French and Indian War. Twelve thousand Indians were killed, a sizeable portion of the entire estimated Indian population of the time, and the greatest loss of life in any battle in America until the Civil War. When earlier questioned why the only known mention of this battle was in the papers in his possession, Horn cited, and later inserted in the published volumes, long quotations from a Mrs. M. E. Gail of Paris. But the committee could find no trace of such a person. Horn also referred skeptics to Andrea's Early History of Northwest Virginia, 1760-1780, a copy of which had been in his own library until 1882. Whatever happened to his copy, its loss

was unfortunate. Nobody could find another, nor any mention of such a title or author.

The few surviving eighteenth-century documents were sent to the National Archives chemist. He reported that the paper was of the nineteenth century, the ink was no earlier than 1836, and the writing was with a steel pen. Other evidence that the committee developed is in their report in the October 1947 issue of the William and Mary Quarterly. The report, "The Mystery of the Horn Papers" by Arthur Pierce Middleton and Douglas Adair, is thirty-eight pages long, and in it they assert that "it is our opinion that the primary material in the Horn Papers is a fabrication and therefore that historians and genealogists ought not to rely on any data in Volumes I and II. . . . The story of the Horn Papers is still not ended, for the noxious influences of The Papers are already fermenting and will continue to work for an indeterminate time."

I will close the discussion of the Horn Papers by repeating Boyd's question, "What was the motive?" The Horn Papers are almost unique among historical forgeries in that no clear motive ever emerged. Neither Horn nor anyone else profited or tried to profit financially from the publication. The only hypothesis, and that in a footnote to the committee's report, was a suggestion by the president of the Greene County Historical Society that perhaps William Horn's grandfather had fabricated some of the documents as a joke on his own family. But the footnote goes on to say that Horn was too ill to communicate with the committee so it was impossible to learn his opinion of this theory. And on that note, Mr. Horn, an old man, fades from the scene.

I have talked with Arthur Middleton, who was the full-time executive director of the committee and the person who spent the most time on The Horn Papers. Though he never met William Horn, it is his opinion that Horn had become the victim of Pseudologia Phantastica, which is defined medically as "an elaborate and often fantastic account of a patient's exploits, which are completely false but which the patient himself appears to believe." This would seem as likely a theory as any.

Now we come to the Rolls Royce of the genre, the Vinland Map. It had the intricate workmanship attributed to Rolls engines. And it had the gentility associated with Rolls. It didn't resemble the Sisson affair, with its invective and name calling that seemed at the time to attach to all things Bolshevik. Nor did it resemble the zany aspects of the Lincoln-Rutledge affair which led Worthington Ford to write to editor Ellery Sedgwick, "Have you gone insane or have I? You are putting over the crudest forgeries I have known"; and which led the sixty-seven-year-old Reverend Barton to travel to San Diego to meet the indeterminately aged Minor to whom he later wrote, "When you are in Boston in the summer you are to call me up at Foxboro. . . and come and sleep under my pines and see my Lincoln material and swim in my little lake. Tell your mother I made love to you and hope to do it again." Nor was there a formal committee of historians to point, as the Horn Papers Committee did, a gentle but firm finger at the person they thought the forger.

The Vinland Map tended to involve the well-born, the rich, and the scholarly. There was one low-life, but he is now dead and was from another country.

There is not, as for the other forgeries, a single account, an owner's shop manual, to serve as a guide to this intricately machined forgery. What I have to say, I have gotten from three main sources: The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation, published by Yale University Press in October 1965; The Proceedings of the Vinland Map Conference, held a year later on November 15-16, 1966 at the Smithsonian Institution and published under the editorship of Wilcomb Washburn by the University of Chicago Press; and "The Strange Case of the Vinland Map," a symposium held at the Royal Geographical Society in February 1974 and published in the June 1974 Geographical Journal.

I will try to put together the jigsaw parts of this involved case. To go back to the beginning; in 1241, the Mongols (or Tartars) came out of Central Asia to overrun Poland, Silesia, and Hungary, killing and destroying. Several years later, word got

to Europe that the Tartars had in mind a return engagement. Thereupon, Pope Innocent IV sent three Franciscan friars to the land of the Tartars with the mission of learning all they could about the inhabitants and their intentions. The friars returned two years later. There are various versions of their journey, of what they saw and learned, which exist in a number of contemporary manuscript copies. One such was that of a fellow Franciscan who talked with one of the returned friars. This is the Tartar Relation of the title, The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation.

At this time, a Dominican friar, Vincent of Beauvais, was compiling the grandfather of encyclopedias, a work of a million and a half words, attempting to encompass all knowledge. In the final volume, Speculum Historiale--mirror of history--he embodied sections of the account of the leader of the expedition.

Keep in mind these two documents, the Tartar Relation and Speculum Historiale. Eventually, manuscript copies of these two documents and of a third, a single-sheet map, will come together and mesh like the gears of a Rolls Royce. At first, that is. Later there will be a clattering in the gearbox.

Moving ahead 700 years: in 1957, an Italian bookseller, living in Barcelona, Enzo Ferrajoli, began peddling in London, Paris, and Geneva the manuscript of the Tartar Relation bound, in a relatively recent binding, with the map that came to be called the Vinland Map. Escorted by London bookdealer Joseph Irving Davis, Ferrajoli visited the British Museum and showed the volume to the Museum's specialists. He found no takers.

It should be noted that the Spanish government had charged Ferrajoli with involvement in the theft of manuscripts and books from a Saragossa cathedral library, and that he had spent some time in jail. There is, however, no evidence that the manuscripts came from the cathedral.

That same year, 1957, Laurence Witten, an antiquarian bookdealer of New Haven of good reputation and a friend of Ferrajoli, heard of the volume. He visited the European owner, to whom Ferrajoli had returned it, and

bought the Tartar Relation and the map, paying the owner \$3,500 and a commission to Ferrajoli. At the Smithsonian Conference, John Parker of the University of Minnesota told Witten that he had gotten "the greatest bargain in all the world."

On the Asian portion of the map were captions containing information that seemed to have been incorporated from the Tartar Relation manuscript. But, most importantly, what caught the eye was the appearance in the west of Vinland, almost certainly continental North America, and, in addition, two captions telling of its discovery by Leif Erricson and Bjarni, and a visit in the year 1117 to Vinland by the Bishop of Greenland. If authentic, this was the only known pre-Columbian physical representation of the new world; and it constituted strong evidence of its discovery by the Vikings.

Although convinced of the map's authenticity, there were several aspects that puzzled Witten. There was a particular problem with worm holes in the map and in the Tartar Relation--they didn't match. Eventually, Witten gave the volume to his wife.

About a year after the purchase, Thomas Marston, curator of Medieval and Renaissance Literature at the Yale University Library, received an advance catalogue from the bookstore of Joseph Davis (the dealer who had escorted Ferrajoli to the British Museum) which offered a manuscript copy of a fragment of the Speculum Historiale for seventy-five pounds. Marston ordered it, and when it came he loaned it to Witten. Witten discovered it to be the same size and in the same hand as the Tartar Relation. In addition, the worm holes in the map and in the Speculum matched; another hole in the Speculum matched one in the Tartar Relation. The Speculum was in a fifteenth-century binding. It seemed that at one time the three documents had been together in this binding. Marston gave the Speculum to Mrs. Witten.

In 1959, the Wittens offered the manuscripts to Yale University but Yale couldn't afford them. Their purchase was suggested to a Yale alumnus who did buy them. Nowhere in any of the scholarly proceedings does this person's name or the

amount paid appear. But in 1974, after the map was declared a forgery, the New York Times and Time magazine reported that the purchaser had paid almost a million dollars for the documents. The Washington Post reported a price no higher than \$260,000 and identified the purchaser as Paul Mellon.

Whoever the purchaser was and however much he may have paid, an early step in the purchase was described at the Smithsonian Conference: "When the manuscript was being considered by a private owner, he consulted me whether or not he should purchase it. I took a deep breath and literally without great knowledge or investigation said that I thought it was all right. My opinion was based entirely on subjective reasons, on 'the smell and feel of it.' The private owner obtained the manuscript and asked that the Yale University Library under the direction of the then librarian, James Babb, myself as curator of maps, and Mr. Marston arrange in some way to have this map published."

Marston and two specialists from the British Museum undertook the preparation in secrecy of such a volume. "At that time," continued Alexander Vietor, the Yale curator of maps, "the owner did not wish--for reasons that I cannot really go into at great length--to be bothered in any way by anybody about his ownership. He wished it to be handled in a private manner. The monograph was to be financed by the owner, but he was to remain anonymous." The press, however, got wind of the project and began to ask questions. It seemed likely that they would eventually track down the owner. But there were ways of taking care of such unpleasanties. The owner gave the volume to Yale.

The Yale University Press published the book on October 9, 1965, three days before Columbus Day. As the Yale Alumni Review was later to comment, "The timing of the publication did little to endear the University to New Haven's large Italian community."

Joining the Italian-American community for other reasons were some skeptical scholars. This led, in November 1966, to the Smithsonian conference where, for two days, forty-three historians, cartographers, geo-

graphers, theologians, linguists, sociologists, curators, and others, from five countries, discussed and debated the authenticity of the Vinland Map. Also present were Witten and two of the three editors of the volume.

There was much learned discussion at the conference, some of which makes for interesting reading now that there is general agreement that the map is a forgery. Two weaknesses were repeatedly referred to: the inadequacy of the scientific examination, particularly of the ink; and the question of provenance. Professor Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University, one of the most persistent questioners, asked Witten: "Do I understand correctly that evidence has been put in safekeeping so that eventually people will know exactly from where the map came?" Witten answered: "I have not done this as yet. I have been thinking about it and Yale University has urged me to write a letter to be opened 9,000 years after everybody is dead which will say where I got the Vinland Map. I think I am going to do it, but I have not decided yet." Later he added: "The former owner says that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, the map and the associated Speculum volume had been in his family's library for a couple of generations. He says that he did not buy it and that he has no idea where it came from. It was simply there." The probing continued. A Canadian asked: "I am quite curious as to why the information is being withheld." Witten replied: "I promised the former owner of the map that I would not under any circumstances disclose that I bought anything from him at all." "What were the reasons he gave?" Witten: "I do not mind saying what they were. They were the usual ones in many European countries. He did not wish to pay tax and he did not wish to have export problems. He did not wish it known that he had such valuable things as his library in his possession because he would be taxed on them."

In 1972, Yale University submitted the map to Walter C. McCrone Associates of Chicago. McCrone examined the map using a polarizing microscope and micro-X-ray diffraction. In the final paper of the Royal Geographical Society's 1974 symposium, Walter and Lucy McCrone gave their findings. Their conclusion began, "The inks on the Vinland Map con-

tain as an integral constituent substantial percentages of a pigment, anatase, available in the observed form only since about 1920," and their conclusion ended, "Because the 'present' Vinland Map was executed about 1920 it was, in any case, a fraud made to deceive the beholder into believing it to be a genuine fifteenth-century product."

In 1965, Yale University had described the Vinland Map as "the most exciting cartographic discovery of the century." On January 25, 1974, the University announced that the map was an elaborate modern forgery. The tests, said the University, were a victory for scholarship and science, and an example of Yale's continuing search for truth. The announcement went on to say that neither the University nor the anonymous donor had asked for a criminal investigation. It was, to the end, a genteel affair.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: The Vinland Map does not yet fit the category of demonstrated forgeries despite Yale University's concession of January 25, 1974 that it is a forgery. The Yale announcement was based on McCrone's analysis of the inks: the type of scientific analysis that was called for at the Smithsonian conference in order to try to resolve the differences of opinion expressed at that conference. There is no question regarding the identification of titanium dioxide in the ink of the map; however, the interpretation of the presence of the titanium dioxide is open to considerable question. It does not prove that the map is a forgery. This is clear when one carefully considers what is known and not known about the preparation and properties of an ink containing titanium dioxide. There is another explanation which can be given for the presence of titanium dioxide in the map's ink. It could be present as an originally unknown component of medieval inks; green vitriol and titanium dioxide occur together in the modern manufacture of titanium dioxide. In this case, the green vitriol is a by-product. It is possible that the titanium dioxide in the map's ink is present as a by-product in the manufacture of green vitriol. (Documentation submitted by Dr. Wilcomb Washburn, Director, Office of American Studies, Smithsonian Institution.)]

In the March 1983 issue of the Journal of American History, in a ten-page article, historian and documentary editor John Y. Simon questions the documents that are the basis of a book published by a respected publisher, the Louisiana State University Press. The issue also includes a rejoinder to Simon's article by Beverly Jarrett, Assistant Director and Executive Director of the Press. The Journal promises in the next issue a reply to Simon by John Seymour Erwin, author of the book in question, Like Some Green Laurel: Letters of Margaret Johnson Erwin, 1821-1863 (which I have not seen) and a rejoinder by Simon.

When the authenticity of historical documents--and particularly of published documents--is questioned, it becomes a matter of importance and concern, not just to the author or editor or publisher but to historians, archivists, and any other persons who may read and rely on the validity of these documents.

It might help reduce acrimony and to arrive at the truth in this matter if the OAH, AHA, Southern Historical Association, and Society of American Archivists, or some combination of these, would appoint a qualified, impartial committee to examine the evidence and report its findings on the Erwin letters. The principals in this dispute should have no objection to such an inquiry. The alternative would seem to be continued charges and countercharges, bitterness, and a book in print whose sources have been publicly questioned. Historians and archivists in 1946 believed that the authenticity of the documents on which a publication of a small county historical society was based justified a committee of the caliber of the Buck committee; there seems equal justification for a committee to examine the questioned sources of this book published by a leading university press.

Leonard Rapport

Leonard Rapport is an archivist with the National Archives, from which he is on leave as an Andrew W. Mellon Fellow at the Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.



Sport History: A Brief Overview

"In order to form a just estimation of the character of any particular people, it is absolutely necessary to investigate the sports and pastimes most generally prevalent among them" (Joseph Strutt, 1838).

Mary L. Remley

THE HISTORY OF play, games, and sporting pastimes is as old as the history of the human race. Since the beginning of civilization, people have found time to race with peers; to spar in a playful way with friends; and, more recently, to engage in organized and structured activities more properly classified as sport. Our modern games of tennis, golf, bowling, billiards, hockey, and others can be traced to ancient origins. The ball, in some form, has been found in all cultures--an animal bladder filled with air; a smooth, rounded stone; reeds woven into a spherical shape; or a stitched animal skin stuffed with feathers, grass, or hair. In ancient Greece, young male Spartans, on the threshold of

manhood were called Ball players, supposedly because ball playing was their chief form of exercise. Homer's Iliad describes the feats of local athletes in wrestling, boxing, running, and chariot races. In the Age of Chivalry, training for knighthood focused on the acquisition of manly physical skills. And sport was an integral part of every boy's experience in the public schools of England.

The obsession with sport in modern America may appear to some to be a recent phenomenon; here, too, however, our sporting history dates back to the earliest colonies. The British travelers seeking a life in a new world brought their strong sporting heritage with them. In spite of a puritan ethic that attempted to prevent the New England citizens from spending their time "idly or unprofitably," the colonists found time for sporting diversions. Particularly as the responsibilities for building a life in a harsh,



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new world eased and second and third generations of native-borns grew up, puritanical control over leisure pursuits lessened. The very statutes prohibiting or limiting participation in such activities as horse racing, ninepins, quoits, bowling, shuffleboard, and play on the Sabbath provide evidence to substantiate their existence.

In the middle colonies where the Dutch settlers suffered fewer religious constraints, a wide variety of sporting pastimes filled their leisure hours. Skating, sledging, and ice boating were especially popular in the winter, and in other seasons the colonists sought the pleasures of cricket, skittles, hunting and fishing, archery, and simple ballgames. The "blood sports" of fox hunting, cockfighting, and gander pulling had their following, and horse racing very early captured the interest of the fun-loving Dutch. The religious inhibitions concerning leisure diversions of the New England Puritan were far less evident among the settlers of Pennsylvania and New York.

In the southern colonies, particularly among the affluent Virginians, leisure activities were an accepted part of everyday life. One worked; one also played. The usual activities of other colonists were enjoyed by the southern gentry--bowling, billiards, and cricket. But it was hunting and horse racing with their gambling accompaniment that created the most enthusiasm and achieved the greatest popularity. An abundance of wild game provided ample opportunity for both informal hunts and organized hunting parties of large numbers. And by the mid-1700s, the English fox hunt with its colorful formality and rigid social etiquette was well-established among the southern aristocracy. Interest in horse racing was widespread in the South, and race courses had been established in Virginia before 1700 with the breeding of horses for racing following soon after. Sporting pursuits among the southern wealthy suffered little from the restrictions that were more evident among their northern neighbors.

As settlers moved westward seeking new frontiers in the early 1800s, their recreational interests reflected their environment--strenuous,

harsh, primarily individual, and often cruel. Horse racing, hunting, running and jumping, wrestling, and boxing captured the interest of frontier people. Scattered accounts of baseball, cricket, lacrosse, horseshoes, and quoits may be found among the western sojourners, but it was those activities requiring stamina, skill, and bravery that most intrigued those on the frontier. The western cowboy made his own unique contribution to sporting developments. Using the daily skills so necessary to ranch life--roping, riding, bronco busting--he soon parlayed those skills into, first, recreation for his own entertainment, then exhibitions for others. Thus, it seems the rodeo was a direct outgrowth of leisure activities of the cowboys on the sprawling western cattle ranches.

By the close of the Civil War, interest in sport in America was well-ingrained. To achieve some semblance of our modern view of sport, it remained only to formalize and standardize the popular sports of the previous years. Baseball rules had already been codified; professional teams emerged; and America's "national pastime" began to sweep the country. Collegiate sports had a tenuous beginning with the Yale-Harvard crew race in 1852 sponsored by a railroad company, and by the end of the century, collegiate sports were well-established in American colleges and universities. Fashionable society frequented first the yacht club and sailed, perhaps the most expensive of all sports, and later the city athletic club and the country club with its golf course. Horse racing continued to captivate thousands of enthusiasts, and women emerged from their stuffy parlors to join the previously all-male sports contingent with croquet, sea bathing, and, later, bicycling and basketball. Immigrants continued to bring their favorite pastimes with them and to foster them in their new homeland. The Irish pugilists, the German Turners and bowlers, and the Scottish track and field athletes made significant contributions to the American sport scene wherever they settled.

With the beginning of the twentieth century, sport was well-established as an American institution. Organized spectacles--such as collegiate football and professional baseball--had replaced the simple, spontane-

ous games of earlier years. Lucas and Smith list some forty different sports that were organized in the nineteenth century "by drawing up standardized rules, forming national associations, creating competitive units, and drawing large numbers of participants and spectators" (John A. Lucas and Ronald A. Smith, Saga of American Sport [Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger, 1978], p. 126). In spite of overwhelming evidence that sport has been an integral part of the development of past civilizations, and that it has penetrated most facets of American society, little attention has been focused on the historical development of sport. Only recently have scholars begun to recognize, or at least give serious study to the development of sporting and leisure pursuits in American society. Now, courses on the history of sport may be found in both physical education and history departments.

While studies in sport history have been primarily the domain of colleges and universities, the area offers a rich source for enhancing the teaching of history in the secondary school. If students are aware of nothing else, they know about sport. Some children can quote all the vital statistics of a favorite baseball team. The school

gymnasium is filled to overflowing on the night of a basketball game with a particular rival. It is a rare high school, or even junior high or middle school, that does not sponsor an interscholastic sports program for boys and girls encompassing several different sports. And youth sport--structured, organized activities outside of school--draws thousands of youngsters both summer and winter to everything from swimming to ice hockey and baseball to martial arts. Sport is appealing to boys and girls as both participants and spectators. Why not capitalize on that appeal in the study of history? As John R. Betts so aptly stated, "[Sport] has grown into an institution of such proportions, it can no longer be ignored" (John Rickards Betts, America's Sporting Heritage, 1850-1950 [Reading, Massachusetts: Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 1974], p. vi). If we are to understand American social history, it is incumbent upon us to give serious consideration to the development of sport in American society.

Editor's Note: Mary L. Remley is the author of an OAH publication on the history of sport that will be available this winter. Watch for further details in the Newsletter.

New OAH Committee Plans for Constitution's Bicentennial

THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN Historians is using the resources of its more than 300 constitutional specialists for the commemoration of the Bicentennial of the American Constitution. About fifty members, including those whose specialty is constitutional history, met at the 1983 OAH Annual Meeting in Cincinnati. An Ad Hoc Committee was formed and is composed of: Kermit L. Hall (University of Florida), Chair; Maurice Baxter; Philip L. Cantelon; Deborah S. Gardner; Gerald George; Heather Huyck; Harold M. Hyman; Elizabeth P. McCaughey; and Donald Roper.

The committee plans to use the resources of OAH scholars to foster public interest and education in "The Culture of Constitutionalism." Its work will include three specific projects. The first is for constitutional specialists to write articles about constitutional themes as they relate

to regional issues. Several themes were chosen at the initial meeting. They include such questions as the nature of representation under the original document and what substantive change has occurred since ratification. These articles will be syndicated in newspapers. Implementation will begin with grant proposals.

A second project is a series of interpretation training sessions set up in the original thirteen states. These will be open to museum, historical site, and historical society personnel, and will incorporate recent data on each state's ratification process.

The third commemorative activity is of more national scope. State capitol administrators will be offered a general traveling exhibit on statehood and capitol architecture.

Internal migration: research themes and new directions

In just over a decade, historians have made great progress toward the goal of a truly interdisciplinary perspective in historical analysis.

Donald Parkerson

IN JUST OVER a decade, historians have made great progress toward the goal of a truly interdisciplinary perspective in historical analysis. The emergence of a number of historical journals exclusively devoted to this perspective (*Historical Methods*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, *Journal of Social History*, *Journal of Urban History*, and so on); the creation of the Social Science History Association seven years ago; the success of the Newberry Summer Institute in Quantitative Methods; as well as the inclusion of a new regular column, *Historians and Computers*, in this issue of the *OAH Newsletter*, all testify to the progress that we have made in this direction.

Perhaps one of our best chances to reach this goal is in the field of internal migration. By its very nature, migration has provided a unifying theme which has brought together scholars from geography, sociology, economics, demography, statistics, anthropology, family studies, as well as history. Moreover, these scholars have virtually ignored the usual geographical and temporal boundaries in an attempt to understand this universal process better. It is no wonder, then, that Michael Katz calls migration (what he refers to as transiency) as one of the "two great themes of . . . urban history" (Katz, 1980: 17).

There are four major research themes within this field: the documentation of the volume of internal migration; the development and use of models to explain the process; the attempt to understand the relationship between internal migration and social mobility; and the focus on the complex relationship between the family and household and the process of migration. I will briefly review the research in each of these areas.

Perhaps the most obvious and basic question one might

ask about internal migration is how common was it in history. Nearly one hundred years ago, Ravenstein (1889) addressed this question in his so-called sixth law of migration noting that migration increased over time, and, since then, other social scientists (Lee, 1966: 53; Zelinsky, 1971) have lent their general support to this notion. Zelinsky, in fact, proposed a "mobility transition" which suggested that levels of migration increased with modernization. While most recognized that the volume of migration varied with fluctuations in the economy, they agreed that over time societies became more mobile.

Perhaps the most obvious and basic question one might ask about internal migration is how common was it in history.

This agreement, however, was challenged by pioneers of the record-linkage technique, especially in the "New Urban History." (Record-linkage is the tracing of an individual between two population lists--usually census schedules or city directories.) These scholars suggested that nineteenth-century Americans were extremely transient, with well over half of the population out-migrating each decade (Curti, 1959; Thernstrom, 1964; Thernstrom and Knights, 1971). Allen (1977) synthesized much of this early work and argued that Americans today are slightly less mobile than they were in the nineteenth century. (See Parkerson, 1981, for a revision of Allen). While some found these estimates rather implausible, others were discovering similar high rates of population turnover in quite different communities throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Parkerson, 1982a: Appendix A). Soon, historians began to develop social theories using this apparent dramatic transiency as a central feature of their argument.

Some saw a crisis in leadership resulting from high population turnover (Alcorn, 1974), while others suggested that this transiency might be one cause of the apparent retardation of a class-conscious working-class movement during the nineteenth century (Griffen, 1969).

There were, however, a number of dissenters from this interpretation. My work on mid-nineteenth-century New York state, for example, showed that by generating estimates of population turnover from the direct "duration of residence" reports in the 1855 New York State Census, over 70% of the population of New York communities persisted each decade if mortality is not counted as migration (Parkerson, 1982a). Earlier, Stephenson, Jensen, and Reiff (1977) argued that problems in the record-linkage process overstated decennial out-migration rates and showed that by employing the Soundex Index to the U.S. Census, linkage success could be improved greatly. Others (Kocolowski, 1980 and Davenport, 1981) employed migration data that made record-linkage unnecessary and found significantly less mobility in American society. While these issues are certainly not resolved, this vigorous debate has stimulated interest in internal migration and has helped to clarify this migration's role in the process of social and economic change.

While the debate over the volume of internal migration has interested some scholars, others have attempted to explain why people migrate. Perhaps the most successful work in this area is the long sociological tradition of labor mobility studies. Scholars in this tradition have developed economic "equilibrium" or "push-pull" models which demonstrate that wage differentials between communities (as a reflection of occupational opportunities) are the best predictors of the net migration of workers and their families. These models clearly followed Ravenstein (1889) who suggested in his

seventh law that people migrate to "better themselves in material respects." Glasco (1978) in his work on Buffalo and Erie County, New York in 1855, for example, accepted the generalized form of this model and placed special emphasis on the "pull" component. He found a "purposeful migration of people more interested in maximizing their economic opportunity than escaping their economic woes" (1978: 163). Modell (1971) found a strong relationship between distance migrated and socio-economic status in his study of a working-class ward in mid-nineteenth-century Reading, Pennsylvania.

Other scholars have emphasized the "push" component of the model. Gagen and Mays (1973), for example, suggested that land shortages in Peel County, Ontario encouraged the out-migration of farm sons. Similarly, Berkner and Mendels in their work on the household have shown that the system of impartible inheritance was clearly related to higher levels of out-migration of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French farmers (1978: 222, Table 5-1). For the American case, James Henretta (1978) has suggested that entire families often migrated together to ensure an adequate farm inheritance for each of their sons.

Recently, Miller (1979) has examined the push and pull components simultaneously in her study of mid-nineteenth-century Syracuse and Onondaga County, New York. For Miller, the rapid economic development of Onondaga County in the first half of the nineteenth century dramatically but differently affected the people of both the city and hinterland. As Syracuse grew rapidly between 1830 and 1850, it attracted thousands of immigrants from Europe as well as business and skilled workers from its nearby hinterland. Meanwhile, rural commercial farmers in Onondaga County were experiencing a crisis in agriculture caused by the same factors that spawned Syracuse's growth. As the system of canals and railroads spread throughout western New York and to areas further west, they were simply unable to compete. These farmers were forced either to abandon traditional grain exporting agriculture in favor of specialty crops for the urban market or to out-migrate to the cheaper lands in the west.

By examining the crucial relationship between local, regional, and national economic growth and the social response to that growth, these scholars have built on the tradition of labor mobility studies and have placed the study of internal migration firmly in the context of historical change.

The third theme in migration research focuses on the critical relationship between residential and social mobility. Traditionally, historians have assumed a close relationship between upward social mobility and residential change. Again, the implicit notion here is that people move to improve themselves.

In recent years, the implicit notion that people migrate to improve themselves has been challenged.

In recent years, however, the validity of this association has been challenged (Thernstrom, 1964; 1973; Knights, 1971; and Glasco, 1978). These scholars suggest that there is no real evidence that an individual's socioeconomic status improves through migration even though that is what he or she may expect. They note that many recent arrivals as well as those who apparently out-migrated, were quite poor. Thernstrom (1973: 41), in fact, suggested that out-migrants were "unable to form stable economic connections. . . [and were]. . . permanent transients, helpless before the vicissitudes of a rapidly changing economy." Others, like Kessner (1977) in his study of New York City Jews and Italians, and Glasco (1978: 155) in his study of Buffalo, reached similar conclusions.

Katz, Doucet, and Stern (1978), on the other hand, found virtually no relationship between socioeconomic status and migration, but they did find that the purchase of land seemed to root individuals into their community. My own work on the migration patterns of mid-nineteenth-century New Yorkers detected a "U" shaped relationship between socioeconomic status and migration (Parkerson, 1982b). Professionals and wealthy merchants often migrated to take advantage of opportunities and markets throughout the state

and in other regions, while many poor laborers, and farm tenants, were often forced by economic exigencies to migrate in order to obtain a livelihood. This finding expands on Thernstrom's argument and suggests that migration was a complex phenomenon undertaken by different kinds of people at different times for very different reasons. While some chose to migrate to improve their already secure economic position and some to maintain familiar agricultural production patterns, others moved merely to survive. Katz, Doucet, and Stern (1982) make a similar point in their recent study of the emergence of industrial capitalism. While they agree with Thernstrom that there were primarily two economic groups in nineteenth-century industrial society, they note that there was considerable spatial mobility within each of these groups. This residential movement reinforced the illusion of social mobility within a rigid social structure. Future work that effectively integrates research on social and residential mobility will strengthen our understanding of inequality in American society.

The final research perspective in this field is the crucial relationship between the family and household and the process of migration. Three decades ago, Handlin (1951), in his classic study, suggested that the process of immigration had virtually destroyed the family structure of immigrants. By emphasizing the "uprooting" aspects of immigration, Handlin minimized the stabilizing role of the family in the process. The Handlin hypothesis was embraced by historians for over a decade until scholars began to investigate more carefully the role of the family. Early work by Brown, Schwarzweller, and Mangalam (1963) as well as MacDonald and MacDonald (1964) emphasized the importance of the family in the migration process, and these scholars employed the now widely accepted "chain model" of migration. This model clarified the role of the family in facilitating the migration of individuals and the development of extensive kin networks and close-knit communities that resulted from the process. Even earlier, scholars showed that families and even small communities would often migrate together in the settlement of new areas (Mathews, 1962; Litwak, 1960).

Indeed, my own work showed that it was quite common for households in mid-nineteenth-century New York to migrate together with children easing migration from farm to farm (especially among tenants), but constraining inter-urban moves. Similarly, Yans-McLaughlin (1980) emphasized the crucial role of the family in the process of migration and suggested that Buffalo Italians often formed extended households to support the immigration of other family members during their initial period of adjustment in the city. In fact, McLaughlin argued that Buffalo Italian families were probably stronger than those in Italy because of the migration process. Recently, Darroch (1981) in a synthesis of research conducted in this area has argued convincingly that families were not destroyed by migration, but that they played a crucial role in the process of farm-farm as well as farm-city migration during the nineteenth century. Gutman (1976) came to a similar conclusion in his study of the black family. He found that neither forced slave migration nor the migrations from the south to northern cities in this century destroyed the black family structure. Rather, black families served as a defensive mechanism which insulated their members from some of the uprooting aspects of the migration experience. Glasco (1978) made a similar point in his analysis of migration to Buffalo suggesting that unmarried females often moved in with relatives during their adjustment period in the city. And finally, my own work in this area revealed that the family was an extremely important factor in the migration of economically vulnerable members of New York society. Women; immigrants; renters; and poor, unskilled laborers quite often moved in with relatives or alternatively located either next door or within a few dwellings of same-surname relatives during their first years in a community (Parkerson, 1982b). Clearly, the revision of the "Handlin hypothesis" has helped us to understand both the process of migration and its relation to the household. By emphasizing the importance of the family in this regard, scholars have shown that migration usually occurred within the context of the family itself, not outside of it.

Clearly, the field of internal migration is a fertile

one. By recognizing and examining the relationship between residential movement and economic change, family/household, and class, internal migration has moved from the curiosity of an isolated demographic phenomenon to an important historical force.

The burgeoning of the field of historical migration has resulted from the creative use of old and new sources.

Further research in these areas will strengthen our understanding of historical change by clarifying the crucial interrelationships between these factors.

The burgeoning of the field of historical migration has resulted from the creative use of old and new sources. When Thernstrom, Knights, Griffen, and others pioneered the record-linkage technique they clearly revolutionized the way social historians were able to examine the past. Rather than perceiving society as a snapshot in time or even comparing individuals in two or more time periods, record-linkage allows historians to examine social change from the perspective of the individual. By tracing individuals over time, moreover, we can directly examine the relationship between life-cycle socioeconomic status, or household structure, and migration rather than imputing it from cohort analysis. Moreover, we have made great progress refining the techniques of record-linkage in the past decade. Stephenson (1977), for example, has shown that the Soundex Index to the U.S. Census is very useful in locating individuals. Others have developed similar indices (Gutmann, 1976) to improve the technique. Some have successfully employed either automatic (Winchester, 1970) or semiautomatic linkage techniques (Katz and Tiller, 1972; Gutmann, 1977), while historians like Knights (1982) and Barrows (1981) have had great success by carefully linking individuals by hand. Finally, Darroch and Ornstein (1982) have recently employed letter-samples to link individuals and have developed a specific set of linking rules in their study of migration in central Ontario. Their work is very important in establishing a rational and replicable approach for future record-linkage studies.

Clearly, refined techniques of record-linkage must be included as part of the historians' expanding repertoire of methodologies.

Other scholars have creatively employed new sources in their study of migration. Adams and Kasakoff (1980) have successfully used genealogies;

Hochstadt (1981) and Modell (1970) have benefited from the legacy of ambitious bureaucrats in Duesseldorf and Reading, Pennsylvania; McGinnis and Percy (1982) used death records; Villaflor and Sokoloff (1982) used militia muster rolls; Crackel (1981) employed colonial pension records; Kocolowski (1981) used

immigration records; and several scholars have analyzed the remarkable 1855 New York State Census (Parkerson, 1982a; Katz, Doucet, and Stern, 1978; Davenport, 1981; Glasco, 1971).

The rigorous use of record-linkage techniques as well as the creative use of these and

other migration data will certainly sustain and nourish the field of historical migration research. Moreover, through the interchange of ideas from a variety of disciplines, historical migration will provide an excellent example of the advantages of interdisciplinary study.

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Information at your fingertips

**Charles Howlett &
Edward McDaniels**

TODAY, MODERN PEOPLE are faced with a revolutionary form of learning--the computer. "The computer," says Ray Eppert, former president of the Burroughs Corporation, "has a more beneficial potential for the human race than any other invention in history" (Gilbert Burch, et al., The Computer Age, p. 1).

The computer and related communication technology are recent phenomena. In spite of their youth, both areas have experienced staggering growth.

Thirty years ago the computer industry was relatively small, but in 1975 it had grown to the eighth largest industry in the United States (Allen D. Glenn and Daniel L. Klassen, "Computer Technology and Social Studies," The Education Forum, XLVII [Winter 1983], 209-16). It is widely speculated that the computer industry and related information services will be the largest industry in the world before the turn of the century (Roy Amara, Toward Understanding the Social Impact of Computers, 1974, chap. 1).

Linked with the size of the industry is the incredible pace of technological improvement. In the past decade, for example, the speed of computation has increased by a factor of ten every four years, while the size of electronic components have decreased by a factor of ten (Christopher Evans, The Micro Millennium, 1979). This means that computers that once filled large rooms and took minutes to compute a statistical task have become dinosaurs. Modern technological advances have created computers that work in milliseconds and are as portable as a briefcase. Computers, which once were the sole property of mathematicians and engineers, are being sold in shopping centers at toy stores and through mail

order catalogues. The personal computer has found its way into small businesses, schools, and even the home. They are a phenomena of not only the United States but are burgeoning throughout the world as prices spiral downward and capabilities increase dramatically.

While the general populace may be caught up in "Space Invaders" and "Pac-Man," how can these devices further the process of historical research? Further, how will computer technology invade the sacrosanct realm of archival investigation? Will it truly aid historians in their search for new sources?

The main advantages of a computer are the unbelievable speed with which it can search and its ability to communicate at almost the speed of thought itself. Throughout the world, databases are being created to meet the demand for up-to-date and specialized knowledge. These databases are the new repository of information. Instead of being stored on paper, the information is stored in the memory banks of the computer. With its incredible speed, the computer can search through millions of records within seconds making comparisons to key phrases that it has been told to locate.

Currently, there is no single all-encompassing database comparable to the Library of Congress. However, this huge wealth of information can be accessed by the almost magical ability of the computer to communicate through telephone lines. To borrow from the phone company, "Let your fingers do the walking." From the convenience of your home you could search through the extensive computerized libraries of universities around the country. In Computerized Databases (INTERFACE AGE, July 1982), David D. Busch lists two broad types of databases.

The "source" database contains the complete text of original sources and "reference" databases direct the user to sources. Examples of the reference database include: Magazine Index, which gives citations to articles in 370 U.S. and Canadian magazines; Information Bank, which provides abstracts to the New York Times and ten other newspapers; Books in Print, which contains citations to 640,000 current and 60,000 upcoming books.

While these examples may not be the exact type of information needed for research, they are indicative of the vast wealth of easily accessed data available. How can a database be found that meets specific requirements? Two excellent indexes to computer sources are Online Databases (Cuadra Associates, Santa Monica, California) and Encyclopedia of Information Systems and Services (Gale Research, Detroit, Michigan).

Databases are only the beginning for the potential of the computer. Just as it can search for what has been recorded, it can become a link between people. How many conferences have you wanted to attend to hear a paper that might be of interest, but due to time and financial restraints it was impossible? If a database could be created representing the proceedings of historical organizations, these papers could be easily accessed within hours of the conference. The myriad of papers could be analyzed from around the nation, and responses could be sent back to be added to the database. This networking enables people separated by large distances to communicate instantaneously. One computer can dial the number of the computer with which it wishes to communicate. The receiving terminal can automatically record the message. If the computer is unattended, it will save the message for its

owner. "No longer will an individual computer user be limited to his own data resources and computing power; information can be quickly shared, amplified, and amended at will by computer users who might otherwise have to wait for a weekly or monthly meeting to make the same exchange" (David James, "Networking: Powerful Tool for Personal Communication," PERSONAL COMPUTING [January 1983], 46-54).

These uses of the computer rest upon the ability to remain flexible in an ever-changing world. Whole new opportunities are opening up for those who have the forethought to educate themselves in these techniques. T. Randal Ide, chairman of the Communications Research Advisory Board in Canada, said, "It is particularly important to know where organized knowledge is stored and how to access it and evaluate its worth. If educational systems of the future fail to provide for these requirements then we will inevitably become the victims rather than the beneficiaries of the emerging technologies" (Henry and Elizabeth Urrows, "Videotex for Learning?", Creative Computing [May 1982]).

Those who adapt will be the recipients of benefits that can be of tremendous importance. The improved speed and depth of research, the expanded availability of dialogue and information, and the increased convenience await those with foresight.

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ERA: Postmortem of a failure in political communication

The rhetoric of both supporters and opponents of the ERA was an accurate expression of their divergent views of the nature of women and women's role in society

Edith Mayo & Jerry Frye

THE RHETORIC OF a social and political movement is crucially important to its success in persuading the public to adopt its goals. Rhetoric reveals the self-images and ideology of the movement, the images the movement wishes conveyed to the public, the nature of the existing grievances to be remedied, and positive visions of a future society that result from adoption of the proposed changes. The audience must identify with the rhetoric in order to be persuaded. If persuasive appeals do not achieve mass public acceptance, the movement fails.

This review of the rhetoric of supporters and opponents of the ERA uses arguments characteristic of the period and examines their continuity during the sixty-year history. The rhetoric of each side was an accurate expression of their divergent views of the nature of women and women's roles in society. An examination of the shifts and modifications in persuasive tactics will provide a clearer understanding of the ERA's failure to be ratified.

Rhetorical strategies employed throughout the debate included: scare tactics, which raised questions of constitutional chaos and painted mental pictures of dire consequences resulting from ERA; righteous rhetoric, which used Judeo-Christian traditions of women as subordinate and subservient to men as a part of God's Divine Plan, employed Biblical injunctions to fortify arguments, and invoked God as the ultimate male authority figure; used superior wisdom of male authority figures to buttress arguments; certitude vs. probability, which capitalized on the fears and lack of legal knowledge of the general public about the ERA; defense of the status quo, which was presented as most advantageous to women (a variant was the theme of women's "privileges" that would be abrogated by

ERA, Schlafly's "We don't want to stoop to equality"); ad hominem arguments, which used personal attacks, name-calling, and demeaned ERA proponents as negative, unattractive, repulsive, deviant, and threatening; ridicule as social control, which made ERA proponents appear ridiculous and resulted in laughter and dismissal of ERA; trivialization of women's legislative grievances; and diversionary and red-herring tactics, which employed such arguments as the implication that the ERA was the wrong method, substituted counter legislative measures and amendment riders, and raised the issues of "potty politics," homosexuality, and abortion.

The Equal Rights Amendment was introduced in Congress in 1923 by the National Woman's Party (NWP) which realized that the vote did not create legal equality for women. The NWP and the mainstream suffragists, represented by the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), held very different views of "women's nature" and the roles

The National Woman's Party advocated total equality for women as a matter of rights and justice, and their rhetoric accurately expressed that view

of women in society. The NWP advocated total equality for women as a matter of rights and justice, and their rhetoric accurately expressed that view. During the 1920s, ERA arguments crystallized on both sides, centering on the "special nature" of women and their need for protective legislation. (NWP was viewed as radical in the 1920s. Its postsuffrage membership declined from 50,000 to 8,000 between 1920-23. [See Hazel Greenberg and Anita Miller (eds.), The Equal Rights Amendment: A Bibliographic Study, 1976, p. xii.]

Originally intended to safeguard women from exploitation in industry, protective legislation was viewed by the NWP as a form of reverse discrimination that hindered women's advancement opportunities. NWP spokeswoman Doris Stevens declared, "Protective legislation, no matter how benevolent in motive, unless applied to both sexes amounts to actual penalization" (The Forum, LX-XII [August 1924], 151). The NWP asserted that if women were recognized and treated as equals, they could protect themselves: "modern woman does not want the support granted to a dependent; she wants to and should be an equal partner. . ." (Lady Willie Forbus, "The Lucretia Mott Amendment," Equal Rights, April 26, 1924).

Opposing the Woman's Party, on both ERA and the concept of women's nature and roles, were an impressive group of "social feminists" including the League of Women Voters (successor to the NAWSA), the National Consumers' League, the Women's Trade Union League, and the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, veterans of the suffrage movement and the drive for protective labor legislation. Rhetoric against ERA stressed that women were more susceptible to disease, less suited to heavy manual labor, and needed shorter working hours. It was argued that women's health had to be safeguarded for the propagation of the race. Heavy emphasis was placed on biological differences between men and women, on women's "special" psycho-sexual nature, her different mission in life, her frailty, and fears of exploitation of women's "weaker" status both physically and economically. Esther Dunshee of the LWV said, "Protective legislation recognizes a biological difference between men and women and takes into account that conservation of our womanhood means the preservation of the race" (The Woman Citizen, March 8, 1924, p. 19). Supporters of protective legisla-

tion like Florence Kelley of the National Consumers' League stated, ". . . the cry Equality, Equality, where Nature has created inequality, is as stupid and as deadly as the cry Peace, Peace where there is no Peace" (Florence Kelley, "The New Woman's Party," Survey, XLV [March 5, 1921], 827).

Throughout ERA's history opponents used the "superior wisdom" of male authority figures to make telling points. In 1924, Felix Frankfurter, then on the Harvard Law faculty, established a pattern of interweaving arguments that pervaded the rhetoric throughout ERA's history: "The legal position of woman cannot be stated in a single simple formula. . . . The law must have regard for woman. . . as an individual, as a wage-earner, as a wife, as a mother, as a citizen [Constitutional chaos will result from ERA]. Only those who are ignorant of the nature of the law. . . or indifferent to woman's industrial life will have the naivete or the recklessness to sum up woman's whole position in a meaningless and mischievous phrase about 'equal rights' [ridicule as social control]. . . Law must accommodate itself to the immutable differences of nature. For some purposes. . . the law must treat them as men and women. . . [legal argument from women's physical differences]. The Woman's Party would do away with all differences which arise from the stern fact that 'male and female created He them.' The Woman's Party cannot amend nature" [righteous rhetoric and invocation of God as ultimate male authority figure] (Congressional Record, March 28, 1972, 10450-56).

In the 1930s, rhetoric on both sides remained basically unchanged. Arguments based on women's biological/physical differences and on protective legislation were accentuated by the economics of the De-

pression. Frequently, right-eous rhetoric, women's physical differences, and protective legislation were combined by opponents during the 1930s. Senator William Borah (R-ID) declared, "I do not believe women have the right to work in dangerous places on the same level as men. It seems to me we are trying to do what God has failed to do--make them equal when they are not equal. It is not a question of superiority, it is a question of physical differences" (Hearings, February 7, 1938, 51-52).

Changes in ERA rhetoric were brought about by the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which allowed some protective labor legislation for men

Changes in ERA rhetoric were brought about by the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938, which allowed some protective labor legislation for men. Equally important was the climate favoring equality in WWII and the impetus given by adoption of the equal rights provision of the United Nations Charter. Arguments on protective legislation were rendered particularly ineffective because protective laws for women were nullified during WWII by the need to employ women in industry. Alice Paul, leader of the NWP, expressed the supporters' challenge of equality in wartime: ". . . when the United States is engaged in a war with the avowed purpose of establishing freedom and equality for the whole world, [it] should hasten to set its house in order by granting freedom and equality to its own women [rights and justice argument] (Congressional Digest, XX [April 1943], 107).

With protective rhetoric diminished in the 1940s, ERA opponents emphasized strong antifeminist arguments: women should not have legal equality because they were different biologically and socially; women were not equal but indeed "specially privileged" (See Loretta J. Blahna, "The Rhetoric of the Equal Rights Amendment," Ph.D. Diss, University of Kansas, 1973, p. 60).

While "women are and of right ought to be equal with men, [they] can never be on a level with men. . . just

because nature made them different and society has so long placed them in a position different from men" ("Equal Rights," Woman's Home Companion, April 1939, p. 2).

The Committee to Defeat the Unequal Rights Amendment argued that the lack of equality was a positive good. Ten distinguished women (among them Carrie Chapman Catt, Eleanor Roosevelt, Frances Perkins, Mary Anderson, Macy McLeod Bethune, and Rose Schneiderman) predicted that ERA would bring the loss of women's "privileges" such as Social Security provisions for mothers and wives, and veterans' and workmen's compensation allowances for wives and widows (Letter to the Senate, S.J. Res, 61, July 18, 1946, C.R., XLII, 9401). Senator Abe Murdock (D-UT) stated, ". . . to protect the women in performing their functions the various states. . . have seen fit to pass laws which discriminate against men and are in favor of women" (Congressional Record, July 18, 1946, 9225).

In a clever strategy that plagued public perceptions of ERA thereafter, opponents incorporated antifeminist ideology into an Equal Status Bill (1947), making it appear that ERA would require the sexes to be "identical in nature" rather than "equal under law." Opponents were thus assured that the physical, biological, and social differences would still be taken into account legally.

NWP spokeswoman Alma Lutz summarized the 1940s proponents' arguments of justice in a democracy: "Human rights and fundamental freedoms are above physical structure and biological function. . . they belong to every human being, and need no safeguards before they are offered to women" ("Only One Choice," Independent Woman, July 1947, p. 199).

The social feminists' view (embodied in the Equal Status Bill) was summarized by Frances Perkins, the influential former Secretary of Labor: "The unique biological function of women and their responsibilities as homemakers and mothers; . . . women's different physical structure and greater susceptibility to fatigue and exhaustion; the dual responsibility of women who are homemakers as well as wage earners; the need to safeguard the health and welfare of women workers for

the sake of developing a healthy, happy, and competent national population [make protective legislation imperative]" (House of Representatives, Hearings on ERA, 1945).

Ironically, during WWII there was little significant rhetoric about fears that ERA would make women subject to the draft equally with men. Ironical also was that in the decade of the 1940s, when the climate favored equality, internecine feuding and legal suits within the NWP itself sapped supporters' strength at a critical time.

A peacetime economy after WWII made it necessary for women employed in wartime occupations to return to the home. Strident arguments were made by government and the media to return women to their "proper sphere," and emphasis on home and family was all-pervasive. Protective legislation was resumed, paving the way for rhetoric on protection.

Opponents to the ERA developed a major new diversionary tactic in the 1950s, "the decade of the riders": amending the amendment

Opponents developed a major new diversionary tactic in the 1950s: amending the amendment. In this "decade of the riders," the Senate passed ERA with a rider proposed by Carl Hayden (D-AZ) in 1950, '53, and '60, thwarting the intent of ERA by allowing "exemptions" from equal treatment and protective legislation. Senator Estes Kefauver's (D-TN) Biological Status Bill and other amendment riders were a denial of equality cloaked in protective, paternalistic concern and chivalric male rhetoric.

Emanuel Celler (D-NY), Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, refused to hold hearings on ERA for twenty-three years! He prevented ERA from leaving committee for consideration on the floor between 1948 and 1971. Celler used an argumentative tactic employed since the 1920s: assertion that ERA was the wrong method. "We cannot deny that discrimination against women is present. . . . It is not defense of these laws that makes for opposition to the present amendment. It is the method that is decried. Using the Constitution for a broom with which to sweep away in-

discriminately the good with the bad is neither sound law nor sane behavior" (Congressional Record, March 7, 1950, A2054; note the use of the domestic metaphor and ridicule as social control).

Political and social changes in the 1960s created renewed support for ERA. The civil rights movement, with its tactical militancy and demands for minority rights, nurtured the growth of feminism. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 voided protective legislation based on gender, eliminating the major rationale for opposing ERA since its introduction. Many labor and women's groups traditionally opposed to ERA reversed their positions and supported the Amendment.

The formation of NOW and the rebirth of the women's movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s brought renewed fervor to the fight for ERA. Before Congressional passage, however, opposition assumed many of its old forms. Leadership in thwarting the impact of ERA through riders was taken up by Senator Sam Ervin, Jr. (D-NC), a master of righteous rhetoric who joined traditional anti-ERA tactics with this unique rhetorical hyperbole. "We find in the Book of Genesis. . . 'God created man in His own image. . . . male and female created He them.' . . . the law should make such distinctions as are reasonably necessary for the protection of women and the existence and development of the race. When He created them God made physiological and functional differences between men and women. . . . Some wise people even profess the belief that there may be psychological differences. The physiological and functional differences. . . empower men to beget and women to bear children. . . . From time whereof the memory of mankind runneth not to the contrary, custom and law have imposed upon men the primary responsibility for providing habitation and a livelihood. . . to enable their wives to nurture, care, and train their children". . . (Congressional Record, March 28, 1972, 10450-56).

Ervin cited male legal authorities to support his anti-ERA claims (inappropriate method and constitutional chaos). Constitutional expert Paul Freund of Harvard Law School stated, "I am in whole-hearted sympathy with the efforts to remove. . . vestigial

laws that work an injustice to women. . . . however, not every legal differentiation between boys and girls, men and women, husbands and wives, is of this obnoxious character, and to compress. . . [them] into one tight little formula is to invite confusion, anomaly, and dismay" (Congressional Record, September 10, 1970, 31132).

Opponents found the draft issue a particularly strong argument, which they exploited skillfully. Opponents used gut-level rhetoric and concrete imagery to conjure up fear about the specter of women in combat, which goes against the entire cultural concept of women as life-givers and nurturers of children. Senator Ervin's rhetoric epitomized the visual imagery of opponents: ". . . the amendment [would]. . . convert Annapolis, West Point, and other service academies into coeducational war colleges. . . . if [it] is added to the Constitution substantial numbers of women will be enrolled in the Armed Forces to serve in combat. . . these women will suffer the loss of their privacy and sometimes become pregnant and bear illegitimate children; the amendment will prohibit the discharge from the armed services of any single woman for pregnancy or child bearing, no matter how often she becomes pregnant or how many bastards she bears. I am satisfied that the veterans who waded in the icy waters in trenches until their feet bled during the First World War. . . who endured the heat of north Africa and the Anzio beachhead. . . during the Second World War, and the veterans who fought in the mountains of Korea and the steaming swamps of. . . Vietnam are implacably opposed to having. . . [ERA] subject American girls to similar experiences. And I am sure that the fathers and mothers of the daughters of America agree with them" (Congressional Record, March 28, 1972, 10450-56).

Some of the feminist daughters, however, disagreed, as this refutation from the George Washington University Women's Liberation Group indicates: "We, as draft-age women, deplore the proposition. . . that if we demand equality of rights, we deserve the punishment of the draft. . . The draft is now being used to intimidate women in their efforts to gain. . . rights. Senators who pose the

threat of conscription are obscuring the issue of our equality. . . . We again attest to our equality and demand equal application of the Selective Service Law. . . . No, we do not want to die in Viet Nam. But neither do we want to be told that our place is one of servitude to the male power structure, that our only role in life should be as mothers and housewives. . . . Ervin's brand of protection. . . perpetrates the insidious discrimination based on sex that now exists in every area of our lives [and] that implies an elitist sexist attitude of the superior capability and intelligence of men" (Congressional Record, March 2, 1972, 6765). Such strident, feminist rhetoric was typical of the women's movement's failure to construct persuasive answers to the draft for a general, non-feminist public.

"Potty Politics," the fear that ERA would nullify laws requiring separate rest rooms and bath facilities for men and women, was introduced to plague the amendment. Senator Ervin stated that, "[Supporters] contend that the amendment will not nullify laws requiring segregated rest rooms for the sexes. . . . The amendment contains no [such] exception or limitation, and is absolute in its terms" (Congressional Record, March 28, 1972, 10450-56).

Once ratification was underway, opposition crystallized in earnest. Phyllis Schlafly's STOP ERA and right-wing coalitions mounted an extremely effective campaign employing classic rhetorical tactics. As primary spokeswoman for the opponents, Schlafly was visually pleasing, clever, articulate (if not accurate), poised, and could not be charged with male chauvinism. Her rhetoric was unerringly on-target.

Schlafly's name-calling was devastating to ERA supporters. She characterized ERA's advocates as "liberationists". . . "a bunch of bitter women seeking a constitutional cure for their personal problems" (Lisa C. Wohl, "The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority," Ms., March 1974, p. 56). She characterized ERA support tracts as "sharp tongued, high-pitched whining complaints of unmarried women" (Schlafly Report, 5:7 [February 1972]). Her readers were urged to view photographs of an ERA rally and "see for yourself the unkempt, the les-

bians, the radicals, the socialists. . . ." (Schlafly Report, 9:11 [June 1976]). ERA supporters were repeatedly labeled "militant," "arrogant," "noisy," "aggressive," "hysterical," and "bitter." Her scare tactics expressed the fears of traditional women. The ERA would "positively, absolutely, and without the slightest shadow of a doubt make women subject to the draft. . . . women will be sent into combat and onto warships with men. . ." (Wohl, p. 57). Traditional housewives were fearful of Schlafly's assertion that ERA "will make a wife equally responsible to provide a home for her family. . . and 50 percent of the financial support" (Wohl, p. 57). She successfully convinced many that ERA was "a total assault on the family, marriage, and children" (Wohl, p. 57).

Schlafly sternly warned that ERA would rob women of their present "privileged status" (the group's name was an acronym: STOP ERA = Stop Taking Our Privileges). Schlafly declared, "Of all the classes of people who ever lived, the American woman is the most privileged. We have the most rights and rewards, and the fewest duties. . . . Why should we lower ourselves to 'Equal Rights' when we already have the status of 'special privilege?'" (Schlafly Report, 5:7 [February 1972]). Schlafly's rhetoric and approach were summed up succinctly by the slogan "You can't fool Mother Nature."

The central theme of the sixty-year debate between supporters and opponents of the ERA was their differing concepts of women's nature

The central theme of the sixty-year debate between supporters and opponents of ERA was their differing concepts of women's nature. In the earlier years, opposition rhetoric focused on women's weaker physical nature and the need for protective labor legislation. Once that issue was effectively countered, the emphasis shifted from economic factors and women's weaker physical strength to sexual/socio/psychological arguments concerning the destruction of the traditional home, women's roles, femininity, and the "nature of womanhood." Throughout ERA's history, there was an implicit assumption that men con-

stituted the norm and that women and their life situations were abnormal or "deviant."

The primary failure of ERA's supporters throughout was their inability to devise effective persuasive appeals that clearly distinguished in the public mind between "political and legal equality" and "sexual sameness." This confusion gave ERA opponents a lethal advantage they skillfully exploited.

Schlafly and her STOP ERA coalition did not invent antifeminist rhetoric; they inherited it as a coherent body of successful opposition rhetoric fully developed, articulated, and employed over many decades by social feminists and Congressional opponents. Schlafly needed only to rework the arguments into the current jargon of the New Right and the Moral Majority. In a subtle philosophical change, Schlafly altered the debate from the "true nature of womanhood" to a debate over the "nature of true womanhood" (Schlafly's "positive woman" whose life revolved around husband, home, and children) into a debate come full circle since the mid-nineteenth century.

The ERA was not separated from the rhetoric of the modern women's movement. Persuasive appeals did not sufficiently differentiate between ERA and the highly controversial issues of homosexuality and abortion. Much of the public perceived the rhetorical and nonverbal images used by segments of the women's movement as essentially strident and negative (radical, loud-mouthed, militant, stringy-haired, antimale, braless "libbers"). These were outrageous and offensive images because they did not fit accepted cultural concepts of women. They occurred at the same historical moment as the outset of the debate on ERA ratification. The negative image of "libbers," and their perceived attack on the family and traditional social and personal relationships, was transferred to ERA and firmly and irrevocably fixed in the public mind. While iconoclasm was necessary to liberate women from traditionally confining stereotypes of the past, "women's lib" rhetoric made an excellent target of attack for STOP ERA opponents. Supporters failed to perfect affirmative rhetoric that fit

prevailing cultural concepts of women or to project concrete, positive visions of how the ERA would benefit women.

The failure to ratify was additionally a failure of access to national network channels of mass-mediated communication. Modern mass communication research strategies were not fully used due to lack of money and political and communication expertise. The persuasive techniques of the earlier women's movement were adapted to the media dissemination of that day: those of the modern women's movement and the ERA campaign generally were not. Before the final year of ratification, the modern women's movement continued to use essentially the same techniques, perfected over long years of experience in women's rights issues (lobbying, lectures, leaflets, pamphlets, journals, buttons), but generally failed to make the transition to modern mediated campaign techniques.

Prior to the 1970s, argumentation about ERA was waged primarily within the closed circles of Congressional hearings and lobbyists, or as an exercise in preaching to the converted within the forums and publications of the two factions of the women's movement itself. This pattern continued within the groups of the modern women's movement. Even the early ratification campaign was waged successfully within state legislatures, where proponents' rhetoric for passage was expressed primarily in terms to which legislators or those in the women's movement could relate. The techniques perfected in those arenas were inappropriate for mass-mediated communication appeals necessary after 1973 when the stalled ratification effort forced a change in the audience. The movement perfected few new techniques, slogans, or positive visual images appealing to a general, nonfeminist audience. They failed to sell ERA to nonfeminist women. Pitted against STOP ERA scare tactics and their realistic, graphic imagery and gut-level rhetoric, much of the public had difficulty in relating to ERA supporters' use of abstract, intellectualized, and legalistic images and appeals to "rights" and "justice." The public knew little of the previous debate, and NOW's "media blitz" of 1982 came too late to educate them about ERA.

We suggest ERA supporters

begin planning strategy now for the next serious effort to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. (ERA has already been reintroduced in Congress.) Supporters should take opponents' arguments seriously (no matter how ridiculous they may appear, they reflect a vast reservoir of genuine uncertainty and discomfort) and be prepared to beat them at their own game. Proponents also must recognize that the same rhetoric cannot be used to sell ERA to a mass audience as was used for consciousness-raising within the women's movement. Effective, persuasive appeals must be developed based on realistic, positive images of women. Changes brought about by the women's movement should be presented in affirmative, non-threatening rhetoric describing the benefits to both sexes. Cogent responses should be developed for issues of the draft, personal privacy, abortion, and homosexuality. "It's About Time" that ERA was promoted with current media techniques. With careful strategy and renewed commitment, indeed, "The Battle's Not Over."

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CORRECTIONS

THE MERLE CURTI PRIZE FOR 1984 will be awarded to a book on social history rather than intellectual history as reported in the May issue of the Newsletter. Submissions should be sent to Professor Joyce Appleby, Department of History, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California 90024.

SUBMISSIONS FOR THE CHARLES THOMSON PRIZE should be sent to Prologue, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. 20408 and not to Professor Mary Ryan as indicated in the May issue.

OUR APOLOGIES TO LACY FORD, winner of the 1983 Pelzer Memorial Award. Mr. Ford is a graduate student at the University of South Carolina, not the University of Southern California as reported.

Committee Reports

PROGRAM

Joel H. Silbey

THE WORK OF the committee ended in Cincinnati on April 6-9. The process of program building which began more than two years before culminated in eighty-nine sessions, workshops, and theme panels involving more than 500 participants. We wished in these to mirror current research interests, assess ongoing problems and issues, and contribute, in half a dozen theme sessions, to the emerging dialogue about how to reintegrate historians' understanding of our past. The committee tried to strike a balance among the many scholarly interests of our discipline. Intellectual, military, political, and diplomatic history shared space with the wide variety of social, ethnic, and gender histories. We invited both mature and younger members to participate as well as editors, bibliographic experts, and representatives of some of the new technologies affecting historians. We were particularly gratified that several giants of the profession (including Paul Gates who presented a paper reporting on his latest research) agreed to appear once more on an OAH program.

Many of the almost 1,700 people who registered attended the sessions. Audiences ranged from two hardy souls in one on Saturday morning, to several hundred at most of the theme sessions with an overflow crowd of more than 600 for the fiftieth anniversary assessment of the New Deal on Wednesday night. With a number of notable exceptions, attendance at the sessions was reasonably gratifying and conformed largely to the committee's expectations when we considered and assigned rooms of various sizes. Most research report panels averaged between thirty and fifty attendees. Some went very much higher. It should be noted, as part of the history of the profession, that the New Deal sessions attracted large numbers to them, that diplomatic history also drew very well, while economic, political, and intellectual history did not do as well, with social history falling somewhere in between. Sessions concerning such professional matters as book reviewing and publishing attracted "standing room only."

It is impossible in a brief

report to present any full sense of the intellectual content of the proceedings, or the new conclusions and/or controversies presented and provoked. Like every program committee, we wanted to enhance understanding, produce a measure of intellectual excitement, and create intense interest in what was happening. Reading through the reports of the various sessions supplied by each chair suggests that all went as well as a sense of realism suggests. The research reported was interesting, innovative, so-so, and/or the same old stuff; professional concerns were addressed with importance, imagination, irrelevance, or inconclusiveness; the theme sessions provoked much stimulation, summarized predictably, came up to, exceeded, did not reach expectations. One chair reported that all of the members of his panel were "models of rational restraint." Perhaps this could not be said of everyone, but participants did toss out many ideas, were responded to vigorously, and most advanced the common purpose. We clearly are, after all, a very pluralist group of people working under whatever hegemonies exist.

We scheduled the theme panels throughout the meeting in building-block fashion culminating in John Diggin's provoking look at recent popular organizing constructs on Friday afternoon. Apparently, despite occasional slips, the participants in these sessions did do what the program committee expected. They are reported to have been "intense," "provocative," and "extremely lively" with considerable audience participation. In them, Alexis de Tocqueville, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Richard Hofstadter, and Charles A. Beard lived again, not to mention Horatio Alger, Karl Marx, the ever-popular Antonio Gramsci, and Niccolo Machiavelli, joined by such current favorites as Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, and Jacques Le Goff.

The suggestions and conclusions offered in the theme sessions while usually vigorous and pointed, varied in conclusiveness. Whether American history (and historical scholarship) reflects continuities of cleavages remains unclear; whether we will find success-

ful new organizing themes in republicanism, Marxism, cultural history, and the like, or whether we will find them at all, likewise, is not at all sure. Whatever new ideas, approaches, and directions actually emerged from these deliberations only future work will reveal. We remain an unsettled lot at the moment. But a start was made in some areas, and much was said that should contribute to that ongoing dialogue.

The sessions reporting on current research ranged widely in subject and approach, from eighteenth-century piracy through nineteenth-century political culture to late twentieth-century overseas angst. Most session chairs were positive about their panels, even those that grew more stormy than focused or attracted few adherents. One report suggests the tone of many: "I was pleased with the session. The two main papers were well-planned and delivered within the time allowed. The commentators were outstanding. . . . Issues were joined. The debate was spirited." On the other end, one chair's comments was a succinct "not bad but no awards to be given." There were variants in such reports but within a fairly narrow range of positiveness. Many discussions continued informally at the front of the room. Whatever lasting ideas and findings emerged out of all of the give and take will have to await, once again, eventual publication of many of these papers.

No set of the elements constituting a complete program can expect to go off without some bumpy passages, and this one did not. We learned, as every program committee does, that we could not please everyone nor count on some. There were minor irritations and problems: papers suggested that appeared in print before the convention, late papers that annoyed and harassed too many, sensitivities due to scheduling decisions and conflicts. Most of all, the sudden withdrawal of scheduled participants after all had been nailed down for a variety of reasons—including one withdrawer's immortal phrase, "a better offer," caused much concern. There were difficulties in getting some people to come to "out of the way places." The depression in higher education reduced or eliminated expected travel funds; some nonhistorians on the program proved to be less

committed to coming when other pressures intervened. (Ten participants formally dropped out in the last two weeks; others failed to show up without warning.) These problems are noted for the record as a continuing aspect of program building and obvious attempts to do in the committee chair. But, in fact, most participants were highly cooperative, met their obligations, arranged for substitutes if they could not be there, and were responsible and a pleasure to deal with. At the meeting itself, most things went well. The room accommodations for the sessions were quite good as were the support services provided by the convention center and hotel and supervised effectively by the OAH staff.

In conclusion, the committee is grateful to those good people who helped so well: the very expert staff at the OAH led by Joan Hoff-Wilson and convention coordinator, Mary Belding, the organization President, Allan G. Bogue, always a ready source of encouragement and good advice, the History Department at Cornell University for its financial and staff support, and M. Philip Lucas of Cornell who administered the committee's operations with great dexterity. They all helped to make the last two years a generally exhilarating experience for all of us despite occasional moments in which Armageddon loomed.

Joel Silbey, Professor of American History at Cornell University, was program chair of the 1983 OAH annual meeting in Cincinnati.

INFORMATION IS NEEDED on a beautiful gold piece that no one seems to know about. It is a replica of the Confederate States seal with an eagle on the reverse side, and is the exact size of a nickel. The coin was included in the sale of a four-coin collection in an estate settlement about twenty years ago. No value was placed on the replica since no one knew anything about it, but among the collection were a four dollar stella and one of the first quarters ever made (1796), both very rare and valuable coins. If you have information about this piece please contact D. Roscoe, P.O. Box 11241, Richmond, Virginia 23230.

STATUS OF WOMEN

The following is an excerpt from the Committee report of the OAH Committee on the Status of Women in the Historical Profession Participation of Women in OAH Activities

Judith Wellman

Participation of women on the OAH Executive Board remains high (38% of the Executive Board were women in 1983, compared to 25% in 1982).

Committee membership for women, however, has declined slightly, from 32% in 1982 to 28% in 1983.

Participation of women in the OAH program fell considerably, from 34% in 1982 to only 22% in 1983. We are not clear about the reasons for this drop, but we do note that, as usual, women were least represented as chairs (17%) and as commentators (15%). Fifty-four percent of the panels did have at least one female. Four percent of the sessions included women only. A full 42% were made up of men only. (For more information see chart prepared by Judith Gentry.)

The committee commends the OAH Nominating Committee for maintaining such high visibility for women historians. We are pleased to see women colleagues make such an extensive commitment to this organization and we urge other women to become involved.

We are alarmed about the precipitous drop in women program participants. As an aid to future program committees, we requested Sara Evans and William Chafe, who chaired the Program Committee in 1981-82 and so successfully integrated women into the OAH annual meeting, to describe their committee operations. One of the following recom-

mendations is based on their report. We very much appreciate their willingness to share their ideas.

One problem that program committees may face is a lack of proposals from women historians. We would therefore urge our female colleagues to maintain a consistently high level of activism and interest in participating in the OAH program.

Committee Recommendations

1) that the incoming committee on women request the OAH Executive Board to request their program committee to make gender balance one criterion for accepting panel proposals. This does not mean that no all-male or all-female panels would be accepted. It does mean that those panels which included both male and female participants (or both white and non-white participants) would be given priority over panels whose scholarly potential was equally worthy. It also means that the program committee would actively make suggestions for program participants who would help bring gender or racial balance to each panel;

2) that the OAH committee on women actively publicize, through the OAH Newsletter and the CCWHP Newsletter, the need for women to develop program proposals and to volunteer to serve on OAH committees;

3) that the OAH committee on women make themselves available as resource people to both the Program Committee and the Nominating Committee, as well as to the incoming President, to suggest names of appropriate women to serve on OAH committees and program panels.

Judith Wellman was chair of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Historical Profession, 1982-83.

1983 OAH Participation: Gender Ratio

	Male	Female
Executive Board	63%	38%
Committees	72%	28%
Program:		
Chairs	83%	17%
Paper Presenters	73%	27%
Commenters	85%	15%
Panelists	54%	46%
Total Program	78%	22%
Sessions on Program:		
Only Male Participants		42%
Only Female Participants		4%
Both Males & Females Participating		54%

TELEVISION, RADIO, & FILM MEDIA

Ronald G. Walters

FOR THE COMING year, the committee is going to devote most of its efforts to contacting foundations and funding agencies. We are hoping to learn more about their interests regarding media projects and historians' roles within them. We will communicate any useful information in our next report or in the Newsletter. In the meantime, members should contact Professor Ronald Walters, History Department, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland 21218 if they wish to help with this project by making suggestions, asking questions, or relating personal experiences.

There are several other matters on which we would like to have greater interaction with members. We want to hear from those who have--or require--bibliographical or other information about media. The committee will do its best to act as a clearinghouse, but it has to have help from all interested parties. We would also like to have suggestions concerning media presentations at conventions. Cost prohibits returning to any elaborate program of film and video, but we hope to see a wider range of offerings than in recent

years as well as ones more directly focused on the teaching of history. It would, however, help planning greatly if we had a better sense of what members would find useful.

This report should end by thanking former members, particularly David Grimsted and Daniel Leab, for their continuing interest and help. We likewise applaud the success of the series of Newsletter articles on film edited by Robert Brent Toplin and collected in the OAH guide, "Using Films in the Classroom." While handing out praise, we should express appreciation for what we take to be new policies regarding this committee. The first is to have some overlap of membership on it and the Barnouw committee. The second is to have the in-coming chair, in this case James Wright, drawn from the ranks of present members. Both steps promise to improve continuity and effectiveness.

Ronald G. Walters, Professor of History at Johns Hopkins University, served as chair of the Committee on Television, Film, and Radio Media for 1982-83.

HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS & COLLEGES

Mildred Alpern

THE OAH COMMITTEE on History in the Schools and Colleges met in Cincinnati, Ohio on April 7, 1983. Present were Mildred Alpern, Chair; David Van Tassel; Robert L. Harris; Jamil Zanaidin, Deputy Executive Director, AHA; Hilda Smith, Director, Humanities and Schools Project; Joan Hoff-Wilson, Executive Secretary, OAH.

Committee members (Alpern, Van Tassel, and Harris) unanimously endorsed the Guidelines for the Certification of Teachers in History (which the Executive Board will consider at its November meeting). The Guidelines has already been approved by the AHA History Teaching Division Committee and was published in the February issue of the AHA Perspectives.

The committee and visiting members devoted much of the time of the meeting to discussion of the New York State

Proposed Framework for Secondary Social Studies Curriculum: A Guide to be Used by Curriculum Writers in Developing State Syllabuses for Grades 7-12. Since time was of the essence (April 15 was the deadline) for protesting a framework that demotes history to the role of illustrative example of broadly conceived social science concepts, the committee agreed that the OAH Executive Secretary should write a letter to New York State Education Commissioner Gordon Ambach expressing concern over the proposed framework and calling for public discussion of a viable framework for social studies education in the secondary schools. It was also proposed that a delegation of Bill Ward (ACLS), John Garraty (AHA), and Mildred Alpern (OAH) arrange for a meeting with Commissioner Ambach to discuss this matter. Samuel Gammon, Executive Director of the AHA, will also write to Ambach. Concern about the proposed framework

must be vigorous and immediate.

The committee has also been informed that Professor Helen L. Horowitz, member of the 1984 OAH Program Committee, has undertaken an in-service training day for high school teachers at the Los Angeles annual meeting. She envisions a session in which five of the recipients of the NEH 1983 summer seminars for high school teachers will present the "results of their research to an audience of high school and college teachers." Such a meeting may serve as an excellent prototype for future annual meetings.

In order to reinvigorate the committee and serve as an assistant with its concerns, members were informed that Dr. Jerry Bobilya, recently appointed as Assistant for Professional and Educational Programs, will be available at the OAH office. In addition, it appears that the committee members will be able to conduct some of their business through conference calls, thus counteracting some of the dif-


ficulties of a single yearly meeting.

Finally, David Van Tassel agreed to develop a list of criteria that can be used by reviewers of textbooks. The committee envisions joint efforts by the AHA and the OAH Teaching Division Committees in developing procedures for the review of textbooks and publication of these reviews.

The meeting adjourned at 7:30 p.m.

Mildred Alpern was chair of the Committee on History in the Schools and Colleges, 1982-83.

The Organization of American Historians is using Rosalyn Moss Travel Consultants as the official agency for the 1984 Annual Meeting in Los Angeles. RMTc will be arranging discounted airfares and something new — post-convention trips. Possible sites are Hawaii, Reno, and Las Vegas. Look for details in the November Newsletter.



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Phillip McGuire is Associate Professor of Black History, University of North Carolina, Wilmington.

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Foxes and Chickens:

"Advanced Placement" History and ETS

a polemic intended to initiate discussion

Marvin E. Gettleman

ONE CONFESSES TO a certain admiration for the technical skill of the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey in promoting the Advanced Placement exams in history, and in about a dozen other fields.

In this communication, I will mainly address the AP program in U.S. history, and the assumption on which it rests. My aim is to stimulate discussion and reexamination of the whole concept of "Advanced Placement," and if I overstate my case somewhat, it is with this heuristic goal in mind, and also to counteract the uncritical (and sometimes interested--in James Madison's sense) boosters of AP who have virtually monopolized discussion of the subject until now.

My opposition to the AP concept--but not, it should be emphasized, to enriched teaching of history at the high school level--is based upon four interrelated arguments: first, that ordinary common sense ought to tell us that when the main positive voice, however amplified by orchestrated programs within the historical profession, is the seller of a product, caveat emptor. The Educational Testing Service is not only the vendor of AP exams, it is the leading propagandist for their use. This leads to my second point, that ETS and its constituencies in the high schools and colleges encourage students to have unreasonable expectations about what they can gain from the special classes they promote. Thirdly, these expectations, often centering about getting out of college history courses, may in fact undermine rather than contribute to the "advanced" study of history. Lastly, there is great doubt about whether, "cognitive abilities" of secondary students all to one side, such students have the emotional maturity and sheer experience to handle adequately the materials offered in AP courses.

I will now take up the first three points. (Space limitations do not permit dis-

cussion of the last question.)

We do not set the fox to guard the chicken house, the sensible old adage reminds us. The parallel is not quite exact with respect to ETS and AP exams, but it is close enough to give us pause. It is in the obvious interest of ETS to process as many students as possible. At \$42 per exam and with nearly 200,000 administered each year, AP testing is a million dollar business.

Extensive promotional activity on behalf of the AP program includes a thirteen-minute color videotape and 16 mm film entitled "Option of Excellence." I admit that I have not seen this film, but given its title and provenance (it is distributed by the College Board, a wholly-owned subsidiary of ETS, or is it vice versa, or does it mat-

we would expect him to be--an AP partisan. (I will return to the question of partisanship because, in my experience of reviewing the DBQ questions, it is precisely the students' lack of recognition of partisanship in the documents that raised in my mind the question of whether the whole AP operation is flawed at its core.)

Klein treats the appearance of shorter DBQ's with the same solemnity as if he were tracing the genesis of the nation-state or the origins of U.S. intervention in Central America. The point appears to be to place the deeper question of the value of AP examinations beyond the boundaries of polite discourse.

But in an earlier communication to me, Klein

quire students who have passed a course to retake it, they ought not to require more of AP students.

Not all college teachers would accept the idea that "more" ought not to be required of "advanced" students (a point I will return to), but it is scant satisfaction to be informed about a "considerable body of research" (no citations supplied, however) when one's own experience is that all but a very few of the AP essays that come across the desk are woefully inadequate, especially the prize DBQ's in which the students are given a set of documents to analyze on some such topic as Jacksonian Indian policy. Rare is the student who perceives and makes use of the partisan nature of these documents; most attempt to reconcile totally adversarial texts, flattening out the past, draining its passion and partisanship. (The disguised partisanship of ETS officials mentioned earlier is, thus, consistent with the misinterpretation of historical sources; on this matter, at least, ETS is part of the problem, not of the solution.)

But how many college faculty review the AP essay questions? Is it widely known that the test booklets are not routinely sent to colleges? They must be requested. How many colleges and universities have a systematic procedure to monitor the AP exam grades? Is it generally understood that only the essay portion of the test is sent, and that the grading of the short-answers is totally under the control of ETS (which somehow manages to enlist or co-opt reputable historians for what appear to be marathon grading sessions)? Finally, why, after I made my initial inquiries to ETS on possibly inflated scores, did the provisional grades granted by ETS no longer appear on the test booklets that came to me?

This much at least is clear: we must hear more from the college faculty whose students arrive with pleas for

It is possible that AP exams are the equivalent of educational snake oil, skillfully packaged and marketed but ultimately a product that undermines the student's education.

ter?), I would be surprised if it raised any of the fundamental issues involved in this program. The promotional material I have seen, ETS's own brochures, the monthly "Advanced Placement History" column in AHA Perspectives (the newsletter of the American Historical Association), and direct communications from ETS officials, is all uniformly boosterish.

For example, the issue of AHA Perspectives for May-June 1983 has a lengthy article by Stephen F. Klein, "ETS consultant to the College Board Development Committee for Advanced Placement American History," on "The Genesis of Shorter Document-Based Essay Questions in the Advanced Placement American History Examination." Quite technically proficient in its evaluation of these DBQ's, which were introduced in 1982, and disarmingly candid about the shortcomings of such questions, Klein is precisely what

(identified in 1982 as a "Senior Examiner" for ETS) offered a more direct defense of AP in response to a skepticism that was only increased by his rejoinder. I had objected to what seemed to be inflated grades given by ETS examiners. His response was not precisely directed to my argument. "In the first place [Klein wrote], the Program claims only that students who have received a grade of three or higher on the examination have passed the equivalent of a college-level introductory course. The issue is not whether they passed with honors, although a considerable body of research done both by ETS and colleges and universities indicates that this is almost surely the case for students who have received fours and fives. Even those who received a score of three have generally done at least the equivalent of passing work at most colleges and universities in the country. And just as colleges and universities do not re-

exemption from courses on the basis of these AP exams. I cannot sufficiently stress that my aim is to stimulate a wide-ranging reexamination of the Advanced Placement conception in history. This may also promote such institutional scrutiny in other fields in which AP exams are also deployed: English composition, literature, art history, languages, and so on.

ETS partisans will surely have their word on the points I raise here, and Stephen Klein in Princeton has already informed me that even though college faculties never see the short-answer component of the AP history exams, "most students do about as well on both sections." However much satisfaction such internal consistency may bring to the test designers and promoters, college faculty have another perspective that has not been aired adequately: why should we forego attendance in our survey history courses of our brightest incoming students (if, indeed, the AP process does identify such students; my experience leaves me with

some doubt on that score)? And if we are to grant even mediocre students, with a grade of three, AP standing, students whose ability to exercise critical historical intelligence is measurably substandard, then we do such students no educational service by exempting them from those introductory courses that are intended to foster such thinking.

In the face of declining history enrollments, and a manifest (and frequently-noted) lack of historical literacy in the supposedly educated portion of the U.S. population, we are doubly, triply foolish if we allow a practice to continue which, whatever the functions it serves, probably reduces the number of students who take college history courses.

ETS would be doing the colleges a great service if it gave us hard data on whether AP students in fact use their exemption from introductory survey courses (which, I should add, I rarely grant at my school, and even then with

misgivings) to go on to take advanced electives in such fields as history, or do they mainly use the AP process as a means of escaping the minimal requirements of a liberal education?

This communication does no more than raise a few of the key questions involved in the Advanced Placement program. If my experience is in any way typical (and the responses to this piece will be a pretty good measure), then such professional bodies as the Organization of American Historians may well rethink their present passive and benign relationship with the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey, and at least consider the possibility that AP exams are the equivalent of educational snake oil, skillfully packaged and marketed by the folks in Princeton, but ultimately a product that undermines the students' education and weakens the "advanced" study of such a key component of a well-rounded college education as history.

Editor's Note: The November issue of the Newsletter will carry a reply to Professor Gettleman's column by Paul S. Holbo, chair of the College Board Test Development Committee in American History. Holbo is also Professor of History and Vice Provost for Academic Affairs at the University of Oregon.

Marvin E. Gettleman is Professor of History, Polytechnic Institute of New York. His special interest is the history of radicalism in the U.S., a topic he has published on, most notably in The Dorr Rebellion: A Study in American Radicalism, 1833-1849. His most recent book is Guatemala in Rebellion: Unfinished History.

* * *

This is the first in a series of articles about history teaching in the schools. Suggestions for future articles and/or authors are welcome. Please contact the editors.

American History Through Film

Hollywood History, II: Defending the Past

This is part of a continuing series designed to explore 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.

In the May 1983 issue of the Newsletter, David Courtwright pointed out several shortcomings in Hollywood history. He now recommends some remedies for the problem (ed.).

David Courtwright

THE GREAT PARADOX of our profession is that we know more and more about the past but communicate it to fewer and fewer people. Most Americans get their history from television and film, not from books and certainly not from monographs. This is alarming because much of what passes for history on the screen is deliberately distorted. Producers seeking to maximize profits and directors obsessed with demonstrating "higher truths" arrange the

past to suit themselves; the viewers, caught up in the story and impressed by the seeming verisimilitude of costume and detail, accept these fictions as historical truths.

One thing that makes this possible is a curious inconsistency in our legal system: you can be punished for libeling the living, but not the dead. The presumption is that deceased people have no interests, representable by proxy, that can be injured by defamation, on the ground that "what the dead don't know can't hurt them." Although there has been a recent and promising federal district court ruling that a libel suit need not terminate with the plaintiff's death, on the whole our legal system has ignored deliberate lies about the dead, unless they can be shown to be actual attacks upon the interests of living people, such as a widow/widower or child (Joel Feinberg, "The Rights of Animals and Unborn Generations," in Richard Wasserstrom, ed., Today's Moral Problems, 2d ed. [New York: 1979], p. 593; New York Times, January 14, 1983, p. A10).

The practical effect is that purveyors of historical "faction," either cinematic or literary, are unchecked and unaccountable. A particularly twisted film like Arthur Penn's Bonnie and Clyde (1967) may generate lawsuits by outraged relatives, but these are infrequent and seem to have little deterrent effect. Certainly, it did not stop Penn; three years after Bonnie and Clyde, he released Little Big Man which showed, among other things, a megalomaniacal Custer in a hallucinatory rage at Little Big Horn, screaming insults at President Grant and attempting a Vietnam-style execution of one of his own scouts. The whole film, in fact, can be described as a frontier My Lai; it is cinematic presentism in its purest form (Brian W. Dippie, "Popcorn and Indians: Custer on the Screen," Cultures, 2 [1974], 141, 159-60).

Given these legal realities, what can historians do to defend the past? One possible response is to preview historical films and furnish detailed critiques to print and television reviewers. Of course, this information might be dis-

regarded, but there is reason to think otherwise. Film critics, especially good ones, do not confine themselves to purely artistic variables, such as acting or cinematography; they are genuinely interested in the historical background. But, owing to deadlines and their own sketchy knowledge of the events in question, they usually end up writing about what is accessible and obvious--the film itself.

Here is a concrete example. On October 6, 1977, Lawrence Van Gelder reviewed The Lincoln Conspiracy for the New York Times. Although he expressed some misgivings about the film's sensational claims, he simply noted that the producers had issued an accompanying book and that those who were "seriously interested" in "tangible proofs" should look there. On other grounds (that is, "as a movie"), he judged it "a competent enough piece of work." Thus, one of the most exploitative historical films in recent memory obtained a moderately favorable review in the nation's most prestigious newspaper.

But what if Van Gelder had

previously received a letter, signed by prominent scholars, listing the errors and undocumented assertions in the film? Or a statement that permission had been sought to preview and evaluate the film but had been denied? Either message would almost certainly have changed the tone of the review. And not just Van Gelder's; a copy of such a letter could have been sent to other critics--all of whom would realize that, if they did not make use of it, they would be scooped by rivals who did.

This is not a proposal for a pedantic truth squad, intent on scrutinizing every detail of every film. That would be absurd and inappropriate. But when a major historical production is about to be released, would it not be feasible for an officially recognized delegation, such as the Organization of American Historians' Committee on Television, Film, and Radio Media, to seek a preview and to circulate its findings? If producers, directors, and screenwriters knew that the profession was committed to this process and that it might furnish authoritative ammunition (or, conversely, authoritative praise) to critics, then they might develop a modest historical conscience. The reason for this supposition is simple: reviews affect box office, and box office (or, for television, the ratings game) determines behavior.

To put it another way, we can do what we are doing now, but in a different time frame. There have been several excellent commentaries in the pages of this *Newsletter* (for example, Robert A. Rosenstone on *Reds* [1981]; Dan T. Carter on *The Blue and the Gray* [1982]; Russell F. Weigley on *The Winds of War* [1983]); why not prepare them further in advance and direct them to an audience that counts? Intra-professional criticism after the fact is basically an exercise in futility; we should spread our message to a larger audience, and working through established reviewers seems a logical and manageable approach.

The second response is pedagogical. Students can be taught skepticism; they can be turned from passive and wide-eyed consumers of television and film to active and critical viewers. One useful technique is the comparative essay: the written version of events versus the screen version. The object of the exercise is not merely to dis-

cover errors and anachronisms, but--in keeping with the spirit of recent film scholarship--to analyze the ends they serve. Why did the director or screenwriter depart from known facts: Because of pressure from sponsors or government censors? To conform to an established generic code? To appeal to a certain audience? Answering these questions forces students to see things from the filmmakers' perspective, to understand (though not necessarily forgive) the various distortions. It is a lesson they can generalize; it makes them aware of the hidden agendas in all television and film productions. After completing one such exercise, a student remarked to me that he "would never watch anything the same way again." He paused and thought for a moment. "Not even," he said, "the nightly news." This was a graduate student in American Studies. He was thirty-two years old.

David Courtwright is Chair of the History Department at the University of Hartford and a Mellon Visiting Faculty Fellow at Yale University.

"Vietnam: A Television History"

Martin J. Sherwin

AMERICA'S LONGEST WAR has become the subject of America's longest, and best, television documentary. For twelve weeks, beginning on Tuesday night, October 4, at 9 p.m., Public Broadcasting Service stations across the country will begin showing "Vietnam: A Television History," a thirteen-hour film history of America's worst foreign policy disaster. It is altogether fitting, and perhaps even necessary, that the media that projected the realities of war into American living rooms during the 1960s and early '70s should return to the subject a decade later for a retrospective evaluation. And it is also fitting, and necessary, that its purpose should include the education of a postwar generation that knows everything about Vietnam except how we got involved, why we stayed as long as we did, how the war was conducted, why we finally

withdrew, and what impact the war had on the men who fought it, on the people who supported it, and on the citizens who defied it.

Indeed, next to blind anticommunism, ignorance and self-delusion were among the most important characteristics of the decision-making process that precipitated that war and, as the revisionism of the new conservatives demonstrates, these characteristics remain a part of the postwar malaise. "We didn't know the enemy, we didn't know our allies, and we didn't know ourselves," General Maxwell Taylor told the interviewers from WGBH, a view that is one of the underlying themes of the series. It is this situation that Executive Producer Richard Ellison and his Vietnam War Project staff at WGBH, Boston set out to help correct when they designed their production and projection strategies.

The programs proceed chronologically with a topical focus. Beginning with an assessment of "The Roots of War," the first program is a historical overview of Vietnam since the nineteenth century, from the era of French imperialism, through the Japanese occupation during World War II, and the betrayal of Ho Chi Minh's nationalist movement by the French and Americans in 1945. While the program effectively establishes the origins of the Franco-American-Vietnam connection, it overlooks an important prior root to American interest in preserving western hegemony in Asia--our own history of imperialism in the Philippines, and our prewar preoccupation with China.

Early twentieth-century films of Vietnam from French archives provide a rare picture of colonial life under imperialism, and the excellent interviews (the "talking heads") help to establish the important point that after four horrendous years of fighting in Asia, and despite America's stated commitment to self-determination, the men who controlled U.S. foreign policy cared as little as the French imperialists about the

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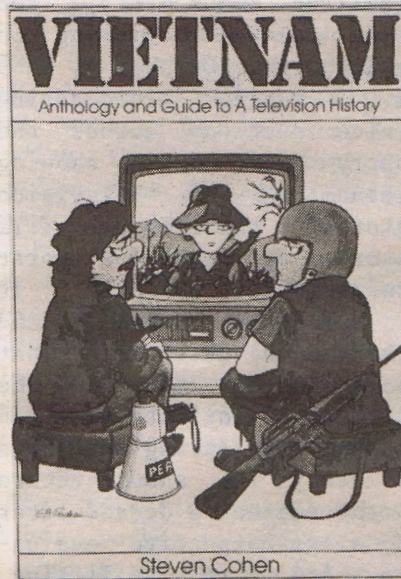
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nationalists aspirations of Asian populations. With the emerging cold war, Vietnamese nationalism was subordinated to the exigencies of the emerging anticommunist policies of the European division of the State Department which supported the reestablishment of French rule as a step toward the revival of France. "We had Ho Chi Minh on a silver platter," [and threw him away] laments Archimedes Patti, an OSS operative in Vietnam during the war, and the author of Why Vietnam? Prelude to America's Albatross.

The second program covers "The First Vietnam War: 1946-1954," the period of Vietnamese resistance to the new colonialism, and the period of America's secret support (which finally amounted to \$2.5 billion) of France's effort to reconquer Vietnam. The immediate impact of the Korean War on the Franco-American effort suggests how early in the cold war Vietnam was tied to America's containment strategy. On the weekend of the North Korean attack, the Truman administration stepped up aid to France, and by 1953 the United States was paying 80% of the cost of the war.

The program contains extraordinary footage of the battle of Dienbienphu from French and Vietnamese archives, and several frank and revealing interviews with the architect of the Vietminh victory, General Vo Nguyen Giap (whose observations here and in several other programs are of considerable historical interest). It concludes with the 1954 Geneva Conference where the realities of great power diplomacy versus Sino-Soviet-Vietnamese alliance politics became clear to Ho Chi Minh (if not John Foster Dulles and his entourage). Despite the military triumph of the Vietminh, the Chinese and the Soviets forced their ally to accept a western proposal, the division of their country at the seventeenth parallel in exchange for an agreement that elections would be held in 1956. The United States government, which orchestrated the agreement, refused to sign the Geneva Accords, although the head of the American delegation to Geneva made a "unilateral declaration" that the American government would not disturb the agreements. In a later program a former American soldier, who entered the war with a fairy-tale view

of American history, bitterly recounts how his attitude toward his mission and his government changed as he began to understand his role and its relationship to Vietnamese history: "Gradually, I began to feel that I was a Redcoat. . . I was not a hero. . . I had become everything that I had learned was evil."



The third program "America's Mandarin," begins with the elevation of Ngo Dinh Diem, "a little known nationalist appointed [under the auspices of the United States government] during the Geneva Conference," to the Presidency of the Republic of Vietnam. It ends with Diem's assassination in the American sponsored coup of November 1963. These are the years of critical decisions, years in which the assumptions and expectations were formed that led to President Johnson's commitments in 1965. The importance of this period cannot be over-emphasized, and the one hour allotted to it does not provide sufficient time for the detailed analysis that is necessary. But one short interview highlights an important cause of the disaster. The blind arrogance exhibited by Roger Hilsman, Director of the State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research (1961-63), and Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (1963-64), echoes the same ignorant certainty that the administration's official defenders publicly exhibited in earlier years. The similarity to the attitudes of the French imperialists presented in the first program will not escape alert viewers.

Beginning with program four, "LBJ Goes to War, 1964-1965," there are several splendid shows that focus on specific events and, thereby, succeed in probing important issues in the manner of

historical monographs. Program five, "America Takes Charge, 1965-1967," and program nine, "No Neutral Ground: Cambodia and Laos," are excellent examples. But the most successful of these is program seven, "Tet, 1968," which succeeds in integrating the raw drama of war with the mundane maneuvering of the politics of war. As former National Security Council staffer James Thompson remarks, "The final domino in the domino sequence is not another Asian country, but the presidency."

Another program of special interest is the sixth in the series, "With America's Enemy, 1954-1967," a superb example of the multi-archival research and international interviewing schedule pursued by Ellison. Here we see the war from the north, and from the vantage point of the Viet Cong. Films of supply lines moving down the Ho Chi Minh trail, and Hanoi under B-52 siege, provide a perspective that few Americans ever experienced. Interviews with General Giap and with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Pham Van Dong, who led the Vietminh delegation to the Geneva Conference, are valuable contributions to the oral history of the war. Preoccupied with economic problems in the North after the Geneva Conference, Ho, we are told, had initially sought to discourage the Vietcong from resorting to violence, but the systematic annihilation of VC by the Diem government convinced him that they would be liquidated unless they turned to armed resistance.

The last three programs available at the time this review was written, numbers ten, eleven, and twelve, "Peace is at hand, 1968-1973," "Homefront USA," and "The End of the Tunnel, 1973-1975," are, relatively speaking, disappointing. None of them has the focus, the analytical rigor, or the drama of earlier programs, yet each of them contributes to the fullness of the series. Together, it is worth repeating, "Vietnam: A Television History" is simply the best and most thorough product of historical TV journalism that has ever been produced. It is inconceivable that any commercial station could have undertaken such a controversial subject with such a critical eye and an even hand. In conjunction with the Vietnam War classic, "Hearts and Minds," those of us who teach the Vietnam War have a unique resource available.

Licensing "Vietnam" for Classroom Use

Classes can, of course, be assigned to watch the regular PBS weekly broadcasts of "Vietnam," but, according to the "Preview Package" for the series, and the people at WGBH, a license from PBS is necessary to tape the programs off-air for use as a "telecourse." The licensing fee is \$400 plus \$15 per student and the license is only valid for the fall semester. The price is reduced if several schools in an area coordinate their order. For further information, contact Dee Brock or Jinny Goldstein at 202-488-5360, or write to them at: Adult Learning Service, PBS, 475 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20024. Thereafter (and I quote WGBH Telecourse Project Director Margaret Ann Roth), "Programs will be available for non-theatrical use, including off-air taping from Films, Inc." The cost of rental and purchase was not set at the time of this review but may be obtained from Films, Inc., 733 Greenbay Road, Wilmette, Illinois 60091, 800-323-4222.

Supplementary Literature for the Classroom

The classroom was obviously at least as important as the living room to the WGBH Vietnam Project. The October starting time for the thirteen weekly one-hour programs was designed to accommodate both early and late starting fall terms, and the decision to show the second program "The First Vietnam War: 1946-1954," on Wednesday, October 5 brings the series to a conclusion on December 20, before the Christmas vacation.

But beyond the relatively simple problem of accommodating the timing of the programming schedule to fit academic schedules, the Vietnam Project's concern with reaching the classroom is manifested in the production and sponsorship of a series of teaching aids and supplementary readings listed below.

The most valuable and imaginative part of this class-room package is the Anthology and Guide for Vietnam: A Television History by Steven Cohen, an illustrated 512-page paperback telecourse manual divided into thirteen chapters, each containing a historical summary of the events covered in each of the

thirteen programs, a suggested list of points to emphasize, a glossary of terms, a comprehensive list of suggested secondary readings, a list of critical issues for discussion, and approximately a dozen pertinent selections of primary source documents in each chapter. It is an ideal companion to the televised programs. Orders should be sent to Random House, Order Department, 400 Hahn Road, Westminster, Maryland 21157, 800-638-6460. (Desk copies of the Anthology may be obtained upon written request to the publisher.)

Other useful supplementary items sponsored by the Vietnam Project and designed as teaching aids include: Voices from Vietnam, a seventy-five-minute audio cassette containing a series of interviews, comes with the anthology, but may be ordered separately at a cost of \$10; Vietnam by Stanley Karnow, a 750-page history of the Vietnam War (\$20), published by Viking Penguin Inc., and available in the fall. Orders may be placed with Vikeship Company, 299 Murray Hill Parkway, West Rutherford, New Jersey 07073; Instructor's Guide to VIETNAM by Professor William Graebner, is a forty-four page booklet that provides an overview of each program, and suggests questions for class discussion. It is available upon request from the publisher; College Department, Random House, 201 East 50th Street, New York, New York 10022; VIETNAM Telecourse (Faculty Manual) by Professor William Graebner and Margaret Ann Roth (seventy-two pages), "outlines an interdisciplinary telecourse." Copies of this manual are available only to those licensing the telecourse through PBS, I was informed, but "other inquiries" may be addressed to M.A. Roth, Director of Educational Projects for "Vietnam: A Television History," WGBH Educational Foundation, 125 Western Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02134.

Martin J. Sherwin, Walter S. Dickson Professor of History, teaches modern U.S. politics and diplomatic history at Tufts University. He is the author of A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance, and he is writing a biography of J. Robert Oppenheimer. He is teaching a course on the Vietnam War in the fall.

American History and Social Science Films and Video

Amateur Night at City Hall



The rise of Frank L. Rizzo from cop to Mayor of Philadelphia is chronicled in this award winning film that analyzes his colorful and controversial political career.
"Most absorbing...demands attention and understanding."
John J. O'Conner, *New York Times*

Mugge/Trombert
75 Minutes Color

America Lost and Found



This compilation of rare footage conveys the psychological impact of the economic and social collapse that accompanied the Great Depression.
"An especially fine new documentary feature...It beautifully evokes the era" Vincent Canby, *New York Times*

Media Study
59 Minutes Black & White

Brooklyn Bridge

1981 Academy Award Nom.
Best Feature Documentary



That beloved landmark and technical feat of unparalleled scope, the Brooklyn Bridge, is lionized in this visually brilliant, critically acclaimed Academy Award-nominated documentary.
"For the layman, the technical information in Brooklyn Bridge is wonderfully simple: for us engineers, it's simply wonderful." Robert Vogel, *Smithsonian*

Florentine Films
58 Minutes Color

Crisis: Behind a Presidential Commitment



A landmark in film and United States history, the film documents the confrontation between John and Robert Kennedy and George Wallace over the admission of black students to the University of Alabama. Now available for the first time for non-theatrical use.

Drew Associates
58 Minutes Black & White

Herself, Indira Gandhi



Extensive interviews combined with archival footage create a comprehensive historical perspective of India and a unique personal portrait of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

"A delightful portrait of a woman who may be the world's most powerful woman."
The Christian Science Monitor

Drew Associates
58 Minutes Color

Karl Hess: Toward Liberty



Academy Award 1981 Best Documentary Short
Mixing right and left wing political ideas with equal parts of common sense and wit, Karl Hess, a former Goldwater speech writer, explains why he traded his suburban Washington, D.C. house and three-piece suit for a West Virginia homestead and overalls.
A film by Roland Hallé and Peter Ladue
26 minutes Color

If You Love This Planet

Dr. Helen Caldicott
on Nuclear War



Academy Award 1982 Best Documentary Short
In a campus talk, Dr. Helen Caldicott, noted author and pediatrician, clearly emphasizes the perils of nuclear war and reveals a frightening progression of events which would follow a nuclear attack.

Produced by National Film Board of Canada
26 minutes Color

No Place To Hide

Growing Up in the
Shadow of the Bomb



Vintage film clips show how America was sold on the idea that nuclear attack is survivable in a fallout shelter. Martin Sheen's narration recreates the nightmares of a child growing up during the cold war.
"Devastating!"
Vincent Canby, *New York Times*

Narrated by Martin Sheen
Media Study
29 Minutes Color

Primary



This important historical documentary provides a completely candid look at the 1960 Democratic Presidential Primary when Senator John F. Kennedy upset Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.
"No previous film had so caught the sweat, the euphoria, the maneuvering of a political campaign."
Erik Barnouw, Former Chief of Motion Pictures, Library of Congress
Drew Associates
60 Minutes Black & White

The Life & Times of Rosie the Riveter

Clarity Productions



"By mixing interviews, old photographs and some extraordinary newsreel footage, Connie Field has assembled an engrossing study of how women were brought into these jobs—and how they were dismissed at the war's end."
Janet Maslin, *New York Times*
"The best film on working women I have seen." Molly Haskell, *MS Magazine*.

Produced and directed by Connie Field
65 minutes Color 1980

The Trials Of Alger Hiss



This account details the espionage and perjury case which catapulted Congressman Richard Nixon to national prominence and sent former State Department Officer Alger Hiss to prison.
"It is the kind of living history document that is recommended viewing for American history students."
Gene Siskel, *Chicago Tribune*

History on Film Company
165 Minutes Color

Vietnam Requiem



In this ABC News Special, five Vietnam veterans, all decorated war heroes, now serving prison terms are interviewed. With the combination of real combat footage and the veterans' personal experiences, the film relays the horrors of war and the unhappiness and bitterness felt by these heroes returning home from an unpopular war.

Else, Couturie, & Korty
58 Minutes Color

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Justice Department FOIA operation criticized

"THE FEDERAL AGENCY that advises other agencies how to run Freedom of Information activities can't even run its own properly" said Rep. Glenn English (D-Okla.). Rep. English is Chair of the Government Information, Justice, and Agriculture Subcommittee.

A New General Accounting Office report released today documents management shortcomings of the Justice Department's FOIA operations. The report was prepared at the request of Rep. English.

Rep. English said: "I asked GAO to review FOIA management at the Justice Department. It appears that despite all of the Department's complaints about FOIA, little has been done to manage internal FOIA operations. The GAO report suggests that there are few internal standards or guidelines for processing of FOIA requests, that management information is largely unavailable, and that there is minimal interest in FOIA operations within the Department."

Rep. English continued: "It is ironic that the Department of Justice--which has the responsibility for encouraging other agencies to comply with FOIA--has done such a poor job of managing its own FOIA operations. The Office of Information and Privacy which has lead responsibility for FOIA within the Justice Department seems to be able to find the time to issue FOIA guidance to other agencies but it is unable to manage its own FOIA caseload. Of course, judging from the poor quality of OIP's guidance, their performance in processing FOIA requests may not be too surprising."

GAO found that there are twenty-eight different units within the Department processing requests. These units do not follow common procedures or collect management information needed to compare performance or assess operations.

GAO found that priorities for handling of requests are set informally; that policies on expedited processing are informal and are "applied with subjective judgment"; that minimum costs incurred before fees are charged vary from unit to unit; and that criteria used to make decisions to waive fees also vary.

In addition, GAO found that management information is not collected on the assignment of priorities or on the granting of fee waivers. Further, except for the FBI, no statistics are kept on the actual processing times for requests.

GAO also reported that Department officials "have used the authority to charge fees in an effort to influence FOIA operations in various ways, such as to encourage requesters to reduce the extent of information requested."

The Justice Department has been aware of problems with its FOIA operation for some time. In 1980, the Justice Management Division issued a report on internal FOIA operations. The JMD report recommended, among other things, that the Department update its regulations, prepare additional guidance, and increase staff resources.

GAO found that "no significant resource or policy changes had been made since the Justice Management Division issued its evaluation." Also, "neither overall DOJ policy nor individual unit policies had changed substantially during the same period."

GAO specifically examined the processing of FOIA requests by the Office of Information and Privacy (OIP). This is the office within the Department that has been assigned government-wide responsibility for FOIA matters. Of the 172 requests handled by OIP in 1982, only six were processed within the ten-day statutory requirement. By contrast, OIP took over 360 days to process forty-nine requests.

In eleven instances, it took OIP over a year simply to inform a requester that there were no records responsive to the request. The FBI is usually able to determine that requested records do not exist within a few days.

Copies of the GAO report are available from the office of Government Information, Justice, and Agriculture Subcommittee, Room B-349C Rayburn House Office Building. The report number is GAO/GGD-83-64.

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Publishing in State Journals

James C. Klotter

IN 1975, A state journal editor informed her Organization of American Historians audience that, "Human beings have four basic needs: food, clothing, shelter, and the desire to see themselves in print." Time has not altered her conclusions, although some editors might question her order. The last desire--the publication need--remains a continuing concern.

State historical journals provide an important outlet for authors. These journals vary widely. In size, such magazines range from large-format, slick-paper ones with four-color photographs and few footnotes, to small, extremely staid journals, to all kinds in between. Organizations publishing the journals, though they differ, generally fall into three categories: those chiefly supported by private funds; those supported by state monies; or those supported by a combination thereof. Some have rather extensive, full-time editorial staffs, and others only a professor working part-time.

But--despite the variance in magazines, organizations, and editors--publishing in state journals offers several uniform benefits. First of all, authors may reach a larger audience than if they publish in a specialty journal. The circulation of at least three state quarterlies exceeds 10,000, for example. By comparison, the Journal of Southern History reaches 4,600; the Journal of Social History, 1,800; and Agricultural History, 800 (Dale Steiner, Historical Journals: A Handbook for Writers and Reviewers [Santa Barbara, 1981], pp. 15-205); Tracy Linton Craig, ed., Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies in the United States and Canada [Nashville, 1982], pp. 1-290). Nor is this state membership as parochial as some might think. Out of Kentucky's 9,000 members, for example, forty percent live outside the Commonwealth, in all fifty states, and in several foreign countries.

All this ties in with a second benefit state journals offer authors. Historians see and hear all around them the cries that we must bring history to the masses; that we

must not write only for each other but for the larger citizenry as well; that we must bring "everyman" back to history. State journals provide an excellent forum for doing just that. Their readership is both professional and nonprofessional. In fact, more than any other historical avenue, state journals are routinely used by those whom historians most need to reach and hold--the interested public.

The audience contributes to a third benefit. Since both groups must be addressed, state journal editors often stress certain factors, such as writing ability, more than do the specialty journals. Thus, an editor might work harder with an author to make an article acceptable than would his or her counterpart at journals with numerous submissions.

In fact, the scarcity of good articles provides a very real fourth benefit. Chances of acceptance are excellent at the state journal level. According to Dale Steiner's very useful Historical Journals: A Handbook, the Journal of American History accepts about five percent of its submissions; other major journals are around the ten percent mark. The average acceptance ratio of the state journals surveyed, however, is thirty-five percent. (The range is from ten to eighty percent, with about one-third accepting over half of the articles submitted to them.) Supply and demand means that good articles, or ones with promise, get a very fair reading, individual attention, and much notice. And such figures should not be misunderstood--these are good journals, often refereed, and they publish excellent, innovative articles in an attractive format. Arthur Link's path-breaking essay on the Progressive Movement in the South appeared, for example, in a state journal, The North Carolina Historical Review; Thomas D. Clark, Richard Jensen, Michael Kammen, Richard B. Morris, Edward Pessen, Robert Remini, Charles P. Roland, and Anne Firor Scott are only a few who have published in state journals over the past five years.

How have particular groups within the historical profes-

sion fared in state journals? Reasonably well, if a sampling of black contributors is indicative. In an effort to examine that question further, survey forms were sent to fifty-two state journals; thirty-two responses, representing thirty states, were received. Many of the resulting figures, it should be stressed, are estimates, for exact information on an author's race, for example, was lacking.

The results show that, first of all, black authors are not heavily represented in state journals. It appears that about three percent of the article submissions and from four to five percent of book reviews are penned by blacks. From the best figures I could locate, roughly four percent of all history professors in the United States are black. (The figure in 1970 was 2.9 percent. See John E. Fleming, Gerald R. Gill, and David H. Swinton, The Case for Affirmative Action for Blacks in Higher Education [Washington, D.C., 1978], p. 215). The journal figures, then, are roughly in line with those statistics. This has occurred despite several things perhaps working against blacks. Some of the articles in such journals come from members; blacks are often underrepresented in such societies. Most articles, however, are sent by professors. Since blacks in 1978 made up only 2.2 percent of all full professors (versus 4.4 percent of all faculty), they thus were underrepresented in the senior positions, ones that traditionally receive lighter class loads and more research time (Mary A. Golladay and Jay Noell, eds., The Condition of Education, 1978 [Washington, D.C., 1978]), pp. 165, 194). Additionally, many black professors may teach at schools that place more emphasis on teaching than on publishing (Arthur L. Bacon, "Research in Traditionally Black Schools," In Roosevelt Johnson, Black Scholars on Higher Education in the 70's [Columbus, 1974], p. 154).

Editors were also asked the acceptance ratio for blacks. Fragmentary figures indicate that forty-five percent of the article submissions by black authors were accepted, versus thirty-two percent for whites. In short, blacks have not submitted a large percentage of articles, but have an excellent acceptance ratio for those sent. No editor could say that all state journal editors judge all articles

dispassionately and without bias. But many contributors remain only a name to editors. And many state journals--over one-quarter, and the number is growing--are refereed. Both factors--along with many others--operate in favor of merit.

On the survey form, there was also space provided for the editors to give advice to historians who hoped to publish their research. Their responses indicated that if you want to publish, two things are clear: write on a twentieth-century topic and on social history. When asked in what chronological areas they would like articles, twenty-three of twenty-four mentioned twentieth century, especially post-1945. (By comparison, only three of twenty-four mentioned pre-1865.) When asked what topical areas they would like to see covered, ten of fifteen mentioned social history. Other areas included ethnic, labor, industrial, women's, urban, cultural, educational, and sports history. (On the latter, the editor of the Indiana Magazine of History wrote recently: "I can almost guarantee publication of even a second-rate article on any aspect of the history of basketball. . . .")

But chronological and topical areas remain secondary to most editors. Over three times as many responses stressed style and research over subject matter. And this emphasis on style may be epidemic among editors as a class. After a decade on a regional journal, an editor wrote: "It is such an obvious point. [If] essays are written to be read, then they ought to be interesting. If the finished product, based on sound scholarship, lacks literary quality, it will have no claim upon us. If we fail to reach the public, what use is our knowledge?" Similarly, a former newspaper editor turned historian told an audience in 1979 that "There should be such style that history glows, that leaders and followers of bygone eras spring to life, that spent forces are recharged and move again with their old momentum." Then history lives.

James C. Klotter is General Editor of the Kentucky Historical Society. He is the co-editor of Kentucky Profiles: Biographical Essays in Honor of Holman Hamilton and The Union, The Civil War, and John W. Tuttle: A Kentucky Captain's Account.

Ken Burns's "Brooklyn Bridge" wins Barnouw Prize

David Culbert

IN APRIL 1983, Ken Burns received the first Barnouw Prize at the OAH meeting in Cincinnati. I would like to explain briefly what the prize was designed to recognize, and why Brooklyn Bridge can make such a valuable contribution to the classroom.

The Barnouw Prize, given annually to "an outstanding television or film program dealing with American history," is the first instance of a professional historical organization giving scholarly recognition to quality media programming. My committee members, Professors John Sproat and Daniel Leab, agreed that we wanted something which represented sound history, and yet also represented sound filmmaking. We agreed that we would not be predisposed toward films with Hollywood-size budgets, nor inclined perversely only toward mom-and-pop productions. We were less interested in programs that pleaded some special cause (not sound history) than those with a balanced view. Though our committee this year will add Professors Ronald Walters, W. T. Durr, and filmmaker Amy Swerdlow, we should continue to have the same concerns in judging submissions.

Brooklyn Bridge is an absolutely brilliant documentary film, one which bears repeated screening, a film which NEH Director William Bennett considers the finest media program ever funded by NEH. I saw the film yet again at the Brooklyn Museum in May 1983, a week before the formal one hundredth anniversary of the opening of the bridge. Of course, a Brooklyn audience glowed with pride; an elderly woman next to me shared memories of crossing the bridge on a steam trolley just after the turn of the century. Burns's film appeals to the average adult because the subject is presented in a clear and interesting fashion.

What about the impact on the high school or college student? The film is fifty-eight minutes, and divides into two parts. The first, perhaps more helpful to the student, shows why the bridge represented such an extraordinary engineering achievement. I have used Alan Trachtenberg's brilliant

Brooklyn Bridge in some courses, but only in this film does one see how a caisson works and why the building of enormous caissons represented such an enormous challenge. Burns gained access to thousands of drawings relating to the construction of the bridge to demonstrate how it was built. Particularly impressive is the creative use of newspaper headlines explaining Boss Tweed's efforts to thwart Washington Roebling's concern for quality cable wire. Some rare archival footage follows a steam trolley as it crosses the bridge in 1899. Burns's film would be an effective way of introducing the impact of urbanization and industrialism after 1865 in a survey course.

The second part of the film concerns the artistic meaning of the bridge. Frank Sinatra, home from World War II, takes a cab to the bridge and sings about what it means to him. We see some of Frank Stella's paintings. We listen to some passages from Hart Crane while Burns's camera reveals the visual meaning Crane sought to depict in words. At the end, a clip shows Bugs Bunny selling the bridge to a dimwitted out-of-towner. Very fine on-camera interviews with David McCullough, Lewis Mumford, Arthur Miller, and Paul Goldberger give additional information about the construction and meaning of the bridge. There is a sense of optimism, and pleasure, which permeates this film in a quiet way. Brooklyn Bridge remains beautiful to this day, an important instance of technological innovation and, at the same time, beautiful and inspiring. No wonder the bridge has engaged the imagination of millions of Americans since it opened in 1884.

The film either 16mm or videocassette, may be rented from Direct Cinema Ltd., P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, New Jersey 07417, 201-891-8240. The cost is \$100. One may also inquire about long-term leasing.

**

David Culbert, a faculty member in the History Department at Louisiana State University, is chair of the Erik Barnouw Award Committee.

College Board standards in history

THE COLLEGE BOARD'S recently-issued Educational Equality project, suggesting new guidelines for secondary school preparation of college-bound students, contains important information for teachers of history at both high school and college levels. A portion of the academic guidelines deals directly with the social studies, urging serious efforts in world history, in improving the integration of social and cultural approaches in United States history, and in developing an historical understanding of the phenomenon of social change. These guidelines suggest some rethinking of college-level training of history teachers and course offerings for incoming students, as well as some imaginative reassessment

on the part of secondary school teachers.

The Project's social studies statement, and other aspects of the project guidelines which bear on competencies relevant to history learning, resulted from several years of development, in consultation with a variety of teachers and professional associations. Issuance of the Project statement will be followed by intensive efforts at implementation, including a variety of cooperative school-college pilot projects.

The Equality Project statement and ongoing information on implementation and pilot-testing are available free of charge from: Office of Academic Affairs, College Board, 888 7th Avenue, New York, New York 10106.

Professional opportunities

Mesa College Lectureship

The Aspinall Foundation, Inc. invites applications for a five-week lectureship on the campus of Mesa College in Grand Junction, Colorado during spring term 1985 and each spring term thereafter.

The position consists of a residency of five weeks during which time one course consisting of at least 15 class sessions would be offered. The incumbent in the position also would be expected to be available for a modest number of guest appearances at meetings of community groups and to deliver a formal public lecture.

Candidates should be recognized scholars or practitioners in history, political science, or public affairs. An honorarium of \$12,000 plus a modest stipend for travel and housing is offered. Applicants should forward a letter of interest, a resume of professional and educational experiences, a brief outline of a proposed course, and a list of possible topics for the public lecture.

Address applications and

requests for information to Professor Don MacKendrick, Dean, School of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Mesa College, Grand Junction, CO 81502. Application deadline for the 1985 lectureship is February 1, 1984.

JAH Editor

Announcing a joint position at Indiana University to be filled in August 1984. It includes the editorship of the Journal of American History connected with an appointment in the Department of History. The appointee will be a tenured, teaching member of the department and will assume the duties currently performed by Lewis Perry, who is returning to full-time teaching and research. Applicants should be established scholars in American history; editorial experience is desirable. The deadline for applications is November 1, 1983. Please submit curriculum vitae, personal statement, and names of referees to the JAH Search Committee, Department of History, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405.

September

THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S fall history conference will be held September 9-11, 1983 at the Evansville Executive Inn. John R. Stilgoe of Harvard University will speak Friday, September 9 on "Images of Indiana: Landscape and Settlement Patterns." Workshop sessions will include genealogy, military history, medical history, and archaeology. For more information, contact Jeanette Vanausdall, Indiana Historical Society, 315 West Ohio Street, Indianapolis, Indiana 46202.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY has initiated a monthly seminar on urban history. Its purpose is to bring together practitioners of urban history, academic and nonacademic, for a monthly meeting. Each session will consist of a single paper followed by discussion. The seminar encourages papers on a broad range of topics, including Chicago, midwestern, and national. The inaugural meeting of the seminar will be on September 29, 1983, beginning at 5:45 p.m. Professor Kenneth Jackson from Columbia University will discuss his forthcoming book on the history of suburbanization in the United States. The meeting will be held at the Chicago Historical Society. To be placed on the mailing list and receive reservation forms, contact Timothy Jacobson, Chicago Historical Society, Clark Street at North Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY will cosponsor a session on agricultural history at the Northern Great Plains History Conference to be held in Grand Forks, North Dakota on September 29-October 1, 1983. For more information, contact David Danbom or Bill Reid, History Department, North Dakota State University, Fargo, North Dakota 58105.

"THE WORK OF PEACE" is the topic of a symposium to be held on September 29-30, 1983. The symposium is sponsored by the National Committee for the Bicentennial of the Treaty of Paris, the Smithsonian, and The American University. Scholarly papers will focus on the subjects of peace settlement, maintaining and keeping peace, and the cultural consequences of peace. The September 29 meeting will be at The American University; and the September 30 meeting at the National Museum of

American History. For more information, contact Robert L. Beisner, Chair, Department of History, The American University, 4400 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016.

"THE NEW DEAL AND THE SOUTH," the Ninth Annual Chancellor's Symposium on Southern History, will be held at the University of Mississippi on October 12-14, 1983. For information,

THE 1983 INTERFACE CONFERENCE will be held on October 20-21, 1983 in Marietta, Georgia. The conference will focus on the integration of humanistic concerns and technological

Upcoming Meetings & Conferences

October

THE 1983 WINTERTHUR CONFERENCE celebrates three hundred years of German settlement in North America with the theme "German-America Art and Culture" on October 3-4, 1983. Papers and panels will examine the German heritage of selected aspects of American material culture, including landscape design, town and city planning, architecture, furnishings, painting, and graphics of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. For further information, contact the Office of Advanced Studies, Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware 19735.

THE POPULAR CULTURE ASSOCIATION IN THE SOUTH AND THE AMERICAN CULTURE ASSOCIATION IN THE SOUTH will hold their annual conference on October 6-8, 1983 at Atlantic Beach (Jacksonville), Florida. The conference seeks to include the serious examination of as many elements of popular culture and American culture in as many media as possible. For information, contact Maryhelen Harmon, English Department, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida 33620.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR DOCUMENTARY EDITING will hold its annual meeting in Baltimore Maryland on October 6-8, 1983. For further information, contact John P. Kaminski, History Department, 455 North Park Street, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin 53706.

THE ROCHESTER MUSEUM & SCIENCE CENTER is sponsoring a symposium on the social history of children's sampler-making on October 8, 1983. Nationally recognized scholars on social history and needlework will address topics related to the museum's current exhibit, "Behold the Labour of My Tender Age: Children and Their Samplers, 1780-1850." For registration information, contact Research Division, Rochester Museum & Science Center, Box 1480, Rochester, New York 14603.

contact the History Department, University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi 38677.

THE NORTH AMERICAN LABOR HISTORY CONFERENCE will be held on October 13-15, 1983 at Wayne State University. For further information, contact, John J. Bukowczyk, History Department, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan 48202.

THE DUQUESNE HISTORY FORUM will hold its annual meeting on October 19-21, 1983 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. For further information, write to Bernard J. Weiss, History Department, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15282.

growth. For more information, contact Becky Kelly or Sandy Pfeiffer, Department of English and History, Southern Technical Institute, Marietta, Georgia 30060.

"THE REGULATORY ROLLERCOASTER: THE PAST AND FUTURE OF AMERICAN BANKING" is the topic of a conference to be held in Wilmington, Delaware on October 20-21, 1983. The meeting will cover the history of regulation in banking before the Great Depression, the intent and impact of the banking acts of the New Deal era, the unraveling of the 1930's regulations in recent years, and the future of American banking. For a copy of the program and registration material, write Banking Conference, Eleutherian Mills-

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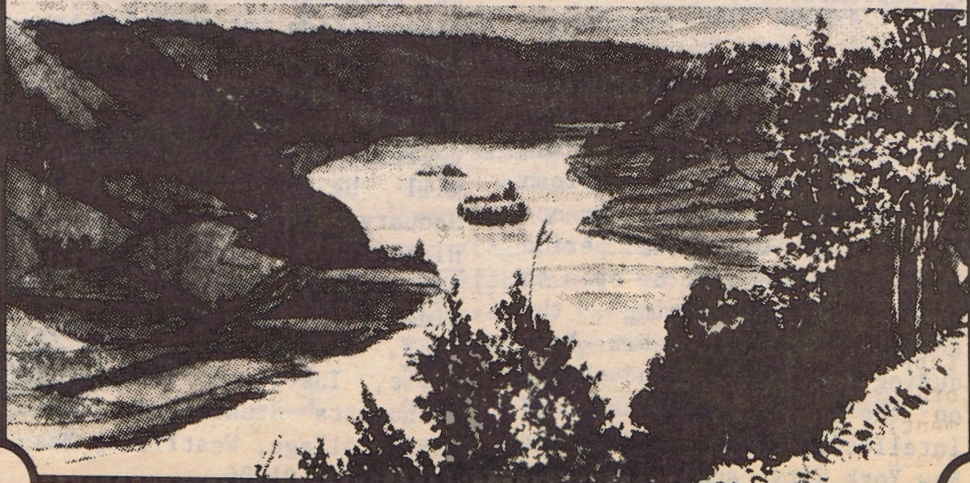
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THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE INTER-UNIVERSITY SEMINAR ON ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY will be held at the Palmer House in Chicago, Illinois on October 21-23, 1983. The title of the conference is "Manpower, Technology, and National Security." For further information, contact John A. Williams or Sam Sarkesian, Department of Political Science, Loyola University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois 60626.

THE GEORGE ROGERS CLARK TRANS-APPALACHIAN FRONTIER HISTORY CONFERENCE will be held on October 22, 1983 in Vincennes, Indiana. For more information, contact the Conference Committee, George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, 401 South Second Street, Vincennes, Indiana 47591.

•November•

THE WOMEN'S SPORTS FOUNDATION AND THE UNITED STATES OLYMPIC COMMITTEE will present a working conference on the future of women's sport in America entitled "The New Agenda" on November 3-6, 1983 at the Capitol Hilton in Washington, D.C. For more information, contact Carole Oglesby, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122.

•December•

"LEADERSHIP, DEMOCRACY, AND CRISIS" is the theme of an international conference to be held in December 1983 on the Sde Boker campus in Negev, Israel. For further information, contact Yeshayahu Jelinek, Ben-Gurion Research Center, Kiryat Sde Boker, Negev, Israel.

•January•

"WESTERN WOMEN: THEIR LAND, THEIR LIVES" is the theme of a conference to be held on January 12-15, 1984 in Tuscon, Arizona. The goal of the conference is to review recent research on Western women's history and evaluate its significance for Western history. For information, contact Janice Monk, SIROW, 269 Modern Languages, University of Arizona, Tuscon, Arizona 85721.

•February•

"AMERICAN FARM WOMEN IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE": The first national conference on the history of American farm women will be held on February 2-4, 1984 at New Mexico State University in Las Cruces, New Mexico. For more information, contact Susan Armitage, History Department, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington 99164.

•October•

THE BUSINESS HISTORY CONFERENCE will hold its annual meeting on March 8-10, 1984 at Hartford, Connecticut. "Engines of Growth: Technology, Financial Services, Management" will be the theme. Those wishing to present papers or to organize sessions should send proposals to Irene D. Neu, Department of History, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 by October 1, 1983.

THE SOUTHEASTERN NINETEENTH CENTURY STUDIES ASSOCIATION seeks proposals for papers for its 1984 annual meeting on a variety of fields including the history of medicine, art, design, art history, literature, history, linguistics, psychology, anthropology, geology, foreign languages and literatures, political science, and music. Deadline for abstracts is October 1, 1983. Submit to Wendy Greenberg, Department of Foreign Language, Pennsylvania State University, Fogelsville, Pennsylvania 18051.

THE MAC ARTHUR MEMORIAL announces the theme of "Arts and Culture" for its sixth symposium on the Occupation to be held in Norfolk, Virginia on October 18-19, 1984. Proposals are sought for papers and discussant roles on such topics as literature, art, theater, music, language, religion, values, film, broadcasting, censorship, and media control for the period 1945-52 as related to the influence of the Occupation and its policies. Proposals are due by October 1, 1983, and should be addressed to Director, MacArthur Memorial, MacArthur Square, Norfolk, Virginia 23510.

THE FIFTH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF QUAKER HISTORIANS AND ARCHIVISTS will meet in Providence, Rhode Island on June 15-17, 1984. Proposals for papers and panels on any theme relating to Quaker history and research are welcome. Proposals are due by October 1, 1983 and should be sent to Jo Ann Robinson, History Department, Morgan State University, Baltimore, Maryland 21239.

THE CENTER FOR GREAT PLAINS STUDIES will hold its annual interdisciplinary symposium on March 15-16, 1984. The focus of the conference will be on

the ways in which European artistic traditions have influenced the development and practice of the visual arts in the American Midwest since 1800. The symposium committee asks interested scholars to submit 150-200 word proposals for papers by October 15, 1983. A one-page curriculum vita should be submitted with the proposal. Send to Jon Nelson, 205 Love Library, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Lincoln, Nebraska 68588-0475.

THE INDIANA ASSOCIATION OF HISTORIANS will hold its annual meeting March 10, 1984. Papers are sought on the following topics: 1984: Utopias and Anti-Utopias; Revolutions: Disillusioned Revolutionaries; Eye-balling the Physical Past: Learning History at its Source; Religion and Ethnicity; History and Technology; and Earning College Credit in High School: The Advanced Placement Program in History. Papers should be about thirty minutes in length. Submit one-page summaries by October 15, 1983 to Dr. Morton M. Rosenberg, History Department, Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana 47306.

•November•

THE FRENCH COLONIAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY will hold its annual meeting at the University of Alabama in Huntsville on April 12-14, 1984. The program committee invites proposals on any aspect of the French experience overseas, and is especially interested in papers relating to activities in the Mississippi valley and the Southeast U.S. Send proposals by November 1, 1983 to Philip P. Boucher, History Department, University of Alabama in Huntsville, Huntsville, Alabama 35899.

THE ORAL HISTORY ASSOCIATION will hold its annual meeting on September 20-23, 1984 in Lexington, Kentucky. The program committee seeks proposals for individual papers, media presentations, workshops sessions, and discussions. Send proposals by November 1, 1983 to Terry Birdwhistell, Oral History Program, University of Kentucky Libraries, Lexington, Kentucky 40506.

THE CLAREMONT INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF STATESMANSHIP AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY solicits paper proposals for its conference "Democracy in America: Alexis de Tocqueville Observes the New Order," to be held in

Calls for papers

•September•

THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY AND THE SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE announce a symposium on the history of soil and water conservation at Columbia, Missouri on May 24-26, 1984. Please submit proposals and requests for information to Douglas Helms, Historian, SCS-USDA, P.O. Box 2890, Washington, D.C. 20013 by September 10, 1983.

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY is organizing a conference on the subject "New York and the Rise of American Capitalism." The conference will deal with the period 1783-1861, and will be open to papers investigating the economic role of New York during the period and essays on the social, political, and intellectual consequences, for New York City and State, of

economic development. The program will take place in late May 1984. Anyone who would like to present a paper should submit an abstract by September 15, 1983 to Conrad E. Wright, New-York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York, New York 10024.

INSTITUTE FOR MASSACHUSETTS STUDIES: Papers on any aspect of Massachusetts history may be submitted for possible presentation at the sixth annual conference on the history of Massachusetts to be held in the spring of 1984. Papers selected for the conference will be published in the January 1985 issue of *The Historical Journal of Massachusetts*. Deadline for consideration is September 30, 1983. Send papers to John Ifkovic, Institute for Massachusetts Studies, Westfield State College, Westfield, Massachusetts 01086.

Claremont, California on January 24-26, 1985. Papers may consider Tocqueville's other works but should focus on themes in Democracy in America, especially its enduring significance for constitutional government. The proposal is due by November 1, 1983 and sent to Ken Masugi, Director, Bicentennial Project, Claremont Institute, 480 North Indian Hill Boulevard, Claremont, California 91711. Include a vita.

THE CENTER OF RESEARCH ON THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES (Pre-industrial America), University of Paris VII, is organizing its 1984 conference on the theme "Socio-cultural Time and Space in the North American Colonies and the British West Indies." People interested in presenting a paper should contact Barbara Karsky, C.R.H.E.U., Institut d'Anglais Charles V, 10 rue Charles V, Paris 75004,

France. Deadline for proposals is November 15, 1983.

THE POPULAR CULTURE ASSOCIATION will hold its annual meeting in Toronto, Canada from March 30-April 1, 1984. For the submission of papers/presentations in the area of film, contact L. Benaquist and W. Sullivan, Department of English, Keene State College, Keene, New Hampshire 03431. Proposals for papers/presentations in the area of film and literature should be sent to Harris Elder, English Department, North Adams State College, North Adams, Massachusetts 01247. Deadline for proposals is November 15, 1983.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE will hold its annual meeting in San Francisco, California on May 2-5, 1983. People interested

in presenting a paper should submit a 300 word abstract (original and five copies) to Dale C. Smith, Section of Medical History, Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences, 4301 Jones Bridge Road, Bethesda, Maryland 20814 by November 15, 1983.

HISTORY OF NURSING CONFERENCE will be held on April 26, 1984. Papers may deal with any aspect of nursing history in the U.S. or elsewhere. Abstracts should be 400-500 words. Send an original and five copies to Nancy L. Noel, Nursing Archives, Mugar Memorial Library, 771 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02215 by November 15, 1983.

THE WESTERN ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN HISTORIANS announces its 1984 conference to be held at The Huntington, Pasadena,

California on April 14-15. Proposals for panels and papers are invited and should be submitted by November 30, 1983 to Carole Hicke, 57 Coronado Avenue, San Carlos, California 94070.

-December-

THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY will hold its 1984 meeting in March at Seattle University. Send three copies of paper proposals to Marjorie Miller, Philosophy Department, SUNY at Purchase, Purchase, New York 10577 by December 1, 1983.

THE SOUTHWEST LABOR STUDIES ASSOCIATION AND THE SOUTHERN LABOR HISTORY ASSOCIATION will hold a joint conference at the University of Texas at Arlington on March 29-31, 1984. Send proposals on any historical or contemporary labor topic, regional or national, by December 1, 1983 to George N. Green, University of Texas, Arlington, Texas 76019.

Grants, Fellowships & Awards

THE SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE PRESS offer an award of \$1,000 for the book-length manuscript that best describes and interprets the culture of a New World population. The population may be prehistoric, historic, or contemporary and may be of any ethnic or racial composition. For further information, contact Harriet J. Kupferer, Mooney Awards Committee, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina 27412-5001.

THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY will present its 1983 Salutos Book Award to the author of a book on any aspect of the agricultural history of the United States. To be eligible, a book must have "copyright 1983," be based on substantial primary research, and should represent a major new scholarly interpretation or reinterpretation of agricultural history scholarship. Nominations should be made to the editor of Agricultural History at the Agricultural History Center, University of California, Davis, California 95616.

THE AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION AND GREENWOOD PRESS announce the Ralph Henry Gabriel Prize in American Studies to be awarded to the author of a book-length original manuscript. The work may deal with any aspect of American civilization but should reflect a breadth of approach or a combination of materials and methods not usually associated with a traditional discipline. The author must belong to the American Studies Association. The prize consists of \$1,000 and publication by Greenwood Press in the series Contributions in American

Studies. Manuscripts should be sent in three copies to the Executive Director, American Studies Association, 307 College Hall/CO, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104 by September 1, 1983.

THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES announces a September 19, 1983 deadline for the submission of preliminary proposals for NEH Youth Project grants for projects beginning in summer of 1984 or later. These grants support challenging out-of-school projects for groups of young people to develop their knowledge and skills in humanities disciplines. To request complete Youth Project program guidelines, write to NEH, Division of General Programs, Youth Projects, Mail Stop 426, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20506.

THE WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS seeks from individuals throughout the world outstanding project proposals representing diverse scholarly interests. The Center welcomes all disciplines. Scholarship undertaken at the Center transcends narrow specialties, and includes a strong humanistic component. The Center's residential fellowships are awarded in one general program--History, Culture, and Society--and five more focused programs: American Society and Politics, the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, the Latin American Program, the International Security Studies Program, and the East Asia Program. The deadline for receipt of applications is October 1, 1983. For information and application materials, contact the Wilson

Center, Smithsonian Institution Building, Room 331, Washington, D.C. 20560.

THE COUNCIL ON LIBRARY RESOURCES, INC. (CLR) invites applications for the 1984-85 Academic Library Management Intern Program. Up to five interns will be selected to participate in the program; each intern will spend nine months working with the director and senior administrative staff of a major academic library. Applications for the 1984-85 academic year must be postmarked no later than October 3, 1983. For further information and application instructions, write to the Academic Library Management Intern Program, Council on Library Resources, Inc., 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION announces a program of fellowship awards for writers and scholars in the humanities whose research aids the understanding of contemporary social and cultural issues. Twenty individual awards will be made for 1984-85. In addition, eight resident fellowships in the humanities will be made available for 1984-85 through a set of host institutions. For application procedures, contact the Rockefeller Foundation Humanities Fellowships, the Rockefeller Foundation, 1133 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10036. First-stage proposals must be received by October 14, 1983.

THE SOUTHEASTERN AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STUDIES invites submissions for its annual essay competi-

Grants, fellowships, & awards

tion. An award of \$150 will be given for the best essay on an eighteenth-century subject published in a scholarly journal, annual, or collection between September 1, 1982 and August 31, 1983 by a member of SEASECS or a person living or working in the SEASECS area. To be considered, essays must be submitted in triplicate no later than November 1, 1983 to Professor Robert Weir, Department of History, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina 29206.

THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY has established two substantial cash awards. One, the R.A. McLemore Prize, is for a scholarly work on Mississippi history or biography and offers a stipend of \$700. The other, the Franklin L. Riley Prize, was established for an outstanding doctoral dissertation on Mississippi history or biography and carries a stipend of \$300. Deadline for each prize is November 1 of each year. Four copies of the entry must be submitted to Elbert R. Hilliard, Mississippi Historical Society, Box 571, Jackson, Mississippi 39205.

THE COLUMBIA SOCIETY OF FELLOWS IN THE HUMANITIES will appoint a number of postdoctoral fellows in the humanities for the academic year 1984-85. Fellows newly appointed for 1984-85 must have received the Ph.D. between January 1, 1982 and July 1, 1984. Applications are available from the Director, Society of Fellows in the Humanities, Heyman Center for the Humanities, Box 100 Central Mail Room, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027. Deadline for applications is November 1, 1983.

THE RADCLIFFE RESEARCH SCHOLARS PROGRAM will award stipends to as many as four scholars for the 1984-85 academic year. Eligible projects must make effective use of materials in the Henry A. Murray Research Center or the Schlesinger Library. The application deadline is November 4, 1983. For more information, contact the Radcliffe Research Scholars Program, Henry A. Murray Research Center, Radcliffe College, 10 Garden Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

THE NATIONAL SPACE CLUB announces the opening of the Robert H. Goddard Historical Essay Award competition for 1983. It is an annual nationwide competition with a \$500 prize. Essays may treat any significant aspect of the historical development of rocketry and astronautics. Entries should be submitted by November 4, 1983 to the Goddard Historical Essay Contest, National Space Club, 655 15th Street, NW, Third Floor, Washington, D.C. 20005.

THE COMMITTEE ON SCHOLARLY COMMUNICATION WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (CSCPRC) announces opportunities under the National Program for Advanced Study,

Research, and Scholarly Exchange with the PRC for graduate students and postdoctoral scholars in the natural sciences, engineering, social sciences, and humanities for 1984-85. Application should be made to the Graduate Program, the Research Program, or the Distinguished Scholar Exchange Program by November 7, 1983. Address inquiries to the CSCPRC, 2101 Constitution Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20418.

THE CLINICAL HISTORY ACTIVITY OF THE U.S. ARMY CENTER OF MILITARY HISTORY is offering a dissertation year fellowship for 1984 in order to further research and writing on the history of the Walter Reed Army Medical Center. The Center desires the completion of a book-length manuscript that it intends to publish in book form provided the manuscript meets the Center's historical and literary standards. Applications must be received prior to November 15, 1983. For more information, contact the Chief, Clinical History Activity, U.S. Army Center of Military History, Washington, D.C. 20314.

THE GILBERT CHINARD AWARDS are made jointly by the Institut Francais de Washington and the Society for French Historical Studies for distinguished scholarly books or manuscripts in the history of Franco-American relations by Canadian or American authors published during 1983. The Gilbert Chinard Prize of \$750 is awarded annually for a book or manuscript in page-proof, the Incentive Award of \$250 for an unpublished book-length manuscript, generally by a younger scholar. Deadline for the 1983 award is December 1, and five copies of each entry should be sent to Professor John Haight Jr., Department of History, Maginnes 9, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania 18015.

THE CUSHWA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM announces a new program for research scholars. Research grants ranging from \$1,000 to \$2,000 will be made to scholars engaged in projects which are related to the study of American Catholicism and require substantial use of the library and archives of the University of Notre Dame. Application for grants for 1984 should be made before December 1, 1983. For further information, contact Jay P. Dolan, Cushwa Center, 614 Memorial Library, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556.

THE ARMS CONTROL ASSOCIATION announces an annual competition for outstanding essays on arms control and international security. A \$500 prize will be awarded to a postgraduate or professional under thirty years of age, \$350 to a college student, and \$250 to a high school student for the best essays. Deadline for submissions is December 1, 1983. For details, contact the Arms Control Association, 11 Dupont Circle, Suite 99 NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

JAMES BARRETT, North Carolina State University, has received a Newberry Fellowship for his work on "Work and Community in 'The Jungle': Chicago's Packinghouse Workers, 1890-1930."

CASEY N. BLAKE, University of Rochester, has been awarded a Charlotte W. Newcombe Fellowship for her dissertation, "'Young America': The Social and Cultural Criticism of Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, Lewis Mumford, and Paul Rosenfeld." She has also been awarded a short-term fellowship from the Newberry Library.

GEORGE H. DANIELS has been appointed professor and chair of the history department at the University of South Alabama.

LARRY EASLEY has been appointed associate professor of history at Southeast Missouri State University.

ACTIVITIES OF MEMBERS

JOHN MACK FARAGHER, Mount Holyoke College, has been awarded a 1983-84 fellowship from the Huntington Library and the National Endowment for the Humanities. He will research Indian women and mountain men, 1800-60.

JAMES T. FISHER, Rutgers University, has been awarded a Charlotte W. Newcombe Fellowship for his study of "Personalist Catholicism and American Culture, 1933-1962."

LLOYD J. GRAYBAR, Eastern Kentucky University, has won an NEH Summer Stipend, which he will devote to continuing research for a book on the 1946 atomic bomb test at Bikini Atoll.

WILLIAM J. GILMORE, Stockton State College, has received a fellowship from the American Antiquarian Society for his work on "The State of Knowledge on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution."

ALICE PEARSON HEMENWAY has been appointed the historic site administrator of Pennsbury Manor in Bucks County Pennsylvania.

BROOKE HINDLE, Senior Historian of the Smithsonian Institution, has been awarded an Early American Industries Association Honorary Fellowship.

JAMES HOOPES, Babson College, has received a 1983 American Antiquarian Society Fellowship for his work on "Consciousness in New England."

FREDERICK E. HOXIE has been appointed the Director of the Newberry Library's Center for the History of the American Indian.

JOANNE MEYEROWITZ, San Francisco State University, has received a Newberry Fellowship for her research on "The Furnished-Room Districts of Chicago: 1800, 1900, 1910."

DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR., received the 1983 Raubenheimer Distinguished Faculty Award for the Division of Social Sciences and Communications at the University of Southern California, which is given in recognition of excellence in teaching, scholarship, and service to the University.

CAROL A. O'CONNOR, Utah State University, has been awarded a 1983-84 fellowship from the Huntington Library and the National Endowment for the Humanities for her work on N.Y./L.A.: National cities in the twentieth century.

DAVID ROEDIGER, Northwestern University, has been awarded a Newberry Fellowship for his work on "Labor and Politics in Saint Louis During Reconstruction."

JAMES E. SARGENT, Virginia Western Community College, has been promoted from

associate to full professor of history and has received grants from the Hoover Institution and the Virginia Western Foundation for his work on Raymond Moley.

LEWIS O. SAUM, University of Washington, has been awarded a Huntington Library-NEH Fellowship for the 1983-84 academic year for his work on the popular mood of the late nineteenth century.

J. CHRISTOPHER SCHNELL has been appointed professor of history at Southeast Missouri State University.

THOMAS A. SCHWARTZ, Harvard University, has been selected to be Center for Military History Visiting Research Fellow for the 1983-84 academic year. His dissertation is "From Occupation to Alliance: John J. McCloy and the Allied High Commission in West Germany, 1949-1952."

HARLOW W. SHEIDLEY, Ph. D. candidate at the University of Connecticut, has won a fellowship from the American Antiquarian Society for his dissertation, "Sectional Nationalism: Massachusetts Conservatives and the Epic of New England 1815-1836."

DANIEL SCOTT SMITH, University of Illinois-Chicago has received a Newberry

Fellowship for his work on "People and Process: The Modernization of the Population of Hingham, Massachusetts, 1635-1880."

DWIGHT L. SMITH, Miami University, has been awarded a Huntington Library-NEH Fellowship for the 1983-84 academic year. He is researching the 1857 gold discovery in British Columbia.

EDWARD W. SLOAN III, Trinity College, has been named Northam Professor of History at Trinity.

MARTHA H. SWAIN, Texas Woman's University, has received an Albert J. Beveridge grant from the American Historical Association. Professor Swain will apply her grant to the completion of research into the life and work of "New Dealer" Ellen Sullivan Woodward.

THAD W. TATE, Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, has received a 1983 American Antiquarian Society Fellowship for his work on "The Organization of the Colonial Landscape."

ROBERT M. UTLEY has received an honorary doctoral degree from Indiana University.

Down the Line

BOOKS NEW AND FORTHCOMING FROM NORTHERN

The Corn Belt Route: A History of the Chicago Great Western Railroad Company

Roger B. Grant

Grant has written a colorful and thorough account of the Chicago Great Western Railroad, the spunky midwestern carrier that contributed mightily to the U. S. transportation industry. As it developed new ways to compete, the 1500-mile "Great Weedy," built by the ambitious A. B. Stickney, proved to be exceptionally innovative. Richly illustrated with photographs, *The Corn Belt Route* is a lively story of one of the great small railroads that once served the country. Approx. 235 pages. 150 illustrations. \$27.50 (January)

Independence and Empire: The New South's Cotton Mill Campaign, 1865-1901

Patrick J. Hearden

After the Civil War, sectional conflict continued in the economic arena as the New South pursued textile markets abroad. "Provocatively phrased and wide ranging in potential significance, Hearden's account... should prove of interest to specialists in diplomatic as well as in southern history. His case for the continuance of sectional economic warfare after Appomattox is a strong, even compelling, one" (*The Journal of American History*). 190 pages. \$18.50

Polish Catholics in Chicago, 1850-1920: A Religious History

Joseph Parot

Parot's is a fascinating account of the assimilation of the largest ethnic community in the U. S. "Both libraries and scholars with enduring interests in regional history, American social history, and ethnic and re-

ligious studies should be feasting on such riches" (Choice). 316 pages. \$22.50 (cloth). \$10.00 (paper)

German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850-1910: A Comparative Perspective

Edited by Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz

Late nineteenth-century Chicago was in many ways typical of the newly industrialized cities where immigrants found work, but it came to be distinguished by the strength of both its industrial economy and its labor organization. German immigrants contributed vitally to the development of Chicago's economy and its labor force, as well as to its culture. 250 pages. \$22.50

Mayor Edward J. Kelly of Chicago: Big City Boss in Depression and War

Roger Biles

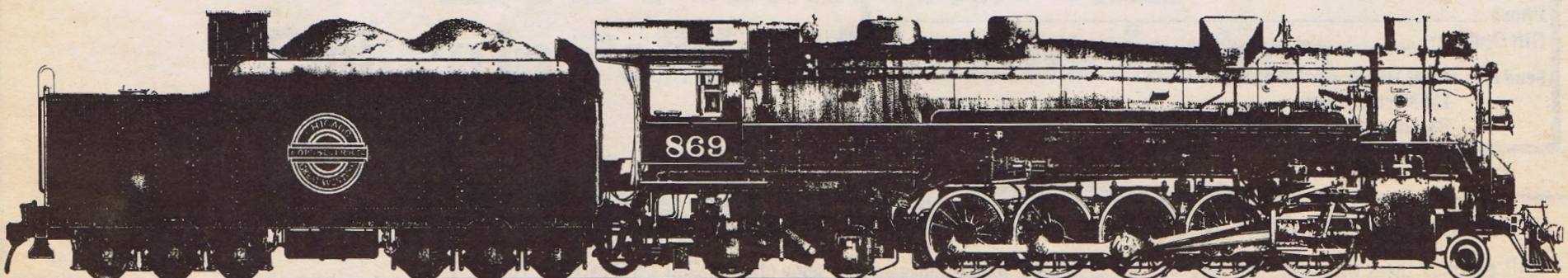
This first biography of Mayor Kelly deals with the development of the Chicago

Democratic machine at a time when political machines in most other big cities had become ineffectual. Reinterpreting Chicago political history, Biles demonstrates that largely by allying local Democrats to the New Deal and by tapping the financial resources of organized crime, Kelly assembled the machine of which Daley was the beneficiary. Approx. 235 pages. \$20.00 (December)

The Growth of Federal Power in American History

Edited by Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones and Bruce Collins

Although many of the crises of American history have centered on issues having to do with the expansion or restriction of federal power, surprisingly little has been written on this important theme. This collection of essays examines various debates over federal power during the two hundred years since the formation of government in America. Analytic in its approach, it includes 12 essays on key aspects of the American past in which federal power has been questioned and defined. Approx. 225 pages. \$22.50 (October)



The OAH has recently acquired the computer capacity to serve the individual needs and interests of the membership better. Please take the time to return this form so that our data bank can be updated. Send to OAH, 112 N. Bryan Street, Bloomington, IN 47401.

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