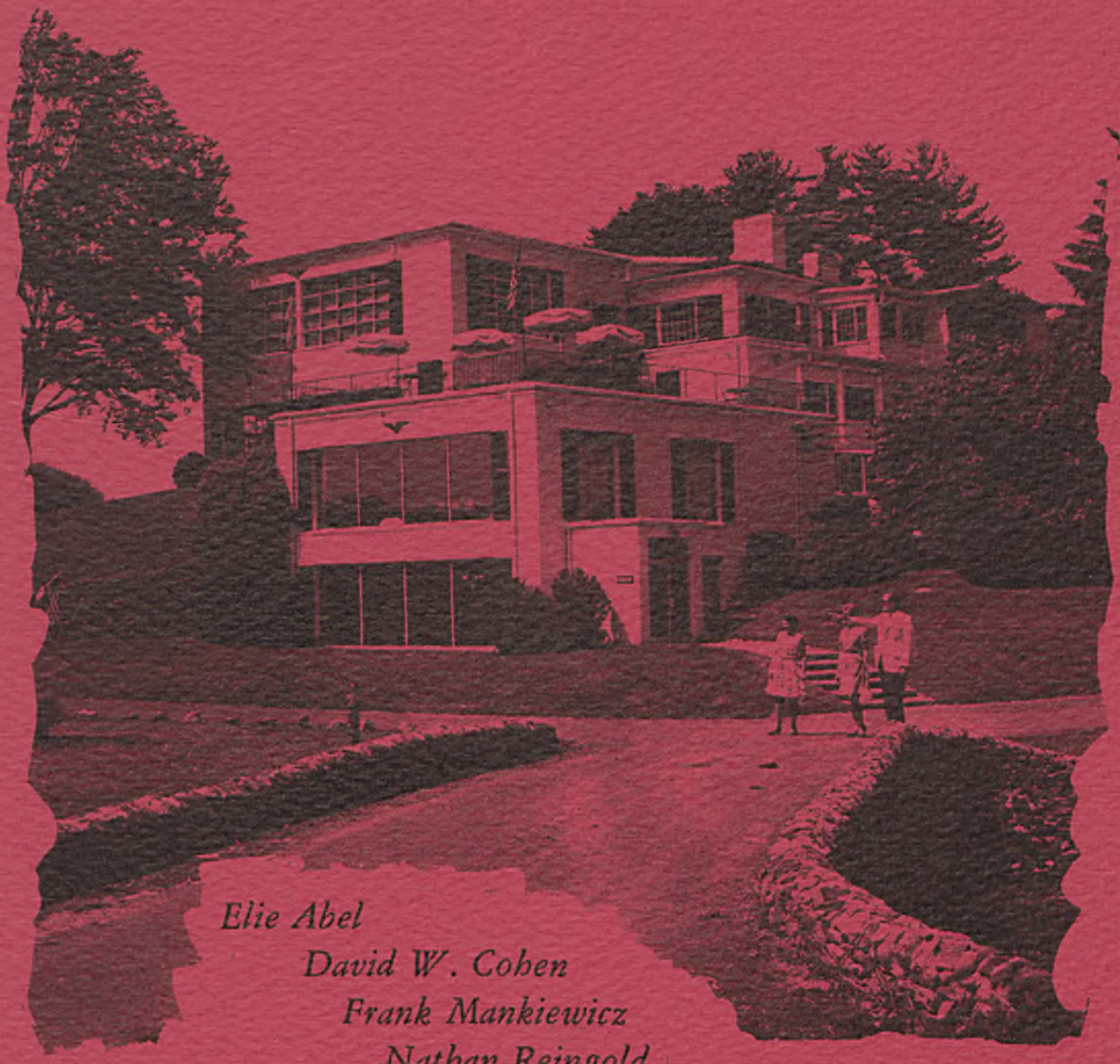
The Fourth

NATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON ORAL HISTORY



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Panel Discussions

INSTITUTE FOR ORAL HISTORY

THE FOURTH
NATIONAL COLLOQUIUM
ON ORAL HISTORY

Held at Airlie House
Warrenton, Virginia

November 7 to 10, 1969

Edited by Gould P. Colman

The Oral History Association, Inc.
New York
1970

INTRODUCTION

These Proceedings were to have been edited by Oscar O. Winther, the President of the Association and University Professor at the University of Indiana. Readers would have been well served by Oscar's considerable skills as an editor, which were exhibited over many years in the respected Mississippi Valley Historical Review. Regrettably, his health did not allow him to edit these Proceedings. With sadness, I record the passing of an able scholar and true gentleman.

These Proceedings have been prepared from a verbatim transcript of the Colloquium at Airlie House. This transcript has been reviewed for accuracy of transcription by the speakers or by session chairmen and in some instances emended by them to obtain greater clarity. To conserve space and reader interest, your editor has exercised his prerogatives by striking discussion which duplicated discussion elsewhere in the Proceedings. Otherwise,the only omission is an address by Saul Benison (Such are the consequences of university disruptions -- at Cincinnati, not Cornell!) and the business sessions of the OHA. The verbatim transcript has been preserved, together with the oral record, in the archives of the Association.

Thanks are due to speakers who assigned copyrights of their addresses to the Association.

These Proceedings will be distributed to all members of the Association. Additional copies may be obtained while the supply lasts from the Oral History Association, Box 20, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027, at $3 each, postpaid.

Gould P. Colman
Cornell University

A Note from the Program Chairman

A Program Chairman seldom has the opportunity to publicly view "the body" through the "retrospectoscope." As I browse through the program for the Fourth National Colloquium of the Association, I am keenly aware of and grateful for the untold hours of preparation by all of the contributors. The speakers with rare exception fulfilled their commitments in an exemplary manner. Our five senses were stirred by the cuisine of Airlie House, a wide range of sounds from the Marine Hymn to the angry cacophony on the streets of Chicago, the brisk fall weather (particularly after a 2:00 AM swim!), and the lovely Virginia countryside. I take this opportunity to express again my deepest thanks for the months of labor before, during and after the meeting put in by Mr. Royster Lyle, Jr. and Mrs. Boyd Stuart of the George C. Marshall Research Foundation and Mrs. Margaret Donovan of the National Library of Medicine.

Peter D. Olch, M.D.
Program Chairman
4th National Colloquium
Oral History Association

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Photo By ROYSTER LYLE Jr.

C O N T E N T S

WHERE TO NOW?

Gould P. Colman

Welcome, friends of oral history, to the Fourth National Colloquium. These words, with a due weight of sincere intent, must suffice from now until tomorrow morning when Dr. Forrest Pogue will welcome you properly on behalf of our host institution, the George C. Marshall Research Foundation. I might say parenthetically that our program chairman had initially entitled my address "Brief Remarks," but I resisted that title since it carries the implication that I am capable of brevity only when programmed to that end. But I shall be brief, and so here we go.

Where to now? I took this question some months ago with the impression -- incorrectly, I might add -- that Louis Starr had pre-empted a historical stance with his review at the last colloquium of "Up To Now." That impression is incorrect because substantial developments in oral history during the past year, which include the establishment of new projects, provide more than sufficient justification for another historical treatment. But I turn to the future on personal grounds. Much time spent catching up human experience makes it refreshing on occasion to turn explorer. Moreover, the interests of this Association seem to require looking ahead. The Oral History Association, now entering its third year, has some 350 individual and institutional members, and this number continues to increase. Oral history has found a place in the sun. Some would say it is established. This suggests we are doing something right, but the challenge, of course, is to stay in phase with our constituencies. In meeting this challenge, practitioners of oral history can find a use for their services by catering to established uses of the past or by generating what, in effect, are new markets.

Before passing to the characteristics of these new markets, let me briefly comment on the analogy to business. Keeping in mind that oral history units do not receive their sources directly from heaven, but rather by way of administrators who must make choices, we might well use our Association to develop information adapted to administrators' categories of thinking. It is not enough to insist that we are doing vital work in recording the past when they want

comparative costs where oral history is an alternative route to an objective and, where oral history has unique capabilities, what outcomes may be expected from support at Levels A, B, and C?

When reflecting on the characteristics of new markets for oral history, it is tempting for purposes of this presentation to separate substantive matters from the media which are used to convey substance. But I will not separate them, knowing full well that the message is not independent of the medium. Thus far, oral history has been in an academic-language phase of development. Academic language is a written language. Although when spoken it may contain vernacular elements, the model form is written. When an oral history transcript is reviewed, how it compares with the written standard is often of more concern than how effectively it carries content. Now, my point here is not to urge preservation of the oral record (surely, no one needs urging), but rather to point out that the articulation of historical study with the written language, both through source material and the presentation of research to constituencies, has limited the study of history to far less than the full range of human behavior. So assuming that there is an interest in historical approaches to the broader range of human behavior, we have opportunities to be useful both in the collection of source material and in affecting the presentation of results.

Parenthetically, it may be worth noting that writing and the study of history are associated so closely that it may require more than a moment to realize that history can be presented by means of other media. To realize such opportunities, we must go beyond the transcript and not just because the transcript keeps faith with the content of the oral record only when the respondent speaks the academic language. The written language has limited utility. It is more appropriate for studying structures than processes, for recording what is static rather than what is moving, for simplifying rather than synthesizing. On the last point, compare the indicators of a speaker's life style in an oral record of an interview where the vernacular is spoken with the indicators of life style in the interview transcript.

Some oral history units are already moving beyond the transcript. Wayne State University, for example, is setting up a facility where the interview is filmed by fixed-focus cameras. Clearly the transcript is an inappropriate vehicle to record the content of the film, as you will see later in this colloquium, but we have hardly begun to explore the possibilities for historical documentation using combinations of audio and visual media. Determining the most appropriate combinations to meet a variety of subject-matter conditions and investigator characteristics seems to me an important aspect of where to now.

Well, maybe so, you may say, but after all, there is little demand for such source material. It is transcripts that are wanted.

That stance is reminiscent of the common-sense approach of buggy-makers at the turn of this century. It fails to account for the power, and I would add the responsibility, which the collector of source material has to guide students of the past toward areas of research and research methods. Also overlooked is the media explosion which produced the tape recorder in an early phase. After five centuries of the hegemony of the printed word, it seems a safe prediction that within this generation individual homes, college dormitories, and school and college classrooms will have a capability for receiving multi-media historical presentations on a limited-audience basis. We could be getting ready.

Finally, the where-to-now theme suggests that we should be seeking multiple uses for the source material we are generating. An archival function can be a secondary concern as well as a primary concern without detriment to archival values. Why not systematically accommodate several objectives when generating oral history, like obtaining source material for an immediate research need, or using oral history source material to produce a film or an audio dimension for a museum display?

This look to the future is, of course, based on a sense of arrival. It is appropriate in looking ahead to recognize an obligation to the two men who above all others built the foundation upon which we stand. One is our honorary chairman, the man who two decades ago established oral history in the form we know it today. I had hoped that Professor Allan Nevins and Mrs. Nevins would be with us this evening, but the health of Professor Nevins did not permit this, and for that I am sorry. The other man I have in mind is James Mink, who stands preeminent as the father of this Association. Jim could not be with us this year, but he assures me that at the forthcoming colloquium he will compensate for this absence. In a recent letter he dealt with the theme of where to now. I take the liberty of reading some of it into the record.

Addressing the present situation, he says, "I am very proud of our Association and of its splendid progress." Looking to the future with an eye to what has happened in other organizations, he continues, "I feel we should strive <u>not</u>" -- and he underlined "not" -- "become an association with cliques or an establishment. While we're still small, this tendency will be easier to control. But as we grow, I suppose a certain amount of this will be inevitable. We should encourage the membership to nominate and elect newer and younger members to office instead of relying on an old guard to carry us along."

With that sound advice from Jim Mink, I thank you for your attention.

ORAL HISTORY IN THE WASHINGTON ENVIRONS

Forrest C. Pogue, Moderator

As Gould has said, I will welcome you formally tomorrow, but since I'm on my feet, I will just say hello.

In preparing this program earlier this year, members of the Council decided that since Washington is the center of a number of oral history programs among various government agencies we should bring together five project chairmen to tell you about some of them. Most of them are quite new, and of course the government agencies are not only building them up in Washington itself, but you'll find that the Air Force Academy has started an oral history program, the Naval Academy has started one, and I'm sure that others will be added almost monthly as time goes on.

Oddly enough, what is probably the first of the oral history type programs set up by the government on a large scale is not being carried on formally in the United States at present. During World War Two, the War Department had overseas at the heighth of the program more than two hundred combat historians who went into every theater asking impertinent and pertinent questions of officers and men, sometimes getting almost bodily thrown out of headquarters but at the same time gathering material, not -- I hasten to add -- by tape recorder and not perhaps in accordance with some of the guidelines that we have set up. But at the same time this was an extremely large program, but except for individual writers of the office of the Chief of Military History, I believe it's correct to say that the Army is not at present carrying on such a program in the United States. (There is a combat interview program, however, in Viet Nam.) In recent years the Marine Corps has put into effect a program of this nature, and you'll hear about it tonight. In recent years also, the Presidential Libraries have started vigorously on these programs. The Truman Library started it some years ago. Then shortly after the death of President Kennedy, a crash interview program was instituted, so that in a matter of months a great number of interviews were gathered. As you know, this process is continuing as the various Presidential Libraries are established.

In addition to the five programs that you'll hear about tonight, we have at least six or seven other such programs, one of which is the medical one with which Dr. Olch is associated. It's

possible that tonight, if some of you in the audience know of some of these other programs or represent some of them, that you may like to use the question period to say a word or two about your particular activity.

The first speaker tonight is the historian with the Social Security Administration. Dr. Bortz, a B.A. and M.A. from the University of Cincinnati and a Ph.D. from Harvard, spent some eleven years with the Corps of Engineers' Historical Division and nearly a year with the Office of Chief of Military History. He has been with the Social Security Administration since 1963, beginning his interview program the following year and then shortly afterwards contracting with the Columbia Oral History Program for a great number of interviews in depth. He's the project director of that particular program. Dr. Bortz.

ABE BORTZ: I began working in the area of oral history in the summer of '64. But when it became obvious that, as a one-man office with only a secretary and working on other aspects of our history program as well, I could not carry out the oral history phase alone within a reasonable period of time, we turned to Columbia's Oral History Research Office for assistance. Professor Starr and Mrs. Mason helped us, as they have helped so many others, with the result that we contracted to have them do what turned out to be a rather large and, I may say, successful undertaking involving more than a hundred persons interviewed. Peter Corning, then working on a political science Ph.D. thesis on Medicare at New York University, did all the interviews under the contract. I was project director during most of the undertaking, providing Corning with background material on the persons to be interviewed and with suggestions about areas to be delved into or even specific questions to be asked. However, the Oral History Research Office sent out the letters requesting the interviews, thus adding a certain aura of objectivity for any would-be doubters.

Our purpose in conducting these tape interviews was simply to gather source material for use by future historians and others interested in this area of social history. The actual interviewing by Columbia, where the tapes and transcripts are now deposited, began in early 1965 and is just now being completed, except for odds and ends. First, the emphasis was put on interviewing the pioneers in the movement and those involved in administering the original Social Security Act of 1935. Then we turned our attention to the more immediate past, to those involved in the background to and the passage of hospital insurance legislation, more commonly known as Medicare. This latter phase was begun almost immediately after the enactment of that legislation in 1965. Many, although not all, of the people interviewed were important individuals. They included -- and these are in no order of importance or significance -- Congressmen and Senators and members of their own staffs as well as of committee staffs, Presidential assistants, professional social-welfare officials and workers. Naturally the list included many persons from the federal

executive sector. HEW Secretaries, Undersecretaries, Assistant Secretaries, Federal Security Agency administrators, Social Security commissioners, bureau directors and those lower down in the hierarchy. And there were lawyers, actuaries, representatives from various federal advisory councils. The group also included state welfare and unemployment compensation executives, businessmen from various industries, including those from commercial insurance companies. There were union officials and representatives of retired-persons' organizations, physicians and other officials from the American Medical Association as well as physicians opposed to the AMA, hospital administrators, officials from Blue Cross and Blue Shield, academicians from various disciplines, and journalists.

What did we get from all this? First, the statistics. Counting the nine individuals I interviewed myself, which were not part of the Columbia phase, 112 persons were interviewed on approximately 370 hours of tape, involving some 11,398 pages of transcript. The longest transcript runs for 566 pages, and it was with one of the male species, though, over-all, I would say the longest interviews were with women. The most sessions held with one person was seven. The shortest was one session of twelve pages, or sixteen minutes. As for quality, some of the interviews were superb, some good, some only fair, some provide barely a worthwhile sentence or two, and some few are altogether useless. In part, these results are a mark of the interviewer, his preparation and experience. Yet much, too, depended on the subject, whether he was articulate or inarticulate, keen-witted or senile, aware of the value of oral history or hostile to it, or just reticent. And then, of course, there were the merely garrulous or the obsessed.

What we got specifically is pretty much what others have already discovered -- much on the why and the how, particularly on making decisions or non-decisions. The feelings and attitudes and thinking, the character and psychology of the individuals interviewed, what they thought of others, of facts and events, what they thought of themselves. The interviews revealed crucial linkages and interactions, the intangibles among economic, political, social and, particularly, personal relationships. They pointed up the relative importance of various issues. They provided an intimacy into the atmosphere of the period with the aid of anecdotes and illustrative material that added color and drama. They confirmed earlier tentative observations and conclusions. They provided leads to other sources and individuals and raised new questions that might not have been thought of otherwise. Finally, they reflected the importance of the voice itself in clarifying character and personality and even more by inflection, accent, pace or rhythm. One resource, I believe, needs further emphasis: the insights provided into what leaders thought were the facts or thought the situation was and acted on rather than on what historians might find later to be partially or completely erroneous premises.

Turning to a number of oral history's weaknesses and dangers as revealed by our project, first of all, they clearly indicate the basic frailties of the human species. How often does a subject try to reconstruct history to his own wishes, to use the interview for self-justification and/or self-advancement? Facts, especially events, are telescoped or rearranged. A number of those interviewed, particularly executives, whether federal or otherwise, were hesitant in talking openly or telling all, especially those still active with an organization or who remain in the public eye. A special danger to be avoided is reflected by one individual who spent seven long sessions merely reading her notes or documents. That care must be taken in questioning an interviewee's statements is illustrated by another person, who at the conclusion of the first session insisted that I sit in with the interviewer at any future sessions. Evidently the interviewee had become so irritated by the interviewer that he had lost confidence in him. A humorous and, in a way, tragic instance of what can happen in an attempt to avoid the inhibiting presence of the tape recorder is revealed by an interview I conducted. I brought along a gentleman, supposedly skilled in the art of electronics, to operate an especially expensive tape recorder so that we might get a fine voice reproduction. He sat in an adjoining room with the equipment, and the interview turned out to be an especially difficult one because of constant interruptions, particularly telephone calls. Later, to my dismay, I found that my assistant had forgotten to turn on the switch for one of the early tapes.

On the whole, the restrictions imposed by the interviewees on the interviews in our project should not pose too severe a burden on any scholar interested enough and persistent enough. For us, the biggest problem has been the difficulty in getting interviewees to approve their transcripts. At this moment, some 36 still await the approval of the interviewee, out of a total of 116 interviews. In other words, almost one out of three, and one of these was taped more than five years ago.

I plan to do additional interviews but with more emphasis on getting those lower down the scale in position and prominence -- those who have a small axe or maybe even no axe to grind and probably have never spoken or written before. I have already tried written questionnaires among this type with mixed results, yet certainly worth the effort involved. The questionnaire has been used to, 1) get historical material from those who cannot be interviewed because of the limitations of time and personnel; 2) to identify individuals who should be interviewed on the basis of what is found in their questionnaire;and, 3) to secure material to be used in other interviews.

To provide a better method for using the transcripts, I have made a subject index for several interviews I have personally conducted,thus going beyond the name index provided by Columbia's

Oral History Research Office. Though this is a slow process, it is certainly worth doing. This may also avoid a growing danger already noted by others -- the possibility that we may soon kill off the golden calf by interviewing the same people over and over again till we become pests, people to be avoided. An index that provides detail on the subjects covered may prevent some duplication of effort. In that regard, let me close by saying I believe what we should have -- and this may be only an ideal at this time -- is some sort of national clearinghouse to which all of us will send annotated lists of the individuals we have interviewed. Such a list is especially needed in the case of prominent persons, those most likely to be called on by more than one person working in the oral history field. Thank you.

FORREST C. POGUE: I think the point that was just made is one that deserves a whole session before much longer. I find continually in talking to people who had positions at Cabinet level or who led armies or something of the sort complain very bitterly about having to tell the same material over and over again. However, from some experience that I've had in talking more than once to people and getting different answers, they may want to avoid a record that shows them up as having poor memories.

Our next speaker, Dr. Emme, is Historian of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. A Ph.D. from the University of Iowa, Naval aviator in World War Two, he changed to the Air Force as a colonel in the Reserve, spent nine years on the civilian staff and faculty of the Air University, came to NASA in 1959. He's the author of several books, Impact of Air Power, Aeronautics and Astronautics, History of Rocket Technology, History of Space Flight. Dr. Emme.

EUGENE M. EMME: Well, I'm delighted to be here, although I must confess, in opening, that NASA doesn't have an oral history program. We have an official historical program, and in this program we do extensive interviewing, some on tape and some not on tape, and I don't know whether this is oral history or not. I sense from reading some of the very provocative hearings of this colloquium in previous years that sometimes it's a misnomer. I thought I might be a little provocative myself tonight in being very pragmatic on what we are doing and the problems we face in using people engaged in activities that are less than ten years old and trying to document for future historians that which might be worthwhile.

Of course there are many people in NASA today that would like us to publish the full Apollo history by Christmas of this year, leaving us a few months to do it. It's conservatively estimated that on the 20th of July of this year over 700 million people worldwide watched live on TV the lunar walk of the first two human beings who reached the moon and returned to earth. I don't think NASA is going to establish an oral history program to interview

700 thousand people to get their reactions to the significance of this event. Perhaps it was, as some people say, the most significant human event of the 20th Century. The President went back to Creation, most of us don't go quite back that far. And perhaps space isn't very relevant to a lot of people here. I notice most of us are over thirty years of age, so that that necessarily divides a few generations any way you cut it, intellectually or physically. But anyway, let me just try to offer some commentary on what we're trying to do.

Necessarily, in the present era of the last ten years, we're involved with the history of an institution, an agency created out of pieces of agencies -- a civilian agency, which has the mission to develop a capability in this country to undertake the space program as it was conceived following the humiliation of Sputnik, that traumatic experience for a good number of Americans. And, of course, the space age got started during the regime of President Eisenhower, who didn't get very much credit during the Apollo 11 achievement for establishing the national policy that peaceful uses of space will be preeminent as a national goal in our space endeavor. More of us are familiar with the second phase of the space endeavor under President Kennedy, when it was decided that we shall go to the moon in this decade. The history of this phase is a very fascinating story and has been fairly well covered in taped interviews, as I will recount. People who have twenty, maybe thirty productive years left in the aerospace community or in governmental activities or in scientific activities are the people we are trying to interview to discover the whys and wherefores that aren't in the written documents concerning the history of NASA.

Our oral history efforts -- and I'll use the term now -- is a part of our agency historical program, which is a very large program. We have three professional people in NASA headquarters in this program, and we've divided the manner of doing this history since I came to NASA nine years, eleven months and some twenty-eight days ago. I could have shut the door and said I was writing the history of NASA, which would have been intellectually dishonest and, of course, impossible to do. We break it out in terms of manageable proportions which are defined on the basis of what you can attack first legitimately. So we have a program history series. A program begins when it's funded by the Congress. This is when a program begins, such as Mercury, Gemini, Apollo. The program ends when it's no longer funded by the Congress. Therefore, a program history has precise parameters which you can determine, and once a program's about finished, you better get going on the documentation and your interviewing process.

Now, ninety percent of the work of NASA is done in the field, the work isn't done in Washington. The decision-making, the procurement of the money through the Bureau of the Budget and the process on Capitol Hill, this all happens in Washington. But the

actual work of mobilizing industry and using federal talent for the managing of these things as well as soliciting the inputs necessary from the scientific community, ninety to ninety-five percent of this work takes place in the field, and ninety percent of that actually takes place outside of the NASA centers in the field. It's taking place on the campuses of the universities and in the industries who are the major contractors to build the hardware. So that also gives you an idea of the problem. And yet a program history, such as our first one published, called This New Ocean, The History of Project Mercury, at least enables us not to theorize about oral history. You can see in the small print of the footnotes where the interviews come in. There were some 200 interviews in the Mercury history project, and only one was recorded, and, of course, you can find this in the footnotes. The Gemini history, there have been some 200 interviews, and over a hundred of these were recorded, and over a hundred of these were outside of NASA proper. We've already performed 75 interviews on the Apollo history, one phase of it, and all of these have been recorded. I will get into some of the methodological problems later.

We also have a Center history series. Every Center is involved in more than one program, although Cape Kennedy is largely the manned space-flight program, and, of course, each Center is working on a history, and in this area, as well as the program histories, we have largely used institutional contracts with universities. We don't have a special team of interviewers. We use the historians who are responsible for writing the history. In other words, as they go along in their interviewing, they are learning that which is not in the documents, and this is dovetailed to their documentary research so that they can productively increase the depth of the history. Then after they write their chapters, because the only basis for these interviews, being contemporary in nature, is that those who gave the interview have the right of review on how their inputs were used in the text. I don't know of many historians who will submit two and three hundred copies of their chapters to the history-makers involved as they work towards their final manuscript. The author is the final dictator in terms of interpretation, but this is also part of the research process. Now, you could get into serious trouble if you used some of the loose things said on interviews as a quotation.

We have an administrative and management series of histories which are largely dictated by the great interest of NASA management itself to try to discern better what they did and what they are doing. And, of course, for those of you that are interested, we have published one or two volumes in each of these series. Of all of our chronologies and other building-block publications, some of which include oral history materials, we've only published three histories. One of the most interesting, which will be forthcoming next year to be published by the Smithsonian Press, is the history of Project Vanguard by Constance McLaughlin Green, a contractor.

Vanguard was the first U.S. space program, but of course it didn't launch the first space satellite into orbit, as most of you know. She conducted interviews, made no tapes. I guess the most notable one was our interview of President Eisenhower, who, of course, would not tape, and this ended up with Mrs. Green and myself in the cafe there in the square of Gettysburg going over all of our questions and combining our intellect to get a transcript of what we thought we had covered. We didn't want to feel like we were testing the memory of General Eisenhower in 1966, but we got a lot from him, to the extent that he pounded the table several times, in terms of how he conceived of space as a peaceful endeavor for this country.

Now, ultimately, since I have said that by producing a history you don't have to go into all of these theoretical discussions on what you're up to when you interview these people, we had a difficult time getting documentation on Project Mercury, which involved use of the Atlas booster and the use of a lot of military technology, to cover the military developments which contributed to the Mercury hardware. Once we got through the Mercury history and can show that the result of our effort was a reasonably objective and comprehensive discussion of everything, we had nothing but the green light with all of these people who previously were hostile. This is very important in your oral history because, particularly in the Apollo history, you are interviewing the NASA manager and the industry manager on the same subject, and you can imagine how interesting this will get when we get to things like the tragic fire of January 27, 1967, or some of the other problems that developed in the program which did not have that visibility. One need not think that the space program has been without problems at every step of the way in terms of reliability of equipment.

Well, I think that one of the results of our interviews and our historical effort is that we've actually encouraged busy people to keep records, to keep their desk calendars, to keep their own set of documents, official and personal, and of course this is invaluable to the future historian. We've conducted other interviews of a different character in support of the John F. Kennedy Library project in the space area and also exit interviews of departing NASA people. Now, this is one of the most expensive historical endeavors when you have a small staff of interviewing people, key people on an exit-interview basis -- that is, taping their personal involvement with your institution before they are administrator and, in some cases, afterwards. We do this on every basis that we can get at it. We were lucky on the first NASA administrator. Every day at the end of the working day he would dictate a tape on what he had done that day, send it out to his secretary at the university from which he was a president in absentia, and then this was all typed up for his children. These weren't second thoughts. These were first thoughts on the actions of each day, including four-letter words in some instances, and something that of course would never be published. It's so valuable we don't have a copy in the NASA historical

archives, but we have read it and we are free to consult it. How lucky can the historian get to find someone like that to be the first top man in your agency?

Well, in summary, I think we need a systemic appreciation of time in oral history interviews. I can name some old-timers in the field of aviation who are leading the historians way off the track. They are the only remaining survivors, they're the last of the Mohicans, and yet we have miles and miles of tape of interviews with these people. Is that how it really was at the time that these events took place? We need a systemic study of these interviews at the time they were taken in relationship to the time that these events occurred. Are we just interviewing an old man in 1969 or are we really getting the information on 1917 or 1914? We are very aware of this in NASA, as I said, because these young men are going to be around for another thirty years, and we find that some of the most significant interview data comes when we turn the tape recorder off, which is a little contradictory, I think, to what some of you people might believe here -- and I mention President Eisenhower as one, General Doolittle, some of the other very key people on key questions. Conflict of interest, military-industrial relationships, you name it -- when you turn the tape recorder off, when they know that you're seriously pursuing the real evidence on what actually happened, they want to give you guidance that isn't in the documents. I insist that oral history can be grossly superficial if it's not performed in conjunction with the full historical research and writing process. The ultimate thing is the publication, where the oral history is another source in conjunction with other evidence, where interviews are just a part of the source material. I would point out we have individuals in NASA who have no private life. How would you interview an astronaut? What of his life hasn't been recorded? He has eight openings in the human body. They've all been examined, probed, for some years. He's interviewed every time he's in public, and perhaps we should interview his wife, and there are some other things. But the record is on film, it's not just tape. I invite your suggestions and criticisms. If you ever have any good idea on how to get at the real history of space exploration and exploitation, I'll be happy to hear from you.

FORREST C. POGUE: The next speaker, Benis M. Frank, is Director of the Marine Corps Historical Unit. Ben became acquainted with the Marines by way of enlisted status in the first Marine division in the Pacific and North China in World War Two and then returned as an officer in the Korean War. In 1966 he became head of the Oral History Unit of the Marine Corps and has conducted most interviews with retired Marine Corps personalities. He drew on these interviews for a book just out, Victory and Occupation in the Marine Corps in World War Two.

The Marine Corps had something like the Army's program in World War Two in that it assigned, as I recall, sergeant correspondents to units. In the Army, we used to think that was largely

publicity and not really very good history, but I imagine Ben will have some other views on the subject.

BENIS M. FRANK: Thank you, Forrest. On behalf of the Commandant of the Marine Corps and the Director of Marine Corps History, I want to thank you for the opportunity to come before you and of being afforded a chance to briefly speak about the Marine Corps Oral History Program. Some months ago we made a presentation for the Secretary of the Navy's Advisory Committee on Marine Corps history, and my presentation on oral history was taped. It came to ten minutes, and I was almost inclined to play the tape. However, I think it might be better if I did it in full living presence because a lot of things have happened since those few months ago.

Like other existing oral history programs, we, too, trace our ancestry to Dr. Nevins' initial efforts at Columbia and, like everyone else in the art, owe a great deal to the Oral History Research Office at Columbia and to Betty Mason and Louis Starr for the counsel and assistance provided us during our early days and right up into the present. As Forrest mentioned, in the past most of our interviews conducted either in the field or to assist in the writing of our official operational histories were written. Our writers often interviewed senior commanders and key participants of the various campaigns, but these interviews were, by present standards, rather rudimentary. The questions were more often than not written and the replies were written rather than taped. Certainly the art of the tape recorder is recent. In 1965, following the assignment of Marine Corps units to Viet Nam and the expansion of our historical collection effort, we established a program entitled Historical Interview Program for Viet Nam Returnees. The purpose of this program was to interview at eleven stateside Marine Corps bases those individuals who had recently returned from a tour of duty in Viet Nam and to avail ourselves through these interviews of the experiences and knowledge of these combat veterans while the events in which they were involved were still fresh in their minds. Essentially, the taped interviews would augment the written reports and documentation we required of the deployed fleet Marine force units.

In late 1966 our program was expanded and retitled simply Marine Corps Oral History Program. Then, as now, it consisted of three elements -- interviews conducted by deployed fleet Marine force units at the scenes of actions, the interviews conducted by major interview centers, now numbering 13, and interviews conducted with retired prominent Marines. We now have in the Marine Corps Oral History collection some 4,550 separate interviews of varying lengths which we have received from Viet Nam and the major interview centers. The interviewees range in rank from private to general officers, and the tapes vary in classification from top secret to unclassified. The interview subjects cover almost every aspect in the entire spectrum of current Marine Corps operations and activities. These tapes, together with the printed

documentation sheets, rather full documentation sheets, I may add, that we require from these people have proved to be a valuable source of information for the writers in our Viet Nam section, of which my colleague, Major Tom Donnelly (who is here), is a member. They prepare both classified and unclassified historical monographs, background studies for publication and/or in-house use. We also prepare a periodic bulletin listing the tapes we have received and, upon request, make duplicate tapes available to both regular and Reserve Marine Corps organizations, other services for use in training and research, and to certain study organizations, think tanks which have contracts with the Marine Corps for specific projects. To date, we have made and sent out some 6,450 duplicate tapes.

As head of the Oral History Section and with my one clerk-typist and sometimes transcriber, all this has been accomplished. As I say, Major Donnelly expects to join the Section shortly. As head of this Section, I am charged with the over-all administration of the Oral History Program, but I am more directly and immediately involved with the third element of that program -- that is, the interviews with retired Marines. We now have taped interviews with 52 retired general and senior officers. I have conducted all but ten of these interviews. Four transcripts have been completed for accession into our oral history collection and copies deposited in the collections held by Columbia University and the United States Naval Institute, of which Jack Mason is the head. And I must also thank the Naval Institute for the assistance they provided in our transcription effort. As I indicated, we do not have the capability now, but hopefully we shall have in the near future. A number of other transcripts have also been completed but are currently being edited either by the individual interviewees or by the Oral History Section and, again, hopefully we won't have to wait five years for these to be returned to us, or even one year. However, we have a few who are sitting on them, and I'll have to consult with other people as to what to do in this situation.

In the folders the Marine Corps Historical Division has prepared for this colloquium, you will find a report detailing the status of our interviews with retired Marines. While we are governed by security regulations in our handling of tapes concerning current Marine Corps operations, like other oral history programs we maintain our tapes and transcripts of the interviews with retired Marines in the same manner established by the Columbia Oral History Research Office for its interviews. Material from some of the completed open transcripts has already been used in Historical Division publications currently available and in those soon to be published. I could go on especially about the retired Marines I've interviewed, many of whom are legends in the Corps in their own time. But rather than doing that, I hope that I may be permitted to "psych" myself by referring you to an article I wrote for the November 1968 issue of The United States Naval Institute Proceedings entitled "Marine Corps History, Written and Spoken," (which you will

find in that folder we have prepared) in which I expanded on our interviews with the retired Marines and quoted from several of them.

The only tape recordings we have transcribed are the retired interview tapes, and for various reasons which I'm sure are obvious to most of you. The other interviews we have are fully documented. Enough information exists in these documentation sheets to allow us to determine what value they are, and some are quite outstanding. On a long-range consideration, we think they'll be even more valuable as our interviews with retired Marines are. The interviews with these retired Marines are fantastic. These people are willing to talk and they come up with some great stories, sea stories as well as the nitty-gritty of what happened with major decisions during major events. These interviews, as I indicated, have both short- and long-term value.

Equally important to the Marine Corps Historical Program over-all is the fact that these tapes as well as those from Viet Nam provide us with what General Wallace M. Greene, Jr., our former Commandant and one of our strongest boosters, called living history. While our program is strictly Marine Corps oriented and may seem at first blush somewhat parochial in nature, a closer glimpse will show that it is not. Within our small province we are attempting to obtain on tape a slice of American history, and we cordially invite scholars and researchers -- the terms, of course, not mutually exclusive -- to make full use of our resources. We shall provide all possible assistance in your endeavors and on your behalf.

FORREST C. POGUE: As a non-mathematician who almost majored in freshman college algebra because of the number of times I had to take it, I'm not in a position to comment very much on the next speaker's topic. Miss Uta Merzbach is Curator of Mathematical Instruments of the Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution. She is a Harvard Ph.D. in mathematics and history of science. The Oral History Program in her section began in the early part of 1968. She's working on interviews pertaining to the development of automatic computers with special emphasis on the period 1946 to '55. Miss Merzbach.

UTA C. MERZBACH: Thank you, Dr. Pogue. I have to admit at the outset that we haven't had a great many interviews. We are, I think, pretty much the baby here, as you can tell from the fact that we only started actually interviewing on tape in early '68.

Now, this interview project is something we like to think of as a natural part of the program of our research activities in the National Museum of History and Technology. As most of you know, we are involved not only in producing exhibits but are primarily occupied in research concerned with the history of the various objects in the Museum. In this we try to serve a two-fold aim to make available the historic source materials, which in our case may take the

form of objects, drawings, photographs, other traditional two-dimensional source materials, plus interviews, tape interviews where possible and where we can afford it. We like to make this available to the serious student and of course we like to use it ourselves for our own work. Now, we are fortunate in the Section of Mathematics in having support from the American Federation of Information Processing Societies. This makes it possible for us to go into the taped-interview business a little more systematically than we've been able to do up to now and some of our colleagues can do. But I'd like to emphasize at the outset that we regard this very much as a portion of the general historic research process that goes on in the Museum.

Now, with that in mind, we've been quite conscious of the fact that in preparing for interviews we need to follow the same considerations that we follow when we prepare historic studies. I mean we spend years going through all kinds of training, whether as scientists or as historians, to learn how to use source materials. Now, here we have this problem of not only using source material that is unfamiliar to us but, in a sense, participating in creating it, and occasionally that appears rather overwhelming. At the same time, I'd like to emphasize it because we have it very much in mind, it has to do with the attitude we try to bring or feel we should bring to the interview, although, in fact, we don't always succeed. Ideally, we'd like to know as much as can be known about the subject in question before we hit that poor person and take his time. Now, as we know, that's the ideal and most of the time we fall far short of it. In considering problems that we face, I think this is the major one because there is a time element involved. We're able to take advantage of the fact that we're dealing with a portion of history that involves living individuals. On the other hand, we all share the problems of staff and funds and time limits, and of course there's a danger of preparing so much that your subject passes into another world before you're ready for him.

We're essentially doing two types of interviews. One is directed to the individual who has or appears to have had a key role in the development of automatic computation in the period with which we are concerned at the present, the 1946-1955 period. In the case of a few individuals, we try to do interviews in depth. This requires a good deal of homework on their part as well as on ours. Now, so far we've had very few of those, less than a half a dozen have started, and these in-depth interviews of course imply a fairly long sequence of studies.

Numerically, the largest portion of our interviews is and will be devoted to talking to people who have had some role in the computer development in our target period, although that may differ. They may have been technicians, they may have been programmers, they may have been associated in a rather peripheral manner. This is the secondary aspect with which, if we can exploit it fully, may give us

a check on the statements of the key figures and, of course, should round out the picture, particularly if we keep in mind that we are going at this not only from the point of view, say, of the mathematician or the electronic engineer, but hopefully our material should help the social historian, the political historian, the economist, what have you, because, as we all know, this field encompasses so much and will encompass even more.

I should just remark that so far we have only covered about thirty individuals in some fifty interviews. Generally we find that the optimum time span appears to be 90 minutes. In most cases after two hours, I find there's a definite slackening, and even if you aren't aware of it at the time, in listening to the transcript afterwards, it does seem to show. But we find 90 minutes appears to be more or less the ideal time length. I should say one reason we have not been able to do more so far is that until quite recently I was the only interviewer, and since I am doing this as part of my duties and, until recently also, we did not have that large a support staff, it's, as all of you know, bound to be slow going.

Among the peculiar problems that we're concerned with, there's the question of memory and memory-jogging. I have found that when it comes to technical points, specifics, we seem to get better response from individuals who are not now intensely occupied in either this or a related endeavor that requires a good deal of mental activity. Now, this doesn't have to do with retirement. I mean, as we all know, we can find people who've retired and who are working independently or on a consultant basis or what not, and it appears that if they are intensely occupied with something that does not relate to their previous work, it is much more difficult to pin them down on technical details particularly. Whereas people who either are in the field but are spending a 40-hour week that appears not to strain them too much tend to remember much more clearly what happened fifteen years ago and can go much more into detail, and the same is true for people who are in a state of retirement. And then there is a problem that may be peculiar to our activity. You get people who are involved in litigation relating to inventions covering that period, and of course that present very peculiar problems. At first I wasn't sure and I'm still not entirely certain whether it's good or bad to have someone who has made a deposition. I find if it's an involved case and if they've been very good patent lawyers, they've actually done a good deal of work for us. So I'm beginning to be rather grateful for this kind of thing. But, as I said, I'd be very much interested in hearing comments about this question of memory.

By and large, we seem to have fewer problems in getting at general evaluations, critical comments, this business of personal relationships and interrelationships. That comes a little more easily. It's just that the hard facts are a little harder to come

by. As far as this business of even general comments or critical evaluations by the interviewee, we've also found that in many cases, if we can afford the time, it seems we get a better response by letting them run on fairly freely, in other words, indirect direction. We've had cases where we've thought we were warmed up sufficiently to get a response to questions and we might come up with a question of an assessment of a specific point, and it would be brushed aside, particularly if it turned out to be somewhat touchy. Well, then, if we went around three corners and got the individual started on a different tack and he just went on freely for about five or ten minutes, all of a sudden we might be right back where we had wanted to be and get that response which was rejected the first time. I'd be interested what the more experienced members of the audience have to say about it.

I think that just about winds up the essential points I'd like to make. As I say, I'm very conscious of the fact that we're newcomers in the field. Thank you very much.

FORREST C. POGUE: The last speaker, John F. Stewart, is Supervisory Archivist, Office of Presidential Libraries, National Archives, and Acting Head of the John F. Kennedy Library. He has an A.B. and M.A. from Boston University and two years of advanced graduate study in public administration at George Washington University. Mr. Stewart joined the National Archives staff in 1964. Two years later he succeeded Charlie Morrissey as head of the Kennedy Library Oral History Program. He conducted 90 of the 800 Kennedy Library interviews. Mr. Stewart.

JOHN F. STEWART: The Kennedy Library Oral History Program was started within weeks of the assassination of President Kennedy. I'm embarrassed to say that we haven't really fully documented the events surrounding the origins of the Oral History Program, something I think we should do because this program I think is a fairly unique one in the whole field of oral history. The impetus for the program came from Arthur Schlesinger, who of course had been a member of President Kennedy's staff, and from Fred Dutton, who at that time was Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Affairs. For the first year and a half of the program, it was coordinated by Mr. Fred Dutton, and all of the interviews were done on a part-time basis by a wide variety of people. In 1965, after a very intense study of the whole program by Professor Albert Rollins, the project was transferred to the supervision of the National Archives, and the first full-time director was appointed -- as Dr. Pogue mentioned, Charlie Morrissey -- in the Fall of 1965. The project was initially financed by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This grant has pretty much run out, and since the Fall of 1968 our activities have been financed almost totally from regular federal government appropriations.

The aims of our program are quite simple and quite standard -- namely, to provide a collection of supplemental documen-

tation on the career and administration of President Kennedy and on the careers of those who were closely associated with him.

I'm following pretty much a list of topics that Dr. Pogue suggested we cover in our remarks. As he mentioned, I have been associated with the project for approximately three and a half years. I was succeeded in 1968 as active Director of the project by Mr. Larry Hackman. The project as of November 1 has conducted approximately 800 interviews. Unfortunately, we don't keep a count of the exact number of sessions that have been conducted, but I would guess that it would range somewhere around 1500 or 2000. At the present time we have four people who are conducting interviews full time, eight people on our editorial and administrative staff, and approximately seven or eight people who work part time doing the transcribing. So, as you can see, we're still going at the whole program in a very active way.

The problems of the Kennedy Oral History Project I think are very similar to those that have been mentioned by the other speakers tonight, and certainly I could go on all night in talking about these problems because they're many and they're quite serious. I think of first importance in a project such as ours is the question of when do we stop interviewing. This question is continually put to me by budget people at the National Archives and by my supervisors. In fact, the statement was made to me just this afternoon that they felt very certain that I had absolutely no idea how we were going to bring this thing to a conclusion. The potential field of people to be interviewed is almost limitless. I would guess that we could, if we had the money and the time, interview almost 2000 people. It does, of course, become very difficult to justify expenditures of this size, particularly in light of the needs of the other activities of the Kennedy Library. Therefore, we've set, as a tentative goal, 1000 or 1100 interviews, which we hope to get to in the next two or three years. The Johnson Library Project has also set a goal of about 1200 or 1300, which I think has been reduced from the original goal of 2000.

A second problem -- and, again, this has been mentioned many times and I'm sure it's one that plagues practically every oral history program in the country -- is that of getting the transcripts back from the people who have been interviewed. Of the 800 interviews that we have conducted, less than 200 of them have actually been accessioned. There are still that many more in the mill either lacking editorial review or lacking a deed of gift because the person can't make up his mind whether he wants to close it or leave it open. A whole host of problems have come to the fore in the Kennedy Project in the last few months because we've started to make some of these transcripts available for research use. Among these are the whole matter of indexing. We began work on a subject index a couple of years ago and did approximately fifty transcripts and concluded that the job was just so tremendous we really couldn't afford to do

it, at least right now. So we're now considering some other kinds of finding aids that might be more appropriate. On the problem of closing portions of transcripts, we have run into cases quite frequently where people will want to close a part of the transcript and leave the rest of it open. The whole matter of how the tapes are to be used. This, of course, has been a subject of some controversy among oral history people as to whether the tape should be saved and how it should be used. We have backed off on our original policy, which was to destroy the tape or at least not to consider it of any value, and we are now saving and taking steps to insure that all of our tapes are properly preserved.

One problem that I think is probably unique to our program, but perhaps it's found in other programs of similar size, is that of getting caught in a rut, programwise and procedurally and policywise, by following the initial practices that were set up when the program was started. Certainly in our case, because the Kennedy Program was set up on a crash basis and certain practices were initiated and certain policies adopted, it has sometimes become a little bit difficult to change these. You get into the habit of doing things that way and you get sort of boxed in administratively and you continue to do things in the same way without really considering in depth whether they're the only way or whether they're the proper way.

As I mentioned, we have interviewed a little over 800 persons. Included among these are 21 ambassadors who were appointed by President Kennedy, 68 heads of state and political figures from other countries, 43 members of President Kennedy's staff, either his Senate staff or his White House staff, 36 members of the Washington press corps, and about 64 Massachusetts political figures. The range of time of each interview, or of the total interviewing for each person, is from one half-hour to about twenty hours. The interviews cover a wide range of kinds of information ranging from some very detailed observations of President Kennedy's personal life to some very profound and I think valuable comments or judgments on President Kennedy's handling of various crises and various legislative matters.

Finally, let me conclude by saying a brief word about the quality of all of these interviews. I would be the first to admit, and I think anyone involved in oral history would have to admit, that in a collection the size of ours there's bound to be a fairly wide range of quality. Certainly we have any number of interviews that are practically worthless. On the other hand, we have, hopefully, a lot of them that are pure gold. We have never made a systematic evaluation of our transcripts. I think it's pretty much impossible for an on-going program to suddenly stop and take a good look at exactly what it's getting in a very systematic way. We are, in effect, hoping that as soon as these are made available the judgment will come in and they'll, I'm sure, come in very fast and furious. Thank you.

FORREST C. POGUE: In an unguarded moment, the Council indicated that since I worked in the Washington area that I might also describe our program. I knew it was going to be pretty late and so I decided against that. But having written a short description of it for one of our early newsletters, I decided that you could get some notion of that program by including that particular newsletter in your kit.

I will just say in passing that this program is different from most, I think, in that my interviews have been conducted absolutely for my own use in producing the four-volume biography of General Marshall that I am now engaged in writing. It is true that when I get a man who was associated with General Marshall, who also had a part in some other important historical activity, I do let the machine continue to run while I get some purely non-Marshall comments. For example, I took the time to interview General Leonard Gerow about his connections with General Marshall and the Pearl Harbor attack. General Gerow was then the head of the Operations Division of the War Department. But since he commanded the first American units to go into Paris, I felt that that also belonged in the tape.

DISCUSSION

MR. STONE: Aside from those individuals you have selected as interviewees for obviously valid criteria, what criteria do you use for sampling, and I ask you this in a statistical sense. When you sample groups, what criteria do you use?

BENIS M. FRANK: Our criteria for interviewing the active-duty personnel is a matter of a command decision at either the interview center or out in the field; the teams make that decision. We have in that brochure indicated what areas we're interested in. As far as the retired individuals are concerned, primarily we're concerned with age, getting the retired general officers who are oldest, who are liable to go. We don't want to get their death rattle on tape, but we want to get them while they're still compos mentis. So age and relative importance of position and, again, in structuring our interviews, perhaps location plays a part. A lot of retired general officers reside in the Southern California area and a lot in the Washington area. So as far as a statistic sampling, I can't answer other than that.

MR. STONE: As far as I can understand, you use no sampling method.

QUESTION: Ben, don't you use some sampling in the interviews in Viet Nam? How are those people selected?

BENIS M. FRANK: Well, as based on recent examples, the interview teams will go to a battalian, for instance, that was involved in a particular operation. The interview teams will go down there and

interview the battalion commander, the executive officer, operations officer and intelligence officer, logistics officer, and the various company commanders, small-unit commanders who were primarily and predominently involved with that operation. And this is one of the nice things about these interviews coming in from Viet Nam -- we've got a complete package of this battalion for a specific period and a specific operation and leave very little to chance. Also, most senior officers, regimental commanders and star general-officer rank are debriefed at Fleet Marine Corps Pacific Headquarters at Pearl Harbor upon their return. This is written into their orders, and, as a result, we have some very, very good and complete interviews in this area with very good documentation sheets.

QUESTION: Abe Bortz has spoken to a point which concerns me, and that is the possibility of our association taking some kind of role as a clearinghouse for enabling us to approach people without unduly bothering them by a multiplicity of interviewers. In that respect I'd like to ask Uta Merzbach a question as to whether or not she has been clearing her project in coordination with the IBM interviews and if she sees any way that this Association might possibly have been of help to her in coordinating that kind of effort.

UTA MERZBACH: Yes. The project referred to is a company project conducted by IBM. Now, we are coordinating with them in the sense that we know whom they've interviewed and we are trying to work out some arrangement concerning possible use of the tapes to avoid duplication. There's a difficulty because at present this is very definitely a company project and a closed project. Now, although it appears I won't have any difficulty listening to anything that is of interest personally, that doesn't help us, since one of our main aims is to make material generally available. So that that is a peculiar problem, and all I can say is that we hope that we can encourage them to make their tapes generally available. There's another aspect to it, and that is the question that occasionally you will have when you're involved with interviewing individuals who are part of industry or still employed by the corporation. We are being quite emphatic, at least I'm being quite emphatic, about the fact that these interviews are strictly between the individual and us. This doesn't apply to any single corporation, but it is a problem that pops up sporadically. But that's between him and his conscience and the company.

QUESTION: To what extent are the oral history tapes made by the various government agencies being made available to the National Archives?

JOHN F. STEWART: Well, the Kennedy Library is part of the National Archives.

BENIS M. FRANK: If I could answer that from our point of view. We are just now starting to think of cooperation. But as far as the

interviews that we receive from the field are concerned, classified ones of course are available only for those people who have clearance on a need-to-know basis, which excludes most of the civilian population of this country for general purposes. And the unclassified ones are official-use-only. You really have to have a need-to-know basis for that. The interviews with retired general officers are handled like all other oral history interviews with the same controls. If they're open, then they're open, but you have to be an accredited scholar just like in the case of the Columbia Program, and this is the way we handle it. And hopefully, we will have a large enough collection of transcripts available for general scholarly use and research. And one thing that we are instituting is that with our retirees we make the recommendation, to sort of spread the Marine Corps gospel or the gospel of our Oral History Program, that they make or allow us to make a presentation in their name of a copy of the transcript to the university from which they graduated, and so we've already made steps toward that, and the University of Florida, the University of Notre Dame, Illinois Wesleyan and several others will be getting copies of the transcript.

QUESTION: Since it seems often to be a matter of price, what experience has the panel had in getting two for the price of one? What about dialogue rather than monologue?

FORREST C. POGUE: I'll be glad to answer very quickly this -- it's particularly valuable if you are dealing with people of uncertain memories who've been telling the same story for a long time. I think I've told this before. One time, fortunately, I took along two men to interview a third one, all of whom had been classmates of General Marshall. And this one man, one of the few regular Army officers who graduated from Marshall's class besides Marshall, said, "You know, George got there late, and as a result, although we entered the same year, I helped to haze him," and he said, "I have spanked his behind many a time." And I said, "Sir, I do not believe this is true. General Marshall, according to the record, entered only one day after the other members of the regular class." And the other two immediately agreed. The man turned around and said, "Damn you, you ruined the best story I ever told." But I would never have convinced him without those two. The three people sort of reacted on each other and helped tremendously. Although, there's one other thing, sometimes when one told a big yarn, the others tried to outdo him.

BETTY KEY: I'd like to add a word to the last question. We're doing a McCarthy Campaign project here in town, talking to people who participated in the McCarthy Campaign of last year, and we've had to use people around the country because we can't afford to travel everywhere. So many times they say, "Can't we gather two or three people together at once," and almost invariably you get a lot from one person and very little from the others. So if you're in-

terested in one person and his motivation and his story, then you want to talk just to that person. Otherwise, someone is going to take the floor and the other one won't have a chance.

FORREST C. POGUE: That is true. We found that in our combat history experience that it wouldn't do to interview enlisted men with officers because enlisted men wouldn't speak up, or a very tough kind of sergeant would overawe men, and so on. But again, if you were trying to reconstruct the action on a particular beach, five or six or ten together helped to get a more accurate story than you would have had otherwise.

QUESTION: I'd like to add one word to something that Dr. Stewart brought out. He said that they are now preserving tapes in their entirety. Now, in talking to several people here, I understand that they're taking excerpts for a permanent record. They're preserving what they think is important. Well, how do we know what is going to be important in the next ten years? So I say let us go strong for preserving every word and not destroying any of these tapes. I'm a strong advocate of that.

FORREST C. POGUE: I'm a great believer of it myself and always have been because I think that even though they may change part of it later that you get a great deal of the man's personality and his opinion, at times, from the inflections. General Marshall disliked making strong personal statements about people, and at times he would say, "I will not make a statement that somebody will refer to on Page 78 as an insult." But if you could have heard the inflection at times when he pronounced certain names, you'd have no question in the world about his opinions.

WELCOME TO AIRLIE HOUSE

Forrest C. Pogue

As you may have gathered from my casual remarks last night, Virginia has not always been hospitable to outsiders, particularly to Yankees, as some of you may have noted if you saw some of the road signs as you came down. And there was a period that Republicans weren't welcome, but, little by little, Virginia welcomed Republican Presidential candidates and, as you may know from Tuesday's election, they are now willing to have Republicans in the State House. So whatever your politics or where you're from, I can say I think on behalf of Virginia that you're welcome to the state.

As a Kentuckian, coming from a state that claims a monopoly on hospitality, I must admit that the Virginians are very close to us in this department. Also our District of Columbia neighbors, many of whom are represented here, are very hospitable to potential tax-payers these days. So I know that you'll be cordially welcomed if you want to visit any of the agencies represented here in Washington.

For all the oral history projects hereabouts, I bid you welcome. Unlike the case of Louis Starr and Phil Crowl last year, my particular position is quite different because I'm at least an hour and a half away from here, and the library which I attempt to direct is more than two hours in the other direction from here, so that our activities in acting as host have been done more or less long-distance. But we selected this particular place because it's come to be an almost daily center for conferences at governmental levels. There are people here two or three times a week settling everything from disarmament to new budgets, and we thought it would be an interesting place to get away a little bit from some of the bustle of Washington or some of your college campuses. I can claim no credit for the arrangements. I would like to say that before we accepted the invitation to act as co-host I said to my assistant, whose name is Royster Lyle, "In addition to all of your other duties, will you take on the task of planning local arrangements?" And he, with Mrs. Stuart, his assistant, have worked very hard at this job. Also I would like to say that Peter Olch, the program chairman, has done one of the finest jobs in this department that I've seen. Appointed last year at Nebraska as program chairman, he had the main outlines set down for the Council when we met here in February, so that in most cases we had to do little more than to approve what had been done.

In welcoming you here, I would like to point out to those of you who may not be students of the Civil War that you cannot go in any direction here for 100 to 150 miles without running into reminders of that famous conflict, and if you dig very far, you're likely to unearth a great deal of Revolutionary history as well. Within that 100 to 150 miles, if you have the time, I remind you that you can see the homes of many of the Virginia Presidents, particularly Thomas Jefferson and the birthplace of Woodrow Wilson. In Lexington, Virginia, for example, which I would like you to visit, you can see within a few hundred yards the campuses of two well-known schools, Washington and Lee and the Virginia Military Institute. A few hundred yards from the Marshall Library, you can see the Lee Chapel and a short distance away V.M.I.'s museum with many relics of Stonewall Jackson, and of course in the town cemetery you will find his grave.

We are a young movement, and yet oral history is as old as the sages and the chief tribesmen who gathered around campfires to retell the stories of the past. The reason why someone chose this symbol that you see on our brochure of Boaz talking with his neighbors is to remind you that the business of gathering information from elders about what has happened before is an old, old tradition. We know, of course, that the early histories, the works of Herodotus and Thucydides, were based on this type of activity. We know, of course, that newsmen from the beginning have engaged in this kind of practice, that every attorney worth his salt has done the same. And yet, as an organized profession or technique or art or whatever, it is quite new. I think most of you must have been impressed, as I was last night, by the fact that five important programs in the Washington area are only three, four, five, six years old. New and yet old, we strive to organize our energies and to add guidelines and standards and to stimulate newcomers.

Louis Starr was nice enough in his newsletter to call me a sort of a pioneer of oral history for my work as one of a number of combat historians in World War II. Like many newsmen, we worked crudely by modern oral history standards, without tape recorders and perhaps without specific design. However, we talked to people and heard their stories and attempted to take them down accurately and without bias, and we added a dimension to history in the process. I know that my own volume on General Eisenhower as Supreme Commander and my books on General Marshall profited as a result. As a practitioner of the older trade, I'm delighted to have a part in welcoming all of you to this historical colloquium. In a valley of history, we chart new historic paths.

A WORKING REPORTER (AND UNLICENSED PRACTITIONER) LOOKS AT ORAL HISTORY

ELIE ABEL

FORREST C. POGUE: This morning it's my pleasure to introduce Elie Abel, reporter and broadcaster. Born in Canada, with degrees from McGill University and from Columbia, he began his career on newspapers in Windsor, Ontario, and in Montreal. He served in Berlin in 1946 and '47 as a foreign correspondent for the North American Newspaper Alliance, then for two years U.N. correspondent for the Overseas News Agency, then in Washington as foreign correspondent for The New York Times from 1949 to '59, also serving as Washington Bureau Chief from '59 to '61. With NBC he was Chief of the London Bureau from 1965 until two years ago when he returned to Washington as NBC News Diplomatic Correspondent. While of course as a newspaperman he's practiced oral history for many years, his practice of it for purposes of producing a book came in the writing of The Missle Crisis in 1966. Since many of the documents were unobtainable, since much of the story was to be found in the memories of men involved, he had to depend heavily upon the oral history source. So today we will hear him speak on "A Working Reporter Looks at Oral History." Mr. Abel.

ELIE ABEL: Thank you very much for that most generous introduction. Over something like a quarter of a century as a newspaperman, I have been in a great many compromising situations, but this is my first colloquium. Incidentally, I am at work on an oral history project of my own involving a book. I have been trotting around Washington -- chiefly Georgetown -- with my little tape recorder looking up some of the survivors of the Roosevelt-Truman era, and I have a question I'd like to ask some of the technical experts here: What do you do with an old gentleman whose recollections are quite fresh but who mumbles? The typist who is trying to transcribe some of these tapes says she's having a terrible time with Averell Harriman!

We must, I suppose, credit Thucydides with the first warning against the pitfalls of what we today call oral history. As all you learned gentlemen know, writing in the 5th Century, B.C. about the Peloponessian War, he said this: "The task was a laborious one because eyewitnesses of the same occurrence gave accounts of them as they remembered or were interested in the actions of one side or the other." Well, I have discovered that things have not

changed so much since those days. Any run-of-the-mill newspaperman can tell you the same thing in rather less formal language. It happens, and I've seen it happen, in wars, plane crashes, riots, landslides, general strikes, revolutions, coups d'etat, almost any large public event where a great many people saw what they think of as the whole of the action. Most often they've seen only a small part of it, or a reflection of it. And reporters, I suppose, learned long before oral history became institutionalized that eyewitnesses have to be handled with great care. Their testimony sometimes reminds me of those legendary blind men who were trying to describe an elephant by grasping his trunk or his tail. You also have the profoundly philosophical dilemma of those two gentlemen gazing at a mug of beer who can't agree whether it's half full or half empty!

All of this is elementary, admittedly. But it is a point that seems to me of rather more consequence than whether the tape recorder is mightier than the notebook or the other way around. With any eyewitness I've ever talked to, a great deal depends on his own life experience, his own point of view. I can think, for example, of a Scottish sociologist friend of mine who had lived in India for many years under the British raj. He was doing a study in the present Indian state of Rajasthan, and he came to a rather remote village and got to talking with one of the village elders about politics, naturally. And the head man of the village, it turned out, was a little bit out of date. He kept talking of the raj, meaning the British raj -- this was 1959 and he assumed the British were still in Delhi. Whereupon my Scottish friend said, "Oh no, there are no British there anymore." Whereupon the head man said, "Is it the Russians then who rule us today?" Now, that was an interesting reflection. This man was speaking from the limits of his own experience. He had never known an Indian government ruling in India. It, therefore, occurred to him that if the British were gone some other foreigner must be sitting in the viceroy's palace giving orders. And so my sociologist friend had the devil of a time trying to get the point across that no, this was an Indian government and a government of the Congress Party at that time headed by Pundit Nehru. Well, the head man wasn't all that sure about Pundit Nehru, but he did know who Gandhi was. So the sociologist, in a valiant effort to communicate, said, "Well, there's no more British raj, there is now a Gandhi raj!" And he got the point across.

Professor Starr has said that oral history is simply a record of what someone told someone else, and I hope to produce some examples of that from my own experience before very long. I do believe it's a slippery business. It calls for a vast amount of care. And it's not so very different from the work of the investigative reporter. Now let me make my own position clear, I am not a historian. I am a reporter -- a sometime commentator. All my professional life I've been concerned with the search for facts. As a writer I've tried to discern in those facts some pattern of meaning.

That's what I was trained to do long before I tried to write a book and that was, in effect, how my book on the missile crisis came to be written, though there was the intervention of a helpful editor at a publishing house who suggested I do it. I had no idea anybody would be interested. Now, that experience was rather unique. I didn't own a tape recorder in those days; moreover, I didn't know how to use one. But I did have access to a great many of the men who served in the American government, in the circle immediately around President Kennedy, during that period; and a good many people in the British government and others that were involved. Most of these people were quite willing to help with their recollections. This was some three years after the event -- the great showdown in Cuba. Some of my friends turned out to be far more helpful than others. But in this, if you will, unlicensed venture in oral history, I learned a number of useful lessons which, again, may sound old hat to you. But I did discover that using people's recollections as a source for what you hope will be a definitive work is very tough going. It requires more cross-checking of testimony than traditional history written from official documents, memoirs, diplomatic dispatches, old newspapers. The traditional historian, in addition, has two large advantages -- time and distance. But it seems to me that he operates under one disadvantage as well. He operates in a closed world, in thrall, if you will, to a printed text.

Now, I know more about diplomatic history than any other kind and I know the usual sources. The chief sources inevitably in this country are the files of The New York Times, the Department of State Bulletin, those great annual volumes of Foreign Relations of the United States in which are printed vast numbers of diplomatic dispatches of twenty-five years ago and beyond -- not all of them of uniform interest. And, of course, the writings of others. Now, that's all very well as far as it carries you, but I hope you'll permit me a degree of private skepticism. I belong to that much despised journalistic category, and it is a pejorative word with some academics. You see, I can't be all that impressed with The New York Times citation. I wrote for The New York Times for ten years, and there were lots of things I got wrong. As for the Department of State Bulletin, it is no doubt a useful compendium of rather tired press releases, but having covered the State Department for a good many years I can tell you that I would lose my job if I simply came back to the office with the press release and said, "Here is the story." The press release is very often written for the purpose of obscuring facts rather than revealing them, and this is something I would have thought historians knew about. At best, you use a press release as a guide to then go to work and try to unearth the real story.

It strikes me that a great many of these fellows are victims of an innocent assumption that the very act of publishing confers authority. Now that I have published something on the

missile crisis I find that I have become an authority. There's hardly a month that passes that I don't receive in the mail a book. I look at it and sometimes it's not very interesting. But if I look in the index or at the footnotes I am likely to find a citation or two, or three, from my book The Missile Crisis. So in that sense I have become respectable, and it's very flattering. But I confess to you it doesn't do much to increase my respect for what I call "the footnote snob." I think we all ought to remember that Thucydides was not a big footnote man!

The second lesson I learned is that only by interviewing the men -- in the case of the missile crisis -- who were in that room with President Kennedy, and in some cases their wives, was I able to catch certain small details, the anecdotes, the mood, the fears, the exaltations that they felt. I defy any of you to wait until the official records of that crisis are made public and try then to write a lively book based on those records. You won't find any of these things in the National Archives or in the published diplomatic dispatches. The written record of, shall we say, National Security Council memoranda, when declassified some distant day, will tell you that on a certain day a decision was taken and very briefly what the decision was. But to reconstruct the tone and the texture of that decision, the doubts, hesitations, reversals of position, the debates between powerful men -- sometimes becoming very bitter feuds indeed; none of that will appear in the published record. Now, this is not an argument against using published records. It may even be an argument in favor of assigning someone in the future to do a better job of keeping a record of National Security Council sessions. But the fact of the matter is that the record, as it stands, is fairly barren. Speakers in past years have made the point that so many important conversations nowadays occur on the telephone. That, no doubt, is true. He might have added that most telephone conversations between high officials are monitored by their secretaries. Now, what happens to those notes, I don't know, but it would be an interesting thing to find out.

Now, a great many people have written about the missile crisis in the past few years, and some will tell you that it was vastly overblown. There never was any danger of war -- thermonuclear or otherwise. They cite as evidence the fact that Russia hadn't fully mobilized, and they infer from this that the Russians clearly weren't prepared to fight. Well, I won't go into the other side of this case because it doesn't really fit with the subject of this discussion. In hindsight, all of that may be perfectly clear, but we are dealing with an effort to reconstruct the thoughts and the actions of the men in that room in the month of October in 1962. They didn't have the advantage of hindsight. These were the men responsible for managing an international crisis and they had to act on the basis of the information available to them at that time and much of it was incomplete and some of it turned out to be wrong. And so they were very much aware of the uncertainties, the dangers,

the gaps in their own information, and I think without that, without some knowledge of how these men felt at critical moments, what they said to one another, what they may have said to their wives when they went home -- frivolous as that may sound -- you don't really get in the round an account of what happened.

Let me give you one small example. Llewellyn Thompson, our Ambassador to Russia for a good many years, was the brand new advisor to President Kennedy on Soviet behavior at the moment of the crisis; he'd been in office about three days. Chip Bohlen, his predecessor, had just sailed for Paris to take up his new post as Ambassador to France. Now, any of you who know Tommy Thompson know that he's a pretty cool customer, a very reserved, very clipped, very professional diplomat, an admirable man in many ways -- a great poker player -- but not a man given to undue display of personal emotion. Now, he was drawn into this crisis at once. He had the unenviable job, day after day, of sitting at these sessions and having the President, or Dean Rusk, or McNamara, or someone throw at him a fragment of information -- the Russians have done this or said that, what does it mean? -- and he had to come up with an instant reading, which is unscientific, I know, but in the situation that was all that he could do. He did a remarkable job of calling the signals right more often than wrong. But on a certain day in that crisis -- one day, as it turned out, before the denouement which we didn't know was coming -- Tommy Thompson, this cool, calm, reserved professional, went home very late and got his wife, Jane, off in a corner and said, "I may not come home tomorrow!" Now what he had in mind was that in the event of war, the government, including Ambassador Thompson, was going to be evacuated from Washington. And he said, "Look, I can't say anymore, but if this happens you will get word in a few hours about where you and the girls are to follow." Now, as I say, in hindsight you can make a powerful case, I suppose, in support of the notion that war was never imminent. But here was Tommy Thompson quite sure that we were in a much more dangerous situation than was generally realized, so dangerous that he would not have been surprised if the government had been evacuated from Washington, and he with it! Now, this kind of detail comes only through tremendous effort. You've got to grab Thompson and persuade him that it is in the public interest that a reasonably comprehensive account of all this be published, and it helps to talk to his wife, Jane, as well. I argue, therefore, that the effort is enormously worthwhile just so long as the writer brings a certain kindly detachment, even skepticism, to those eyewitnesses giving different accounts of the same occurrence.

Let me share with you several examples from my own work. One of the key elements in the story of the missile crisis as I was able to reconstruct it had to do with a kind of religious conversion among the birds -- some hawks became doves and some doves became hawks. Among them, interestingly at a crucial moment, Douglas Dillon, the Secretary of the Treasury, who had been all for an air

strike on Cuba, came around to the view that maybe we ought to go slow and have a blockade instead. It turned out that he was the swing man -- when he swung, the majority went his way. Now, I knew this story from Mr. Dillon himself. He had no doubt of his own conversion. Further, when I asked him what had caused him to change his mind, he said it was an eloquent appeal made by the late Senator Robert Kennedy to the group as a whole, along the line that an air strike was an irreversible step toward war and that it was not in the American tradition to indulge in surprise attack. This was the kind of thing the Japanese had done to us at Pearl Harbor and his brother was not about to do it to the Cubans and the Russians in '62. Now, I then went on to say, "Well, what was so special about that," because in retrospect, of course, this had become the conventional wisdom. And he said, "Well, frankly, it had never occurred to me before that a surprise attack was a bad thing until Bobby made this point." In short, the man was not casting himself in the most flattering light; he was being quite honest.

Later, I got to another member of the group who, in time, published his own account and when last heard from was believed to be running for the Senate from the State of New York. This man said I was dead wrong. Worse, I was the victim of a hoax! Mr. Dillon had said no such thing, he had done no such thing, he had never changed his position. Now here you get one of those contradictions. You might have got the impression from all this that Mr. Sorensen -- if I have to name him -- didn't much care for Mr. Dillon and was unwilling to acknowledge years afterward even the theoretical possibility that a Republican banker from Wall Street could see the light, ever! And, of course, he argued that he had been in the room and I had not. Therefore, he knew and I did not. Well, happily, as it turned out, there were quite a few other people in the room as well, and some of them took notes. Now, it wasn't easy and I admit I was thrown off stride by this sudden challenge from somebody who obviously knew more than I did about what went on in the room. But perhaps I was blessed by a certain detachment that he lacked. He couldn't conceive of Mr. Dillon being important or doing the right thing. I had no prejudices in the matter, I was searching for facts. So, after a good deal of time and trouble I was able to establish, first, from recollection -- the recollections of at least three other people in the room -- and then from penciled notes of one of the participants that Dillon, in fact, was telling the truth and that Mr. Sorensen, moreover, was not in the room when that dramatic turn by Dillon took place! Now, you may search the record for generations to come but you will not find that story in the record. This kind of thing happens a good deal, and let me now cite an example which has nothing to do with my book.

I know many of you must have known and admired Adlai Stevenson. I happened to be living in London when Stevenson came there on what turned out to be his last voyage abroad. He died in Grosvenor Square two days afterward. That was an interesting visit.

Stevenson, who had grave doubts about the government's policy in Vietnam and, at that time, the Dominican Republic, had been under appreciable pressure from some of his liberal-radical friends to resign from the administration. He was terribly tired, and yet he was being a good soldier. He came to London at the request of our then Ambassador, David Bruce, to appear on the BBC to answer questions about the war and the same policy that he didn't really believe in, and he did a fairly valiant job of trying to defend it one night on a BBC program. Later that evening, my honored and respected competitor, Eric Sevareid, went off to the embassy residence to have a nightcap with Adlai, and out of that, after Adlai died, came an article published, I believe, in Look in which Eric, who is a very honest reporter, accurately described, I am sure, Stevenson's doubts about remaining in the government -- his edging toward a decision to quit, and so forth. Now, that one article is being cited in two books that I know about as the ultimate truth about Adlai Stevenson's state of mind in the last 48 hours of his life. Well, I'm afraid that I have to differ because I saw Adlai Stevenson the next morning and I spent an hour and a half with him. And he had on his desk a letter signed by a group of mainly New York intellectuals demanding that he resign, and he threw it over to me and said, "What do these people take me for, a kook? I've tried to be a responsible man all my life. I have my differences with Lyndon Johnson. But I'm not about to walk out and give up any hope of changing the policy."

Now, which was the real Adlai Stevenson, the one who was going to resign the night before, or the one the next morning who was quite sure that resigning would be a mistake and the act of an irresponsible man? I can't presume to judge that. But I do know that if the historical record is based on his conversation with Eric the night before, it is incomplete and perhaps half wrong, not because Eric meant it to be wrong but because Adlai Stevenson had a great habit of doing this kind of thing. If he knew you well, if he liked you, he would conduct a kind of debate with himself through you. On the Monday night he was debating with himself and he was taking the line that he ought to quit. He was bouncing this off Eric Sevareid. The next morning he was taking the other side of the argument and using me as the target to see what sort of response he got. I don't know what he would have done had he lived. But there you have another oral history pitfall.

A reporter runs across a lot of incidents of this kind. I remember there was one that was volunteered to me after the crisis by Arthur Goldberg which is interesting in the light of what happened later to Mr. Justice Fortas. Arthur Goldberg, as some of you know who know him, was not terribly happy on the Court. He felt removed from real life up there and it was his misfortune, having been an activist Secretary of Labor, to be sent up to the Supreme Court not many months before the crisis -- the Cuban missile crisis --

occurred. And so, suddenly he was out of the Cabinet, he wasn't reading any telegrams, he had no idea what was going on and he was very, very unhappy. And so at a certain point in the crisis when it surfaced -- the first stories came out in the papers -- Arthur telephoned the President. He had a hard time getting through because the President did have other things on his mind at the time. But Goldberg did get through very late at night and said, "Mr. President, you know you have a lot of friends up here (meaning in the Supreme Court), why don't you invite us down for a briefing; we'd like to know what's going on in this crisis." And the President's reply was, "Awthuh, you stay right there. Stay right where you are. You have your job to do and I have mine." Sometimes I wish Lyndon Johnson had said that to Mr. Justice Fortas because it shows a nice recognition of the necessary separation of powers under our constitution.

Now, using oral history, whether as a reporter or as an author, can be very hard work. Let me give you one small example. You're bound to ask questions, if you know your subject at all, that some of the specialists haven't bothered to ask. And one of the things that bothered me when I came to reconstructing this narrative, which, you will remember, starts with an air reconnaissance flight to a particular place in Cuba on the sixteenth of October, 1962. And that place was a not very important Cuban town called San Cristobal. Now, I tried very hard to find out why that plane had gone to San Cristobal that day -- why was it programmed to go to this particular place? Well, I spent a day with John McCone, who was then the head of the CIA, and he made it very clear that he had been responsible for the original surmise that maybe the Russians would one day put missiles into Cuba and that we ought to photograph that particular portion of the island. His account you will find reproduced almost verbatim in Arthur Krock's memoirs. Arthur Krock is very loyal to his friends and John McCone is one of his <u>old</u> friends. But I pressed McCone and said, "I know all about the general plan to photograph the western part of the island, but why San Cristobal?" And he said, "I don't know, some fellow suggested it." I said, "What fellow?" And he said he wasn't in this building. I said, "Where was he?" He said, "In the Pentagon, but I don't know his name and I can't supply any more detail than that." Well, I went to the Pentagon and I talked to people high and low and said, "Who was this fellow, presumably in the Defense Intelligence Agency, who had this notion about photographing in that particular place?" And I got very little cooperation; I was assured there was no such fellow. The Pentagon always gets embarrassed when the CIA is willing to share credit with them for anything! You have to understand this if you work in Washington. I think the fact that I had mentioned McCone as the source was enough to put them off. Well, I went all the way up to the Secretary of Defense, who promised to investigate, and all the way down to some of the lowliest clerks on the news and information side. About that time I had to leave for London to take up a new assignment, and one day

one of the people I had talked to came across a piece of paper which was not classified. He knew of my interest in it and he sent it to me. And it identified a Colonel J. R. Wright as the man responsible in a very interesting way.

It turned out this man had received the Oak-leaf Cluster to the Legion of Merit for the following action: "He performed a unique service to his country by single-handedly analyzing a series of intelligence reports concerning the activities of the Soviet Union in Cuba, and by this analysis pinpointing the location of the first medium range ballistic missiles deployed by the USSR in the Western Hemisphere. His analysis led him to recommend for immediate coverage by high altitude reconnaissance aircraft the exact location which was photographed on 14 October 62 and revealed the existence of those missiles in Cuba." Well, interestingly, this citation had never been published until a carbon copy found its way to me, and Colonel Wright had been retired, rather unhappily. I tried to find him, but by that time I was in Europe and I wrote one or two letters and got no reply. The story has an interesting sequel.

About a year after the book was published, I received a letter from a Colonel J. R. Wright, Retired, in California, saying he'd been browsing around his corner drugstore and come upon this book, The Missile Crisis, and found his name in the index. So he invested ninety-five cents and bought the book and he was enormously grateful to have finally received some recognition through me -- not through the U. S. Government -- and he thereupon enclosed his own Cuban crisis diary, which ran to about 70 pages, which has some interesting material in it. If I ever redo the book I will be sure to include Colonel Wright's testimony.

Now, this kind of thing is heartbreaking, it's difficult, and yet you've got to keep searching for that crucial contribution -- the one guy who had the idea. Now, why did he have the idea? -- it was pure surmise. He was an experienced photoreconnaissance officer. He had seen hundreds of photographs of missile installations on Soviet territory, and he was impressed by the fact that around each of these missile batteries, or installations, there tended to be a group of antiaircraft missiles always arranged in a kind of trapezoidal pattern. And he had discerned in Cuba, on an aerial photograph of this not very important place called San Cristobal, what he thought was a trapezoidal pattern of antiaircraft batteries with nothing in the middle. Colonel Wright's reaction was: "Let's go back and look at that again; maybe they put the antiaircraft missiles there because they plan to deposit something important there." And that very first day -- the first photographs -- got the first evidence that they were, in fact, putting medium-range missiles in.

The question that I get most often about this kind of thing, because one of the things I was lucky enough to get and be able to publish in this book was that famous secret letter from

Nikita Khrushchev to Jack Kennedy which, read with great care, prompted the right kind of response and led to the resolution of the crisis. Now, I'm not going to go into how I got that; happily, there is no Official Secrets Act in the United States. One of the aides to Prime Minister Wilson in London told me that if I had done this in Britain I would have gone to jail! Happily, I didn't, but there's a hint for some of you in the thought that when government officials retire their papers tend to be transferred to warehouses, run by the General Services Administration, generally in towns fairly close to their place of residence, and if you're looking for that kind of material, it's astonishing how much of it you will find in out-of-the-way places a long way from Washington, D.C.

You do run into the problem that not all participants to a crisis of this kind, or to any major event of this kind, have any interest in helping you. I had a terrible time with Dean Rusk, who was otherwise my good friend but who said what he had to say to the President at that moment was between the President and him and it was none of my damn business and he wasn't going to write anything about it! Then you get the other kind of response. I remember once writing a letter, when I arrived in London, to Harold Macmillan suggesting that although I knew quite a bit from other sources about the British government's involvement and interest in the matter, I would like to interview him personally. And I received the next day -- British mails being rather superior to our own -- a letter on the stationery of Macmillan Company Publishers which read something like this: Dear Mr. Abel, Thanks for your interesting letter. I am at work on my own memoirs, therefore you will understand that I have no interest in helping you with yours. Sincerely!

Now, some reviewers -- not many -- have expressed a certain concern about the lack of footnotes in a book such as this one, and I suppose they would extend the same compliment to Barbara Tuchman. I have one review, somewhere in the file, by a rural Texas historian saying, "How do we know any of this is true? He doesn't cite any sources." Well, here, I'm afraid, when you're dealing with historians or even journalists you have to fall back on intangibles, and those intangibles have to do basically with a man's reputation, and unless he has a reputation for a degree of honor and dedication he's not going to get the information or the access to people that he will need. Unlike doctors -- with apologies to those present -- newspapermen can't bury their mistakes, they're right there on the front page of the paper on the next day or the next week, and if a man survives a quarter century in this business, it's possible to form a judgment about his general reliability. The official asks himself, "Can I trust this man?" And this doesn't mean that the man has to belong to the same party as he, but that the man has to have a reasonable reputation as a serious workman. Obviously, for anyone, any reporter, who has worked as long in Washington as I have, friendships form, confidential relationships do form, they are not limited to one party or any single administration. If a man

does take you seriously, he may be more than willing to talk after the fact, and the recollections of such men are a priceless asset -- no question about it. The matter of technique is one that I don't propose to go into at all.

I'm working on a book just at this moment which again involves borrowing on the recollections of presidential advisors of another period, and in the past week I have done, I think, three interviews with prominent men now out of public office. Two of the three were delighted to talk into a tape recorder. The third, perhaps the most important of them, said, "You can take all the notes you like, but I don't want the tape. So please keep that machine out of here; I will not talk to a machine, I will talk to you." And so, I got writer's cramp during two and a half hours -- I, unfortunately, can't write shorthand -- but I think you have to play this, at least I do, according to the wishes of the men involved and bearing in mind always that memory does play rather strange tricks. I don't mean anything sinister by that. But it seems to me that almost any man in high office who is involved in the making of a controversial decision is likely to give himself the benefit of the doubt in his recollections. Whether he means to or not, that's how it's going to come out. And this is why you have to err on the side of talking to ten people instead of one and cross-check almost everything that is said.

Now, I'll give you one small example in conclusion. One question that's intrigued me ever since that famous decision of President Johnson's on March 31 last, a year ago, to limit the bombing of North Vietnam and, with that sting in the tail, to announce that he would not seek his party's nomination for President again, was the events that had led up to that; what led Lyndon Johnson to conclude that he ought not to run and that he ought to stop the bombing -- particularly the bombing aspect. There is a new book out by Tim Hoopes, I believe a good book, which makes it appear that Clark Clifford is the hero; he took office March first and by March 31 he had persuaded the President to reverse the policy. Well, I have no doubt that Mr. Clifford had a great deal to do with changing the policy. But when I talked to Mr. Clifford himself, he was the first to tell me that it was not he who first proposed that we limit the bombing or end it, although he in the end supported the decision. Now, this much I've learned so far, and that is that Dean Rusk, who is depicted pretty much as the heavy in Mr. Hoopes' book, was the first man high up in the government to suggest that we stop the bombing. This I know from several interviews with other people, but as to the how and the why of all that, I propose to save that for my next book. Thanks very much.

FORREST C. POGUE: I think if most of you have been in the habit of listening to Mr. Abel on the NBC News, you were prepared for the very fine talk which you've heard because I think all of us in listening to him have been impressed by the fact that he speaks very succinctly,

with a sense of humor, and with a minimum of editorializing. I still like to have people tell me facts and let me decide what I think about them, and I've always noted that about what you've had to say. I think you'll agree that he knows the business of reporting and the basic standards of oral history. It's particularly satisfying I know to him to be able to carry the story through from the beginning of his questions as a reporter to the final writing up of the history. He's touched particularly on the point of getting the climate, or the atmosphere, of discussion back with this great crisis and I think it's something we must never forget if we write history from our interviews. General Marshall said to me over and over again, "The important thing is to understand what we knew and what we did not know and the circumstances under which we work." He said, "I don't want any better defense than that. I don't want you to say I was right." I'm sure he didn't want me to say he was wrong if he wasn't, but the point was that you must get the climate, and here is one thing, as Mr. Abel has pointed out, that you seldom get from the record, even if the man goes home that night and writes a rather full record in his diary. If he'll write an indiscreet letter to his wife or to a mistress, you sometimes will get some of the real atmosphere, but a diary is a conscious thing and it's the unconscious record that we need to look for a great part of the time. And particularly in these days when we are drowned in documents, it's essential at times to have the guide from the individual who sat around the table, and I know of no other way that you really get the feel of what went on in a conference or in a private conversation, or something of that sort.

He's also touched on skepticism; that it is not enough to report what you are told. That's the first step of a good reporter or a good oral historian. But if you stop with what the man tells you without checking, then you get in great trouble. And then I thought he made a tremendously good point with what he said about Adlai Stevenson. I've always said that you need to tell the people who read your transcript the circumstances under which the interview took place, the state of mind of the individual. I actually said it wouldn't hurt if you said he'd had three martinis! It's not enough merely to report; it's important to go behind it somewhat. I like, too, his point about how do you believe people when they don't give footnotes. I remember one of my early interviews with a major general, and he said, "Oh yes, you're a professor. How do I know that I can trust you?" And I said, "As a member of a profession almost as old as yours, how do I know I can trust you? I have a certain standard to live up to and when I put things in print which can be read later, I have a personal reputation to defend as you do." He said, "That's very good!"

Now we have several minutes for questions or for discussion. I'm sure Mr. Abel will be glad to give you some more information on this.

NATHAN REINGOLD: About this matter of footnotes -- I think you're not being fair to your critics. I understand how you feel when they make these comments about them, but they're not really and truly, or I hope they're not, impugning your integrity or your reputation. After all, the purpose of the footnote is so that they can check and anyone should be subject to checks.

ELIE ABEL: I agree.

NATHAN REINGOLD: And second of all, some of them or others may be interested in going further and, therefore, use your footnotes as starting places. There have been people, both public and private, who have gotten around this by the simple device of preparing a private annotated copy which they then put away in a safe place and announce that at some future date it will all be available if anyone wants to check their sources.

I have one other comment to make and I do this not as a diplomatic historian, but I think I'd like to say something in their defense. I don't think you are wholly fair to them in describing them as being concerned with The New York Times or the State Department Bulletin. After all, most diplomatic historians are not concerned with current diplomatic events, and when they do diplomatic history beyond a 25-year period, if they are good, they will look into the unpublished diplomatic statutes, the unpublished letters of both public and private individuals, and that's quite different from The New York Times.

ELIE ABEL: Well, the answer to all that, I think, is very easy. Clearly, I didn't have the good historians in mind. There are an astonishing number of less good ones, I must say, who feel they must footnote the most obvious statement such as that the World War II began on the first of September, 1939; see The New York Times! I didn't mean to impugn the historians' profession. I read history; I don't claim to write history, but I do read it with some interest. Concerning the annotated copy, you'll be glad to know that I have, in fact, been preparing an annotated copy which will be deposited, upon the suggestion of Arthur Schlesinger, who I believe is an accredited historian of reasonable reputation.

BENIS FRANK: How do you find the people that you interview, both on a high or low level, in respect to their attitude toward this business? Do they have a sense of history or are they self-serving?

ELIE ABEL: Well, I think the short answer is that some are and some aren't. I, on the whole, have been favorably impressed with the caliber of the men who, for example, were involved in this crisis, many of whom I knew before the crisis but got to know better afterward. A great many of them do have a sense of history. They felt that they had participated in one of the real landmark decisions of

the past quarter century and they were willing to cooperate. Now, some of them took what I consider to be an excessively protective attitude toward Kennedy or toward themselves and the advice they gave at that time. Others fell back on the proprieties. I mentioned Dean Rusk whom I've known many years and I think we have a rather good personal relationship. But if you try to bring him back to those days you will find that he's not very cooperative. He keeps going around saying, "I do not write books, I will not write a book, all I'm doing is sending my papers to the appropriate Presidential Library." That's how he has been spending most of his time in recent months, going through eight years' accumulation of documents. Now, on, for example, the missile crisis, almost everyone I talked to before I got around to Rusk was somewhat less than complimentary about his role. This troubled me, because I knew Rusk and I liked him and I couldn't believe that he had as little to say as it was made to appear. Well, it turned out, after I had done enough digging in the matter, that he had made it a practice to sort of preside as chairman at some of these sessions and not to commit himself to one course or the other, on the theory -- his own private theory -- that he was the President's personal advisor and that he would advise only the President; but he would not think aloud in the presence of all these other people. I went to him toward the end and told him of my problem. I wanted to be fair to him and his part in this thing but I was having a terrible time, and he said, "Well, I'm not going to help you." I did finally blackmail him into producing one memorandum which turned out to be of crucial importance, but that took several days of argufying and then he finally sent for it and read it to me and it showed that he did have a point of view, but this was a personal memorandum for the President. And it's the man's own notion of what was the right mode of behavior. Remember, he was still Secretary of State at the time.

On the other hand, some were enormously helpful without needing much pushing. One incident in the book I came upon by running into a young naval officer at a party one night who was agitated over a scene he'd observed in the Navy flag plot in which apparently McNamara and the then Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Anderson, had a terrible argument. Some thirty or forty people were in the room and heard parts of it. Well, my informant wasn't close enough to hear much of the conversation. But over a period of time, by talking to many of the people who were there, I was able to piece together a pretty good account and it's now been reprinted in lots of places. The blockade was about to begin. McNamara was terribly worried that Anderson, whom he thought of as a rather conventional naval officer, would think the purpose of the blockade was to sink a Russian ship when, in fact, the purpose was the opposite -- not to sink a Russian ship but to convey a message to Moscow that we would, in fact, hold back the ultimate sanction if they would just remove the missiles. And McNamara, who is a brilliant but not very tactful man, waded into the Navy flag plot that night and proceeded to lecture the Chief of Naval Operations within hearing of many junior

officers on how the blockade should be conducted. Anderson got quite upset and in the end, in effect, ordered the Secretary out! He didn't use the word "order," but it was not a very happy encounter. I put this in the book and after it was published I had a letter from Bobby Kennedy -- this was before he had written his own memoir -- saying that on the whole he liked the book and he'd even learned something from it. He said, "I always knew there was bad blood between Anderson and McNamara but I didn't know why until I read the book." This is where, I think, an outsider trying very painstakingly to reconstruct the whole narrative does get a more complete view.

QUESTION: I was wondering what kind of understanding you and Eric Sevareid -- people like you -- had with, say, Adlai Stevenson when he talked to you that way. Was he talking to you as a member of the press who then previewed anything he said, or was he talking to you with a long understanding that you will know what of what he said.... in other words, had he lived, would Eric Sevareid have published this conversation?

ELIE ABEL: Probably not. Almost certainly not.

QUESTION: Yes. So that he's free to try out one idea one night and one idea the next night without the event of hearing in public...

ELIE ABEL: Well, that's right. And I think both Eric and I have had the experience of having Stevenson do this in our presence on other occasions. Neither of us knew he was going to die within 24 hours.

QUESTION: How do you work up to this kind of understanding? You can't work up to that with every single person.

ELIE ABEL: No, no, that's true. Well, Eric, for example, was a very old personal friend of Adlai's, and I'm sure Adlai was talking to him as Eric Sevareid, personal friend, not as Eric Sevareid, CBS News. I knew him less well and less long, but I think there was a certain affection and respect there. And I didn't propose to write a thing about it; I don't think I ever did. I was tempted, however, to send my notes of the conversation to John Bartlow Martin, who was doing, in effect, the authorized Stevenson biography, just so that the more balanced presentation of his state of mind in those last 24 hours would be available for the record, and I have.

SAUL BENISON: I think we are all agreed that accuracy is a virtue that we almost take for granted among historians, but I think the thing that perhaps separates historians from others who practice the craft perhaps, is the purpose of why they write the history, and I'm wondering if you'll tell us your purpose in writing your book on the missile crisis.

ELIE ABEL: Well, that's not too hard to do, I don't think. It was a double purpose I think. One was, if you will, a commitment of the heart. I knew John Kennedy well. I didn't always agree with him and

he knew that, but I had a great affection for him. And I remember a conversation we had in 1961, he'd been President just a few months, the Bay of Pigs disaster had occurred and the Berlin crisis had come. He'd been to Vienna and had that very unhappy encounter with Khrushchev. He was terribly discouraged. At that time, I had a kind of commitment to write a book some years in the future on the great decisions of his first term. And I went to see him one day just to see what he thought of this idea and whether he would be helpful. It was a memorable encounter because I found him dismayed, discouraged, dark, unhappy, and quite unwilling to discuss literary projects of this kind. This was in his bedroom in the living quarters of the White House, and when I mentioned the book he said, "What would it be about?" And I said, "Well, hopefully, the major decisions of the first term." And he said, "Who would want to read a book about a succession of disasters?" That was how he was then thinking of his presidency. After he was dead, I felt very strongly a kind of personal need to tell as complete, accurate story as I could of a great decision of his that was not a disaster for the world or for himself. So, that's the sentimental side of it, I suppose. But that sometimes does move people to write or not to write; I felt, in effect, I owed this to him.

But the other was that I was involved in the coverage of the crisis, and, as you know, much of it was not visible on the surface. I was involved in a television program we put together on the 28th of October, I think, called "Clear and Present Danger," which was a 90-minute effort to reconstruct, as best we could at that time -- there wasn't very much information available -- the chronology of all this. And I began to be fascinated with the event, with how this crisis was resolved, by what process was the discussion conducted, what were the risks, what were the dangers, and I just kept asking questions, as time went by, of enough people who were involved in it or had opinions about it, so that I came to believe this was a rather important event. And at that point I discovered there was a publisher looking for a man to write a book on this crisis. It was that simple.

LOUIS STARR: Mr. Abel, one brief comment and then a question. The news media may have done a better job than perhaps some of us recall in conveying the threat of danger because I distinctly remember calling my wife at home and telling her to get a full tank of gas! But, number two, I think a lot of us would be interested in having your appraisal of Robert Kennedy's Thirteen Days.

ELIE ABEL: Well, I've tried to stay out of that one. The New York Times asked me to review the book and I refused. I think it has a particular value that no book by an outsider -- not even a very well-informed outsider -- can have. He was there. He sat with his brother during those anguished hours every night. He was the one who did the talking with Dobrynin alone. Now, much of this I was able to report in some detail because, to be perfectly truthful, he was very

helpful to me in reconstructing the narrative; this was years before he thought of writing it himself. In the preface to the last edition, published after his death, of my book, I record a debt to Robert Kennedy. His memoir Thirteen Days is based on notes he dictated immediately after the crisis to his own secretary. I had the use of those notes when I was writing my book, so I felt that this was not something that I ought to be involved in judging. It seemed that I was too much involved and I backed off; I wouldn't review it for anyone.

I have found it fascinating. Obviously, it is less complete than my account or perhaps Sorensen's, but that was inevitable. It's a kind of fragment. It's one man's observation -- a very unique man in a unique position. And, you know, it's an expansion really, an unplanned expansion of an article for The New York Times Magazine. They asked him to write a piece on the anniversary of the crisis -- I think the third anniversary or the fourth -- and they expected three to five thousand words, and he started writing and pretty soon it was thirty thousand words and The Times didn't publish it. And there it was, and, of course, it was published after his death.

I think it's a valuable memoir, yes, no question about it, but there are things missing from it because I think he tried, fairly strictly, to tell only that part of the crisis that he himself witnessed. There are, I think, one or two points where one can find fault. I think by the time Kennedy wrote this he was a Senator and he had made certain enemies in the military. For example, I'm not an unqualified admirer of General Curtis LeMay. But Kennedy does suggest that LeMay had a great deal more to do with this crisis than, in fact, he did. I think this is one of those instances in which a man's subsequent state of mind influences his reflection of things past. I hope that answers your question. Thank you.

FORREST C. POGUE: I think this speech and the answers to the questions will recall, certainly to many historians, the fact that before the day of oral history programs we had to depend heavily upon the accounts of newsmen for that extra dimension that now the oral history programs are attempting to add. At the same time, even though we do have these well-organized programs, we still need the personal accounts by men who have, through friendships or long acquaintanceship, access to men who are willing to talk to them, off-the-record. And while these, you'd be the first to recognize, are not always complete, they do help to add an oral history element that we are attempting to supply on a broader scale as we develop this field.

INSTITUTIONAL PROJECTS

Warren Albert, Moderator

We had a good introduction last night in the five presentations concerning oral history in the Washington area. Basing your remarks on the questionnaire Dr. Shumway sent to all known oral history programs, I'd like you to give the name of the institution, your name, the official name of the program, the specific project or major topics stressed within your program, anything of special interest that you now have within your program, whether the project is completed, if you have a project on a particular phase of your institution, the number of persons interviewed as of now, whether or not your material is transcribed, final-copy edited, whether you index, how you dispose of your tapes, whether or not the material is restricted, whether the program is autonomous or part of a section in the library or where it's located administratively within your institution and, of course the most important thing, what are your sources for funding. To give an idea of what I'd like, let me start off with myself.

I'm Associate Director of the Archive Library, American Medical Association. The Oral History Program at the AMA was thought of first in 1964 at the death of one of our past presidents. The purpose of the program is to record the recollections of important elected officials and selected staff members who were instrumental and influential in fulfilling various of our internal and external programs; recollections (of historical value) that otherwise might not appear in printed or written form. The program is intimately a part of the Archival program.

The first interviews were conducted in 1966 when the Association met in Chicago. Six of our past presidents spoke with me for one half hour each, basing their remarks on a series of five questions -- "structured" interviews.

RICHARD B. CLEMENT: I'm with the Air Force in Montgomery, Alabama, in a special research project supported by the Vice Chief of Staff of the Air Force. Our purpose is to study the effectiveness of air power in Southeast Asia from the beginning of the conflict, 1954, to the present time. Oral history is used in this project to fill gaps, to provide value opinions and judgments, and to replace papers that have long since been thrown away.

WARREN ALBERT: When will these tapes be available? As of now it's restricted, but will they be open later on?

BENIS FRANK: Actually you have, according to DOD regulations, a downgrading after...

RICHARD B. CLEMENT: Twelve years.

BENIS FRANK: I still think that the governing aspect of who's going to see this is based on need-to-know. And of course those of you who are in the historical community recognize this opening of papers, especially State Department papers and now Presidential Library papers, has created quite a problem.

Can I add something here? You asked about the opening of the tapes, making them available, even the unclassified ones. I think I indicated last night that even the unclassified ones are official-use-only. Remember, when you interview active-duty personnel, you've got a captive audience of interviewees and I think you have to be extremely judicious how you use their tapes. Whereas with the retirees and people in civilian life, we have the guidance of our ethics and our principles which govern the program on how you handle their tapes and transcripts. If you open up an interview to active-duty personnel, you have the Uniform Code of Military Justice, and under Article 15 of the UCMJ, you warn an interviewee that anything he may say may be held against him in subsequent courts martial.

RICHARD B. CLEMENT: As we interview on-duty personnel, we make him aware that he is working for the government and anything that he does is the property of the government, which is a problem for us oral history historians. So the tape goes to the archives and it belongs to the government. So we have to advise the interviewee of this and urge him not to bring personalities into it or bring anything into it that would get him tangled up with the Code of Military Justice.

QUESTION: But how are you getting the truth in this manner?

RICHARD B. CLEMENT: Hopefully by our own capabilities as interviewers to stay away from the politics of the military, to stay out of that and to find out what was done and why you did it without getting into pure personality problems.

JOHN T. BOHN: For you people who aren't familiar with the military, Corona Harvest is not a historical project or a history. It's a project to study lessons learned. I'm the Strategic Air Command historian, and we have an oral history program. We don't follow any of these procedures. When we talk to a man, we tell him, "We'll do anything you want with the tape, won't let anybody hear it or

anything," but we're going to get it. But to go to your point, it's because we're historians and we feel that it's better to get this down on tape now -- maybe not be able to use it, but hopefully at some time in the future be able to use it -- than to just let it go because we're operating under so many restrictions. And we've found very few people that have been reluctant to let us use it in-house. Of course it's all classified.

CHESTER M. LEWIS: I'm Director of Archives, four days old, for The New York Times. We've just announced an archival program and a related program in oral history, which is my concept. Our program basically, aside from the archival standpoint, is to develop an in-house program in oral history. Starting with our principal executives, some of those retired, I have compiled a list and find that Columbia University has superceded me in some cases. From the in-house approach, I hope to go into decision-making.

PAIGE E. MULHOLLAN: I'm actually here in substitute for a man many of you know, Joe B. Frantz, who sends his regards and his regrets. I've been for the last year a full-time interviewer for the University of Texas Oral History Project on Lyndon Johnson. We began about the time that Dr. Frantz was reporting to you at Lincoln last year with a full-time staff of four professional historians, either on leave or resigned from their respective universities, operating out of the White House until January the 18th, 1969, and in the National Archives since that time.

In that year, that staff has accumulated completed interviews with roughly 500 individuals, an estimated 1000 hours, which would come out to 30,000 typed pages of testimony. These figures are all very approximate because, with that rapidity, most of the material has not yet been transcribed and none of them are currently open. Our project is keeping all of the tapes themselves, as well as the transcripts, subject to the same type of restrictive possibilities that the other Presidential projects have had -- that is, the interviewee maintains complete ownership, literary rights to the material, he can withhold it for as long as he chooses to do so, and I would guess that the average is likely to be as long as 20 years, which is the standard State Department declassification currently. Ultimately, the material will be deposited with the National Archives as the administrator of the Johnson Library in Austin, but this project is independently administered and financed by the University of Texas. We have no connection with the Johnson family other than their approval for the project was gained at the beginning. But they have not participated in it on an active basis since that time, and our material is not being used in the preparation of such things as the Johnson memoirs or in the promised memoirs of Mrs. Johnson.

We will continue the project from now on in Austin, Texas, on a somewhat reduced basis, partly because of the accumulation of

material at such great speed. We are at the stage where we have these 1000 or 750 or however many tapes. The transcription process is, as you all know, slow and laborious. We've just got to quit interviewing and sort of catch up. So this year Dr. Frantz will not have a full-time interviewing staff. All of us who worked last year will continue to do so on a part-time basis, doing three or four a month perhaps. Between last October 1 and August 15, I spoke with 110 different people. So it's a fair-sized slowdown from what we've been doing, but the project will ultimately contain about 1500 people we think, and that target date keeps being pushed off into the future, but it's now as much as two to three years away.

QUESTION: Has the former President made any tapes?

PAIGE E. MULHOLLAN: The former President has not made any tapes for our project. As you know, he's done a substantial number with Walter Cronkite, an old Texan.

GARY L. SHUMWAY: We have just heard of the relationship between the Johnson family and the Johnson Project. What kind of restrictions do the Kennedy family have over what is released, what isn't released?

DENNIS O'BRIEN: Well, the family has really no relationship to those kinds of restrictions. There is an advisory board that really ratifies the decisions which are made by the people in the Oral History Program.

GARY L. SHUMWAY: You would make the decisions. Have they in any sense tried to keep certain tapes from being opened?

DENNIS O'BRIEN: Oh, no, no. It's the same relationship and the same restrictions in regard to the Johnson Library apply here. The legal agreements are negotiated on an individual basis and it's really up to the person involved. As far as restrictions of using this, yes. Many of our interviews have rather high-level security classifications on them -- my own interviews with people in the State Department, for example.

PAIGE E. MULHOLLAN: The difference is that some of your tapes are open now. None of ours are. A few have been announced from the Kennedy people.

DENNIS O'BRIEN: Right. We have a small number of tapes which are open.

GARY L. SHUMWAY: I was just asking this question because we're just starting a project... In discussing this very matter with certain persons close to Nixon and his affairs at the present, they seem to have some concern over an active politician who has some aspirations for the future, I suspect, and some of the things that would come

out of the recordings they would like to think maybe wouldn't be opened up at the present time, and you can certainly understand their concern.

DENNIS O'BRIEN: I think one has to operate with the assumption that this is the literary property of the person involved and he has complete control over it. In order to get a good interview, you have to promise to do with that what he directs. And if these things are going to be restricted for a number of years, I think that's one of the things we have to labor under.

QUESTION: I'm curious to know, with a late President, an immediate past President and a current President the subject of programs, is there similarity in your approaches to these three? Are the programs set up pretty much alike?

PAIGE E. MULHOLLAN: Ours is set up in fairly close cooperation with John Stewart and people who were then operating the Kennedy Project, and pursued in much the same way, although obvious differences arose out of the fact that we began while Mr. Johnson was still in the White House, which has both advantages and disadvantages -- advantages in what Washington calls "clout." If I call up somebody to get an interview and he's still an Assistant Secretary, he's apt to say "yes." There are disadvantages too though in that they are still in office and thus occupied with the day-to-day operation of chores.

But the real problem is duplication of interviewing. Obviously, a lot of people in the Kennedy Administration were also Johnson people, and yet if I rely on the Kennedy Project interviewers to do that individual, they are likely to leave out that part of the individual's life that touched Lyndon Johnson prior to his Presidency. If they let me do it, I'm apt to leave out that part of the individual's life which touched John Kennedy. So you almost have to go...unless you use the same people to do the interviewing, which we haven't done, you almost have to go back twice, and ultimately this is going to get very ticklish because they're going to finally say, "Look, people, how many times?"

DENNIS O'BRIEN: I think Paige and I have a different perspective of history than perhaps many people involved in it because in a sense we're consumers. We both have worked on studies of historical problems and foreign policy at earlier periods. When you're dealing with a bureaucracy, there are people who continue in office, and to suddenly interview a person about his activities on a day in January, 1961, is really a senseless sort of thing. So when I turn the tape recorder on, I let them talk about any Presidential Administration they've been involved in and the comparisons and everything it can involve. So in our collection there are a substantial number of things which give a great deal of insight into foreign policy in the Eisenhower side as well as the Johnson Administration.

ELIZABETH MASON: I might add that this of course applies to the Eisenhower Project which is largely being conducted through Columbia. You haven't yet encountered a little problem we have. A large number of our interviews are going to be suspended now as these gentlemen have gone into the Nixon Administration. You can't get the same kind of time, and certainly not the same kind of dispassionate judgment or perspective. So we're up against a whole different set of problems, but all related. There is a substratum of similarity, but every individual is different, and I think every program tends after a while to develop a slightly different focus. It may be in terms of specific policies or watershed decisions. We heard a lot of that kind of thing this morning. It may be in terms of personalities, but it's going to have some sort of focus, and all of them I think will develop this. Try as you may to be the dispassionate observer, you can't detach yourself completely.

JERRY D. BIDLE: I represent Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Illinois. I really thought that I had brought the most embryonic program to the colloquium, but I see that Mr. Lewis has me beaten by about a month. After hearing about all of these others, our program is probably rather selfish. We're gearing our program to people who have an association or an affiliation of some sort with our University and to people that we would like to have that kind of association with. Being a private institution as we are, we hope that by getting them involved they will build up a great interest in our University. We're trying to design our interviews to be of value to students, faculty and administration. They will be housed in the library.

MERL REED: I'm Director of the new Southern Labor Archives at Georgia State University in Atlanta, and we're about four months old. We want to collect labor records in the Atlanta area and the Southeast and have an oral history project.

WADDY W. MOORE: We have a fairly young oral history project at the State College of Arkansas, begun about two years ago. We're directly connected with the History Department and I'm its Director. We started with a history of the College, interviewing elderly and retired faculty members and administrators. Then, very unexpectedly, we had a state constitutional convention. I've discovered this is an era of constitutional conventions around the country. I got together with some of the constitutional convention staff. They were very cooperative and helpful. Last summer while they were in session for about ninety days they cooperated with us and we began systematically interviewing all of the delegates at the convention. We've prepared a questionnaire so that we would have a basic body of material on all of the delegates. Also, we're branching out into the background to constitutional revision, to the people who were interested in this and who pushed it and got the thing started, and this has led us into many interesting areas, fascinating people,

Congressmen, our own Congressmen, and people who no one in the state's ever heard of because they've been behind the scenes all these years. We are keeping all of this material closed until the election in November of 1970, at which time the people of the state will decide whether they like or dislike what the convention has done, because we didn't want to become embroiled in the political hassle that might develop.

We also have a project in the formative stages, a history of nursing in the state with the State Nursing Association. It's a joint project in which they are going to provide the financing and we provide the technical assistance, help, advice and so on.

CLIFFORD D. OWSLEY: Speaking of embryonic programs, I've been sitting here wondering whether we are even an embryo or not. I represent the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture, and I'm down here to find out what I can about oral history. We have discussed a great deal of this with Woody Maunder, who many of you may know, Executive Director of the Forest History Society. Our part with the Forest Service would be only a part, but we think it's an important part of forest history in the United States.

NORMAN T. LONDON: I'm not in oral history and I'm not in history -- I'm the Chairman of the Communications Department at the University of Vermont. I'm interested in the applications of the video-tape recorder. Some of the projects we're thinking about are in-house but with expansion possibilities. We do some video-tape recording of teachers before they retire at the University to capture on tape these people -- as the kids say, "doing their thing" -- and, perhaps, then follow that up with an oral history interview by someone in the History Department. We may be getting an additional dimension that the interview alone wouldn't have. In looking at technology, I believe that within five years you'd be able to do a video-tape interview as accessibly as an audio-tape interview with dim light and small unobtrusive cameras.

JEAN C. JONES: At the American Psychiatric Association we have a small project, part of a larger history project. We're trying to get some information by correspondence because the project could be so vast. We have two different kinds -- one for information and one a kind of life review. The reason for this life-review approach is that the man who's in charge of the project is particularly interested in creativity and he feels that this is the kind of information that would be of great value to future scholars, particularly in the field of sociology and psychology, psychiatry and so forth -- if you had some picture of a man, and how he developed, and what were the factors that influenced him.

EVELYN ASRAEL: I'm from Montgomery County, Maryland. I'm with the League of Women Voters of Montgomery County. We have found for years

a dearth of political history material in Montgomery County. Just 100 years of the Sentinel newspaper is our historical record, so the League decided that we needed both a collection of papers, diaries, so forth, and also interviews, oral history interviews, with people who were part of the political history of Montgomery County. Because the League studies things very carefully, we have been developing a possible program for the League. We hope to interview all sorts of people who were connected with any phase of the political history.

CLIFFORD D. OWSLEY: I'd like to ask can you be an oral historian without being a historian?

ELIZABETH MASON: I guess it was last night, something somebody said to somebody else, of course anybody can be an oral historian. On the other hand, this is the fourth time we have struggled with trying to maintain some sense of standards and common goals and direction and discipline. I don't say that you have to belong to a profession to have these things, but professional standards are accepted and understood. So that I guess my answer would have to be: "No, you don't have to be a historian with accreditation and a doctorate to enter the sacred precincts or anything of the sort. But you do have to have the sense, any professional scholar would have to have, of the rights of individuals, of scholarly integrity." You know, all these things. It doesn't have to be a Phi Beta Kappa key, but it does have to be an honest guy. Isn't that what it amounts to in the last analysis? And as far as we can try to elicit honesty and frankness on the other side. Now, obviously there are other disciplines which use the tape recorder for all sorts of purposes. Some of you were at Lincoln and may remember the panel of interdisciplinary representatives, sociologists and anthropologists and ethno-musicologists, and all of these people use tape recorders and use interviews and use the material that comes out of this. These disciplines have their particular sets of standards and objectives and training and experience, and all this goes into the common pot. I guess that's as far as I can go with an answer.

GARY L. SHUMWAY: Let's face it, there has been very little training, so none of us could claim really to have an advanced degree in oral history as such. On the other hand, there do need to be standards and objectives.

RICHARD CLEMENT: I agree completely with Mrs. Mason. I have to because I'm not a pure historian. There are several key things that the interviewee and the interviewer identify with. I think the key here, for the most successful oral history, is to do your homework. I can identify with this man, I've done my homework, I know the obvious things about him.

WARREN ALBERT: I'd like to add one more thing to Mrs. Mason's comments in regard to the question of what is an "oral historian." The

Goals and Guidelines of the Oral History Association, so painstakingly hammered out, is important to consider. If this is kept in mind, maybe tacked up on the wall as the commandments, so to speak, this will give a good key to anybody doing oral history.

NORMAN T. LONDON: I'd like to disagree with this line of professional reasoning, that oral historians should be professional and some kind of profession of oral history should be developed. I think that's what would probably kill it. Just as the best journalists are oftentimes people that are not trained in journalism.

ELIZABETH MASON: I think the word I'd go with is "discipline."

NORMAN T. LONDON: Oftentimes, people who write good history are people who are not trained as historians. Abel's book, The Missile Crisis, is a good example of this. And the point is that an entry to any of these professions, journalism, history, oral history, the prerequisite should be that people have a broad liberal arts background and approach to things and not develop some kind of professional program and professional standards. There's a good deal of oral history that can be done by people who are not trained historians and not trained oral historians in a sense. There is a danger of professionalism.

WADDY W. MOORE: As a professional historian, one of the things that the oral history program has done for me is sobered me a good deal. I used to have a much greater respect for and worship of the official documents, and suddenly it begins to occur to me that those documents are put together ofttimes in a much more haphazard way than what we are doing. And yet for some reason, traditionally, the average historian stands aloof from our manuscripts as if they were somehow tainted. I teach a seminar in historiography and this has been a great boon to me because it made me more skeptical of all historical documents.

CHESTER M. LEWIS: Having this definition in mind, I think Mrs. Mason has hit on it, it's probably a discipline.

RICHARD B. CLEMENT: The thing here is to identify with the interviewee. Before I feel that I can get going on the interview, I've got to identify with this man.

JEAN C. JONES: And this is all part of doing your homework, but it's built in.

MRS. E. J. DRYER: Three things have occurred to me as I listen and I think they're worth saying. It's fundamental to a lawyer, when collecting evidence in preparation for a trial, that you must learn the vocabulary of the person you're interviewing. We must know the vocabulary. He knows the vocabulary. He conveys the same meaning

in the use of words that the interviewee is trying to convey back to him. It's a great mistake just to think in terms of understanding the background of the person you're going to talk to. You must go further -- you must be able to speak on his level or you will get some unhappy comeuppances when you find that his language and your language, while the words are spelled the same, do not convey the same meaning.

Secondly, I think some of you need to think about the question as to whether you are the best possible individual to conduct a certain interview. Ask yourself whether you are the best possible person in every respect, not just a matter of sex, to make that interview, and if you aren't, find somebody who is better.

A third thing that struck me was that I think Mrs. Mason was trying to make a point that seems to me very crucial -- this business of professional ethics. I think lay people in general will trust those members of a learned profession -- ministers, doctors and lawyers -- to keep confidences. They're not always that sure of other people. Lawyers have taken an oath -- and most of us take it pretty seriously -- to keep confidences! The thing this group has got to do is to work toward a code of professional ethics, and in this sense professional standards are terribly necessary. I don't think it makes much difference which profession or field of interest you come from. But a code of professional ethics with respect to the rules of the game that every member of this group will subscribe to wholeheartedly is critical.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Peter D. Olch, Moderator

Traditionally the science and technology group is about the smallest group. It's always very difficult to decide how to break up this "show and tell" session because it's always apples and pears no matter what you do.

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG: A few peaches too, Peter.

PETER D. OLCH: Yes. Thank you, Harvey. The idea of a session like this developed somewhat spontaneously in Lincoln, when a scheduled speaker didn't make it and Louis Starr suggested we have show-and-tell sessions. We broke up into three groups, roughly categorized. In three to five minutes we each stated our program goals, status, and problems and then freely discussed same back and forth. It's a means for us to get to know each other, to find out who is doing what in oral history in the same field. So why don't we start with Harlan Phillips down at this side and just start moving around and see how she goes.

HARLAN B. PHILLIPS: I've been at the National Library of Medicine under contract for the Library since 1966 working with six people. The results are upstairs in great part. If you have a chance, you can look through the documents that are upstairs. Perhaps it would be better to respond to some queries which you may have had when you've looked at the records. Gee, I don't know that there are any problems. The big program right now of course in government agencies is cutbacks on contract funds and even grant funds, so that I don't have much more to say. I've had a lot of fun doing oral history because I enjoy people. I'm not trained in the medical field or in the science field. I'm, rather, in the historical field and my interest is in the law and in fine arts. I think that the techniques which I use are relevant in the medical field as well.

PETER D. OLCH: Well, Harlan, I'm sure, feels somewhat modest or embarrassed, but I can assure you he has contributed a great deal to the oral history program at the National Library of Medicine. We've been fortunate enough to have people like Harlan Phillips and, as you'll learn later, Dr. James Harvey Young of Emory University to conduct a series of interviews for the program.

LEO H. BERMAN: I'm a psychiatrist in Connecticut, and I've been interested in the history of psychiatry in Connecticut and, as such, some years ago I began to take the elder statesmen, people that had been active in developing psychiatry -- one of the gentlemen in his 90's who had retired from a position as superintendent of the state hospital. This is done as an individual, so I have no money for transcribing, and the hope is that some day I will. But at the present, I'm accumulating tapes on anyone that I can get to record on what brought him into the field of psychiatry and what they've done within the state.

Also, as a member of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis, I have been interested in the development of the organization. I have taped a number of the founders of the organization or the society, either individually or on occasion a number of them together, and had them reminisce about how they came to first set up their organizational meetings. So I'm interested in any area of psychiatry but feel that I have to limit it, since I'm doing it as an individual, to one small state.

The usual problems of money and transcribing and what to do with the tapes are important. The University of Connecticut now has an oral history project, and one thought I had was trying to work with them, just developing my specific specialty, possibly storing the tapes at U. Conn.

PETER D. OLCH: Do you review any of the papers of these individuals? What is your preparation for an interview with these men?

LEO H. BERMAN: I try to get access to scrapbooks, diaries, newspaper articles, so that when I come to interview them there is some background and I have specific questions in mind.

SAUL BENISON: I have really very little to report since this year I moved to a new institution, and I must say that two people who I am currently preparing to work with have also had some things happen to them. One of these persons is Albert Sabin and he has now been appointed the head of the Weizmann Institute in Israel. But the joy in that appointment is that he has moved in a direction which he might not have originally. I've been made executor of the Sabin papers and the Sabin papers have just been deposited at the University of Cincinnati Medical School, and I'm currently putting them in order. And the other person who I was to start with had a Nobel Prize thrust on him -- that's Salvador Luria. But both Luria and Sabin must have been waiting for historians because they've saved every scrap of paper that you could imagine. For example, Sabin has every protocol of every experiment that he's done since working with William H. Park at the New York City Health Laboratories. The best part is the kind of annotation that he has done of printed papers which people in the field have sent to him. So going through this

printed collection is extraordinarily revealing for the comments that you find in the column, that little empty space in a printed paper, and I'm currently making a very cursory analysis of that plus putting them in a kind of alphabetical order. And it's easy to work in virology, at least, for the first twenty years because the same names keep cropping up -- it was a very, very small field until about 1950. Luria's papers are even more extensive than Sabin's and he has some at home but a great deal within the departmental archives of M.I.T. Both of these people are very historical minded and they don't mind you going through the most personal of correspondence.

Let me give you an example. About two years ago Sabin's first wife died, and he had a great deal of correspondence with her and his new wife didn't think that that correspondence should be in the Sabin archive. It took very little to persuade Sabin that it should be because the first few letters that we opened and looked at were descriptions of work that he was doing in the laboratory. So they've been put within the collection but with the proviso that they're under lock and key until principals are dead. He has been extraordinarily cooperative, and, for me, it's an indication of his character because he wasn't treated very well in the book on Rivers that I did. Luria is very historical minded because he's not only an important molecular biologist, he's also a man of affairs and understands what the record is. I might say that the Luria project was started as part of a larger project which John Edsall is doing. Edsall, who is professor of biochemistry at Harvard, is very interested in writing a history of biochemistry, so he has circularized the important figures in biochemistry in the last 25 years to save their papers and efforts are now being made to put them in a central place. But beyond this I really have very little to report that would be meaningful.

LUCILLE B. RITVO: I'm here primarily because you said in the brochure that this is geared to neophytes. I've been working in the history of science and medicine at Yale with a special interest in the history of psychoanalysis, and I got my start talking with Mrs. Hart and Dr. Weiner at the American Institute of Physics and then was introduced to Dr. Benison, who, in going over my ideas with me, suggested that I should work with Max Schur, who was Freud's personal physician and with whom I have written two papers. But I did run into a problem because Max was clearing time to start this month with me on it and he died on October 12, so as of the moment I don't have any oral history program other than to come as a neophyte and learn from you so that when I finish writing up the material I have on Darwin's influence on Freud I might then go in into oral history.

ELSPETH HART: I'm from the American Institute of Physics and I'm here because Charles Weiner had another meeting that he had to go to in Cambridge. The American Institute of Physics acts as a repository, of course, of tapes that are given to it. Science and Technology seems to give them their interview tapes and we have tapes of meetings of the American Physical Society and other member societies. But our

particular group in physics history doesn't work with the stored tapes. We use oral history only to supplement our research program and do very detailed research before we conduct an interview. At the moment we've been specializing on the history of nuclear physics and then expect to go into the history of particle physics. Our interviews are conducted in great depth. Charles has just done a 14-hour interview with Chadwick on the discovery of neutrons, all his experiences with Rutherford and that sort of thing, and we only conduct, I guess, about ten interviews a year, but they're always part of the work that we're doing on the emergence of these two fields.

PETER D. OLCH: And you always tie in an interview with the man's collection of papers, do you? You get these?

ELSPETH HART: Oh yes, we have an extreme amount of work before. We read all his papers, everything we can find about his life, and Charles now has been doing this for four years and has a great deal of background knowledge. All the men, of course, work with and know each other, so that you build up a great deal of accumulated knowledge.

PETER D. OLCH: And the tapes are being preserved with the papers?

ELSPETH HART: Oh yes.

SYLVIA HODGSON: I'm from the Salk Institute for Biological Studies. We are setting up an archive on contemporary biology. We are just beginning to set it up; we're newcomers to the field. Our aim is quite specific. The major topic is to record the history of contemporary biology. We stress biology, not medicine. Our purpose is to record the origins and progress of the current revolution in the life sciences. I think it's almost certain that we plan to cover an area -- for instance, Luria is one of our non-resident Fellows and is very interested in our project. I am delighted to hear that progress is being made there. We have small holdings at the moment, manuscripts, notes, films, records, tapes. A series of interviews is planned with Linus Pauling and he's agreed to do this and the groundwork has already been done. We're just beginning.

PETER D. OLCH: You have been in contact, have you, with other organizations or individuals who may be interviewing the same people?

SYLVIA HODGSON: We're in the process of finding out what other people are doing.

MANFRED J. WASERMAN: I am associated with Dr. Olch in the History of Medicine Division of the Library, the National Library of Medicine. I work with the modern manuscripts collection, and since we have a unified approach toward manuscripts and oral history, I frequently come in contact with the oral history projects. We have a combined catalog. My work in the history of medicine, in combination with my

interest and training in library work and history, has brought me here.

NATHAN REINGOLD: I'm with the Smithsonian Institute where I'm the editor of the papers of Joseph Henry. I am not engaged in any oral history activities, as I concentrate on study of the dead.

DAVID F. MUSTO: I have a joint appointment at Yale in the History and Psychiatry Departments, and the work that I was involved with in oral history divides into about three categories. The first is with the American Psychiatric Association where there is an oral history project to interview leaders in American psychiatry, and in that I do interview these individuals from whom we also seek papers. Also there is a national project to interview members of the profession throughout the nation. And it's interesting that in an organization which you would expect to have about 15,000 experienced interviewers it is still difficult to get this accomplished. So I sympathize with any national project of this kind, especially to the extent that it depends upon voluntary support and labor.

The second area in which I'm involved is transmission of values in the family, and although many of the families that I study, like Nate Reingold, are not living and therefore cannot answer questions, there is a long-term on-going project in the Child Study Center at Yale with various families in which we are attempting to understand how a family transmits values to children and how it picks up values from society and then transmits this from one generation to the next, and this involves both interviewing, in which then the interviews are transcribed, as well as attempts to conceptualize what's going on as this proceeds. In this, we are not dealing with the great, but we are dealing with the average human being and trying to understand their own response to their environment and how the average individual functions, how children grow up.

Lastly, as a member of the History Department, I'm involved in teaching the history of the American family and also helping graduate students in history to use psychology or the concepts of psychology in the writing of history. And in this, oral history is very prominent, and I have found that most graduate students of history, especially 20th Century American history, are doing oral history in their work and therefore welcome the opportunity to talk about all the types of information they can possibly gain from an oral interview. And in this, we try to help them both in the understanding that an oral interview is a very crude document in many respects and to caution them against thinking that an oral interview has in itself some magic quality to write history for you, and, on the other hand, that the oral interview is a very rich document in which you can start and go in many directions, and also there is a great deal of material there that one can gather, as people mentioned last night, from inflections, tones, sequences of information

and other things. So in this respect and in these different areas, I'm involved in oral history.

DENNIS G. CARLSON: I'm at the Institute of the History of Medicine, a Fellow studying there. I've spent some years in Ethiopia and Northeast Africa, and I anticipate using oral history as one mode of studying the nutrition and infectious diseases in the 19th Century in Ethiopia some time in the future.

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG: Do you know a fellow named DeGarine in the FAO in Rome?

DENNIS G. CARLSON: No.

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG: I say this now, if you'll pardon me, for the simple reason that I'll forget if I don't. I think it's DeGarine, and he has been doing movies of certain African tribes, one of which I saw this summer in Sweden, with great emphasis upon nutrition and the interlinking between ritual and nutrition. And I just have a feeling that there's some kind of value that the two of you together could derive.

PETER D. OLCH: Thank you, Harvey.

ALBERT S. LYONS: I'm here representing the Mt. Sinai Medical Center in New York. I'm a practicing surgeon and on the teaching staff of the Medical School, but I'm also the archivist of the institution. A few years ago, as part of that, I started an oral history project which was geared to interview those who were retired and knew about the past of the institution. I've been able to study the dead by speaking to the living and those who had made outstanding contributions to find out the intimate details of how their contributions came about. I've also tried to establish a sort of living archives so that those in the future would know how things went on today. That means not only interviewing newcomers to the important positions but also ordinary people in the institution and recording events which would in no other way be preserved -- investitures, meetings of groups that were involved in dealing with the institution, that represent various segments; fights that go on in the various meetings and would not be recorded any other way so that somebody in the future can use it. These things I would hope could be used sometime in the history of the institution, a history of New York medicine, or in some biography, but it's principally of archival importance. I, myself, am not writing anything. These tapes are retained by me but transcribed by Columbia University's Oral History Research Office and there catalogued. The transcripts are also preserved in my own office.

WILLA BAUM: I'm Director of the Regional Oral History Office at the University of California at Berkeley. We're a little like Columbia in that we have a number of projects. The one that might

fit into science and technology is a project on the wine industry. This project is being funded by the wine industry itself, and we are interviewing people who are prominent wine growers, some of the leading technologists in the development of the production of wine and some of the people who are trade representatives in the Wine Institute, which is their trade organization. So this might be called a technological and economic study. This is being done in close cooperation with the Wine Institute and with faculty members at the University of California who've been prominent in this field.

Another project we have that's technological, and we've just started it -- we have done a number of interviews on water resources, on the development of the state water plan in California, and now we've completed those and we're just shifting into a new series which will be on sanitary engineering, primarily water pollution, and this is old history. We only have $500 for this project. A lot of our projects start that way and they go on. We have interviewed the dean of sanitary engineering, who is 95 years old -- so that, historically, this goes very far back. We have at this time three men on our roster and you understand three men cannot be interviewed for $500, but they are all retired at this point. This interviewing will be done by people who are in the field of sanitary engineering now and who were, in fact, students of the men they'll be interviewing. Our interviewers are probably in their 60's. One of the interviewers is the next on the list to be interviewed, he's about 65. So those are our two technological projects.

NATHAN REINGOLD: How was your interview with Hildebrand? I noticed that on the little list.

WILLA BAUM: It was part of our University of California series as he was very prominent in the administration of the University. A small part is devoted to his work in chemistry.

NATHAN REINGOLD: Anything about the politics of science? Mr. Hildebrand was involved in a little flurry at the National Academy of Science.

WILLA BAUM: Yes, there's some on that.

MILTON E. KRENTS: I am coordinator of the newly organized oral history project at the American Jewish Committee in New York City. We are here to learn and I'm sure that the conference will be very beneficial to us. We are right now building our own team, finding interviewers and transcribers and all the machinery with which you people are so familiar. We're in the process of "growing pains." However, we are keenly interested in the whole field of medicine-science-technology because what we're going to do is try to attempt to trace the American Jewish experience in the 20th Century. Some of you may be familiar with the Commentary magazine that our organization puts out. We hope this will be of the same quality.

We have just completed our first roster of our national advisory board and on that we have Dr. Jerome Wiesner at M.I.T., who will be assisting us in the science field, and we've already received approval for an oral memoir with Dr. Jonas Salk. Another aspect of our work is acquisitions, and we have been in contact with some of the centers around the country. Willa Baum was good enough to get us an oral history memoir on the famous Walter Laudermilk, who was the great water conservationist, and of course we were particularly interested in him because of his association with Israel and their water problems in the desert.

Another aspect of my work is also the producer of The Eternal Light program, which some of you may be familiar with, which I helped originate and am still producing on NBC. Some of the material, while that's in dramatic form, nevertheless will have some relationship to the oral history work of the American Jewish Committee, like the discoverer of pellagra and Bela Schick and the Schick Test. And so we're on our way. At the next colloquium we hope to have a more detailed report for you.

PETER D. OLCH: I'm very interested, Mr. Krents, by your comment about having an advisory board. Are they specifically assisting in the selection of candidates for oral history memoirs?

MILTON E. KRENTS: They will guide us in setting up our policy and they will be able to give us suggestions. But we hope to set up specialized committees, small committees to work with us in various areas which we'll be interested in. We're going to talk to Dr. Lyons about the medical field and we hope eventually to set up these individual committees who will help us in setting direction and the types of people we ought to interview.

PETER D. OLCH: This is something to which we could address ourselves. I know it's a continuing problem with us.

TROIS E. JOHNSON: I'm with the School of Public Health in the Carolina Population Center of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Some fifteen years ago I got one of those big old Grundigs and took it to some places where I was assigned as an officer in the Public Health Service to what's now the AID Program, and in some of these countries I began to collect just small vignettes of voices of people in public health. Obviously one has to talk about something, so I made it a point to try to determine the significance of what a guy was doing at that particular moment. Over a period of time I collected some forty to fifty of these small vignettes, and then when the Oral History Association came along, I joined. About eighteen months ago I went to the University, after leaving the Public Health Service, where I'm with the Population Center and the School of Public Health.

It so happens that in North Carolina as long ago as 1937 the official health agency took some action that made it possible for the health departments to offer what we call family-planning services to the residents who wanted these services, and this was the first really official wide-scale program of family-planning services. Obviously many agencies -- in particular, Planned Parenthood and Mrs. Sanger's work -- have been doing this for years on a voluntary level. About three years ago the Carolina Population Center came into existence, and in three years now it has become a University-wide organization that stimulates cooperation on population studies in some seventeen or eighteen departments of the University. We've been able to attract about three or four million dollars worth of support for the organization, and it seems to me that, being a part of this, I should try to record something about what's happened in population and family planning in North Carolina and particularly the organization of the Center, how it came about, who really was the guy that made the suggestion, and the sequence of events. I think probably the main drawback or the difficulty relative to this project will be the fact that I'm now a part of it and the people that I want to interview are good friends and they are going to be a little bit loath to tell me why this guy isn't doing or isn't coming up to his expectation or what part he had in it. I anticipate that this will be a problem to some extent.

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG: Well, the National Library of Medicine has a contract with Emory University under which certain costs of producing tapes and making transcripts that relate to food and drug regulation is handled. On their end, Dr. Olch is in charge, and on Emory's end, I'm in charge and have done most of the interviewing, although graduate students of mine who may choose to be interested in this particular field have done some interviewing and some more will come along. Some of you will recognize that there is a temptation to believe you can do more in shorter time initially than has proven to be true, especially when you're involved with the regular academic commitments.

During the last year I suppose that the most significant interview that got into the pipeline was about twelve hours that I had with former Commissioner James Goddard which really is a pretty full biographical treatment, his reflections on his whole life, not to say, of course, the main emphasis on his commissionership. He also told me that he had willed his papers to the National Library of Medicine. And we had another interview earlier in a situation in which the National Library of Medicine had been trying to get the papers of a man and then we interviewed him, and I hope that this tips the balance so that the papers will go along with the tapes. With Goddard, though I'm doing research in this field, my interviews were based on printed records, not on a study of the private papers. This seemed to be a good thing at this time when it was convenient for him to do it, and I just wasn't up that far in my own research.

MILDRED C. LANGNER: I'm from the University of Miami School of Medicine and I'm the librarian. We don't have a program yet, and that's why I'm here -- to learn a lot so we can start one. I'm looking forward to starting this program with pleasure because we are having such good cooperation with the Audio-Visual Department and with the History of Medicine Section of the Medical Department. So next year I'll be able to give you a much better report.

JAMES D. MACK: I'm the Director of Libraries at Lehigh University and what I want to do is start a program on the operation and administration of science and technology at that particular University, autobiographical.

PETER D. OLCH: An institutional history primarily but in the area of science.

JAMES D. MACK: Right.

JULIA F. DAVIS: I'm from the Eleutherian-Mills-Hagley Foundation in Delaware. We have a museum, the Hagley Museum, and a historical library, the Eleutherian-Mills Historical Library. The oral history program as such has been under the direction of Dr. Norman Wilkinson, who under normal circumstances would be here today. He is our Director of Research and has handled the oral history program as it now exists as a two-fold situation. In the one instance, the Hagley Museum, which is deeply involved in the technological history of the Brandywine Valley, is interested in oral interviews with business, technological and industrial leaders -- therefore, half of me should be in the Studio Room right now. The other half of the situation is that the Library, of course, has an Audio-Visual Department which I head and will be storing this material, so I'm here for technical information as well.

I will describe the program very briefly. They use it in two ways -- not only for information for museum research and external research but also as a teaching and learning tool with our Hagley Fellowship Program. I think this is the important facet of the work that's done because it gives the Hagley Fellows, who are in both masters and doctoral programs, an opportunity to understand from the point of view of both the historian and the museum administrator the opportunities in oral history. I think Dr. Wilkinson has tried to broaden the base of the oral history program to encompass training as well as simply recording. We have limited materials now which are available to the public. In the main, they have been based on a sampling of individuals selected because of some direct reference to manuscript holdings -- e.g., on a technology involved in a leather company now defunct. However, it's my own interest that brings up this topic. I believe we will be interested in interviewing people in the history of technology and in the sciences in terms of relationships to the progress of chemistry and so on. We're in a rather unique situation there for that.

I believe that one of the main problems I'd like to bring up for discussion is indexing and classification of transcribed materials because there's no question about it -- in the same way that you have problems with visual indexing, you do with oral indexing as well. I believe I'd better drop it there because Dr. Wilkinson will be here next year and will be able to describe any changes in the program.

ENID H. DOUGLASS: I might give a brief description. There's a book upstairs on display called Climb to Greatness, which is a definitive study of the aircraft industry, written by John Ray who is at Harvey Mudd College of Engineering and with our Claremont Graduate School. This has been published by M.I.T. Press. A good deal of his material came from the oral history technique. We are more a target-of-opportunity operation; we're an extension of the history department of a graduate institution. We do have one quite interesting one on an electronics firm in the early phases and another one on a metallurgical engineer who started a company which did something rather unique in terms of the war effort.

I had a question of Willa Baum. I wanted to ask her if this wine industry project includes Southern California.

WILLA BAUM: I think we have one interviewee in Southern California, one or two.

ENID H. DOUGLASS: Because we have some opportunities or contacts and we've been trying to get to this, and, as you know, there's an extensive wine industry within a half an hour of our institution -- 'fact that's where I buy my wine, from our local vintner, as we call it. And this one gentleman who is from Italy actually brought clippings over from Italy and was instrumental in this and has a Ph.D. in chemistry from Milan.

WILLA BAUM: Maybe we could exchange recommendations.

ENID H. DOUGLASS: There's a whole story in Southern California where vineyards were planted very early and should be part of this.

If I could ask the gentleman from the American Jewish Committee, are you making any attempt to...or studied attempt to get those persons who fled Europe and ended up in the professions, particularly, say, medicine and technological research?

MILTON E. KRENTS: Yes, that will be part of our program. It's such a vast canvass, as you know. However, we are also thinking of the European aspect of it as well. In other words, going back to where they started in Europe and possibly following them over here to America.

ENID H. DOUGLASS: We're in a high state of frustration because we had the start of a project in Southern California. There's a fantastic number of people of this category who settled in our area. We have done one doctor who managed to jump the train before he got to Auschwitz. These were Polish Jews mostly, and I keep hoping we can connect with someone who would coordinate with us or help us -- of course, as always, it's a matter of money.

MILTON E. KRENTS: We'd be very much interested in that aspect.

SAUL BENISON: While I think this sort of show-and-tell has a great deal of virtue, it is curiously unsatisfying in a way, and as an amendment to this kind of procedure, I would like next time -- it's clear that we can't do it this time -- that we get some notion of why certain projects are undertaken more than the general descriptions being given, why are certain people interviewed, what do you hope to get out of those interviews? What kind of problems are involved in the interview process itself -- that is, what scientific problems are you analyzing and why do you choose a particular person to get an answer to this problem? Because what happens is that we just give bare descriptions of programs which really could be gotten from...generally in a different way, but each of us could inform each other on particular problems of working in the history of science and technology in a unique way. And so I find this kind of a procedure curiously unexciting, intellectually speaking.

PETER D. OLCH: I think your point's well made, Saul, and I think one of the things we should address ourselves to is the Number 1 problem we have at the National Library of Medicine, and that is selection -- why you pick particular people, who helps you make this decision? I would like other people to comment on this question. Do you have a panel of "peers" in the field of science or technology or, in point of fact, is it an administrative decision because the man who controls the purse strings wants you to talk to A, B and C?

MANFRED J. WASERMAN: The overwhelming impression of this discussion that I have concerns the creation of records. Certainly Dr. Benison's thoughts touch on the selectivity of these memoirs. I should like to submit that the preservation of these records has hardly been touched. There are the repositories' problems and the problems of making these records known to other scholars. So I only wish to say that there is a lot of work to be done on the library-oral history aspects of this field, and there is very little known about it.

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG: I'd like to add something that might be useful and helpful in connection with one thing that I detected. It sounded to me as if in connection with the polio vaccine problem there's a lot of work going on, and some kind of coordination for the utility of the whole project might be of value. The illustration was what we agreed to with the Kennedy people. I've got a student who's

working on the Kefauver Bill, and one of the big questions about that is what did the White House do when the chips were down. He found out that the Kennedy people, not being expert in this particular field, hadn't done any interviewing in this at all. So we've got an agreement with respect to this particular point with John Stewart and Larry Hackman that ultimately when this student gets adequately trained in the record that they will use their prestige to get him interviews on this point with the very hard-to-nab folks and then we will both have the tapes. And then perhaps I can help them get interviews at the Assistant-Secretary level with a man I happen to know whose letters from them have led to nothing -- in fact, no reply. So there are things of this sort that can be done when there are crisscrossings of the area of interest to help both sides and save time and maybe not overwork the people who need to be interviewed.

ARLINE CUSTER: I'm Editor of the National Union Catalog of Manuscripts Collection at the Library of Congress. More than a year ago the Oral History Association asked if its materials could be included in the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, and as you probably know, James Mink and David Larson and I have been discussing this problem all year. Of course my catalog is administrated by the Library of Congress and there are two advisory committees, and my committees have said that we must keep our program to manuscripts. But we have worked out some policies that I think will be suitable for transcripts of oral history material, and in your kits or at least on the table as you registered, there is a report of this committee that will be discussed in the meeting on Monday morning, and, as far as I'm concerned, the report and the examples that are given will be very satisfactory for our catalog. There will be some problems in just how you will report perhaps because you're not used to the method of reporting manuscripts -- and I mean by those, letters, diaries, journals and so forth -- so with interviews you may have some problems. But Mrs. Ostroff and I are here through this whole conference to help you on any problems you may have in reporting. But I wanted to speak to it, since you were talking about publicizing material, that this will be one way that you can get the work that you have done in interviewing and have transcribed before the research people in the country because we publish our catalog and it's available in your local libraries. If more than one place has interviewed the same person and both descriptions appear in the catalog, the names will be indexed so that the researcher can find that more than one place has material on that person.

COMMENT: Some years ago I contacted the Wellcome Museum and asked if they in their bibliography of historical material (Current Work on the History of Medicine) would include tapes that had a relation to the history of science and medicine, and they said they would. I've never followed that up, but that apparently is another source.

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG: How about the Bibliography of the History of Medicine from the National Library of Medicine? Is it going to include your tapes? I mean not the tapes but the transcripts.

PETER D. OLCH: We really haven't talked about that, Harvey, but I think it's a very interesting suggestion.

NATHAN REINGOLD: In years past, I have looked at examples of transcripts of oral histories and they're just like other large texts that one might get, and so it's not a unique problem of indexing. It seems to me that, without having looked at the various solutions that people may have come up with, one of the reasons why the costs are so high is that naturally people approach it as a conventional indexing problem and naturally they're short-handed and have limited money so that this becomes a very expensive problem for them to index as one indexes a book.

I would say that if you're dealing with a transcript there are possibilities now of using the computer to do some kind of automatic indexing procedure, which is very, very cheap in a sense -- I'm assuming that there is some sort of a facility available, computing facility available. Now, I don't know about indexing the tape itself. That's a problem that I'm not familiar with. But I think that if you want to do something that will in the long run get you out of using high-priced personnel and a lot of resources that the thing to do is to examine the automatic indexing techniques, which run in this way. Essentially, you feed the entire body of the document into the computer by paper tape or magnetic tape, and it's punched in, typed in. This sounds formidable, but I was flabbergasted at how relatively cheap it is. The machine has an indexing program which instructs it to index all the terms that are, let us say, nouns or something like that. You can set it up, there are some exclusion terms that you put in, and you will get an enormous index, very detailed, and it does not have a "see-also" structure, which you may or may not want, but it turns out to be an extremely useful thing, and I know there are examples of such things in existence. I think that's the way to go at this.

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG: What do you mean about putting it on paper tape?

NATHAN REINGOLD: Literally the entire text. The entire text is placed on tape.

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG: Does this mean somebody has to type it over again?

NATHAN REINGOLD: Yes, and it's very cheap. As you type the original manuscript, you punch out a paper-tape record. I happen to know about this particular general procedure, and it is possible to get a machine index which is extremely useful. And in the long run,

once you get it set up, it is much cheaper than using relatively skilled indexers, which is what you really need.

JEROME STONE: Are you saying that at the present time we don't have the means of going from audio tape to computer tape?

NATHAN REINGOLD: I said I didn't know.

JEROME STONE: I thought you were, I'm sorry. What I'm trying to say is that I believe that probably the technology of going from audio tape to computer tape has been solved.

ENID H. DOUGLASS: We thought, in all our glory, that Claremont College could come out as a pioneer. We put in a proposal to the National Humanities Foundation over two years ago. We proposed that we become a computer data bank for the United States for oral history manuscripts and that anyone, any researcher could write to us, and we could get the interviewee, the title, number of pages, the status of the interview, I think 80 key words into this program at a rather fantastically minimal cost. We had it all written out, I can send you copies. Unfortunately our proposal was turned down.

PETER D. OLCH: In other words, this was a proposal for a computer store of what is available in oral history?

ENID H. DOUGLASS: We proposed that we would be the center, a computer storage center, a concordance of all existing oral history manuscripts. I must confess it would not go into those not transcribed. Anyone could write in either by name or topic, and we would get a print-out for him saying where to go. It would save this poor soul the problem of writing every oral history program in the country. Then, in addition, our proposal was that each institution, you know, like Columbia and the University of California and the bigger ones, would have an institutional membership in this, and we would provide them with a total print-out of what was going on. I feel in the long run this is the answer. Maybe I'm wrong. We couldn't get to first base. Of course money was tight at that point, and I feel highly frustrated about it because I think we had a really good thing going. Maybe the Oral History Association could undertake this. It seems to me this organization maybe should do this and maybe can tell where to go to get the funding to start it.

PETER D. OLCH: Well, there've been a lot of murmurs, I know, in the Association about some sort of a central listing, but this is very...

ENID H. DOUGLASS: Well, this isn't a union catalog, this is something more than that.

PETER D. OLCH: That's right, it's much more flexible.

ENID H. DOUGLASS: And what is needed is the initial money. We showed that it would be self-sustaining once it was started because each program would be willing to pay in just a basic amount in order to have the information, and this would be national and even perhaps international in some instances. So that is how far we went and hit a dead-end.

PETER D. OLCH: You haven't tried to submit this to any other foundation or agency?

ENID H. DOUGLASS: I haven't really gotten my energy up again. I think I should try. We've been told even try again there.

JEROME STONE: I have always noted that reference librarians very patiently sit by until someone specifically asks them to show their abilities, so I invite Mrs. Custer to comment further on these problems which have, I suspect, long been solved on indexing.

ARLINE CUSTER: Well, in the first place, I think Mrs. Douglass has a very good idea. I was reluctant to accept oral history transcripts into a catalog that was for manuscript collections, but I was told that the Association didn't think it had the means or wanted to push putting through something of your idea which would report individual interviews and index them. So I'm really in agreement with you. I think you people do need something that will give you every interviewee and the topics that are being worked on, so that what is done through my catalogs is really not the whole picture for you I think. But it is something that is now in progress and that will satisfy to a certain degree the material that you collect. As far as indexing goes, in our publication we still do manual indexing, and I'm not about to go into automatic equipment because I don't believe it has been worked out satisfactorily so that the input really balances what you get out of it that you don't have to do manually anyway.

MANFRED J. WASERMAN: The literature on oral history, concerning science and for historians in general, is not as abundant as it is for manuscripts. I should like to recommend the issue of Isis published in March, 1962. I think that this complete issue was devoted to manuscript collections in science. I believe that many of the problems which we are considering about indexing of oral history tapes and transcripts have something in common with manuscript collections. Can every correspondent in a sizable manuscript collection be brought out? Can every name in an oral history interview be brought out? Or should they, as Dr. Reingold says. If a repository owns the tape or the transcript and the gentleman's papers, would there not be a lot of redundancy when names are brought out? Well, as I said, much information concerning oral history has not yet been written up, but there is a lot of literature on manuscript collections and we may get some ideas that are pertinent from that.

JULIA F. DAVIS: May I address a very brief question to Mr. Waserman? I face the problem of trying to index materials with minimal identification. I have the feeling that oral materials have those same problems in the sense that we index for our specialized interests, but in oral history there is that whole business with linguistics and semantics and social behavior and on and on that could be indexed if there were a sufficient number of trained indexers handling it. I think we need to work out a system that's broader than our specialty for any non-book materials indexed, generally speaking. Does this sound logical?

MANFRED J. WASERMAN: I think it sounds logical. Of course now we're getting into cataloguing and subject headings and all of the library-associated problems.

JULIA F. DAVIS: Yes. My only question is do you feel there's as much a problem in that area as there is in associating oral history very closely to manuscript materials? In other words, I look upon the tape as a non-verbal document, and therefore it should be made available in more areas than perhaps a verbal document can be.

REGIONAL AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

E. W. Robischon, Moderator

The purpose of this session is to share information. It provides directors of oral history programs with an opportunity to describe what they are doing and why. Hopefully, in doing this, they will indicate what problems they are experiencing.

FLOYD A. O'NEILL: I'm from the University of Utah. We are part of a six-university project to document the history of the American Indians, an oral history of the Indians as told by themselves. Originally there were seven universities involved in the project. The project has been financed by the philanthropist, Miss Doris Duke. More than $1,250,000 have already gone into this massive oral history project, and, compared with yours, we do not have as many documents as you might suppose. They are small collections because of the innumerable problems, most of which I shall not mention here. I am sure that you are not really interested in knowing the logistical problems of collecting on a sub-culture within the Chemehuevi Uto-Aztecan-speaking Indians of Southern Nevada. It would not be appropriate.

Our project has been going roughly three years. Its extent is very large. We are gathering among sixteen tribes of the Mountain West from the University of Utah alone. Our area of work extends from northern New Mexico to southern Montana and from the crest of the Rocky Mountains westward to the crest of the Sierra Nevada -- a small area. Within our area, sixteen major tribes and many sub-tribes are recorded. Our collections thus far include about 1200 hours, about four-fifths of which are interviews from Indians themselves. Knowledgeable palefaces are also recorded if they have something to say.

Our greatest single problem is the same problem mentioned several times in this and earlier Oral History conferences. We cannot find good interviewers easily. They are extremely difficult to find. We have used people from the Ph.D.-dean of graduate school-Rhodes Scholar level down to illiterates, and to those of you who are college professors, sometimes the illiterates do better. Don't take comfort in your degrees. Ours is a project that requires immense adaptability, not just from the standpoint of administration but also on the Indian reservation. I was a bit amused at Mr. Frank's discus-

sion last night about his difficulty of moving about and the reason for having a cassette instead of a big recorder. Somehow he is not the man to send to the bottom of Grand Canyon to interview the Havusupai Indian tribe if he thinks that is a problem. I only bring this up as a subject because our problems are different and they are immense. It's an exciting project too.

One of the tragedies in American history is that we are on the borders of a dying civilization, at least a dying culture if you regard them as other than civilized -- most Americans do. It is rewarding and unbelievably rich to be able to go to the Indian people and to gather their story and to present it. One cannot do this without encountering their immense needs and the sense of being cut loose from their own ties and being assimilated into that giant and, to them, very ugly world of the Anglo. And so in the acculturation process, we have become their helpers, sometimes their friends, sometimes the people who listen to all their anguish, and that is a very rare and different story to hear.

I shall not take any more of your time in reporting on the Duke Oral History Indian Project. I understand that a year from now in Monterey a major section will deal with this extremely large oral history project that involves six universities and now, I understand, has more than 6000 hours of Indian testimony alone. I only hope that your adventure in oral history is as rich and rewarding as ours at the University of Utah.

QUESTION: How will this be used?

FLOYD O'NEILL: It will become an archive for the use of historians. It will not be processed or printed by the workers there at all. Our duty is simply to create the archive. Whenever we can, we record in the Indian language, then translate, usually using two translators for verification, saving all of the tapes, so that the collection also has anthropological linguistical value.

LILA JOHNSON: What kind of things do you go after?

FLOYD O'NEILL: Particularly we want to know what they want to tell us, and very often that is an amazing variety of things. And we have interviewed everyone from the very oldest down to college seniors, with whom my colleague, Mr. Thompson, went to school, and, my goodness, for instance, one young man, the first ever to break the barrier into English and will soon be starting his graduate training, his insights into what our civilization is through the eyes of an Indian. Also used him to interview some of his own people.

QUESTION: With such significant human material, are you making other records, photographing, collecting artifacts and so on?

FLOYD O'NEILL: Not so much the artifacts. In our own area we are

dominated by the Uto-Aztecan-speaking family. They regard artifact-gathering with some disdain. We do not want to appear in their eyes to be garbage collectors, and so we do not do much of that. Photographic -- yes, very much.

QUESTION: Is this program open-ended or is there a definite termination date?

FLOYD O'NEILL: There is not a definite termination date except at the whim of Miss Duke. It is not from her foundation, it is from her private funds, and she has seen fit to support us for three years. We do not know for how long. We just work feverishly, fearing the worst.

QUESTION: This has been done by some other institutions under her sponsorship. Can you sew them together for us?

FLOYD O'NEILL: Yes. Originally UCLA -- they dropped out after one year. Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Illinois, South Dakota and Utah.

MRS. FRANCIS S. KEY: I've been working for the past year and some months on the McCarthy Historical Project in Washington, D.C. This is an effort to document the McCarthy campaign for the Presidential nomination. It began almost immediately after Chicago at the request and with the great enthusiasm and help of Mrs. McCarthy, who has a strong sense of history. I might as well admit at the outset that the Senator couldn't care less. He has been perfectly willing to let us do it, but it's Mrs. McCarthy who found people to support us, and that is a good question too -- the support has come from some of the major contributors to the McCarthy campaign. We are just about finished. By the end of December 1969, we will be out of business.

We began in the fall interviewing people in the Washington area, primarily women because we wanted to know who the people were who came out to work, why they came out to work, fairly incidentally what they did, and then what their conclusions were about the whole effort. By November, a lot of material was coming in, unsolicited material was coming in to the Senator's office, there were all those records left from the national office, and so a formal organization was established, and the plan that was then followed was to try to bring in as much physical material as possible from all over the country, with the emphasis on the states where there were primaries, and then the oral history interviews became a very important part because, as someone has said, with telephones and so forth, you don't get good office records, and in many cases people ran offices so quickly that they certainly were not caring about history. In other cases, when they came home from Chicago, they tossed everything out and that was the end of it. So in the beginning the interviews emphasized more of the motivation and impression. Now, towards these last few months, we've been trying to flesh out areas where we discover we don't have source material.

We have interviewed national staff people, state staff people. Where we have an opportunity, we get first the leaders, we have to, but then we're delighted to also get the indians -- we don't want just the chiefs, we want the indians. The...with all due credit to the other project. We have not tried to make them answer a long list of questions. We find it much, much more satisfying, much more telling, to give them an idea of what we want and let them go. The interviews run from thirty minutes for someone who was just a loyal volunteer, who didn't have any great responsibility but just worked endlessly all through the spring, to, oh, seven or eight hours, depending on how much responsibility they had and their natural verbal ability. We have been falling behind in transcriptions, naturally this is the basic problem. We hope to have as many transcribed as possible. We hope to index because otherwise it's a morass of knowledge that's not of much use to anyone.

The whole collection will be turned over to a university library for political science researchers. Our academic counsel will make that decision. Several libraries have expressed interest in it, but they're all quite frank to tell us that unless we can organize and put it in usable order it will probably sit there and not be very usable. So we're trying desperately to organize the material, to get the interviews transcribed, to get them indexed, to do cross-referencing, that sort of thing.

It's the first time that a campaign, primary or national, has been documented to this degree. The National Archives does this sort of thing for the Presidents, but they do it for the whole life of a President. We're doing it intensively for a period of one year and then peripherally the year before and up to now. We know that the interviews are going to be affected with every day of the time that passes. We know that the Senator has disappointed lots of people so that their memories of their joy in the campaign will change with each thing he does that they can't understand. But there's nothing you can do about that. This is the hazard. We hope that any historian using this material will use it in its context. We also feel, along with a lot of the rest of you, that there should be a sign that says, "Don't believe anything you read or hear in any of these interviews unless there's outside evidence to corroborate it," because you'd be surprised at the number of people who went to campaign in a certain state, singlehandedly practically. All the best ideas were theirs, and their position was the real crucial position. It's just one of the hazards of listening to any particular person's story of a campaign.

QUESTION: First, has the Senator been interviewed? Second, have you collected any of the visual media of the campaign? Third, how are you funded?

MRS. FRANCIS S. KEY: The Senator refuses to be interviewed. He says his book, The Year of the People, is his interview. We have

three rooms full of visual material, physical material, including a tremendous collection of the video-tapes. The funding comes from some of the major contributors of the campaign. It's separate contributions. It has nothing to do with campaign funds, but it's the same people.

I would like to offer an invitation to any of you people here who have material for the campaign, who know people who were involved in the campaign that you think should be interviewed. Please, we'd be delighted, because we've had to recruit people in the various primary states to help us because there hasn't been enough money for us to go and do interviews everywhere we'd like to do them.

AMELIA FRY: I'm interested in knowing what sort of information you gave the people before you interviewed them. Were you able to work up a chronology or a layout sheet of the names and places?

MRS. FRANCIS S. KEY: The interviewer should have the primary dates, the date of the important meetings and things. That gets to be, you know, part of what you know offhand. And some of the people interviewed come very well equipped with their own notes, others don't. And we've had a tremendous range of quality because we have a tremendous range of kinds of people. The political pros knew exactly what they wanted to put in the record and probably exactly what they didn't want to put in too, whereas the neophytes to politics were just open and enthusiastic and emotional.

JOHN J. TURNER, JR. Are you saving the tapes?

MRS. FRANCIS S. KEY: Yes. We didn't in the beginning when it was just a lot of the local women, but then we soon decided this was a mistake.

WILLIAM J. WEAVER: I'm representing the National Parks Service and World Tapes for Education. Actually, the Parks Service does not have a project that is fully organized at the present time, and I am kind of a maverick -- I'm not a historian, I'm not an oral historian, I'm an administrative officer. My hobby is oral history. I have been doing this for ten years. In World Tapes for Education, I developed many ideas which apparently the Parks Service got ahold of and we're developing it.

So to tell you what the Parks Service is doing -- it is developing oral history in two branches, one which you're very familiar with, as a research tool, and secondly, as an interpretative tool in the park. We have 250 areas. Oral history is used to bring to life, so to speak, an event or a place. I just saw a film yesterday at our audio-visual lab. It is an interview with Mrs. Carl Sandberg made specifically for the Sandberg home which is now coming into the Parks Service. The film will be used for orientation on

visiting the home. You will hear her voice as you go through the house, you'll hear it in various rooms describing the rooms and what happened in the rooms.

We have a project going at the Great Smoky Mountains in the recording of the old-timers and the people that live in that area. Research is being done by trained historians in the area. We also spend a great deal of time bringing students from the local area schools out to the park and giving them the environmental history of the park. We call this environmental education. Also we're going to prepare slide programs or film programs with the local area people telling the story with pictures. Then the student goes out, sees the area and has a deeper feeling towards the particular area. We also have several projects going for the future with Mrs. Eisenhower and several projects going on in the West.

Now I'll just tell you briefly some of the things that we have done in World Tapes for Education. We have 3000 members throughout the United States, so potentially we have 3000 interviewers. I actually get people in various parts of the country to interview people for particular projects that we are working on, and we are working in what we call interpretive oral history. Some of the projects that we have worked on that have really grown into what you would call your research part of it is the Bataan and Corregidor veterans of World War Two, the Death March and prison life. We have done extensive recording -- I just received one yesterday from a doctor in Los Angeles who was a prisoner in that campaign. Another project will interest your Duke people. We have done quite a bit of work among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, and I have several recordings with these people. It just happened that one Laguna Indian was a member of our organization, World Tapes, and so he was a natural. We are also preparing, again in an audio-visual form, a tape-and-slide show utilizing interviews on Pueblo culture, illustrated with slides -- he describes the deer ceremonies, the cultural background and so forth -- as a teaching device. This is all experimental. I'm doing this in cooperation with the Parks Service.

Also we have a great deal, perhaps over a hundred recordings, of pioneer life in the Southwest and a lot of miscellaneous subjects. Through World Tapes I learned there were five survivors of the Indian wars, and we managed to record two of them. Then we got a man who was in the Boxer Rebellion in China. In other words, we are concentrating on older groups who had very interesting stories to tell. This guy in the Boxer Rebellion was the one who scaled the walls, said, "I'll try, sir," you know, and went over the wall. We got a pioneer aviator who flew for the Mexican Revolutionists with Caranza and did some early bombing before World War One. We have a great deal of material donated to us on Pershing's expedition and the Columbus raid by Pancho Villa which resulted in the Pershing expedition.

We have another potential tool which I don't think any other organization has, it is called the round-robin. We have 3000 members throughout the United States. You can go down through rosters, you can pick out names. Now, it happened that since I am stationed now at Vicksburg National Military Park in the South, I decided that I would start a tape discussion between various people throughout the country on vital issues of today. This involves student unrest, whatever you want. By going through the rosters you can find people who will participate in these discussions pointed toward a particular subject and a particular topic. These people range from a professor at Berkeley to other retired people. You can develop along any line. We even have three or four psychiatrists who are in the organization who are also recording on this subject. So you name it. We have to be very loose, we have to be very free with what we do because with 3000 people, you know, it's wide open. Any questions?

QUESTION: How are you funded?

WILLIAM J. WEAVER: It's all through just the plain contribution of your own good heart. No funds at all. It is a tax-exempt organization, but we've never been able to recruit any foundation to support it. We have a library of recorded material, perhaps 500 tapes. We are not only in this country, we're all over the world. We have members in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Japan, India. An interesting aspect of this is I have been able to establish oral-history-type projects in New Zealand and through one member in Canada. The address is World Tapes for Education, Post Office Box 15703, Dallas, Texas, zip code 75215. And they'll be glad to send you a lot of literature and application blanks.

HAROLD J. JONAS: I'm from Orange County Community College, Middletown, New York, a branch of the State University of New York, and I have been in charge for some time of an oral history project related to the history of that particular college. I'm here, sir, because when I hear the speakers discuss these grandiose, wonderful, widespread projects, I feel that I must stand up to speak for two projects -- one, the small one, the college program that I mentioned a moment ago, and the second one a minuscule project that is less than a month old.

The Orange County Community College came into existence under the New York State Community College Law of 1948. It was opened in 1950, therefore its history is a matter of quite recent events. Many of the people who helped bring this college into existence are still alive, and I've succeeded already in reaching quite a number of them. The stories that you receive, of course, are similar to the stories that you find even told by the great, but let me give you an instance of the things that we have turned up.

There was a forerunner to the Community College, a college that came into existence, as did many, after World War II to

take care of the increasing number of veterans who were seeking higher education. The Middletown Collegiate Institute was established in Middletown High School in the latter part of each day and was supervised for a period by Fordham University. A member of that particular staff would eventually become the academic dean of our college. But interestingly enough, during the whole crucial period of the formation of the Community College, members of the Middletown Collegiate Center staff were almost completely ignorant of what was going on in terms of the work of the Committee for Higher Education. Another thing that we've discovered are some interesting sidelights on the character of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, who was Governor of the State of New York when the College Law was passed in '48 and who made some of the initial appointments to the Board of Trustees.

Now you see, therefore, that even in such an area, this small project dealing with the history of this one small college, you can come upon information that should excite any historian. Oh, as to the funding -- I'm sure that question is going to be raised. Yes, the College funds it through the budget of the Division of the Behavioral and Social Sciences, and I think I might report that I was chairman of that division for eight years, so maybe that explains how the program became funded. I should also report that I'm no longer the chairman and a happier man.

Now for the minuscule project. I live in the Village of Goshen, New York, a village that, when I was born there in 1909 was about 3000, now has burgeoned to about 4000. I have decided on my own, and funding out of my own pocket, to begin a local history of Goshen using the tape recorder. As I say, it's minuscule, it started within the past month. I have had four interviews, each one quite fascinating. And I'd like to pass on to you a technique, not new, certainly known to all of you I'm sure, and that is the simple leading question. How did I get John Canelly, former postmaster, former village clerk, very active in local politics, now a man in his early 70's, voluble, intelligent, and endowed with a delicious sense of humor -- how did I get him to talk about a specific subject? I said, "John, I'd like you to tell me what Goshen was like in the year 1907," when, as I discovered, he was the village newsboy. And I said, "I want you to do this by starting to walk down Main Street, starting at West Main Street and coming all the way down to the Village Square." Well, I can assure you that what I thought would last only an hour and a half is about to begin its third session next week, because as John Canelly passes this building or that building, he will tell me, "Yes, I remember here was a candy store," and I discovered a candy store that I didn't even know about, and I was born in that village and raised there too. I discovered a hotel that I didn't even know about although it still existed up to the time of the Prohibition Law, and I was alive and sentient to a degree although I didn't drink at the time. But John will stop and he'll go to the second floor and even in some cases -- we have big buildings in Goshen -- third floor and tell me what he remembered there.

The latest interview was with Gus Wallace, who's identified with an insurance firm that began in 1853, and I picked up some charming bits in the interview that I held last Sunday afternoon. One was the first policy that the Wallace Agency wrote for the first owner of an automobile in that community -- a delightful story in this day when, of course, we are overwhelmed and outparked by this vehicle. But there was only one in Goshen then, and it was a very happy town. Oh yes, the other thing that I thought was very enchanting was what his father did in the year 1900. He had been making his rounds with horse and buggy. In 1900 he made an enormous investment in a Columbia bicycle because he thought that then he could make his insurance rounds in this new form of transportation. The result -- he abandoned the bicycle, he wasn't that agile, but the children inherited the bike.

Well, as I say, these are starts. I have many plans now to go on with the project, not only to talk to older people like John Canelly, his wife, Letitia Canelly. Her grandfather, I discovered, was the manufacturer of cut glass of such distinction that he won international prizes. Now, I think cut glass today, girls, is something that you put out of your home, you don't have it. But back in my mother's day and Tish Canelly's day, back in the early 1900's, cut glass -- I see nods in some of the older people, they remember what it was like when cut glass was a highly valuable object. Well, I discover that in Goshen, New York, there was a cut-glass factory and that some of these pieces today are worth, at least in the collectors' market, a great deal of money, and I have now many insights into Mr. O'Connor who opened a factory there and employed -- mind you, this is Goshen, 1890 -- who employed 100 people in a factory operation, the likes of which we would never see again in the 20th Century in this village.

QUESTION: I was wondering if there is a local historical society there that's getting interested in this.

HAROLD J. JONAS: Yes, there is. We have something cumbersomely named -- be prepared for this -- the Orange County Community of Museums and Galleries. It makes up an acronym that's pronounced OCMUG, and OCMUG is very much interested in the project and, as a matter of fact, on Wednesday evening, November 12, at the Crossroads Restaurant, $5.02 for the ham dinner meal, the speaker will be myself on oral history.

QUESTION: Have you done anything about the attitudes toward the burgeoning of 4000 and also the attitudes toward the big city?

HAROLD J. JONAS: Not yet, sir. I've started small. I think you should know one thing. I was born and raised in this village, and for almost ten years I was editor and publisher of its local newspaper. Also I've had eleven years of service as a public official. I was on the Board of Education, President. So I've had experience.

GLENN F. MASSEY: Have you arranged to interview yourself or have someone else interview you?

HAROLD J. JONAS: Yes, I have, sir, and it will be done. It will be done.

QUESTION: How are you going to get the tapes transcribed?

HAROLD J. JONAS: Well, this, of course, is one of the major problems. At the college we've been blessed by the good services of one of the teachers of typing. In the two-year college, we have a strong commercial program, business administration. So Mr. John Blaney -- I'd like to give him credit again and again -- has created all the transcription for the College program. For my minuscule Town and Village of Goshen program I haven't yet faced up to that. However, I've had two volunteers already to do the transcription. It remains a problem, as each one of you knows.

CHARLES R. BERRY: I'm from the History Department of the University of Louisville. I claim the right to speak for the new man. I'm here as a very ignorant but very enthusiastic novice. The University of Louisville has just recently established an oral history center, of which I have been designated director. I can't quite figure out why because my field is Latin American history, and I think that somebody in American cultural or intellectual history should take over this project. We are not operating yet. We will begin our pilot project next week. We are funded by an endowment fund called Toward Greater Quality, which the University handles, which ranges from $75 to $100 thousand a year depending upon the annual giving. I don't mean to imply that we are getting all of that by any means.

We have devised or designed four major projects to begin with, two of a short-term nature and two of an on-going type. The two short-term projects, which begin immediately, will be a history of the University of Louisville, which is the oldest municipal-supported university in the United States, dating from 1798.

The second project, of a short-term nature, I think is very exciting. Approximately ten years ago the Rockefeller Foundation gave the Louisville Orchestra a very handsome grant of about $200,000 to commission new compositions by contemporary composers. This story has not been told. It had a very dramatic local impact, transforming the Louisville Orchestra into an orchestra with a world-wide reputation. Prior to 1940 it had been something of a backwater, amateur, local music group. The two men who were primarily responsible for getting this huge grant were Robert Whitney, the conductor of the Orchestra, and Charles Farnsley, Democratic Mayor of the City of Louisville in the late 1950's. Dean Whitney has now retired from the Orchestra and is Dean of the School of Music of the University of Louisville and is dying to tell the story. He has already been commissioned by the University Press of Kentucky to write the history of

the Louisville Orchestra, so the oral history project will constitute a portion of his research.

The third project of an on-going nature that we are going to undertake will be concerned with prominent Kentuckians ranging from such people as Rosemary Clooney and Victor Mature to Thruston Morton and John Sherman Cooper to Penn Warren and Jesse Stewart and Janice Holt Giles and a man like James Cogar , who was the chief engineer of Colonial Williamsburg and who is now engaged in restoring a very delightful Shaker village in central Kentucky.

The fourth project is the one I find most exciting and the one that will take us the greatest length of time, probably it will never end, and I think it will have something of a national if not international impact. That is a project concerned with recording the memoirs of American performing concert musicians, dealing especially with their early training, their careers up to the time of their big break. We have had contact with some of these musicians and they have been very interested in it. They also seem very interested in telling their story. I foresee several difficulties in this because, one, you must define who is an American, and, two, you must define the caliber of a concert musician, and we haven't quite worked out those definitions yet, but I think that's not terribly difficult. Combined with these interviews will be an attempt to encourage them to give their scrapbooks, press clippings, correspondence, contracts and so forth to the library of the School of Music of the University of Louisville. To my knowledge, I don't think that any conservatory or school of music has undertaken any project like this, and I think it will have a great deal to say about music pedagogy in the United States in the 20th Century.

MORTON J. TENZER: One of the few things I know about the University of Louisville is that the papers of the late Justice Brandeis are there. I know there are still some men alive who were his law clerks. To my knowledge, there hasn't been a major Brandeis oral history.

CHARLES R. BERRY: I was just talking to Mr. Krents last night. He has just received an endowment, a gift of approximately $64,000, to undertake a long-term project on the experience of the American Jews in the 20th Century. And I just happened to mention Brandeis last night, and they have already interviewed some of his law clerks.

LILA JOHNSON: Will you collect the records or tape the music?

CHARLES R. BERRY: Maybe as sort of a peripheral endeavor. We are mainly interested in their memoirs. There's already been an attempt to move us into interviewing composers as well as performing musicians. The limits of a project like this seem boundless, and we've got to define our limits some way or other. I would rather let somebody else do the composers, and probably that project, whoever undertakes it, would deal more with the actual sound, the music itself.

Dean Whitney has correspondence with, oh, Stravinsky, Aaron Copland, you name any of the great modern composers and contemporary composers. He has quite a bit of correspondence with them which he is donating to the library. We are as interested in acquiring manuscripts to support the oral tapes as we are in the taping, and I'm very pleased that a book has already come from an oral history project which really hasn't even begun yet. I think that's rather noteworthy.

HARRY JEFFREY: I'm Director of the Richard Nixon Oral History Project, California State College, Fullerton. And I got the job because I'm an American historian and I also was head of the Robert Taft Oral History Project at a place called Columbia. We just started it. It was started before I came out to Fullerton, which was just this September, and so we're just in the formative stages. The History Department is the organization in back of this, but it's supported from History Department funds and from the library funds, therefore the college funds.

Fullerton is ideally located for a Nixon project because it's in Orange County, in between Yorba Linda, where Nixon was born, Whittier, where he grew up and then came back and practiced law, and other little cities where he ran for Congress and practiced law at a later stage. Also, the College has had since 1961, and especially for the last two years, a project in Orange County oral history concerning the settlement and the urbanization of Orange County. This was headed up by Professor Gary Shumway, who is here.

One thing that makes this unique is that we've involved students in this, and under Gary's leadership I think is perhaps the first place in the country that gave students academic credit for taking oral history courses, a two-semester course, and they would do the research and then go out and interview and help transcribe and edit. So the Nixon Project is building on the Orange County Oral History Project and there will be a feedback from the Nixon Project because, in doing research on these Orange County and Southern California people, we'll aid the Orange County Oral History Project, and we've gone beyond that and we're having a regional history project not just involving oral history but other techniques, and we also plan eventually to do a sort of sociological study of the power structure in Southern California.

We have 21 people in the program right now, all part-timers. We have four faculty members -- one person from the library, three people from the History Department. We have about six students taking the course for credit who are working on it, investing a lot of time in it, and we have about seven or eight students who have taken oral history before, so they're not taking the course as such but they are involving themselves. They come sometimes, they're doing some research, and they will be going out and doing the interviewing. Then we have four people from the bibliography section of the library who are doing research for us, and we're going to get some more people from them.

The first year of the Nixon Project is a pilot project devoted to Nixon's first 33 years, up until 1946 when he first ran for Congress at the age of 33. After that, I've been advised by some of the oral historians here that it would be a very good idea, instead of doing it chronologically, instead of jumping into Congress or the Senatorial or Vice Presidential years, is to jump right up to the '68 campaign and then the first year of the Administration. So we're thinking of doing this. We've set up three advisory boards -- one, a College advisory board intra some of the other departments. We've set up a community advisory board to interest people in Southern California, including some Republican main politicians and organizational leaders, and we've set up a community fund-raising group which has met about a half an hour ago and I have yet to hear the results of that. Funding remains a problem because we've only raised a few thousand dollars. We have sent out letters to national foundations and private individuals in Southern California, and we're trying to establish some sort of relationship, and this is our big problem -- the relationship with the National Archives, the Richard Nixon Foundation, which is at San Clemente, California, where the Summer White House is, and San Clemente will probably be the place where the Nixon Museum and the Nixon Library are finally set up. So we're trying to work out a relationship with the White House, the President, with San Clemente, and the Richard Nixon Foundation. All of these things are very much up in the air, the organization and the funding.

PHILIP DOLCHE: Do you have any official connection with the President? Was this started with or without his permission?

HARRY JEFFREY: It was started without his permission, and it's very hard to get through to him and we've been working on it. We've had meetings at the White House, but still nothing has been made formal.

HOWARD FREDRICKS: What is the response of the interviewee to being interviewed by a student?

HARRY JEFFREY: We have not started interviewing yet. I can only say that from the past interviews of Orange County, the students, some of them are not 21 year olds, some of them are 30 and 40 because this is the educational pattern in Southern California at the colleges. So we have not just young students but students who are middle aged. The Orange County Project involved interviewing a lot of older people and they responded very well to students. We think we train our students pretty rigorously. They have not been doing anything but research. We've talked about tape recordings and reading some of the proceedings of the different oral history meetings. We've talked to them about and had them do research on Nixon and his life, Southern California and national politics. And so just now they've chosen their topics, what they want to specialize on, say, like the first nine years when he lived in Yorba Linda, or Nixon the Quaker. And so we're not going to send them out in the field to interview until after Thanksgiving, and we hope to send them out to more low-level interviews at first to give them some experience where they won't be

with some of the bigger names. And so I don't really foresee many problems. The students are mature, we've selected them. Some are already experienced interviewers. We've had many more students who have signed up than we actually took and we screened them pretty carefully and we're training them pretty carefully.

BETTY KEY: Do you assume that your collection will ultimately go to National Archives since they are supposed to gather all of the papers of the Presidents?

HARRY JEFFREY: Fullerton would like to have at least copies of everything that's produced, both in the way of tapes and transcripts and video-tapes and perhaps other material that comes in through our project. This has yet to be worked out with the National Archives. We're having meetings after this colloquium.

QUESTION: I would like to know more about the organization of the courses for training people to conduct oral history interviews.

HARRY JEFFREY: We have four faculty members, three historians and one person from the library. We meet once a week. We give them things to read, then we sit around a table and sometimes professors will open it up with talks, 15 minutes, 30 minutes, then open it up to the floor and have a round-table discussion for a number of hours discussing the readings, asking the students specific questions. They raise points, we raise points.

BETTY KEY: Do you have a psychologist come in at all for talking about the basic principles of interviewing?

HARRY JEFFREY: No, we've just read texts on this.

LOUIS STARR: I should report that we are in the initial stages of getting a black studies oral history project going at Columbia. We have something there called the Urban Center. The head of this is former Ambassador Williams, Franklin Williams, and it operates under a Ford Foundation grant and supports most of the black studies. They have been a little slow in the typical bureaucratic Columbia way. They're supposed to get moving on this. But I'm going to have lunch on Wednesday with the project man who dispenses the money and I hope, if he gets the right kind of meal at the Faculty Club, to get a little money from him, because I've already lined up a black professor, Howard Lynch, and two black graduate students because I think, on the face of it -- and this ties in with what we heard about the Indian interviews -- it is essential to use black interviewers for black studies interviews. I hope also that they will help to direct and shape the program in collaboration with Professor Lynch and other black professors at Columbia. I want it to be their game, I think it has to be their game. We have also said that we would be glad to help any other institutions that want to go and do likewise. Unfortunately, that doesn't include providing the money, as some hopeful

people have assumed. We haven't got any money quite yet ourselves.

I should also mention that there is a Martin Luther King Project. I don't think anyone from there is attending this colloquium. I wish we did have representation. But I'm on that advisory committee. They are concentrating for the moment on finding ways of preserving something like a thousand tapes of Martin Luther King's speeches and they hope to finance themselves partly by selling records of his speeches because the famous "I Have A Dream" speech ought to provide some income if they can keep the bootleg records off the market. This has been one of the problems, they've got bootleg competition. They do, however, visualize a quite extensive oral history project on Martin Luther King, beginning with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and then expanding it into a project on the whole civil rights movement.

I do have a strong feeling that if this interest in black studies is to continue and flourish, number one, there ought to be a whole lot of oral history projects, many projects going in various communities, largely the major cities where there are black communities, and we hope to set an example. Now, you catch me unprepared because we haven't done anything significant yet. I can give you a little background because we did make an effort in 1960, before it was fashionable, to get a Negro leaders project going, and you can find that in our catalog. We did it with our own money, which meant that it was not adequately financed. But it has already been put to use by Gilbert Osofsky, for example, in Harlem, The Making of a Ghetto. It has been used by Woody Klein in Let In the Sun, another book by a newspaperman on the problems of the black community, and it's a reflection, I suppose, on the times that in 1960 we could use a sensitive and intelligent white interviewer. I wouldn't think of it today. I think it ought to be done by a sensitive and intelligent black interviewer because you're going to get different answers, and it ought to be their ballgame.

ALLEN W. JONES: I am from Auburn University. I notice you are concerned with the urban Negro. I am personally concerned with the rural Negroes still in the South and, coming only 22 miles from Tuskegee Institute, I say I have a dream and I'd like to know where to get the money for it. Let me comment further about this dream. It's concerned with the rural Negro and Tuskegee, the home of Booker T. Washington, and the great influence and impact of this man on this area of our country. I know several historians who have been writing about Booker T. Washington and I find that these historians have neglected to interview people, my acquaintances at Tuskegee, who knew Booker T. Washington, and I feel that the oral history concept has been left out. I would like very much to create something, I hope in cooperation with Auburn University and Tuskegee, that might bring forth the rural Negro in the South, particularly in Alabama, and, as I say, I'm looking for help for financial support.

LOUIS STARR: More power to you. Apropos of that, the Martin Luther King Center drew up a budget. This is apropos of the difficulty of financing all oral history projects. I'm afraid we've loused things up for a lot of people with the big foundations because they know pretty well what our costs are. And I don't want to tell tales out of school, but the budget proposal that was presented to Ford from several of these projects flabbergasted them. And McGeorge Bundy, whom I know because he was a classmate of mine at college, I sent a little thing to him saying, "I think it's time the Ford Foundation got going on oral history and black studies," and he said, "You're probably right," in his very terse reply, "but I wish it weren't so damned expensive." So if you go to Ford, be careful. They have large scads of money and I don't know why this should terrify them so, but they apparently put oral history on a low-priority basis and we've got to do a lot of missionary work with those good people.

NORMA LEONARD: I'm with the Civil Rights Documentation Project, and we are not black studies particularly. But the Ford Foundation has funded us and we have been working with documenting current civil rights movements, particularly since 1954. However, it has been necessary to go back prior to '54 and get all of the old-time individuals. Today we have some 600 taped interviews. We also collect unpublished written material. We are an on-going thing. We were initially funded to last two years.

Now, the gentleman from Alabama. We have quite a few from that area and some from Mississippi. We've gotten most individuals that were involved in early voter-registration drives. Now, only very recently did we present to the Oral History Association an article on what we were doing because for about the last 18 months we've been bombarded by people who want to use our material and we are not yet in that state. Now eventually we will have all of our information transcribed and it will be used.

CLARENCE M. SIMMONS: I'm from West Point, Mississippi, Mary Holmes College. We are just beginning a study of rural black Mississippians. We have a grant for $42,800. I'm currently in the process of trying to find out what oral history is all about. My president decided that I was the person to do the job and so he gave me a job which I knew nothing about. Since that time I've been talking to a lot of people about oral history. Now we have gathered about eleven students and we are studying all that material that we have gathered. We got tape recorders and transcribers prescribed by the professionals in the field. And subsequent to all of this studying, we hope to go into rural Mississippi and do something about studying sharecroppers, their problems, and other people who come out in that relation.

E. W. ROBISCHON: I don't think I'll try and mention my project. I've got a paper for you to pick up in the back there. I do want to inject, however, one request, and that is that we at the National Air and Space Museum at the Smithsonian are trying to build a tape bank of anything and everything that we can get in the subject area of air

and space. You mentioned an interview with an early aviator, and we'd like to...if it isn't possible for you to send us a tape, at least loan us a tape which we can then copy into our master tape bank.

There are a number of questions that I've heard from many of you. Should we retain the tape? Some organizations feel they should not. If you're going to retain the tape, tape has a definitive life span. If we therefore feel that the tape is important, what do we do about tape preservation or transferring to some other medium? How soon should we have a transcript prepared after we have had a session? We could wait so long that the person would be dead, there would be no opportunity to have him go through questions that might be brought up as a result of the transcript. What do you think of extending our approach to picking up information? There are many things that on paper read one way, the spoken word with voice inflection gives it a different meaning, and we can even change it again by facial expression. Possibly we should think in the direction of going into video-tape. We ought to think about equipment problems. There are some of us that go out on an interview lugging 200 pounds of equipment. I go out with four pounds. Money is very important. What do we do about raising money? Do we try to go to private individuals and inspire them, do we go to certain foundations,and so forth.

A FIELD STUDY OF TRADITIONAL AFRICAN HISTORY

David W. Cohen

FORREST C. POGUE: Mr. David Cohen teaches African history at Johns Hopkins University. Born in Washington, D.C., he took his first degree at the University of Wisconsin in history with special emphasis on anthropology, followed by study at the London School of Economics. He is now continuing his work toward a doctorate at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. He's scheduled to complete his doctorate in January, 1970, and he tells me he's scheduled to become a father shortly before that. I think this is a rather full year.

At Johns Hopkins he is carrying on a seminar in the methodology of oral history research. In addition to teaching African history, he is Assistant Director of the Institute of Southern History there. He will speak to you today on "A Field Study of Traditional African History." Mr. Cohen.

DAVID W. COHEN: In Africa today, ever-increasing emphasis is being placed on the use of oral testimony in historical research. This applies to research in the modern period -- colonial and post-colonial -- for which oral sources are generally ancillary to documentary records, and to the "traditional period" -- pre-colonial -- for which the oral source is more crucial, there being little or no written evidence. For most of Africa, written documentation begins with the opening of European involvement.

As recently as five or six years ago, African historians using oral sources perceived themselves on a battlefield, defending their approaches to the African past with whatever arguments they could muster. Without oral records, pre-colonial history would defy reconstruction. Such questions as those concerned with the migrations and settlements of peoples and the origins and developments of states would remain unsolved, unless of course one is satisfied with the theories proposed by early travelers and scholars on the basis of racial and linguistic guesswork. Imperial historians largely ignored the oral document and imperial historians filled most of the seats of power in the academies where African history found a place. Trevor-Roper felt that there was no history in Africa worth recording anyway. Young oral historians or ethno-historians as they are sometimes called, working for degrees more than publishers, countered, taking all sorts of defensive postures. Some went back to Bede's Ecclesiastical History

and The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to find parallels to their own approaches while striking at their critics in their very back yard. Others sought comforting identity with the Bible or with Homer. Jan Vansina's methodological treatise entitled Oral Tradition appeared in French in '61 and in English in '65 and set standards for oral research on traditional African history. Vansina was at the forefront of those who traced their methodological heritage more to Marc Bloch, the social historians, and the social anthropologists than to Homer or Bede. Today, the defensive period is apparently over. African historians are using oral sources where they can or must. The play of criticism has refined the techniques of collection, interpretation, and evaluation, and the same rigour in handling sources is expected of the historian using oral records as is expected of the historian using written documents.

The blossoming of oral history research in Africa is not altogether new. The early agents of the European powers -- missionaries, company representatives, colonial officers, and travelers -- frequently took an interest in the pasts of the peoples among whom they found themselves. Occasionally, African writers, often chiefs, tramped their homelands assembling historical compendia or recording historical narratives. Until after the Second World War, when the approach of independence placed more exhaustive responsibilities on the shoulders of colonial administrators, the collection of traditions was a common pastime among colonial servants and African chiefs, paralleling the interest in archaeology of many American Foreign Service people who found themselves in the Middle East ten and fifteen years ago. It is unclear whether our State Department people conceived of digging as a practical part of diplomacy. Surely, the recording of traditions was one arm of colonial intelligence. These novice oral historians asked questions, took notes, and occasionally wrote local histories. Much of this work has found its way into the footnotes and bibliographies of full-time African historians.

If we can note one advance over the earlier approaches to oral research in African history, it is the present emphasis on strictly distinguishing between the process of collection and the process of analysis of tradition. The earlier recorders of African tradition failed to note the names of their sources or the character of their interviews, or describe their general methodology, much less record the verbatim text of the testimony. In contrast, the African historian today finds himself an archive builder as much or more than an archive user. He is compelled by the standards of his discipline not only to distinguish between the source and the interpretation, but also to leave behind him an accessible record of his research, hopefully in the form of annotated and edited transcripts or original sound recordings.

* * *

In May, 1966, my wife and I arrived in Dar es Salaam harbour after seven weeks aboard a much delayed cargo ship out of the Port of London. We drove hurriedly to Kampala, Uganda, site of Makerere

University College which I intended to use as my first research base. Our first day there found us on more than the oral historian's battlefield. We were in the middle of a "revolution" and we were in the actual line of artillery fire. We packed up and the next morning traveled eastwards to Busoga, my research area. Fortunately, Busoga lay outside the emergency zone. A year later, we were back in London with an archive comprising nearly a thousand interviews and about 6000 pages of transcribed oral testimony.

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Busoga is an administrative district of Uganda lying on the northern side of Lake Victoria. The first ninety miles of the Nile River mark Busoga's western border. Geographically, Busoga is about the same size as New Jersey. The population today is approximately 600,000. It is a rich agricultural area. The banana grows well, is the staple food, and its cultivation allows for a settled population with considerable leisure to pursue the cultivation of cash crops or, in traditional times, the arts of music and government. The people have an expression, "The hoe is my mother," reflecting in simple fashion the place of hoe cultivation in their scheme of values. One finds no compact villages in traditional Busoga, but rather individual home sites surrounded by gardens and dispersed across rises of land bounded by swamps and streams.

In pre-colonial times, Busoga comprised some sixty-eight autonomous states -- one can use the term "kingdom" for at the center of each was an hereditary monarch, yet the population of some of these states probably numbered less than one thousand persons. A few states had populations apparently numbering as many as fifty to one hundred thousand. These states, small and large, were part of a much broader complex of political development encompassing most of the Lake Victoria region and reaching westwards into Rwanda and Burundi. While Busoga is today a unified political division of Uganda, it formerly consisted of several historical and cultural spheres which flowed across Busoga's present frontiers.

In designing the research project, I was initially more interested in designating an area of primary research than in constructing specific historical hypotheses for examination. A research area conforming closely to the political boundaries of present-day Busoga was established, more as a consequence of consultations with the Uganda Government than of my own choice. I recognized that the history of Busoga was not exclusive, but that it would have to be seen against the backdrop of broader historical developments and upheavals in the Lake Victoria region. A period was designated, stretching forward from the beginnings of the Iron Age in the first millenium A.D. to 1892, the year of the opening of serious European involvement in the affairs of the Busoga states. While I avoided drafting specific hypotheses, several general areas for investigation were recognized. The first was the problem of the origins of the peoples of Busoga, their migrations, their first settlements, and their dispersals across Busoga. A second was the problem of the emergence and development of

the political institutions of Busoga society. I was also interested in the histories of commoner families and commoner clans and in their contributions to the development of the Busoga states. Historians of the Lake Victoria region have generally been less interested in the origins and migrations of peoples than they have been in the political institutions of the region. The complexity and importance of regional state structures have attracted the attentions of both historians and social anthropologists. They have focused on the dynasties, on royal history, on activities in the monarch's court. Often they have relied almost exclusively on the traditions handed down by the central participants in the political events, the royal family and the important chiefs. Most are essentially official traditions. I was interested in what the commoner families might relate about their forebears' participation in government process and in state development and in what these commoner families could relate about the royal houses and the history of the state institutions; in a sense, from the perspective of the "inarticulate" masses.

Every person in Busoga belongs to a clan. Membership passes in the male line. There are royal clans and commoner clans. Today, and apparently for at least the last one hundred and fifty years, all are dispersed; that is, their members have been flung out across the Busoga region. In the traditions, the clan, the sub-clan, the lineage, and the family emerge as the basic units of social organization and the basic units of historical activity.

While I carried few specific hypotheses into the field, I had the advantage of a fair-sized published literature on Busoga society produced by anthropologists, missionaries, colonial officials, and chiefs. These sources provided considerable data on the structure of Busoga society. I also had been fortunate to have had relevant linguistic training in Bantu languages at the University of Wisconsin and at London University.

However, I knew nothing about the character of the historical tradition in Busoga, and was thus unable to formulate, in advance, a research methodology. When I first reached the field, I attempted to get a general idea of the character of the traditional material which might be forthcoming and which would be relevant to the general historical problems already outlined. I soon learned that there would be few "fixed texts" to collect in Busoga. Rather, the oral testimony would comprise loose collections of data and unstylized narrative. I found that there were no traditional officials or specialists responsible for the preservation and transmission of oral tradition. Vansina had found specialists in Rwanda several hundred miles to the west. In Busoga, every person knew some material of historical interest. It became clear that if the traditional history of Busoga could be reconstructed, it would have to be built up from a large number of small pieces rather than from a small number of large pieces.

Fortunately, I found that there was little problem of contamination of the traditional sources by already published local his-

tories. In neighboring Buganda, everyone knew of the books of Apolo Kaggwa, the early historian of Buganda, and many had learned them well enough to recite them to later historians attempting to collect traditions. Although there was a published local history in Busoga, it had only appeared in English. Few people had heard of it, much less seen it, and I had the fortune of being able to consult it as a source yet was spared the anguish of dealing with it as a contaminator.

Whatever pretensions I might have had about abilities to speak the local language, Lusoga, I still felt it absolutely necessary to have an interpreter assist me in the field research. At first I tried to work with a university student, but he tended to take too much of a personal interest in the actual historical data and evidently manhandled his translations to suit his own instincts. I dismissed him and found a junior secondary school teacher whose English and feeling for translation were both good. We were able to criticize one another without destroying our working relationship, and while he was often drunk on the local banana beer and I sober, we made a fairly good research team. Just under forty and looking and acting much older, he was well able to bridge the incredible gap in age between the elderly informants and myself.

Once realizing that the sources in Busoga were miriad, I was confronted by the problem of selecting sources. I was, from the beginning, wary of the dangers of random or statistical samples and consensus in mass interviewing. Clearly, testimonies cannot be of equal weight or veracity. During my first week in Uganda, it was my good luck to meet a carpentry teacher who had broadcast about Busoga in the vernacular language. He had taken an interest in the origins and customs of the numerous clans of Busoga and he had attempted to build up a list of clans and their totems in a series of radio programs. Much of the material which he presented on the air was inaccurate and, as a result, he was bombarded with letters containing corrections of his presentations and corrections of his omissions. He lent me these letters, and from them I was able to build a list of clans and totems, a list of clan elders and leaders, and a list of the letter writers, all of whom by their interest in the program appeared to be willing sources for interview. The first list of possible informants comprised about one hundred names.

I decided that the most economical way to do the research was county by county, of which there are eight in Busoga. I began in the very easternmost county and worked westwards. My first interviews were conducted in the area of Mawanga, Bukooli. I managed to do two interviews that day and, in addition, I met a good number of people and made appointments for later interviews. Besides taking home two long tape recordings of testimonies of surprising depth, I had three live chickens, gifts from my hosts of the day, and one letter of introduction from the local chief. I had also been served two lunches and three teas and altogether felt more confident about the prospects of the oral historian in Busoga.

As I worked, I added more names to the original list of possible informants, both within the county being worked and in the other counties. I moved on to a new county when the list for the previous county was exhausted or when the possible informants left uninterviewed were so dispersed around the county that it was uneconomical at this stage to try and reach them. As I worked in each successive county, I obtained names of possible sources in the counties already researched. I saved these names for later consideration. For the most part, I went through all eight counties in this way, though occasionally I did work very intensively in a selected small area, interviewing a number of people more or less at random.

My period of interest excluded for the most part the possibility that events would lie within the memories of surviving participants. The question of how traditions were transmitted thus became important. As the research progressed, some of these patterns of transmission were revealed. Often transmission was diffuse, random, passing from neighbor to neighbor, state to state, down roadways and pathways, through neighborhood gatherings, and from the transient tongues of minstrels. Yet certain patterns were clear. Traditions were spoken and thus transmitted at certain ceremonial occasions: births, marriages,deaths, investitures. Fathers explained to their sons their place in the world, their heritage. And, though there were no specialist preservers or transmitters of tradition, an ideal type of informant on clan history was perceived. The ideal informant usually lived where his forefathers had lived. He may have written down some of the things which his fathers had told him about the clan's heritage. He was old enough for the elders of his generation, or those of his father's generation, to have been adults in the pre-colonial period. An ideal type of informant of royal tradition also was perceived, and this was a descendant or close relative of someone in the court, but not of the royal family, someone such as the ruler's wife or mother, someone with access, yet with freedom of action and expression.

When I had completed interviewing all the names on the list in the eighth and last county, I returned to the first counties, doing second interviews of fruitful informants, catching possible sources that had been missed the first time or had been added to the list at a later date. In this way, each of the eight counties was visited a second time.

* * *

The first problem in the interview session was to dispel any suspicions about myself and the research, to convince the prospective informant that it was worthwhile to contribute as much as he knew, and to explain the general format of the interview and the intended use of a tape recorder.

I had made my base in Busoga at a well known girls' junior secondary boarding school where my wife had secured a teaching position. Many of the informants' young relatives attended the school,

and this connection with the district proved to be helpful in breaking down suspicions about my work. I found that many Busoga were interested in history, that they appreciated the complexity of Soga history, and were satisfied, if not pleased, that an attempt was being made to clear up the confusion about the many clans and states in their country. I felt well received and usually little convincing was required. When a prospective informant would refuse to speak at a first meeting and requested an interview at a later date, he would generally prove to be a dry source or would not appear at the appointed time. Eventually, I decided to avoid deferment of the first interview, even if it meant abandoning a possible source after some contact had been made. If the informant were not willing to give some testimony at the first meeting, his name was removed from the list of possible informants. Appointments for second or third interviews were made with initially productive informants and these invariably were kept and usually proved fruitful.

I was surprised that the tape recorder was so easily accepted. Other historians in Africa have had difficulties in using a tape recorder. Little explanation was required. It was usually only a matter of switching on the machine. Some informants were enthusiastic about the recorder when it was explained that no mistake would be made with their testimony: it would record their words without misquote. I considered from the beginning that the verbatim recording of interviews was important in spite of the loose character of the texts. Approximately two hundred interviews were recorded on tape. The exceptions were a few complete interviews and sections of a few other interviews where there were technical difficulties with the recorder: end of tape, too much extraneous noise, or dead batteries. Another class of exceptions was the series of questionnaires which supplemented the recorded interviews. Occasionally, the infirmity of an informant made it necessary (or more simple) to record the interview word by word on paper. My assistant and I always took notes during the interview and these were referred to as the interview progressed.

After encouraging the prospective informant to tell as much as he were able, my assistant or I explained the general range of data in which we were interested. We explained that it would be preferable if the informant just spoke freely at first, with questions saved for the end. From this point, the interview began, the informant usually beginning with his name, the name of his clan, the clan totem, migrational history, and genealogical data. These narratives sometimes ran for a minute or less, occasionally for as long as an hour, and once for two hours. No narrative form or style was discernible. When the informant stopped or wandered too far from the point of the interview, a general question was posed which might recommence the narrative. When he appeared unable or unwilling to carry on without questions, the question and answer part of the session began. A large body of questions was developed in the course of the research, and my assistant and I tried constantly to improve the phrasing of these questions so as to avoid leading or confusing the informant.

The interview was concluded with questions about other possible sources in the informant's clan or neighborhood. A few questions were usually asked which would elicit information on the extent of clan organization and clan corporateness at the time of the interview. Biographical data concerning the informant and his family were recorded. The date and place and any unusual circumstances of the interview were noted.

I made it a point not to pay informants. Putting the research on a commercial basis where such was not necessary would have damaged the project. The credibility of all paid informants would have been in doubt. Fabrication would have been rife. Only two possible sources demanded payment and they, accordingly, were not interviewed. I did leave gifts of tea and sugar in conformance with the local etiquette of visiting. I also took photographs of the informant at the conclusion of the interview and gave prints when and if I returned for a second or third time.

There is an undercurrent of debate among oral historians in Africa concerning the group interview. In Busoga, I quickly made a methodological decision against group interviewing. In Busoga, a group interview at best could be only a session in which various people come together and prepare, among themselves, a consensus text to present to the interviewer. The effect of this procedure in Busoga would have been to leave in the hands of the informants the task of evaluating the tradition against other versions of the tradition. It is the historian's task and not the informant's to weight and compare variants of a tradition and to consider the tradition against what he knows about the individual informant. Of course, where the tradition properly belongs to a group in the sense that the tradition was passed to the group as a collective entity, then the group interview may be a viable proposition.

I found it useful to record as many variant traditions as possible for a single group, state, clan, or family. These could be compared and the reasons for variation sought against the background of family history, of family migrations, divisions, and dispersals. A testimony recorded on one side of Busoga could thus be a control for a testimony recorded on the other side of Busoga relating certain common details or concerned with a certain common theme.

One problem that caused me some worry was the possibility of not getting data on some of the dispersed clans in Busoga. There was no existing comprehensive list of clans in Busoga. For some young boys, it had been something of a game to compile a list of "all the Soga clans." Most such lists comprised between 120 and 160 clans. As there was no way of constructing an authoritative list without getting the local government involved in the research, I decided to use a questionnaire. I did not attempt this until I was completely satisfied with the questions used in the tape-recorded interviews. The questionnaire comprised some forty-six questions. Three assistants

were hired and several areas were selected for intensive coverage. I followed up many of the questionnaires with interviews, attempting to control the questionnaire process and hoping to record more thorough interviews. Altogether some 700 questionnaires were completed.

* * *

For researchers of primary data in whatever field, the decision when to stop research is an important and difficult one to make. Originally, I had projected working right through most of 1967 but by the end of 1966 I began to feel that the research was at the point of diminishing returns. I had finished the second visits to each county and had been around a third time to a number of areas of Busoga. The possible informants remaining on the list became fewer and fewer. More and more I found that "possibles" suggested by informants had already been interviewed. Those remaining on the list of possibles were so dispersed as to make it uneconomical to reach them. More and more testimony was becoming repetitive in content. The questionnaires appeared to be more fruitful than I had originally expected. These factors fell together and the decision was made to halt research in January, 1967.

In all, I had recorded some 150-200 hours of spoken testimony. I had hired one full-time assistant to do nothing but transcription. He had worked concurrently with the interviewing. On the average, it required five hours to transcribe one hour of tape recording. I checked over each transcription both against the tape and against the notes taken during the interviews. I then typed the transcriptions. Usually, the transcriptions were through the typing stage within ten days of the interview. The next stage was that of translation, which either my interpreter-assistant or I worked on during spare time. The translation work fell far behind the rest of the work, and so a secondary school student was hired for one month towards the end of the research period to work on nothing but translations. I checked over each translation and this was later typed. The questionnaires were also translated and these typed. The translations are fairly inelegant, a product of my loss of control of the English idiom during and after the research period, but they perhaps, as a result, capture the Soga idiom.

In an article in the Journal of African History /"Field Techniques for Collecting and Processing Oral Data," ix, 3, 1968, pp. 367-385/, Philip Curtin of the University of Wisconsin has suggested that oral testimony be preserved in sound form and that the translations be made and preserved on tape. My decision to convert the texts from tape to paper was somewhat hesitant. Some of the material -- drumbeats, poetry, songs, and fables -- clearly lost quality and significance in transcription. But I recognized that for the purpose of reconstructing the pre-colonial history of Busoga, a vast body of diverse evidence would have to be organized and handled. The limitations on rapid access to sound recordings make it difficult to handle

such a mountain of data in sound form. Moreover, the sound recordings had to be integrated with the questionnaires. The testing of the miriad items of evidence could only be undertaken if all the material in the archive was organized and quickly accessible. It was in organizing the transcribed and translated material that the role as archive user supplanted the role of archive builder. The collected oral testimonies constitute the basic archive for the reconstruction of the history of the Busoga region from some ten centuries back to the beginning of the colonial period. While other evidence -- archaeological, anthropological, linguistic, botanical, even astronomical -- is significant in such reconstruction, the body of collected oral tradition has been of central importance.

This work of reconstruction is pursued, I think, with much the same critical awareness of the weaknesses of sources and as much concern for the interplay of evidence of diverse types as is utilized by historians working in more conventional archives.

We of course probably know less about the initiator of a particular oral tradition relating an event eight generations back than we do about the diarist recording in ink his observations of an event of 1750. The page in the diarist's notebook survives, not so much as a result of his wisdom, but rather as a consequence of the favorable physical composition of the paper on which he recorded his observations. Similarly, the oral tradition may have within it a substance, a meaning, a value, a purpose, which causes it to be preserved and transmitted from generation to generation without marked change. The tradition may record a marriage, or deed, or testament, or judicial decision, or contribution of a family to some event of importance, or religious duty, or political obligation. These are vital facts. It is from such tradition that man comes to reckon his place in his family, in his community, in his society: his rights, his responsibilities, his laws,his debts, his assets. They are vital and no important detail can be forgotten. If one attempts to discard some detail of importance, his neighbor, his brother, his client, or his patron surely will not forget it. One old man in the center of Busoga told me, "When an old person speaks a word, it becomes like a stone and is not forgotten."

BASIC PROBLEMS IN ORAL HISTORY

Louis M. Starr, Chairman

Dr. Starr suggested an informal "thinking-out-loud session." He began with the observation that all oral history divides into (1) biographical and (2) special-project approaches, the two having developed side by side almost from the start. Special projects (e.g., the Eugene McCarthy campaign project, the Civil Rights Documentation Project) have multiplied in recent years, but Columbia's studies of the published use of its Oral History Collection demonstrate that there is much to be said for the biographical approach, for the creation of oral autobiographies. Many of these have been cited again and again -- more often that any special project it has ever done. Moreover, "you get a lot more cooperation from a person if he's talking about himself" than if he's limited to Eugene McCarthy. The two approaches are not antithetical, he said, expressing hope that oral history practitioners will consider biographical ventures with appropriate people in their vicinity, no matter how absorbing their particular special project of the moment may be.

On the problem of subject selection, Dr. Starr said that at Columbia "we function somewhat like a trade-book publisher who has, on the one hand, an array of special projects like Harper & Row's 'New American Nation' series and, on the other, is ever on the lookout for ideas, for opportunities friends tell them about, particularly in areas where they already have a foothold, and even for what comes in over the transom -- much of it best forgotten, some of it excellent."

At Claremont Graduate School, Enid H. Douglass reported, "we represent the potpourri approach," the project having begun in 1962 through the impetus of the late Douglass Adair. "We are part of the History Department...We put our final products into our joint library, serving affiliated institutions." Support has come through board members and other donors, notably the Henry R. Luce Foundation, which underwrote a project among retired Chinese missionaries, and an elite gun club, which underwote one about itself and its members. "Other than that, I'd say we are 'target-of-opportunity' people."

Mrs. Douglass reported that new insights had come to her through having an English professor, an anthropologist, and other

faculty members read her transcripts. "My God, there's a novel in this," the English professor exclaimed, while the anthropologist said of the same material, "Look what happened to this woman. She went to China and nothing happened to her. She was a fundamentalist. Massacres were happening. Everything was happening. She was totally unchanged by her environment."

Citing this experience in monitoring as an example of what can be learned at OHA meetings, Dr. Starr commended to the group the reading of all three previous proceedings, because "for one thing, we'd like to feel that we're building on what we've done in the past...and for another, because I think there's really some helpful and informative material in those volumes." He gave examples.

The third panelist, Alice M. Hoffman of Penn State, told how its Department of Labor Studies had begun collecting records of various unions in Pennsylvania, an effort crowned by the United Steel Workers' gift of its enormous archive, including all the records of over a thousand locals as well as all 38 district offices. To enrich this resource, the Steel Workers made a grant for oral history, with no strings attached. "They did not want to do this project... They wanted it to have the objectivity they hoped a university could provide." Professors have conducted interviews without remuneration for the project, and both biographical and special-project approaches have been used, an example of the latter being a series on the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (now merged with the steel union), which traces its history back to the days of the "Wobblies," the Industrial Workers of the World.

Reference to high costs per page led Dr. Starr to say that such talk should not frighten newcomers to oral history. "It seems to me you can. . .cut your cloth to suit the circumstances. A small historical society can operate with volunteer interviewers. . . and you don't have to transcribe right away -- you can use volunteer transcribers when they come along." He pointed to one of Columbia's volunteer interviewers in the room, Mr. Theodore Fred Kuper, by way of testifying to Columbia's experience with volunteers who have done excellent work. A problem for oral history, he said, has been that people hear about Columbia and Cornell and Penn State and Claremont doing it, and the mere names conjure up vast sums of money. But these parent institutions do not lavish money on oral history, he said; by and large, they leave oral history to its own devices.

Mrs. Hoffman's mention of plans to try interviews with three or four persons together led Benis Frank to report that his Marine Corps project might try the same. On this subject of joint interviews, Dr. Starr cited the experience reported by Mrs. Francis Scott Key of the McCarthy project at an earlier session: one person of strong personality, she said, would tend to overshadow others. Other participants testified that this was not always so, that in exploring a particular area or episode, joint interviews could stimulate recall beyond what could be expected in the usual one-to-

one relationship. Gary Shumway pointed to the problem of identifying speakers for the transcriber. Waddy W. Moore agreed, but reported success in multiple interviews about the Arkansas constitutional convention last summer, by inviting each to speak in turn, and each to contribute afterthoughts. Another with experience in multiple-participant interviewing -- significantly, his name (like others') was lost to the transcriber -- urged that "focus" was the key. He had got the founders of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis to sit down together and discuss its founding, the interaction producing valuable data while the interviewer remained in the background. One need only set up the initial question properly and, given such a topic, the group can be left to itself, he suggested.

Mrs. Douglass reported an experiment in the opposite direction: four interviewers took part in three sessions with Upton Sinclair -- a professor of political science, the head librarian, a doctoral student in California politics, and a professor of English, "and this was tremendous because these were the facets of his life." She continued: "Everybody says, oh, this is taboo, you know, you don't have more than one on one. I think this is very much a decision you make about the situation. I've recently done another interview in which I went along pretty much to run the machine. We had a man who has had a continuing relationship with our whole college development there, and we were interviewing a man who was instrumental in founding one of our colleges. He is elderly, very sharp and alert, but the other person served to give him the specifics, the continuity, and he also said things he would never have said otherwise. So out of this [and the Sinclair] we got two great interviews really. . .And so I think that this is a very, very individual kind of decision...I think if you've got the right person at the right time and you reel it's right, do it. I don't think there's a general rule on this."

Mrs. Hoffman underscored the point. In several instances, she said, preliminary planning sessions had resulted in a leader deciding to bring in a member of his staff to help prompt him during the interviews -- "and this has proved. . . very richly rewarding."

Comparing individual interviews with the subsequent performance of a group made up of the same individuals, an unidentified participant said, showed some gains for the group, but he emphasized that group members (in this case military) should be of the same rank, "otherwise the general talks and the captain listens."

To help the transcriber identify voices, the prearranged use of bells and other signals was suggested. Discussion of this was inconclusive, but it was suggested that the second track of a stereo machine could be used for simultaneous identifications.

Mr. Kuper asked about the preparation of interviewers, observing that he had benefited considerably from his training as a

trial lawyer, and also from the experience of having been interviewed himself by the Columbia office before embarking upon interviewing others.

Allen W. Jones reported that at Auburn, when the opportunity to interview a notable physicist had come up, "what we did first was to go and spend several hours with his wife, who told us certain things to ask about him. And then secondly, we got two colleagues...at various universities with him over the years to sit in and to ask him provoking questions about the field." The ostensible interviewer, knowing little about physics, remained largely silent.

Observing that the subject of preparation already occupied many pages of previous proceedings, Dr. Starr suggested that some flexibility and judgment obtained in this area as in others in oral history. He said that Chester Bowles and Bennett Cerf, for example, had told their stories as they wanted to tell them: in either instance, elaborate preparation on the part of the interviewer would have been largely wasted effort. Conversely, he said there were obviously persons for whom intensive preparation is crucial, and in biographical interviewing there are many variations between these extremes. In special-project work, especially if the project is sharply defined, an inexpert interviewer often becomes expert as he goes along. But continued genuflecting to the God of Preparation, regardless of financial and logistical realities or the nature of the problem at hand, Dr. Starr said, was a kind of occupational malaise. It was as if oral history's disciples sought to expatiate their sins in this manner, whenever they foregathered.

Mrs. Hoffman responded with "an atrocity story which has to do with the feeling that you must be prepared." John L. Lewis, who persistently refused others, finally consented to do a tape for Penn State. "I panicked and I said, you know, I've got to be more prepared than I am. And so I. . .suggested that we put this off until the end of the summer" -- the summer that Mr. Lewis suffered an illness that precluded interviews thereafter. Columbia's Eisenhower project, Dr. Starr pointed out, suffered a similar disaster when an interviewer postponed a planned resumption with the General in the expectation of being better prepared later. By the time the interviewer was better prepared, the General was in his terminal illness.

Speaking of preparation, Mrs. Hoffman remarked that preparation of the interviewee was worth attention. "Often when I do interviews, a person says, 'Why do you want to talk to me? What do you want me to say?' I think one of the most important things you can do, particularly if you are interviewing someone who is not well versed... in the value of history, is to spend enough time with him so that he understands why you're doing the interview...so that he understands exactly what is significant...about the events he might be describing.

Speaking of the Naval Institute's new oral history program, John T. Mason, Jr. explained that it would develop special projects with book publication in mind. "What we have underway now is a book, a biography of Admiral Nimitz. . . We have interviewed about sixty people, family and others." The Institute will publish the book. Other projects include one on the WAVES and one on the Institute itself, in anticipation of its centennial in 1973. These are in addition to biographical interviews, which are being pursued vigorously.

Howard R. Fredericks asked about the feasibility of using students as interviewers, an experiment he wished to try at Wisconsin State, LaCrosse. Waddy Moore, referring to the convention project he mentioned previously, said, "I discovered that in some instances students were doing a far better job than faculty in this work. . . Much depends on the person, and the only way you're going to find out about this is to try them."

Mrs. Shirley C. Soman asked whether oral history tapes had ever been used for structuring programs for the general public, on records or on the air. Mrs. Hoffman said that she had compiled an informal history of the early years of the Steel Workers' Union from "bits and pieces of interviews which we have patched together with a narration and with some music," and this was played for those at Airlie the following day. Mrs. Douglass reported that selected Claremont tapes had been played in public schools for a program titled "Reminiscences of Childhood in Our Community." E. W. Robischon reported that the Smithsonian had begun to experiment with the use of some of its tape bank for radio broadcasts. Dr. Starr told of Columbia's experience with Robert and Joan Franklin, volunteer interviewers who conducted a far-flung project on the motion picture industry (totaling 7800 pages of transcript) until they found themselves going broke. The Columbia office put them in touch with Westinghouse Broadcasting, with the result that they utilized fragments of their tapes to construct a series of half-hour programs, narrated by Conrad Nagel, for the network. They got $14,000 for it, he said. He added that such instances are comparatively rare in oral history, involving the use of minuscule fractions of the available tape, endless hours of editing, and the tedious matter of obtaining clearances from every person whose tape is to be used.

PRESS RELATIONS AND PUBLICITY PROBLEMS OF ORAL HISTORY PROGRAMS

Charles W. Crawford, Chairman

The procedure planned in this session is to have a series of relatively brief remarks on the part of the three of us and then deal with some information which I hope we can exchange among ourselves. We have agreed that the subject of each presentation will be our own problems. The discussion period following will be one in which I hope we can exchange some ideas.

Next I wish to introduce the men who are on the panel with me. To my left, leading off, is Mr. Charles T. Morrissey, Director of the Vermont Historical Society. Charles' experiences are probably well known to you with regard to the Kennedy Project. I'm sure we'll hear more about his Vermont experience before the session is over. To my right is Mr. William R. Wyatt, who is involved in the Western Studies Project. To complete the panel, which Peter Olch seems to have balanced sectionally, I'll give you a few brief comments about some of the things experienced in our projects in the South.

CHARLES T. MORRISSEY: Obviously, the Editor of the Oral History Newsletter is not going to take a negative attitude towards press relations. The hardest thing about putting out the Oral History Association Newsletter is simply getting the news -- it's not writing it or dealing with printers, although that can be difficult. It's simply to get people to tell me what they're doing or what they're thinking so we can put some words into the white spaces and get the thing out every 90 to 92 days. It's quite a chore, and obviously, although some of you might not know this, I can't very well take a negative attitude towards press relations when the Editor's wife, in this case, worked her way through Berkeley as a reporter for the Oakland Tribune and then paid my tuition bills as a graduate student by continuing to work for the Oakland Tribune. Presently she covers State House news in Montpelier, Vermont, 20 hours a week and is herself editor of the Vermont Archaeological Society newsletter.

Moreover, as we saw this morning, anybody who gets into oral history concerning national political figures is going to confront journalists. Obviously, Elie Abel should be interviewed about John F. Kennedy and about other people. John Kennedy met Jacqueline

Bouvier because a newspaperman named Charles Bartlett introduced them. Newspapermen run through Kennedy's career. He himself started at one time to be one by covering the U.N. convention in San Francisco in 1945. And yet a year ago at Lincoln, when these two gentlemen at the tail end of a session on a matter I can't even recall now, started talking about press relations, I started waving my hands in the rear of the room saying, "Well, aren't there problems involved here? Don't you find that when you take time to write press releases or speak to Rotary Clubs that you're spending more time out on the circuit than you are doing your own work? Don't you sometimes have problems with people misinterpreting what gets into the press about your projects and so forth?" So obviously, there's more than just one dimension to this.

In a nutshell, what I basically have to say here this afternoon is this -- I think press relations are important in assuring the success of an oral history project, but assuring the integrity of a project is more important. There are difficulties in conducting good press relations and maintaining, at the same time, the integrity of an oral history project.

Let's go back to first things first. An oral history project really is not for tomorrow's newspapers or tonight's TV news; it's history spoken candidly, we hope, and fully in detail for the long run, for the future, for posterity, if you will. It's not for immediate consumption. And it seems to me that anybody who holds this basic purpose in mind about an oral history project has to be sure, in order to get full and candid accounts, to protect the integrity of the project. In other words, you or your typist or your other interviewers cannot be blabbing around at cocktail parties or in the luncheon cafeteria about the type of hot stuff you're getting in your interviews.

Moreover, it seems to me that if a journalist comes to do an interview about your oral history project there is a real danger in perhaps giving him too good a story, in telling him who was candid and who spoke for six hours and who was critical or who was critical of the particular figure that your oral history project is centered around, who was light-hearted, who was acerbic, who was bitter, and so on. It seems to me that if you say so-and-so has been interviewed but somebody else has not that you're raising problems for yourself by disseminating that type of information. Granted it can be helpful to you personally in establishing just the existence of your project, in convincing your dean that it should be funded again next year and funded more generously perhaps, and it is well for a university that's trying to convey to its community, its alumni and so forth, the type of things it's doing to ballyhoo its oral history project. But it seems to me, by telling too much, by letting people in a little too closely on who's being interviewed and the tenor of their remarks, you are raising questions in the minds of people, possibly in the minds of potential interviewees, about the integrity of your project. So if

someone reads in the paper that so-and-so of the such-and-such oral history project is saying who spoke candidly, who spoke critically of Kennedy or Truman or Eisenhower, Johnson or anybody, people are wondering, really, can these interviewers be trusted with what you would be willing to say if you could be truly guaranteed that the candor of your remarks would be protected.

I recall on the JFK Oral History Project that many people got confused between what we on the Project staff were trying to accomplish and what other people doing interviews and writing about JFK were trying to accomplish. We had, as you know, in the early stages of that project, a large number of so-called volunteer interviewers. One of them was Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Arthur was also writing a book about JFK and he serialized parts of that book in Life or Look. So when Schlesinger announced that if Kennedy had lived and run again and won in '64 he would have fired Dean Rusk, a lot of people figured, brother, if that's showing up in the public prints, I guess I'd better be careful what I say to those oral history people. They confused us with what Schlesinger was doing in his non-oral history role.

But I don't think one has to go back that far to illustrate the danger that I'm trying to emphasize here. This past summer, doing interviews on Christian Herter in Boston, I learned that the woman who was Herter's secretary when he was Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1939 to 1943 had just retired and was living down at the foot of Beacon Hill. So having learned this, five or ten minutes later when I was out in the hall, I called her up and told her who I was and what I'd like to do, and could I drop right down now if she was free. She said, "Don't come. I'm disgusted with what Mary Gallagher has written about Mrs. Kennedy." In other words, this is another case of people confusing what people in their private role -- in this case Mary Gallagher writing a memoir in one of the ladies' magazines (at that time the book had not been published), confusing that with what oral historians are trying to do. So it seems to me if one is a little free and easy perhaps with the type of information or the type of person or the type of interviews you get in an oral history project, you are doing more than simply publicizing the existence of your project, you're creating problems for yourself, problems that perhaps interfere with the over-all basic integrity of the project.

Moreover, I was always scared stiff on the Kennedy Project that people would find out who was not granting interviews. It's easy to talk the numbers game and we all do it in this business, but how important are numbers on a JFK Project if Kenny O'Donnell, Dave Powers, Larry O'Brien, Ted Reardon, and Steve Smith, all inner-circle men, have not agreed to be interviewed? And I found from experience that if one or two or three people didn't agree to be interviewed, then the others had an excuse to postpone their own interviews. I couldn't get Ted Reardon, and I spent a whole afternoon

with him once and I thought I had him convinced and hooked and down to the stage of setting up a date for an interview, and then he found out that Dave and Kenny and Larry and the other fellows hadn't been interviewed and weren't playing the game with us. It's my understanding that Ted Reardon has not been interviewed to this day. Now, if that information gets into the public press because an enterprising reporter knows enough to ask certain questions, it seems to me your project is in trouble again. You're creating an image that isn't necessarily helpful for you.

So many people who are in the newspaper or media business think that the information we are gathering, the hot information, can somehow be conveyed to the readers of their newspapers or the people that watch their TV shows. Many of you have probably had the instance of a man saying, "Would you play me one of your tapes or a portion of it?" or "Could we play one on the radio?" I spoke last Monday night in a social science series of lectures at Plattsburgh, New York, State College, and the local radio station had a man on the phone to me. He was all excited about oral history. He didn't know what it was. He thought it was tapes of people talking on the radio, the newsmakers themselves being taped and the tapes being kept. And I just couldn't get rid of this guy, and I didn't want to take the time to educate him as to what oral history was and how perhaps it's different from simply recording the voices of major newsmakers and saving them and then playing them later.

I did find the hard way, on the Kennedy Project especially, that if one is confronted with a newspaperman -- and, indeed, one should be because I believe strongly in the power of good press relations -- but if one has a newspaperman, you can somehow get around these fellows by talking about oral history, not necessarily by talking about your specific oral history project. And it's easy to put your project into the general context of how oral history has developed, what the problems are, the techniques, the funny stories of the type that Elie Abel told this morning 'cause journalists love funny stories and they're very easily put off if you get a few funny things in there for them. When they get down to want to know who's been interviewed, who's saying what about whom, I've found the usual answer that worked was, "Well, if I interviewed you for this project, I wouldn't tell them what you told me any more than I'm going to tell you what they're telling me," and that seemed to satisfy a great many people.

On the Kennedy Project we had major problems. My immediate superior was the type of person who takes the viewpoint that the press is never to be trusted, never to be talked to, that the less you have to do with the press the better. But obviously, you can't run a glamor project like the Kennedy Project and isolate yourself from your press, particularly when your interviewers are talking to Rowland Evans and other prominent Washington-based journalists. The press information man at the General Services Administration, the senior agency of which the National Archives is a part, was insistent

that whenever anyone called me to do an interview that he, the GSA man, be called to sit in on the interview and that GSA get a plug as well as the Archives and the Kennedy Project, and I was told that if a newspaperman called me and wanted a story I was not to talk to him. Well, that's error number one in good press relations. You don't tell a newspaperman, "I'm glad to hear your voice, but I can't talk to you, goodbye." But I was told to do this, so I would say, "You have to call Mr. So-and-So at GSA," and he did in this particular case, and Mr. So-and-So at GSA said that he and my boss would give him a story on the oral history project. The newspaperman said, "How about Morrissey?" and he said, "Oh, you don't have to talk to him." So he said, "Forget it, if I can't talk to Morrissey, I'm not going to do the story."

I went out to Milwaukee to do a series of interviews on the Wisconsin primary of 1960, and one of the important people I wanted to talk to was a newspaper editor in Milwaukee. He invited me over for lunch to meet some of his colleagues who had covered the Kennedy-Humphrey campaign of that year. We had a good time, and I was making good progress. We arranged for interviews after lunch. But then he said, "I want to do a story on you. Do you mind if we take your picture? Do you mind if we write up some of this stuff?" Well, I had a hunch this was coming and I said, "No." Really, I was trapped. I was trying to get these fellows interviewed and I'd just been their guest at lunch. Moreover, I was having trouble in Wisconsin identifying those people that should be interviewed because we did not have access to the Kennedy papers in the National Archives. So I went ahead, they did a story, a very good story. It didn't do the project any harm, I think it did it some good. But I lived in great fear that my boss would find out about it, that some GSA employee in Milwaukee would clip it out of the Sunday paper and send it into Washington and I'd be called on the carpet -- "Why did you talk to the press when you went to Milwaukee?" At such a level did we operate. These are tough problems. I really don't know what the answers are to some.

Currently we're working on the Christian Herter Project. I thought for a long time at the outset of the project that I'd call a press conference in Boston for all the Boston papers because you have to treat everybody fairly when you deal with the press and the media. But then I was having such good fortune getting to the people that I wanted to interview, and having done 27 people so far in this project, all of them within the last five months, I said no, I won't do it because I'm having good luck without somehow having to get across to the public that I'm in business and looking for interviewees. Moreover, experience from the Kennedy Project had indicated that when people hear there's a Kennedy Project a lot of them insist on being interviewed themselves. Whether or not you think they deserve to be interviewed, they insist upon it. Indeed, in one instance, I was sent out one night to interview a man for the Roosevelt Library on Roosevelt simply because he had read something about the Kennedy Project and thought I should interview him about FDR, and my boss said, "Do it," so I went and did it. One can waste a lot of

time this way. One can lose control, I think, partial control at least, over the total conduct of his project.

On the other hand, Christian Herter is a Harvard graduate, he was there on the eve of World War I. I'd been trying to find people who were at Harvard when he was there. He went to Harvard to be an architect although he never did practice architecture. He got into many other types of public affairs but not that. So I'm trying to find out why he thought he should be an architect and why he veered away from this into diplomacy, and I thought maybe I should write a short article for the Harvard alumni magazine and see if I can't flush some of these people out that way or perhaps get something into the Class of 1914 News Notes at Harvard. The only mention so far of the Herter Project that I've made is the one that I put into the Oral History Newsletter and I thought somebody might pick that up, somebody in Boston, and that I might have some calls to do a story, but that hasn't happened.

So I'll summarize simply by coming back to where I started -- that press relations are important in assuring the success of an oral history project if they are conducted rightly. But assuring the integrity of the project is more important, and if the press relations are not conducted well, then it seems to me questions are raised about the integrity of your project and you are in deep difficulty.

WILLIAM R. WYATT: I think that most of us would agree that meaningful press relations are generally vital in almost any type of oral history project. You need the good will of the press. The fourth estate can render you many services and do you many favors. On occasion they can pull your chestnuts from the fire, and it's always nice to have them on your side.

The project in which I was involved is considerably different from the Kennedy or Herter Projects, different largely because those two were much grander in scope with the participating individuals very much in the public eye. In Western South Dakota I was involved in a project funded by the Rockefeller Foundation in which we interviewed pioneer South Dakotans, their children and their grandchildren -- in a sense, a socio-historical study in which we attempted to trace changing social and cultural patterns among three generations of Western South Dakotans.

We found what we thought had been a relatively isolated area in which homesteading generally took place after the turn of this century. Due to the absence of an interior railroad line and the ferocity of the Western Sioux, we were confronted with a handful of counties in which homesteading took place at a rather tardy date, and as a result of that we had living there at the time of our project, and continuing to live on now, people who actually tilled South Dakota soil for the first time as true pioneer types. We were interested in interviewing these people and recording their tales,

stories and reminiscences, all which we now have on tape. But in addition to this we pushed on into a series of interviews with their children and their grandchildren, making the study a sociological as well as an historical undertaking.

In terms of the press, we found that we had to walk a very narrow line between too little publicity on the one hand and too much on the other. We definitely needed publicity. This was the case because I was going to be working in an area that was new to me and among individuals who were meeting me for the first time. Thus, I felt that it was essential to be introduced by the press, just as I felt that it was well to have the nature of our study introduced to these people in the same manner. Even more important, we obviously needed to make contact with the type of people who were vital to the carrying out of the program -- in other words, those who had been pioneers and homesteaders and who could make a contribution. We did indeed need the outreach of every medium available.

At the outset of the project I worked very closely with the press in my home base city, Sioux Falls, which is on the eastern fringe of South Dakota, and then began to deal with the local papers in the western part of the state where our field work was actually done. The publicity was to provide the necessary introduction. Most of the people who were interviewed lived on ranches considerably removed from any center of population. In interviewing I typically spent the day traveling on unpaved and often muddy backroads, knocking on doors to introduce myself to people whom we had contacted previously but who were meeting me for the first time and who knew what they did about the project largely through what they had read or heard. Excellent press relations were even more vital when you consider several asides that could not be overlooked in approaching these people who by nature are very conservative. Among them there was considerable concern about the "liberal" reputation of the college that I represented, a concern greatly enhanced by the then recent election of George McGovern to the United States Senate. There was a feeling among the interviewees that Augustana had elected George McGovern and thrust him down their throat and they were not at all sure that they really wanted him. To say that I was from Augustana College didn't always ring the sort of bell that we had hoped for. So, as I say, we needed good press and we needed it rather badly in some of those areas.

I'm happy to say that the press cooperated very well. The press in Sioux Falls was exceedingly gracious and the press in the smaller western communities was as well. It was in the latter communities that I suppose we really walked the narrow line between too little and too much publicity. To the newspapermen in some of our areas, this project became rather vital to their own interests. As a matter of fact, I suppose some of them looked upon this as one of the biggest events to transpire in their particular county in a long, long time. They generally did very well by us, but on occasion problems developed simply because they were a little too inter-

ested and became a little too zealous. There were times when they wanted to use the project to fill space, which, if you're acquainted with country journalism, you know to be a continuing concern. We found in these counties that there was also the danger of getting caught up in local journalistic competition among the several newspapers involved. I was aware that this was a possibility in the bigger cities, but I was not so aware that this was the case in the smaller towns. If anything, however, I discovered it to be a greater threat in the rural locales. On more than one occasion, press rivalry in the "country" did pose a problem. Again, we needed the press, but there were times when we had to hold them at bay as well. For instance, I remember one of the local editors in a particular county asking if he might not go along and sit in on some of the interviews. He said, "If we're going to do justice to you in the newspaper, can't I at least come along and see what the questions are like or how the responses run? I'd like to meet some of the people you're interviewing." It's not easy, after these people have been reportorially gracious to you, to say, "It's really better that you not do this. You may cause trouble if you do."

As a matter of fact, you can't actually say that. So there were times when we had to be rather diplomatic, and I must confess there were occasions when even diplomacy hardly sufficed. We ran into one unfortunate situation in a small town in which there were actually two local correspondents for out-of-county papers in addition to the local newspaper, and there was considerable hard feeling among those people because they had all worked for each other on a previous occasion prior to a general falling out. Thus, extreme care had to be exercised in terms of the amount of time spent with each of these reporters. If you said something to one, you had to say the same thing to another. If you refused information to one, you had to be very careful that you not give out too much to anybody else.

I suppose that what I learned, more than anything else in this operation, was the necessity for using down-to-earth common sense in approaching the problems that were posed. I don't think that one should approach any such project with inflexible rules. I don't believe that any of us here would lay down absolute guidelines or say that you should do A, B, C, and D, and if you don't do that, things will not work out. It just doesn't work that way. Your problems will vary with the location, with the constituency served, with the program itself, and within any one program there will be changing circumstances from day to day. Common sense, I believe, is the key to success.

Charles alluded to something a bit earlier that I would like to mention at this point. In attempting to generate a favorable response and meaningful publicity through the various media, it is very easy to get caught up on the lecture circuit or the banquet trail or whatever it is that you call that type of public relations

endeavor. My college administrative staff was interested in maximizing the public relations value of the over-all program, and so I was encouraged, at the same time that I was carrying on my pioneer interviews, to speak to local groups about the nature of this work. Oral history was rather new to South Dakota and South Dakotans were interested in its potential. People had heard the term "oral history" but they weren't sure what it meant or what oral history interviews might be all about. As a result, I received a number of requests to explain my work before educational, civic and fraternal groups and I'm afraid that before the speeches ended I was thoroughly caught up on the lecture circuit. I spoke on this project 52 times in nine months, which gives you some idea of how I raced from one function to another. Much as I enjoyed the speaking, this did take time and it was time that was vital to the project and the program. I can't say that in the final analysis this jeopardized our work; I don't believe it did. But, again, I think this illustrates the fact that there is a narrow publicity line to tread and it's awfully easy to get over on one side or the other.

I say again, you do need meaningful press relations. You do need spokesmen from the media who are favorable to what you are doing. It's beneficial to the project with which you are involved and it is likewise beneficial to projects that may follow. Your college administration, especially if yours is a popular type program, will feel that publicity can be beneficial in terms of recruitment and in terms of raising money. This I don't think that you can get away from. But again, I would like to highlight the fact that one has to be exceedingly careful concerning time utilization.

Although all of us recognize the impact of the press and the various other media, I wonder if we are really cognizant of what great weight these outlets truly carry. Prior to this project I had never been so cognizant. Subsequently I was fortunate to be involved in a study of the impact of television on rural and small-town America -- a study which was completed about four months ago -- and this helped bring into focus for me just how closely the people that we were dealing with in rather isolated areas in South Dakota followed television and just how responsive they are to it. Were I to direct another oral history field project I suspect that our publicity would be more oriented toward the television medium, because I can see how vital that can be in unlocking doors, in bringing about an active response from people and generating the type of support, sympathy and assistance that I know all of us realize to be so necessary in this kind of work.

Again I repeat, publicity and public relations is vitally important wherever the public is involved, but there are pitfalls and problems that can make of that a tortuous path to follow. If the pathway at times appears exceedingly narrow, remember that it is, nonetheless, the route that one must walk and walk successfully if you are to generate public support and the working assistance of outsiders so vital to the success of oral historical interviews.

CHARLES W. CRAWFORD: I want to begin with a few comments concerning three different matters. First, was the initial decision that we had to make in the Memphis State University Oral History Research Office as to what our continuing public relations policy would be. Second, was the method that we followed, and, third, some examples of the problems with which we've had to deal.

In regard to continuing policy, the University advisory committee and I took into account the regional nature of our research. Our purpose was to deal with things that have happened in our area on as broad a scale as possible. We proposed to deal with political, economic, religious, social, and cultural events that seemed significant. So we decided that a public relations program would be a necessary part of our continuing activity. If there is anything that I am convinced of on the basis of our three years of experience, it is that the real problem in oral history at this time is one of public relations.

This is a relatively new discipline, if indeed it is a discipline, and the people we have to deal with in general are not familiar with oral history. The people we interview, the people we hope to give us financial support, and those we have to work with in our institutions are people we cannot assume will automatically see the benefits of oral history. I think that we have a real public relations job in justifying what we are doing. If we had sufficient tradition to rely on, we might forget about the matter of explaining oral history and educating those who have to come into contact with us, and simply rest on past success. Since we do not have that, we have to deal with the merits of oral history itself. Fortunately, it contains an intrinsic merit and inner logic that makes it of sufficient value that people cannot help but understand it, if it is explained to them adequately.

In order to explain oral history research to administrators, people to be interviewed, and those who would do the interviewing for us, we devoted considerable attention to this matter of public relations. Our projects involve such varied subjects as Memphis jazz and blues, a history of organized labor in the region, the Southern lumber industry, the history of the Memphis Jewish community, interviews with Southern writers, Memphis events of 1968 (including the Martin Luther King assassination and related matters) and a history of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which is our most recent project.

With this variety of projects, a lot of people obviously had to be convinced -- not convinced as much as educated -- as to what oral history research was all about. Therefore, a lot of information was needed for people we had to deal with, and we set out to supply it. In doing that, we had to devise some procedures, making an initial decision to work through existing public relations groups. We were fortunate in having what I think is a very fine public relations office in the University. Those of us who work in oral history ad-

ministration are lacking in journalistic background and do not have public relations experience. In many cases, there are people with whom we are associated institutionally or otherwise, who do have the necessary skills and experience. They have the contact with the newspaper reporters, with editors, with television and radio personnel that we do not have. Much of the public relations activity of the Memphis State University Oral History Office has been carried out through our public relations office. It has a very capable director, and several assistant directors for newspaper, film, and other aspects of the work in the region. They supplied much of the effort of channeling the information to the media, newspapers, television and radio stations.

The Public Relations Office did its work effectively, but depended on the Oral History Research Office to supply the basic information. This originated with my office and required a good deal of time and effort. We also decided to try to make use where we could of other public relations offices. In the case of the Tennessee Valley Authority Project, it was facilitated by the fact that they also had an excellent public relations office which had contact with newspapers and other media. They have done a skillful job of publicizing this project, though this is only one out of our series.

At the outset of the program we decided to work through all of the media that we possibly could and have tried to cooperate with newspaper reporters, radio stations, television programs, and have turned to a few other things also. For example, we often found ourselves issuing simple explanations that had to be given over and over again. To deal with that, we published guidelines, or simple operational instruction, to be distributed mainly to people who do interviewing, of which we have something like a dozen at a given time, although the number of people involved changes as projects start and are concluded. Also, these guidelines are distributed to people who are interviewed.

Recently we prepared another publication, a brochure which I think does an adequate job of answering a lot of the questions that we're normally asked, such as what is oral history, what are you doing, what sort of projects do you undertake, and what is the sequence of events? This saves time by making the basic information available in simple form to answer the sort of questions that you get asked frequently.

Like the directors of similar offices, I became involved in the speaking circuit, which does take a great deal of time, can be injurious to the digestive system, and can require considerable travel. I am sometimes able to deal with this by referring invitations for speeches to specific interviewers. For example, at a given time I may have an economics professor interviewing in the hard-wood lumber industry, an English professor interviewing Southern writers, and a musical specialist interviewing in jazz and blues. Often when

people want a speech about what we're doing, their interest is really in a specific phase of oral history or in a certain program, and it is thus possible to refer the request for a speech to the person who, being actually engaged in the work, can give a much better explanation than the director himself could. Also another source of information which may involve public relations is publications by the interviewers. Our interviewing is generally done by faculty members who are, hopefully, authorities in the topics they pursue, and intend to use their interview material in publications. A number of articles have been published from material which is not restricted. As these articles are published, the work of our office is called to the attention of other possible interviewers, people who may have projects in mind or occasionally people who may want to be interviewed in a given project.

The third point that I wanted to make concerns some of the problems which we encounter. Our problems are not uncommon and may be summarized briefly. One probably has been, as a result of publicity, a certain amount of doubt concerning the security of information which we receive. Some people do have doubts that I think are valid as to whether or not what they say will be safe. I try to deal with that by emphasizing the integrity of our archive. Also, when being interviewed by reporters, I sometimes try to be as general as possible. While this may seem contradictory to full public relations, I think it is necessary when reporters want to know specifically what you have learned from certain people, and telling them would compromise the rest of the project. It is, therefore, necessary to take refuge in generalities and speak about the history of oral history, the meaning of it, the future of it, and to avoid discussing specifically what the reporter wants to hear. But often such evasion is what our interviewees practice with us, so I suppose it's a valid thing to do with the people who interview us for their own information.

Another problem which we have experienced to some degree is the wish by news media to release information immediately. Occasionally a reporter will want a story immediately when you prefer to wait until the project is more fully developed or until it is safe to discuss it in more detail. In that case, you simply have to have a close enough relationship with reporters that you can ask them to postpone this interview until later when they can get a better story.

Another difficulty has been identification in the minds of some interviewees of the Oral History Research Office with a single project. When you pursue a number of different projects, dealing with people in labor and management, with people on the left and the right, with the white establishment and with black militants, if your activities have been widely publicized, people have suspicions and, I think, justifiably so, as to who you're really representing. In this case, it takes a good deal of explanation, and again, I try to emphasize, as Charlie Morrissey does, the fact that we're doing this for the future. I try as much as possible to avoid dealing with books

that may be published in the near future, though in some projects this is the aim of it. But as far as the policy of the Office is concerned, we are collecting for people to look at 100 years from now. This problem of getting identified by too much publicity with a project which may conflict or seem to conflict with another project or with people within the same project is a real one. For example, in the project which is entitled "Memphis Events of 1968," we deal with people who are about as far apart ideologically as you can imagine. We deal with rioters, rock-throwers, and store-bombers, but we also deal with people who are very much a part of the white establishment. So there is a danger of getting involved in the minds of some people with interests which are completely opposite to theirs.

Another problem which has been adequately covered is the time and effort involved in public relations activities. You can get on the speaking circuit too much. You can find yourself talking too much with reporters. You can find yourself spending so much time educating others about oral history that you do not have time to actually practice it yourself.

There is another thing that has given me some difficulty, which I would be interested in knowing whether anyone else has experienced or not, and that is the inaccuracy of news reports. I have yet to see an interview which was published in a newspaper which says exactly what I thought I had said to the reporter. Perhaps the way to avoid this problem is to write your own releases, and if you don't have a public relations bureau in your institution, that may be necessary. Things have appeared in print which I preferred to not see in print, and in many cases I'm fairly certain that I didn't say it, at least that I didn't say it in that way. Sometimes this can cause embarrassment to say the least. There is also the problem of useless response being produced by publicity. People who have read about certain projects present themselves, feeling that they should be placed on your interview list.

I will close these remarks by saying that I have had no reason to change my original belief that one of the major tasks confronting oral history is that of educating people to the merits of it. I think this is a valid form of research, as apparently all of us here do, but we should not assume that other people believe this to be so. I think we should not assume that because something is logical, makes sense, and has intrinsic merit, that it will be accepted. I believe that things are accepted only because people make decisions to accept them, and I think they will not so decide unless they are convinced of a need to do so. The work of public relations in oral history is to give people the facts they need in order to make these favorable decisions.

I suggest that we devote what remaining time we have to discussion. I would like to hear some of your experiences in regard to this.

AMELIA FRY: Do you have to raise your own funds? I was wondering, if you do, if the publicity helps any on that.

CHARLES W. CRAWFORD: I think it helps in that our funds are raised from the University administration, and I believe we receive them from the president of the University because he is convinced of the value of oral history. But we are funded adequately, having no serious problems. I think also that as our projects develop, more and more people are aware of them and we hope to have contributions from others as time goes on.

WILLIAM R. WYATT: May I add just a word to that? I discovered something rather disconcerting as a result of our oral history work. I found that our Development Department managed to get hold of a list of many of the people that I had interviewed, hoping that if I had made a favorable impact on these people they would be prime candidates to tap for wills and bequests. They asked for endowment monies, and I actually found that several people had gone out onto the road and had made inquiry of these people before I was aware of what they were doing. And I had a rather lengthy discussion with some of the development people as regards to this, saying that to a great extent it jeopardized our continuing work. I thought the follow-up was entirely too early.

HARRY JEFFREY: I'd like to ask the panel, particularly Charlie Morrissey, about the problem which he talked about -- blabbing interviewers. We're going to be perhaps the first Presidential oral history project which has gotten off the ground in a big way while the President's been in office, and the question has been raised about people talking, the interviewers themselves talking about things that might be damaging to certain people in high office. What can be done about this both in terms of, say, national security and political things? Are there any legal checks or government checks that can be instituted to prevent this, and what does this do with relationships between, say, the administrators of the program and the interviewers themselves?

CHARLES T. MORRISSEY: When Dr. Kinsey at Indiana was doing his research into sexual behavior, he learned that some of the girls who were typing in the office were talking, that the word was getting around town as to who was behaving in what manner, and they actually devised some kind of system whereby the girls who were typing did not know what the material they were typing was actually saying. So I mention that simply to point out that the problem is a real one, and no security check as to a person's allegiance and loyalty will really cover the fact of whether or not they know enough to keep their mouth shut when they're in the cafeteria or at coffee time. And I used to find myself, time after time, I think antagonizing my staff people by simply harping on this point day after day -- don't leave things in the typewriter, don't leave tapes on. Make sure everything's locked at night. When you go home on the bus and you sit and gas with the

guy next to you, you don't tell him what Robert Kennedy thinks of Martin Luther King. And if I said it on Monday, I'd come back and repeat it again Wednesday and repeat it again Friday. I know a couple of times staff members came and said, "I really goofed. I went to a party last night and I started to say things socially that I shouldn't have said, so this morning I called up my good friend and said, 'Please forget what I told you last night. I shouldn't have told you'." So I think it's a sin that's easily committed and one that you constantly have to be on the alert for. It's difficult, but any breach in the integrity of the project will haunt you forever.

HARRY JEFFREY: Is there any legal form that you used?

CHARLES T. MORRISSEY: We didn't have forms a la Mrs. Kennedy and the White House servants. I never legally committed my people to that, but morally I preached about it regularly.

WARREN ALBERT: I have a basic question other than the press relations. The first question concerns publicity within the organization. After you got funds or were getting started, how did you publicize what was necessary? You say that the president is behind it. How did you get started there? That's the first publicity that's needed by a lot of programs to get started, getting the right people behind them to get the program going. Secondly, the work with the public relations department, that you may utilize or may not utilize, and thirdly, getting out a brochure to publicize your program further.

CHARLES W. CRAWFORD: In regard to publicizing within the university community, in our case this was essential because I wanted to undertake a broader project than I could do myself. Besides, I didn't have the experience to deal with a lot of things that I knew needed to be covered. So it was necessary to draw on some pool of talent. I think those of you who are associated with colleges and universities are fortunate since you have authorities on almost every sort of subject. I think the thing to do is match the interviewer to the topic in which we can do research.

So I started, on one hand, with a list of faculty members, 700 to 800 or so, and on the other with some possible research topics that I wanted and was prepared to add to that as other people added their own interests. So, in some way, all of these faculty members had to be acquainted with what we were doing. And as to how you tell 800 faculty members about a new program such as this, you do it with a great deal of time and hard work, with talking to people you know, and with following up the leads as to who may be working on some topic which would fit. A lot of these projects that I had in mind at the beginning of the program did not develop. Instead, someone would say, "This person is working on a local topic in sociology or economics and he could well use your services." In that case I would contact him directly. The brochure served that purpose in part because that was an easy way of telling a lot of people about the service we have. They were told, "We'll give you the tape, we'll give you the

recorders, we'll give you transcription service, we'll write your letters and make appointments. Now, in return, we expect this information and these procedures." That was generally the process of getting in touch with the people within the institution.

It was mainly a matter of getting interviewing personnel and of matching projects. That hasn't worked perfectly because we have some people who are still doing projects the old-fashioned way with a notebook, pen, or typewriter, who could use our services but prefer not to. On the other hand, I have some very useful projects. There are many things which have happened in the region in recent and contemporary times that I would like very much to see researched, but no one is available to do it. The matter of trying to match the personnel to needs was our real public relations problem within the institution.

WILLIAM R. WYATT: Addressing myself to another portion of that question, we of course found ourselves in a unique position in this study that I have alluded to in that the project that we were carrying out was 250 miles from our base of operation, and this immediately made for a problem in the sense that it was an area that none of us were too familiar with in terms of the individuals involved -- we were going to have to introduce the project and ourselves. Now, I talked about press relations, and, as I say, we were very favorably received by the press. But obviously, you need something more concrete in terms of approaching people and attracting the sort of people that you want here than simply editorials and feature stories and articles in the press. And so I decided that the best thing that we could do would be to approach an organization or a group of individuals in this particular county that was amenable to service along this line and had an interest in this sort of project. And so, after looking through a list of organizations and individuals that were available in Lyman County, I made contact with the Lyman County Historical Society, and they gave evidence of considerable interest and I met with their executive organization. I spoke to the group, then met with the executive organization, and they agreed in a sense to work very closely with me.

So with this group over a period of weeks prior to the inception of the project, we went through a list of names that they themselves brought in and that friends of theirs contributed and that people would call in to them after reading about the nature of the project, and then collectively we sat down, went through this list and selected the names of those people that we personally contacted for the series of interviews that were conducted. Because we went back to the group who were the pioneers of that area, we were dealing with many people who were 70 and 80 and 90 and actually ran up to 100 years of age, and so it was vital to know, through people who knew these people in turn, what their physical and mental condition was. It would have been worse than useless to have spent all the time and money that one does on a project like this running around the country roads only to discover that this particular individual was not up to

this sort of interview, so we wouldn't be getting information from them. This would cut out the value of that individual, but at the same time would jeopardize the meaningfulness of any interviews with their children and grandchildren.

So, as I say, what I tried to do was to work very closely with this organization. We collected the names, we assessed the possibilities, and we tried to contact these people. I did not do this personally. I was very fortunate to find two individuals who had lived in the county the whole of their lifetimes, and they served as contact people, made appointments for me, helped me explain the nature of the project, and brought in a number of people that I'm sure personally I could not have contacted. We did run into a danger in terms of over-publicity that I tried to allude to a few minutes ago. There were many people, especially the elderly who had been there many years, who wanted to be interviewed because it was something that they wanted to participate in and thought they could contribute to it, very honestly may have had some stories and tales, and we found it exceedingly delicate to discourage these people when it didn't appear feasible to interview them. I can thank the competence of those people who helped me, who knew the people and the families and who could very often make the sort of contacts that I, as an outsider, could not have. I found it absolutely essential to work through an organization like that, especially given the distance, and I will say that this group contributed immensely. I'm sure that the project would not have been the success it was, to whatever extent it was, without them, and it was a question of working closely with them, fully informing them of the nature and content of the program, and, as I say, I'm very gratified at their response.

ALTHEA BRAGG: Dr. Crawford, do your funds come from the University? Are they appropriated by the state legislature?

CHARLES W. CRAWFORD: They are appropriated but not specifically. The breakdown for oral history occurs at the University level. The state legislature has a certain education fund which is broken down among higher institutions and others, then split further among the institutions of higher learning. It's then divided specifically by each university. This is done at the University level.

ALTHEA BRAGG: Does anyone have any advice about where you have to deal directly with state legislatures and Congressmen who get your appropriations for whatever department within the university you're connected with? That happens to be the case at North Carolina.

CHARLES T. MORRISSEY: I've tried it in Vermont and I've failed. I've failed because, one, money comes hard in Vermont, and two, there are so many other social needs confronting many of our state governments that oral history seems to get way down the list, and I really don't know what you can do to change it. In our state we have more people in a mental hospital than we have beds for them to

sleep in, so it's that tough a social situation. And I agree that a mental hospital needs more help than I do in order to conduct an oral history project on people like George Aiken and some others who should be interviewed. It's hard to dramatize the need for this sort of thing.

JERRY D. BIDLE: I wanted to ask Bill if he felt the introduction that he got and the project got in South Dakota was adequate. When you went out there had these people heard of you and your project?

WILLIAM R. WYATT: I was quite satisfied with the publicity we had achieved. I felt that by the time the interviews began and the initial contacts were made to set up appointments that I was probably as well known and the project was as well explained as one would expect. I say that because, to some extent, in the study of the impact of television our publicity failed us somewhat. In the first place, we didn't think that publicity of the nature that we had utilized in this former project was going to be as important, and thank heavens it wasn't. But I find that, looking back on it now, we didn't really get the same sort of job done in terms of publicity the second time around that we had the first, and I think maybe one of the problems is that I was more concerned about it, worked harder at it, tried not to overlook anything the first time around, and we might not have been quite that conscientious the second.

JERRY D. BIDLE: One of the hopeful aspects that I have for our program is that my background in Central Illinois is radio and television. Therefore, I feel that I have already been introduced to the people that I'll be talking to in that region. My face is known to them, and I think it's going to give me some ins that I might not otherwise enjoy. I was just wondering if in any of these other projects any thought had been given to perhaps involving some of the radio and television news people in some of the interviewing.

OWEN B. STRATVERT: I was just thinking that had I come to this meeting before an event that happened just this week, I might not be as concerned as I am today about press relations. It so happened that on Wednesday, I believe it was, former Governor of Tennessee, Frank Clement, who was also the 1956 Democratic National Convention keynote speaker, was killed as the result of an auto accident. Well, I happened to be working late at the office that night and I got a call from the editor of one of our papers in town. He asked me if he could listen to an interview that he knew I had of Governor Clement. I'd only gotten halfway through his career, and so I hadn't as much as I wanted, but I thought it was a pretty swell interview. But yet I didn't want to necessarily release this, so I said, "Since he did not sign a restriction, I would be glad to let you listen to it, and I'll have to think about the other aspect of whether quotations can be made." But apparently this was the last major interview that Clement had granted anyone, and so I think a problem arose here -- do you deny the press something that is vital at that time?

AMELIA FRY: Well, this brings up an important point because I guess all these things really should be cleared up when we first start interviewing somebody, especially when all of us deal with people who are rather high on the actuarial imperative scale. That's a word we've learned to use in order to say it delicately. But, well, one of the things that we've started doing because we cannot send them our contract that covers a complete agreement on the use of the manuscript and okay of the final manuscript when you're first starting out, we send them a letter that states these things informally and we send them a carbon copy, and we sign the original and they sign the original, send it back to us, and then they get to keep the carbon for their files. And it just states all these things in an agreement so that you have something to go by in case something happens during an interview. That's never been tested, and fortunately we've never yet had the press or somebody try to use an interview before it's finished when the person is not still alive.

BETTY KEY: How restrictive is this preliminary letter?

AMELIA FRY: It simply states that in order to quote who should be contacted for permission to quote and things like this, and it's usually the same stipulations that are in the final legal contract. If it's to be put under seal, then that's stated in the letter too. We haven't had any experience with that yet. I guess we will. We don't go into the second generation. I know that some projects do this, but we try to steer clear of that because you never know where their children are going to be next year.

CAN FILM COMPLEMENT ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS?

Sarah E. Diamant

GOULD P. COLMAN: The program at this point calls for the showing of a film entitled Can Film Complement Oral History Interviews? Well, that is indeed the title of our session but it is not the title of the film. The film is entitled The Streets Belong to the People and the filming was done on the streets of Chicago at the time of the Democratic Convention. The filming and associated interviews were part of a case study of student activism that we were engaged in -- and when I say "we," I should emphasize the role of my colleague, Sarah Diamant, who will be speaking shortly, and point out that my role was to shuffle papers in order to keep her study going. Now, in introducing Sarah, I think I had better establish the relevance -- if I can use that bit of activist terminology -- of this film to an oral history colloquium.

Primary source material, whether it be a collection of documents, an oral interview, or a film, has a time dimension. There is also a space dimension -- that geographical area which is the point of reference for the documentation. In the case of this film, the time dimension is very brief, several days at the Democratic Convention. The geographical dimension is rather small, the streets of Chicago. Now, there is another dimension to this film, and that is the interaction that was going on, the process dimension. The process or interaction dimension is captured to a degree in oral interviews; however, it could not have been captured in a meaningful way in the instance of this study without a visual medium which records movement.

Please keep in mind that the film you will see is not the original footage but an edited version of that footage, supplemented by other material for the purpose of maintaining continuity and stressing points of view. It is the original footage which is analogous to an oral history interview.

Mrs. Diamant is a Ph.D. candidate in history at Cornell. I yield to her to introduce The Streets Belong to the People.

SARAH E. DIAMANT: The film that we're about to watch together, Streets Belong to the People, has a very value-laden title, and I think it's obvious that the title is an assumption which one clearly

associates with certain groups. I'll call them hippies, left-wing radicals, activists, alienated young people. Your minds can surely conjure up more names than I'm giving you, and what you conjure up, I would ask you to remember, is dependent upon your own experience and upon the information you bring to bear on contemporary American society.

Does it seem at all strange to you that we choose to show a film with such a title at a national colloquium of the Oral History Association? What sort of documentary film can hope to give a balanced, objective view of Convention week in Chicago with a title like Streets Belong to the People? Clearly, the advantages of oral history tapes are their unique ability to provide source material for serious scholars of contemporary history. These tapes are generally recorded, transcribed, prefaced, indexed according to certain professional standards, many of which were developed by people in this Association. They are unedited tapes, they are protected by archival procedures, security measures, they are limited in their use by the respondents themselves. Yet this film is based on taped interviews which do not conform in any way to the standards I've just described. The tapes are often anonymous, they're often prefaced, frequently they can't be transcribed, and the most blatant heresy has been performed with them -- they have been copied and edited for the film soundtrack. Some fourteen hours of raw film footage was gathered. We present only forty edited minutes. Countless hours of interviews were recorded of which, again, we present only forty edited, highly edited, minutes. How then can Streets Belong to the People purport to demonstrate a new and useful example of oral history technique?

First, I would submit that the body of unedited tapes are indexed and available to researchers through the Cornell University Oral History Program and through the Cornell University Archives. The raw film footage is available in the same way. Second, Streets Belong to the People is an edited primary source. It's a document. It has been edited with a conceptual framework which is overt, clearly identifiable, and designed to place the viewer in a position of immediate involvement with the week in Chicago.

It is an assault upon your auditory and visual perception, it is deliberately an assault. It attempts to provide for an academic audience direct experience with primary source material -- in this case with the Convention Week in Chicago, 1968. Now, as academic people, most of us are accustomed to evaluating letters, diaries, pamphlets, newspapers, state documents, posters, and as oral historians, we are accustomed to evaluating taped interviews. But there's another dimension to our experience, perhaps not a professional dimension. As Americans living in this decade, we have a tremendous perceptual handicap. Film has been developed and used for primarily commercial purposes. We are conditioned to accept film as entertainment and to tolerate it, to allow it to sell us the goods and services of our economic system. Sometimes we even enjoy the sales pitch. More often we are very wary of it. We know that it attempts to influence

our emotions rather than our intellectual capacities. We recognize that it is difficult to control the influence of a moving picture in a darkened room or theater which permits no environmental distractions to the film maker's message. We read McLuhan's observation that the very medium can be the message, and that's frightening. It is so radically different from a book or a document which can be underlined, footnoted and, most importantly, it can be laid aside to ponder over.

A film, on the other hand, as I have indicated, intends -- and if it is artistically and psychologically a well-made film, it succeeds -- in capturing the complete emotional and intellectual involvement of the viewer. The audience is submitting to voluntary imprisonment for the duration of the film. Streets Belong to the People is not filming a commercial product. It is not even intended to sell an ideological product or a non-ideological product. It may entertain, but that is not its primary function. It attempts to present you, as I have said, with a visual-auditory experience, the experience of those people in the Chicago Convention Week of 1968 who chanted, "the streets belong to the people." I would submit that the most exciting historical research in primary source material involves the historian in just such an immediate experience.

I began researching student activism in America by steeping myself in the literature of such early reform movements as abolitionism in the 1840's and '50's. At the best moments I was able to feel the involvement with the slavery issue that Garrison or the Tappens or the Grimke sisters felt. Only then could I stop, move back, and try to identify the events, the forces, the values that motivated members of the anti-slavery movement. Only then could I begin to build a conceptual framework which would make the raw materials into cogent intellectual and social history. I did the same thing with letters, pamphlets, diaries, speeches, manifestos, posters and music of the student activists. It became clear that the material was incredibly vast and complex and that the movement is still in a dynamic process.

Perhaps the historian, or at least this one, should lay aside this material until a time perspective makes possible a deeper and much more analytic interpretation of the process. But even allowing for this conservative approach to the material, as a historian I felt compelled to gather material in a way which only oral history can do. This generation is more clearly susceptible of oral history techniques, not only because they're alive rather than dead, but because their life experience conditions them to vocally record their feelings, their thoughts, and their beliefs. Anyone who has graded freshman papers or exams over the past five years knows what I mean when I say that they're orally conditioned. They're not conditioned to writing their thoughts, their feelings, their beliefs, and, you know, when you scratch your head and sweat over grading papers and working on literary style and trying to convince kids that it's important to write a clear English sentence and they come back at you with, "It's just not

my thing," they have something in mind. Now,much of this material, much of this experience of this generation will never be available to historians unless we gather it now on tape.

But what of the film complement? Do we fear the use of a technique which has not been developed by the academic profession? Surely oral history has taken an important step in developing academic procedures and methods of evaluation for non-written material. Reputable historians now use computer techniques -- though no historian developed a computer so far as I know -- for quantitative studies. Yet few of those who are gaining expertise in this area pretend that they are creating a new history which will be the new history. It is only one of many new varieties of history. As Professor Frank Manuel has asked, "Why cannot different people form different configurations? The visual arts are quite creative at the present moment. Now, why not devote ourselves to negation of the stereotyped, mono-style history writing and open up new questions and new methods without pretending to make one new history? This variety would be the new history. The newness in the new history that I want to emphasize would be its openness and its pluralism."

We are already using representative films of the 1920's, '30's, '40's, '50's and '60's to emphasize certain themes in American cultural history. There are more often than not commercially produced entertainment films, but the astute historian identifies and discusses and seeks to understand the values, the life styles, the important events in our history evidenced in these popular films. I recently discussed Bonnie and Clyde and Easy Rider with a class, and the formula that we came up with was mobility and money equal freedom in the American dream. What does that mean? What is the nature of this concept of freedom? What are its origins in the dominant American liberal ideology? That, needless to say, is another discussion. What I'm trying to point out by this is that many people in cultural, intellectual, and social history are using readymade films, not documentary films, to point up important motifs in American history. But why rely solely on commercial films to ennunciate the themes we wish to discuss, we wish to explore? Why can't we create films which emphasize themes of our choice as teaching aids and, from my own point of view, most importantly, to develop new research techniques.

We can record on film and tape and explore our records with new techniques of evaluation. We can create new kinds of collections for our fellows and future historians. We can make our conceptual framework open and visible to analysis. Our message in this film is not a competitive attempt to sell an ideology, as I said. It is an attempt to show, as honestly as possible, events, feelings, thoughts, a whole style, pattern of behavior that is in process now all over America and in France, Italy, Germany, England, Latin America and Africa. It is a visible and audible phenomenon. And yet, with all the technology and skills to record it visually and audibly at a high level of validity, we mistrust the film and the tape.

I think this is because of the perceptual handicap that I mentioned earlier in this talk. I think it is because we think of it in terms of a commercial exploitation and we choose to rely on written accounts, hopefully firsthand or eye-witness, but necessarily recorded after the fact. Consider for one moment the enormous advantage to the historian of the American Revolution if one had available tapes and films of the Continental Congress or, even more striking, of the Boston mobs which burned Governor Hutchinson's house and rioted in the streets of Boston. Surely we could not replace or supplant the Colonial documents which describe these events nor would we wish to, but we should be happy to have more accounts and, clearly, the artisans, the mechanics, the working people present in the Boston streets left little in the way of diaries, letters,or journals. We are sadly familiar with the paucity of documentation left by those who were, quite simply, illiterate. The present generation is not illiterate, contrary to the freshman papers I mentioned. But the pace of life often foresakes the use of the written document. This generation accepts the media. It was weaned on transistor radios, TV, and cinema. We double the effectiveness of our contemporary documentation and research when we not only record on film and tape but recognize that we can gain insight into the very nature of the perceptions and experience of the people we are studying by using film and tape. We are using the media of communication most familiar to our respondents. In doing this, I think we need fear only our own ignorance of the production techniques and the analytic tools of film and tape. It is up to us to conquer that fear by mastering the techniques and developing the analytic tools.

Let me spend just a moment or two before you see the film in explaining the technique and the framework of this particular film. After a year's research on student activism, I decided that the Chicago Convention would provide research material for my hypothesis -- this is a glorious hypothesis -- that there were clear distinctions between hippies and student activists, not only in life style but in political beliefs, values and personal backgrounds. I was following the Kenneth Keniston model. Well, I can truthfully say that hindsight's a damned sight better than foresight or that historians are best as prophets of the past. Anyway, I contacted SDS leaders, I contacted McCarthy Headquarters student workers, Humphrey Headquarters student workers, I went to Chicago and made contact with North Side hippie priests who were organizing the Festival of Life in Lincoln Park, and I also arranged for some contacts with New York State Democratic delegates on the floor of the Convention. I was going to show how different all of these styles were. If that were not enough, I made the brilliant decision to get press credentials from a friendly editor at Atlantic Monthly on the theory that a press badge at the Chicago Convention would give our crew the friendly cooperation of the Chicago Police in filming and taping.

We were basically a crew of three people -- myself, Ralph Diamant and James Sheldon. All three of us were familiar with 16-millimeter camera and tape recorder use, although Jim and Ralph are cameramen and I am an interviewer. It was important that we under-

stand the capacities and limitations of each other's equipment. We were to be linked together by an umbilical cord, a 30-foot-long electrical cord for sound synchronizing the camera and the tape recorders. In order to synchronize we had to be able to move together and to have a clear idea of what sort of data was relevant to our study; in brief, we had to know each other well and we had to know our equipment well.

As you know, or I hope you will know after this film, the events brought together hippies, SDS, McCarthy workers, Humphrey workers, pacifists, priests, ministers, even Convention delegates in the streets of Chicago. Was this an isolated alliance between people confronting police brutality? Was it an isolated alliance which provoked police brutality? Is there anything which underlies such a temporary alliance? This is the subject for a much longer discussion. Let me just say that subsequent analysis, for me, confirmed the observation I made for the first time in Chicago -- that the similarity in values, needs and perceptions of the existing society among this generation are more striking than the dissimilarities, that the gap between Keniston's uncommitted and Keniston's young radicals is not a very wide one. The question for me is can an identity forged in response to a perceived external threat -- the institutionalized authority in America -- be a healthy and whole identity? Young people in the process of finding their identity are often defining it in a necessarily negative context. They are rejecting the role of passive consumers, they are rejecting violence, on the one hand, and propagating it on the other. What are they affirming, if anything? Certainly there is a search for community, yet the definition of community is unclear. Again, it is a unity in opposition to something.

In presenting Streets, I do it only with the hope that somewhere in the documentary record of chaos, violence and negation there is a hidden search for positive, constructive meaning, a demand that this society's older people and young people together, in particular scholars and policy makers, begin to identify the meaningful problems confronting America and the world.

VENTURES IN ORAL HISTORY

Barbara Tuchman

FORREST C. POGUE: I need not tell this audience that our speaker tonight won the Pulitzer Prize for Guns of August and has been widely acclaimed for her book, The Zimmerman Telegram, and the latest, The Proud Tower. Less well known, I think, even in historical and writing circles, is the fact that she did not come suddenly to this field of writing; she served her apprenticeship. After receiving a B.A. at Radcliffe in 1933, she became a research assistant for the Institute of Pacific Relations, and during her stay with that organization spent part of 1935 in Tokyo. Later she acted as the editorial assistant for Nation. For a time in 1937 she was in Spain and then for the remainder of 1937 and parts of 1938 she wrote on the Spanish Civil War from London. During World War II, she served on the Far East desk of the Office of War Information. After finishing The Proud Tower she made use of that Far East background. She selected for her topic that wonderful "vinegar" character, Joe Stilwell. She's traveled, I believe, to Taiwan and Europe and over a good part of the United States running down his former colleagues and friends, and probably a few that were not so friendly. She is a writer who catches the color and atmosphere of historical events without foregoing the hard work of looking at the footnote material, a mother of three, a very proud new grandmother who just flew in last night, getting here early this morning from a visit to the youngest, a lady of great charm. We thank her very much for coming to us. She will speak to you tonight on "Ventures in Oral History." Barbara Tuchman.

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Thank you. I should begin by saying that one of the great advantages of having chosen Stilwell as a subject was becoming acquainted with Dr. Pogue who has been very helpful -- immensely helpful -- to me, and this has been one of the happy by-products of this venture. Also, as an aside before I get started, I want to refer to Mr. Abel's remarks this morning about footnotes: I am a footnote character. They're not at the foot of the page, but they're all in the back of the book. I have a great deal of respect for citing references. When you pick up a book of history, you begin by looking in the back, at least I always do, and if Mr. Abel had started at the back of my books, he would have seen the references.

I have to confess that in your terms I'm really not an oral historian at all because I don't use a tape recorder. I know that to you people here this is a confession that sort of rules me out

to begin with. I was thrown in to swim in this field when I went to Israel the first time to give some lectures at the Hebrew University. While I was there I got a call from the Saturday Evening Post -- would I do a piece on Israel -- just that, the whole thing. Well, I went around for three weeks interviewing, and I had to develop a technique in a hurry. I had done a little reporting but never really persistent interviewing, and that country and its problems were entirely new to me. The first thing I discovered was that you cannot trust your memory of what people tell you. I immediately rushed out and bought a notebook. I obviously had no way of getting hold of a tape recorder or if I had I would have been scared to death to use one, and so would they, I'm sure. The first technique I developed was a notebook that fits in your purse. This is my tape recorder; I just take notes. Of course you lose a great deal by this method because you can't possibly keep up. On the other hand, I think there is an advantage in that you're forced to compress what is being told you and to extract the really significant matter -- the nugget.

As all of you know, I'm sure, better than I do, 90 percent of what any interviewee tells you is not terribly worthwhile. This brings up the difference in purpose between my function and yours. The purpose of the oral historian as a discipline is the accumulation of the record, whereas my purpose is to gain information which I can use in a narrative. In other words, I take it and shape it, whereas you're getting it on the record, which is perhaps more important for future use. Well, this difference in purpose changes the operation entirely. What I'm looking for is not only information, but really, I think, insights perhaps more than anything. I don't know if this is what I'm looking for but this is what I get. I find what has been most useful to me are the insights, the clues, that I get from people I talk to. And to come back to the advantage of note taking as against recording: you can only get a certain amount and what you retain is the sharp, memorable phrase or bit of information. When you then come to use it, your material has been preselected for you by this compression.

I have always thought that selecting the significant from the insignificant is one of the four essentials of good historical writing, and it's the one, in my opinion, that is most present by omission in much current history. Too much of the insignificant is thrown in, I think, largely because the historians are afraid that their colleagues are going to say, "Oh, he didn't know such and such," and so they're afraid of leaving it out. I think this is the danger in the recorder, that you get too much; it is what somebody called "the multiplication of rubbish." I don't mean this is applied only to oral history, I'm afraid that wasn't very tactful. I mean that the mechanization of methods in many ways, like the quantitative histories that people do with computers, is a problem in this matter of oversupply.

To get back to what I've been doing. Another way in which my work is different from yours is that my interviews have been mostly of the one shot kind; they haven't been terribly well prepared except in the sense that I try to know what to ask before I get there. In

the case of Israel, I couldn't because I was just thrown into that situation. I went back in 1967 after the six-day war to do two pieces for The Atlantic Monthly. This is a very small country, and if you have any entrée at all, you know, you start right at the top. The first hour I arrived I had an interview with General Rabin, the Chief of Staff, who was being given a reception that afternoon and I was dragged off right from the airplane. General Rabin had read The Guns of August -- in fact, he told me he'd read all my books -- and they had used it in the General Staff School, which I mention only because it made him willing to talk, but, of course, it didn't give me much chance to prepare for anything. And from there on, I had an extraordinary series of interviews with the Chief of Staff, the Chief of Operations, the Chief of the Air Force, General Weizmann, General Hod, General Yariv, the Chief of Intelligence, General Narkis, who was Chief of the Jerusalem area -- one after another. And a whole lot of other people, Eshkol and others, with my little notebook and really not time to work up the kind of proper questions that you people are able to do because you are planning it ahead.

And yet, this whole thing was a marvelous experience because, really because of the mood of the country and the people. In Israel they are not a laconic people to begin with, and at the moment, when they had just saved themselves from annihilation, as they felt it to be, and were really overcome with the extraordinary perfection of this performance and with the sense of being saved from what they felt was a very close thing, they were simply bursting to talk. Some of them were wonderful phrase-makers. I don't know whether the emotion of the moment caused this, but I got one after another phrase of perfectly remarkable felicity. I remember General Narkis saying that the difficulty with the Arabs was that they build castles in the air and then become prisoners of their castles -- which sums the whole thing up. Or General Weizmann, who was, I think, perhaps the best talker of all -- he had been educated in English and it just rolled out. He was explaining to me why Jerusalem meant so much and he said suddenly, "I could not raise my boy on the history of Tel Aviv." That again is one of these sentences that says everything. Then he said -- about the Russians -- "What Ivan has in common with Mohammed, kill me if I know."

General Hod, who was his successor as Chief of the Air Force, was the most ebullient of all. He was the one who was responsible or was in charge of the operation that took out the Egyptian air bases. He was so excited that his face was blazing, his smile was breaking out all the time, he couldn't contain himself. He told me how the basis of their success was knowing the enemy. Of course their intelligence operation was far more difficult than the usual one because they had no envoys in these countries -- or maybe I should say it was easier. Their knowledge of the capacity and the mood and the temperament and the ability of their enemies -- of whom there were three, the Syrians, Jordanians, and the Egyptians -- was such that they left Jerusalem virtually unprotected. As I remember, he said

they sent 98 percent of their planes on the strike into Egypt. I believe they left two or four or something to protect Jerusalem because they were so sure that the Jordanians and the Syrians would be too confused to fly. He said, "We counted on three hours and it was four before they got into the air." He was telling me how they went to take out the bomber bases in Egypt and they figured that they would fly over the fighter bases and hit the bombers first, which were further away, because they figured the exact time it would take the Egyptians to -- I think the word is "scramble," isn't it? -- to get up off the ground, and by that time, even though they alerted the fighter bases by flying over them to reach the bombers, they could get back and strike them. He said, "We got back just as we planned, and they were taxiing out!" He said, "Look," (and he took out this photograph and shoved it under my nose) "taxiing right out!" This is the kind of thing that oral history gives you when you're talking to the person himself and he's so full of it that it makes it vivid. To me this is the value of oral history.

Perhaps even more informative were the meetings we had with the Arabs. I went with an old friend of mine from the Washington Post, Al Friendly, to a meeting with the mayor of Ramala. You know, the Arabs never meet you singly, they always have a group of men who surround the main character and sit there watching you. We were getting nowhere fast; there was Turkish coffee and there was chat and there was formality, but nothing was happening. So I developed my second technique on this occasion which I later gave a name to; it's called "the naive question intended to provoke." They claimed the Israeli victory was all due to Zionist money, so I asked them, well, why weren't the kingly countries -- Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and all the rich oil countries -- supporting their fellow Arabs with money in the same way? And all of a sudden the whole thing broke apart and all these dark eyes began to flash and everybody began to talk at once. So I began asking some more foolish questions. Of course, the technique is much harder to use over here because you don't like to appear stupid and uninformed, but since the Arabs would expect that anyway of an American female, it didn't matter; I mean, I didn't mind.

We went also to Jenin and sat in a coffee house outside the refugee camp and I also talked to many Arabs in East Jerusalem. One was the caretaker of an American museum or something or other, and he was telling us a tale about an Israeli spy who had posed -- he called him "the Green Man" -- posed as a knife peddler dressed all in green, outside the church door at Hebron for seven years and collected information. He was said to be really a very high-ranking figure. The man was telling us this story with intense concentration, and he said, "That's what we have to learn to do." Suddenly you saw how they saw the Israelis as fabulous monsters capable of anything. You got it through this man's eyes. And I realized then that this was another tremendous advantage of oral history because, instead of sitting in your study and seeing everything through your own angle, you're getting for a brief moment inside somebody else and seeing it as they see it.

At Nablus we had an Arab guide who pointed to some damaged tanks down in the valley and he said these had been bombed by the Americans. We asked how was he sure that the Americans had done this. Well, he said, "It had to be because the Cairo radio said that the Israeli Air Force had been knocked out." Again you saw the thing as they saw it. Over and over in these stories and conversations we had with the Arabs, their view of history and of events and of causes was so impossible to correct; the degree of misinformation was so fundamental that you got a very despairing understanding of the gulf between the Arab and Israeli versions of their mutual situation. This is something that one could only get by talking to the people involved.

One essential question that keeps coming up, I think both for the purpose of oral history as practiced by professionals like yourselves and a sort of reporter like myself, is whether either one of us is really getting at the truth by this technique. This question of course concerns the use of printed sources too. You always have to come back to ask yourself: Is there an objective truth in history? You know the story about Sir Walter Raleigh who was said to have burned his manuscript of The History of the World, or part of it -- some of it was published -- because one day he witnessed an incident in the road outside his house and later heard some people describing it. Their description of the incident was so different from what he had seen that he went home and burned his manuscript. He suddenly realized there is no such thing as objective truth. I don't think that the oral method gets any nearer to it than the written record. It supplies missing information but it also has the disadvantage, especially when practiced on purpose -- if you see what I mean -- many years after the event, of giving people a second chance to correct their image, and this is a great danger. I didn't get here until this morning and I understand you mentioned something of this last night, Dr. Pogue. I think it is terribly important.

Most of the people who have been important in any operation, especially if it's been unsuccessful or they've been subjected to criticism, spend the rest of their lives with a terrible chip on their shoulders and a desire to rectify the record. I think this is something that being interviewed brings out -- a lot of falsification -- because as years pass they see themselves as they want history and historians to see them and then this becomes what they think is true. Of course, it doesn't always take years. I remember when I was reading the House Papers -- Colonel House -- he used to go home and write a diary every night right after whatever it was he'd been doing that day or whoever he'd been talking to, but he also corrected it after his secretary had typed it up. You can tell because there were always little things inserted: "As I suggested to President Wilson..." something he would insert after a decision was taken, only he would put it in two weeks earlier so that it looked as if he suggested it.

One of the things I wanted to refer to was a statement in your bulletin by a book reviewer that no untrained interviewer could possibly produce a better result than the professional. Well, I

thought to myself, what about Herodotus, who went around Asia Minor asking questions; this was the beginning of both history and oral history. Or Boswell; he had no tape recorder, but look what he managed to do. Or Eckermann, his conversations with Goethe. Or Napoleon's sayings, all taken down and recorded by people who listened to him and went home and wrote them down. Of course, in many cases you never know what they remember and what they kind of embroidered. One I wanted to read you is General Stilwell himself, who certainly was not a trained oral historian, but he had the most extraordinary facility for remembering and writing down dialogue, it's amazing. Well, he had a conference with Roosevelt at the time of the Cairo conference in 1943, at a time when China policy had come to a very crucial point and he had to carry it out. He was trying to get the President to explain what his intentions were, and he wrote what I think is brilliant reportage. I don't know how he did it, whether he remembered it or whether he took notes or somebody was with him and took notes, but it's remarkable. I'll just read a bit of it. He says, (FDR talking about the Chinese) "They really like us, and just between ourselves, they don't like the British. Now, we haven't the same aims as the British out there, for instance, Hong Kong. Now, I have a plan to make Hong Kong a free port, free to the commerce of all nations, of the whole world, but let's raise the Chinese flag there first and then Chiang can make the next great grand gesture and make it a free port..." and he goes on about Hong Kong and Dairen and it just runs along. And then Stilwell asked him why the Russians did not want Manchuria. FDR said, "Well, I think they consider they've got enough as it is. You put a hundred million people more into Siberia. Stalin doesn't want any more ground; he's got enough. He agreed with me about Korea and Indo-China. We should set up commissions to take charge of those countries for twenty-five years or so till we got them on their feet, just like the Philippines. I asked Chiang point-blank if he wanted Indo-China and he said, 'Under no circumstances,' just like that, 'Under no circumstances!'" Which is rather relevant to you know what.

This is only an excerpt but it shows you what the untrained oral interviewer can do -- not that there are very many as good as that. Of course you have a tremendous advantage in that you've studied your material ahead of time and know what to ask. And of course the tape recorder, which Boswell or Stilwell didn't have, keeps the record.

To return to Stilwell. His colleagues and people who knew him and worked under him are alive, and this means a tremendous source of primary material. But you can't try to track down everybody because there's always a point of no return when you find you're duplicating what you already know. I think there is a kind of false pride in the idea that you must cover every source; it isn't necessary. In my opinion -- you have to select and to know -- it's terribly important to know -- when you've done enough, that is if you want to publish. Some people can go on doing research forever --

research is a lot easier than writing. But there's always a point where you must say to yourself: I've got to sit down now and write it. I remember when I was a young girl my mother told me that her advice about how to behave was to leave a beau half an hour before you wanted to. I never knew how you figured out when the half hour before you wanted to was. But in a sense, this is what you have to do with writing a book. You have to quit research before you finish because if you wait till you're finished, you're never finished. I have not, by any means, covered everyone who knew Stilwell. But some of them -- some of the interviews -- have given me really extraordinary little bits. One was... Is this all off the record?

FORREST C. POGUE: We can take it off; it's on the record at present.

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Well, I mean nobody is please to swipe it from me!

FORREST C. POGUE: I won't!

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Okay. You're my only competitor, Forrest. At least, I don't know, that may not be true either. I had a very interesting talk with Mrs. Halsted, Roosevelt's daughter. I was terribly puzzled by this man and what his China policy really was, and one of the things I really tried to track down was how FDR formed his ideas about China. One of the things I found was that nobody knows. In fact, Judge Rosenman said to me, "FDR's China policy was the great mystery of the White House." Mrs. Halsted was telling me about the visit of Madame Chiang Kai-shek to Washington. There are hundreds and hundreds of stories about this -- all little bits and pieces of gossip. I'm really not interested in "peephole" history or anecdotal or "gossip" history. It can be very amusing but I think anecdotes are important only if they shed some insight -- not for their own sake. In any case, Mrs. Halsted told me that when her father was getting ready for his interview -- and of course Madame Chiang's charm was famous and uninhibited -- he changed his usual practice, which was to have an important visitor sit on the sofa next to him, and he arranged a card table in front of the sofa with a chair on the far side. She said to him, "What's the matter, Pa, are you afraid of her?" "Well," he said, "no, I just don't want her too close!" When I asked her about her father and his policies, she said she didn't know how he formed his China policy. I said, "Well, what do you think moved him in general?" And she said, "His sense of the future." In a way that explained a lot about FDR because many of his day-by-day policies are absolutely inexplicable. For one thing, they changed every day. But if you get a clue like this, which often can only come from someone in in association with a person, it helps to see a pattern.

Another person who was very useful was Admiral Mountbatten whom I asked to see and was scheduled by his aide for a half hour. I thought: This is useless; what can you get in a half hour? But Admiral Mountbatten started talking and didn't stop for three hours. He was marvelous; his memory was brilliant...

Perhaps the most interesting interview I had was in Taiwan. I went to Taiwan because I couldn't get to China and I thought I ought to get as much feel of "Chineseness" as I could. I had a friend who arranged for me an interview with some Chinese veterans of the campaign in Burma who were living there. They were living in a town way down at the bottom -- Taichung? -- I've forgotten the name of it. And we went -- I really didn't expect this to be of any use at all. But when I got to Taiwan the first thing that happened was a telephone call from some friend of this group of former officers who wanted to know when I was coming. Anyhow, we went down -- I had a young friend, a former roommate of my son-in-law who was an East Asian student at Harvard and he was living in Taiwan and speaks and reads Chinese -- he went with me. There was a Colonel Tsuseng, his name was, and a General Somebody and another colonel, and they had apparently prepared for this interview for months because it had been set up before by your friend DuPuy, Dr. Pogue, and it obviously meant something terribly important to them. They were living in a tiny little house; he was making a living as a photographer. And they gave us a marvelous Chinese dinner on a table covered with an oilcloth in a tiny little room. They had carefully planned it out; each had a discourse to tell me.

It started with the general who obviously had risen from the ranks and was not a man of any great capacity or intellect, but because of his rank they had to start with him, but the two colonels were clearly just waiting for their chance. They had prepared maps of the operation in the Hukawng Valley, and the whole thing was so moving because it really meant so much to them to tell this story. More than what they said, it was the feeling that I got from them of how important it had been to them -- the whole episode -- and, of course, their memories of Stilwell. For example, they told me when he spoke to the Chinese troops at the training camp -- Ramgarh -- in Chinese, he would use the... (I don't know if there are any Chinese students here), I've forgotten the name of the kind of verbal proverb that decorates Chinese conversation; it's almost a ritual. You use certain sets of proverbs which everybody knows to illustrate your meaning. Stilwell was using these, the right ones in the right places, they said, drawn from military history. This kind of thing I never would have got from anywhere else; it was almost worth going to Taiwan for because it gave me examples which I was able to quote.

I wasn't able to get to China, unhappily, but going to the site of a place that you're writing about is immensely important; just as important as talking to people who were active. Going to the site is a tremendous corrective of ideas, and it also brings out things that you wouldn't know about. For instance, when I went to northern France before I did "The Guns," I went purposely in August -- in the same month I was writing about. In Belgium I saw all the fields -- and in northern France, too -- of wheat, just ripe, and I knew these were the fields that the German cavalry had ridden over. In fact, in Louvain there's a stature in the main plaza which shows the cavalry in relief on the base of the statue, trampling down the wheat. Then when you see the fields themselves the thing becomes very vivid. And also the graveyards all through Belgium in the little villages along

the Meuse have stones engraved: "Fusillé par les Allemands," "Shot by the Germans." The phrase is repeated over and over and over on every stone and in '44 as well as '14. Nothing you would ever read or anybody would ever tell you carries the impact of that sight, especially that repetition of the two times. Another thing that became very vivid: the British general, Sir John French, was unaccountably out of contact with his troops at a very crucial time in the Battle of Mons and it was hard to explain why he should have been so difficult to reach. Well, when you got there, you found where he had made his headquarters, which was in the nearest thing to a British country house he could find because that's what a British officer did. Well of course this was on a dirt road way off the main road where there were no -- at that time -- telephone wires; it was a beautiful estate, but you couldn't reach it and you couldn't find it. It took me hours to find it, whereas the French always put their headquarters in the railroad station which had a telegraph and telephone. This too I wouldn't have known if I hadn't gone.

There's just one more thing I wanted to ask, or mention: what do you do with people whom you talk to and make a social acquaintance with, in a sense, and whom you want to treat not too kindly in your book? I don't know how to handle this at all. Stilwell and the whole China episode, of course, is very controversial and, as you know, China arouses people's political passions to a degree. The whole CBI experience is, in the minds of some people, very critical, and as word got round that I'm doing this book, several participants who either want to correct their image or want to correct my interpretation have made great efforts for me to see them. You can't avoid it because if you do then they're sure to say, "Look, she didn't even want to talk to me," when the book comes out. On the other hand, if you do and are reasonably polite and pleasant, you feel awful about then writing something nasty. I guess this isn't a problem, really, that affects your discipline because you're just recording, not passing judgment. I don't know, how have you coped with this, Forrest?

FORRESTCC. POGUE: Well, if I take a martini, I don't eat the olive!

BARBARA TUCHMAN: That doesn't answer it. I think I've really gone on enough and if anybody has any questions, I'll be happy to answer them.

FORREST C. POGUE: I think after hearing Mrs. Tuchman tell about this play -- Mountbatten to Fleming, etc. -- that while she may not have been a professional interviewer in the beginning, she certainly had valuable on-the-job training. I think you learn real fast! We found, when we went over to Europe in 1944, that every time someone would mention some new concept in fighting that was new to us, we were always certain to begin the next interview with that: do you have this, or, do you do that? -- and you soon pass as a professional.

Now, I'm going to argue with you about one thing, and that's the writing down of dialogue such as that of General Stilwell. I have a friend who was probably the most profane man I ever knew, and people that he quoted always spoke like he did. His mother, who

was a very saintly woman would often come out as saying about something, "Mama said, 'God damn it to hell!'" I think that's part of Stilwell's secret.

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Very good point, I hadn't thought of that.

FORREST C. POGUE: At any rate, I think we'll all agree that, while Mrs. Tuchman may never enter into the heaven of proper oral historians in that she does not know how to manipulate a tape recorder or how to evaluate the transcriptions, she does qualify on what I still think is the basic ground of an oral historian, and you've heard me say it -- some of you have heard me give my old speech of history while it's hot -- that anyone who has talked to the man who's been at a great conference, fought in a great battle, or made a great decision has felt the hot breath of history on his neck and I think you have that.

ENID H. DOUGLASS: Do you ever wish that if you had a tape recorder you could compress after listening to your tape rather than making on-the-spot compression judgments? Do you think your perspective might change? You are compressing under a pressure situation.

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Yes I do. I think I lost a lot. In many of these cases, if I'd had the tape and then had it transcribed, I'm sure I would have retrieved more. On the other hand, it did reduce the amount of material, which is something I'm always after. And I think that the memorable thing stays with you, although you may lose some of the wording.

QUESTION: Would you discuss for us the titling of your books, The Guns of August and The Proud Tower.

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Well, sure. "The Guns," all during the time I was working on it, we just had a working title which was August, 1914, and I didn't like that because whenever anybody said, "What are you doing?" and I said, "I'm writing a book about the first month of the first World War," then they would always say, "Oh, Sarajevo and all that." And this is obviously what I was not doing, and yet you couldn't get it out of people's minds. The average person thinks of origins of the war and I was doing the first month of battle which, to me, was an entirely different thing. It had not been done that way before because my feeling was that the entire rest of the war, and in a sense the next twenty years and therefore, in a sense, the second round, all came out of that first month. And I wanted to get this across, desperately, in the title and I had a perfectly terrible time trying to think of a way to do it. It went into catalog as August, 1914 because I still hadn't thought of anything. And then, I don't know, one day somebody said the word "guns" and I just put it together and there it was and I thought: Oh, boy, this is great! And I immediately called my agent and he said, "It sounds like a TV Western." So then I thought: Oh, God, and then I called my editor and he said, "Oh, everybody will mix it up with The Guns of Navarone." So I was pretty discouraged. And I was at a party one evening with Teddy White and I asked him what he thought of Guns of August, and he said, "Use it, Barbara!" So that's how it got in.

I had a terrible time finding the title, The Proud Tower and I thought of all kinds of things all the time I was writing it -- hundreds of titles; none of them were any good. And -- I hate to confess this -- I just sat down with Bartlett and went through it and I just came across this by chance in this marvelous couplet which expresses the whole thing. Of course, Poe had nothing whatever to do with turn-of-the-century, fin de siècle Europe -- it couldn't be less connected -- but it just fit. Zimmerman Telegram was just the thing itself. Nobody liked that either; the editor didn't like it, but we couldn't think of anything better.

FORREST C. POGUE: It's pretty concise!

BARBARA TUCHMAN: It says what it was. And this one, so far, is going to be called Stilwell: The American in China. Now, if anybody has any better suggestion, please give it to me. I'm trying to say in the title, again, what I'm getting at in the book which is, to me, that Stilwell represents the kind of thing that America did try to do in Asia.

BENIS FRANK: Mrs. Tuchman, in reading The Zimmerman Telegram, I got the impression that you were pretty impatient with President Wilson. I wonder if you would comment on that.

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Everybody's picking on my particular difficulties! I was brought up in a family to whom Wilson was simply a hero. My grandfather, who was Ambassador to Turkey in 1914, was Wilson's most fervent admirer, I think, of anybody. I was just brought up in that atmosphere. He was a combination of Galahad and, I don't know, Abraham Lincoln, practically, and I never questioned it. I started doing this book, I had no intention of -- because I was interested in the episode. And then the more I read, of course, and the more of Wilson's own actions and statements I got into, the more I began to discover that he, in many ways, was a disaster. His idea that you could impose, first of all, his own ideas, and secondly, the American idea on Mexico, for example. Well, I won't go into all that except that I think he simply didn't have any conception of the realities of interstate relations.

But the interesting thing is that there were a number of people who were terribly disturbed by my treatment -- at that time I was publishing with Viking -- and the two editors who were working on this book (and at this time I had no reputation at all) obviously had been brought up very much as I had, that Wilson was a hero, and they didn't like this at all. Well, the first fellow (I'm not using any names) simply bowed out; he was really a fiction editor. Then I was left with the boss who was a very, very difficult character who just didn't believe what I was saying about Wilson. He thought because I was a new writer he could sort of bully me and I was to take this out and take that out. Well, I remember finally it centered on the episode of Huerta and the intervention that ended in the Veracruz thing. I wrote him a long letter of about eight single-spaced pages, citing chapter and verse -- I had to prove the whole business. I didn't change any of it, I will say, but they had the same reaction that I was maligning him.

FORREST C. POGUE: Did you interview anyone for this volume? You haven't mentioned it.

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Zimmerman? Yes I did. I went to see a fellow in the Admiralty in London and I think I got one little tiny thing that wasn't before published -- how they cut the cable -- the first act of warfare the British performed in 1914 was to cut the transatlantic cable. And then I talked to Sir William James who was an assistant to Admiral Hall, the head of Room 40, who was the main character in this book -- I mean the main British character. I had many interviews with him. He was a wonderful man and terribly nice to me though he didn't know me from Adam. But you know, people who really know their subject and who aren't themselves writers are very generous and he was one of them. And then I saw also William Friedman about the one discrepancy in the Zimmerman code which I could never figure out -- I won't go into it all, it's too long -- but I went to see him because he'd written a pamphlet on the decoding and I knew he knew the answer, but he couldn't tell me.

FORREST C. POGUE: This was Colonel Friedman who died just the other day -- the man who helped break the Purple Code.

QUESTION: How long did the book take you to write and how much time did you spend researching and, you know, the nitty-gritty details?

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Well, my first book, Bible and Sword, which nobody's ever read -- or few people -- took the longest because my children were very small, and "Zimmerman" I think about two and a half years. The Guns of August, I'm always ashamed to confess it only took two and a half years though it seems to me that it should have taken ten; The Proud Tower took about four. The research, in general, is shorter than the writing. The writing I find much harder and it takes me much longer. For "The Guns," I did the research in about a year or less, even.

FORREST C. POGUE: Yes. I remember your reference to the fact that these beautiful uniforms and some of the teas, which descriptions were given of the troops.

BARBARA TUCHMAN: That was in The Proud Tower. Novels, you know, are very good source material. I know most professional historians look down their nose at this, but I remember reading The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse by Blasco-Ibañez, which nobody would take to be a historical source, but he had a description in that of the French retreat in 1914 and the soldiers coming back, their uniforms all dirty and the guns all with the paint rubbed off and the horses bleeding and lying down in the roads -- it was so vivid. I used it, I cited it. I didn't conceal the fact that I'd used a fictional source, but to me an historian must be able to use his own judgment as to what's a valid source and what isn't. And when you feel that something is authentic, then you should use it.

QUESTION: You say that the writing is the longest part of a book; do you type, do you dictate, do you do your work at a particular time of day?

BARBARA TUCHMAN: All day. No, I do my notes on index cards -- 4x6's, generally speaking -- because that way I get it down -- I've already done some compression. I try never to have books in my study if I can help it because I think this tends -- you know, you start plagiarizing, you can't help yourself. And the effort to condense your information on cards is already an act of, in a sense, extraction, almost creation. Then, also, it's much easier to use because you can assemble them in chapters and so on. Then I write the first draft longhand because I mess it up so, I don't know, I can't do it on a typewriter, but I can't see what I've got when it's written. When I say "see" I mean I can't get an idea of how it sounds, how it looks. I do the second draft on the typewriter and then it gets a tremendous amount of correction and cut up and pasted together with Scotch tape and fussed around with. Then I send that to a typist for professional typing and that draft should be final, but, well in this book -- the Stilwell book -- it isn't, simply because this one seems to need an awful lot of revision all the time.

QUESTION: Is there a collection of Stilwell's papers?

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Oh yes. This is one of the reasons I chose this subject, because I'd always wanted a subject in which I could use original material. Stilwell's wartime papers have been given by the family to the Hoover Institute. As you know, the extracts from his wartime diaries were edited and published by Teddy White. But his papers for the entire part of his life up to Pearl Harbor are still in his home and these have not been used by anyone so far. The Army historians, of course, used the material dealing with the second World War, but Stilwell's career in China began in 1911 and this is what made him interesting to me because I can carry the story through most of the twentieth century. And all this material in his home is -- he kept a diary, although not consistently; he kept scraps of paper and all kinds of writings. He wrote a great deal -- essays and notes and random jottings of all kinds. And all this has been retained by the family, and I had to become a sort of archivist when I got there. I didn't do all the arranging; I had the help of the family, and we did try and get it in folders with some kind of chronological sequence because I was afraid even to look at anything before I could arrange it; I didn't know whether I would be able to cite it. I wouldn't be able to say, you know, "Folder X under the bed," or "the one in Mrs. Stilwell's closet."

FORREST C. POGUE: You've not told us about some of the oral history phases of the Stilwell project; you mentioned Mountbatten and some of these, but how many of his staff — the top members of his staff — have you been able to talk to?

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Oh, a great many. General Easterbrook, who is here, to begin with. General Dorn was his aide and has been a great help to me.

FORREST C. POGUE: General Hearn?

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Hearn, I didn't see. I wanted to, he's in Palo Alto, but he didn't want to or I think he was ill. But Dick Young, who was his younger aide, General Arms, General McNally, General Timberman, General Wheeler was marvelous -- he arranged a great deal of the other interviews for me. Wedemeyer, Bradley, who was with him at Fort Benning, and Maxwell Taylor, who was with him in Peking in 1938 who was awfully good. I haven't got the list here with me, but there were a great many more.

FORREST C. POGUE: The point I'm trying to bring out is that while you may not be much of a professional in the field of oral history, you're getting into the rut like a lot of the rest of us.

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Well, I had one failure which was General Eisenhower, who was with him at Leavenworth in 1926, and I wrote to ask if he had any memories of Stilwell at Leavenworth and I got an answer from his aide -- I'm sure he never showed the letter to Eisenhower at all -- who said that I must realize that General Eisenhower was in the European Theater and General Stilwell was in the Pacific Theater and they really didn't have a chance to meet! No reference at all to my letter about Leavenworth -- nothing, you know. He was one of those bureaucrats!

QUESTION: Mrs. Tuchman, you have interviewed many generals in both the American and British and other armies. You must have some generalizations. I say that not critically, although like many others I have thought of the military mind as being rigid. There are times when I think men who have commanded great armies have been men of very powerful intellect and very broad backgrounds. Does this seem to be a fair statement?

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Well, you've asked me a question I'd like very much to answer because I think my generalization about military men is that they're people and they are no more susceptible to broad statements and categorizations than anybody else. There are great intellects, there are stupid men, there are crooks, there are noblemen, there are good men and bad men and good soldiers and fools just as there are in any profession. I don't think that these generalizations about the military mind -- I don't know, maybe I shouldn't be answering this with you here, Forrest, you should answer it -- but I don't think they really hold up. It is true that in the past, especially in Britain and in Europe where we got many of our ideas about military men, on the whole the member of the family who was not the eldest son who inherited, or was not the one who could go into the clergy or the law, became the officer. And as a result of that kind of tendency, you tended to get a military caste in those countries that perhaps was not as intellectual as another group. But I don't think that we are wise to make generalizations about the military mind. I may be wrong, but I feel that it's as variegated as any other mind.

FORREST C. POGUE: I agree completely with that, having interviewed a number of generals. The only trouble -- it's a bit like putting wealthy men in cabinet positions for which they are not trained except on the

basis of having two hundred million dollars. In time of war, stupid generals can create a great deal of trouble. In time of crisis, stupid rich men can do a great deal, and, of course, it's terrible if you have school teachers in these positions----

BARBARA TUCHMAN: Like Wilson!

BASIC PROBLEMS IN ORAL HISTORY

Lila Johnson, Chairman

I will describe what we are doing at the Minnesota Historical Society and some of the problems I have coped with. Then the other panel members will talk about their programs and we will have a discussion.

The Minnesota Historical Society started an oral history program officially in 1967 when funds were appropriated by the state legislature for one staff position. Some interviewing was done before then, especially part of the Voices of the Governors series, which is interviews with former Minnesota governors, started in the early 1950's. This series actually helped to get the program started in 1967 because it was used to illustrate what could be done with oral history.

For the first two years of our program, I was the only staff person involved in oral history. I had a desk and a tape recorder and many questions about how to run an oral history program. I began by interviewing the old-timers, which is kind of traditional, and collected interesting stories about early Minnesota. But eventually I concluded that just interviewing people who could remember how it was back when was not as productive as an oral history program could be. So I decided to narrow the field down to definite projects or series. The Voices of the Governors series, for example, was good because it fitted together as a collection and the research done for one interview often related to another interview in the project. We have broadened it to a project on state government and added interviews with state legislators and other officials.

I would like to say a few things about the series of interviews with state legislators. In my opinion it is one of our best series. The minority and majority leaders and assistant leaders in each house of the legislature were interviewed before the session in January. They were asked what they expected to happen during the session, what the issues would be, what their positions would be, what problems they expected, and so on. They were interviewed again after the session on what had happened, what were their problems and successes, the decision-making process, the power structure in the legislature and how it worked, and their role during the session.

This is a good series for a number of reasons. For one thing, I didn't have to worry about objectivity or honesty. I will

leave it up to the researchers using these oral histories to spot those answers which don't match up. The interviews were conducted soon enough to the session so there was little loss of memory. The result is a fairly extensive look at the decision-making processes in state government and the role of state legislators.

There were problems, of course. For one thing, the interviews were too short. I think probably the series should be continued for several years. Although the leadership may change and different men would be interviewed, the issues would be the same. For example, the legislation affecting metropolitan government would be followed for several sessions. Another problem is that there is a great deal of repetition because many of the questions were asked of all of the interviewees.

I'd like to talk briefly about some other aspects of oral history and some of the problems I've encountered. Someone mentioned earlier the problem of getting transcripts back from the interviewees. I have had this trouble. It is easier to get them returned, I have found, if they are cleaned up a bit -- false starts removed, grammar improved, and so on. Although this brings up the question of whether or not it is then an honest transcript, I justify all editing by keeping the original recording of all of the interviews.

Indexing is one of our problems. We haven't done any. I think indexing is important and I wish we had the time and staff to do it. Hopefully we will get to that some day. We haven't had many users yet and most of them want to use the transcript, of course, instead of the recording, although we have both. At this time we have only one copy of the tape recording and if someone should accidentally erase it, which is easy to do, then it would be lost. We hope to soon either have the tapes duplicated or install accident-proof machines.

The most frustrating problem is that we don't have enough money, enough staff, enough time. I guess those are things we just have to live with. A few grants and contributions have been given to us and in several cases these have resulted in excellent additions to our collection. But there is so much to do and so many people who should be interviewed.

I was asked to discuss tapes and equipment. I use Tandberg tape recorders and I am very pleased with them. We use them for transcribing because the foot pedal attachment is excellent. I also use a battery operated Tandberg in the field and have no complaints about it. If I may plug Minnesota Mining, Scotch has a low-print tape -- I believe it's called Scotch 139 -- which is made especially for preservation. I use $\frac{1}{4}$-inch tape rather than the cassette, although I know both are used. It is a field that is growing rapidly and I am sure others will have comments on their equipment.

Gary Shumway is at California State College at Fullerton. He has a different type of program which he will describe.

GARY SHUMWAY: Two years ago this fall, Warren Beck, the chairman of the history department, asked me to be in charge of the nebulous efforts to begin oral history at California State College, Fullerton. I was very excited about the possibilities of a student-oriented oral history program and shared my enthusiasm for the idea with the students in one of my classes. Sixteen upper-division and graduate students indicated that they would be very anxious to engage in such an innovative type of program. With the combined efforts of members of the history department, the Special Collections division of the library, members of the Patrons of the Library, and others, we had enough financing, equipment, facilities and forms ready to begin a course in the spring of 1968.

During the first nine weeks of this course, the sixteen students, two representatives from the Patrons of the Library, the entire Special Collections staff, and I engrossed ourselves in preparing ourselves to conduct oral history interviews. We first read all of the literature available on oral history, concerning ourselves especially with what many of you have written regarding guidelines, do's and don'ts, interviewing experience and the like. We then spent about three weeks gaining a background in the general history of Orange County and Southern California, after which the students began preparing in their area of specialization. After having received this rather intensive training in the theory of oral history and having gained as good a preparation as possible in their area of specialization, using written documents, the students then spent the last six weeks of the semester interviewing those persons who had played significant roles in the areas they had chosen. These areas have ranged from interviewing persons involved in the development of Mexican-American militancy, through in-depth biographical interviews with persons notable in such local history topics as the production of the orange and avocado orchards. The students were required to obtain two hours of interview each week, which I listened to critically, making suggestions for improving interviewing techniques and for areas to explore further in a future interview. These tapes were then placed in our oral history collection, to be transcribed and edited.

This was the program that we originally conceived and that we have followed in general during the past two years. While developing our program, we have encountered a number of problems that fit well into a session on "basic problems in oral history." Actually, we have had little difficulty with our basic preparation or interviewing. The students have been very responsive and have prepared well, and we have never had a prospective interviewee refuse to participate in our program. Our real difficulties have come at the point at which we have the tapes collected and they are ready to be transcribed and edited.

Part way through the first semester, we devised a plan for surmounting the transcription and editing bottlenecks; the students, in their enthusiasm for the program, indicated they would like to take another course, in which they would receive training in transcription and editing while working on their own tapes. This plan started

off strongly enough, with many of the students even doing much of their transcription over the summer. However, we have found that it is simply impossible to ask students, who possibly have fifteen semester units besides this class, to transcribe twelve hours of tape, perform the initial editing, take the transcriptions to the interviewees for correction and approval, provide what at times amounts to extensive editing in order to give the tape grammatical structure and incorporate interviewee alterations, then type this in final form and index it. We have suffered the frustration of seeing tapes pile up on the shelves, with only a small portion being transcribed and edited. But at least part of this problem may just now be resolving itself. A few days ago I received a phone call from the financial aids office, indicating that there was money available for hiring several work-study students who had indicated an interest in working with our program as transcribers. The college will only have to pay twenty percent of their wages. Some of these students have already been hired and are beginning to transcribe in my absence. They seem to be anxious to contribute their talents in this rather tedious way.

The need to edit the transcriptions remains, and this has created problems for us in two areas. First, the interviewees are very often shocked when they are handed transcriptions that represent the spoken word changed to cold, hard print. Because few of us speak with the precision or grammatical correctness that we are used to seeing in print, we are almost always dismayed by verbatim transcriptions. The usual discomfiture is compounded in the case of elderly people, who view rambling, poorly structured sentences not as the inevitable product of transcribing the spoken word, but as an unmistakeable sign of creeping senility on their part. I feel more and more strongly that we would be saving many of these fine people a good deal of agitation if we could delete the stammerings, false starts, and even rearrange sentence structure, then retype this before presenting it to them. The other problem we have encountered is closely related. Some members of the history department, anxious to evaluate the quality of our program, have not shown the proper enthusiasm for what has gone on, after reading a few of the verbatim transcriptions. I have tried to convince them that, as persons used to reading historical works, they have expected too much, that they were simply looking at the raw material that historians work with. I have also assured them that this kind of criticism has been leveled at other oral history programs. However, because these persons have shown much more enthusiasm for the few completely edited transcriptions, I feel better as the supply grows.

This is the program, with some of its problems, which we have developed at California State College, Fullerton. The only significant expense in administering our program has been the need for a member of the Special Collections staff to devote one half time to cataloging and servicing oral history. While the cost of paying the college's portion of work-study salaries will increase expenses somewhat in the future, I feel very good about the kind of program we have. Besides the incalculable benefits of involving interested students in basic historical research and of preserving the reminiscences of significant persons, we are receiving a number of other advantages

from this work. Just when we have 25 enthusiastic persons trained and have all of our facilities set up for a burgeoning oral history program, a man is elected President of the United States who was born and spent his first 33 years in the communities surrounding our college. We have spent the past year organizing and initiating the Richard Nixon Oral History Project, with Professor Harry Jeffrey. He developed the Robert Taft project at Columbia. This will be the first Presidential oral history project to really get under way while the subject was still in office. Professor Jeffrey is very excited about the special kinds of historical data that can be gathered with such an opportunity. Such a marriage of preparation and opportunity occurs rarely. Those of us who have been involved with oral history at California State College, Fullerton, feel fortunate to have the chance to participate in the Nixon Project, as well as continuing the work with other notable figures in Southern California history.

LILA JOHNSON: Elizabeth Calciano is head of the Regional History Project at the University of California in Santa Cruz.

ELIZABETH CALCIANO: I thought I'd just spend about a minute outlining my program, and then I thought I would be very "basic" and go through, step by step, how we handle the interviewing and editing and mention various problems that I've encountered at various times.

Our project was started in 1963, very early in the history of our campus -- in fact, two years before we had any students on the campus. Our Chancellor wanted to have a regional history project started as soon as possible, because one of the prime candidates for interviewing was then 90 years old, so I was hired as a half-time editor, interviewer, everything. I soon acquired, fortunately, a quarter-time student typist, and two years ago this was happily expanded to a half-time typist and transcriber.

We obviously are a small project, but we have accomplished, I think, a fair amount. We started out, as far as the regional history interviews are concerned, with trying to get some idea of the economic development of our area. To list just a few of the topics we covered, we did a couple of interviews on redwood lumbering, one on the coastal dairying industry that died out in the 1930's in our area but had been quite productive in the earlier period of 1870 on, and we did an interview on apple packing and shipping, because this is a very large industry in our area.

After two or three years of concentrating on local old-timer-type interviews, I felt that I ought to also be doing something about recording the history of our institution, because we had such a good opportunity -- it's a new institution; it's a different type of institution in that we have cluster colleges and are experimenting with pass-fail and are doing quite a few innovative things. As a result of this, I have done a large number of interviews with our Chancellor, getting the genesis of a lot of the ideas that are embodied in our campus. That transcript is well over 1000 pages, and we're still in the middle of that. I also did two series of interviews with students.

In 1967 we had our first graduating class which was composed of people who had transferred in as juniors and were graduating after two years. I did interviews with twelve students in that class, and then this past spring I did twelve interviews with members of our first four-year graduating class. I felt it would be nice to get their impressions now as to what really concerned them rather than fifty or sixty years from now. They are so caught up in things that are so vital to them now, and they will have mellowed a great deal over the next sixty years. I think, especially with the rapidity with which our institution is changing, that this has been quite a valid series and a very interesting one. I've also done three interviews on the history of the Lick Observatory because it has been transferred and is now administratively a part of the Santa Cruz campus.

Now I do the type of project where after the interview the material is transcribed, organized, edited, goes to the interviewee for his corrections, comes back, is final-typed, indexed, an introduction added, so there are quite a few steps here. Not all of you, by any means, are going to be following completely this method of oral history processing, but I'm sure that a fair number of you will, and I thought I'd start right at the beginning.

When you first decide to create a project, of course you have to define its scope and you have to get some equipment. I'm not really qualified to talk for a long time about equipment, but there are a couple valuable features to have in your equipment if you have not yet purchased it, and one is an automatic back-up on the transcription machine. By back-up feature, I don't mean a regular reverse pedal. I mean a feature where, when you pause, the tape or belt automatically goes back five or six words so that your transcriber, without making an extra motion, can always catch those last three or four words before going on, because we find with the straight tape recording machines, with many of them, their brakes aren't quite good enough to stop instantly and the tape slides on an eighth of an inch or so. As a result, on a standard tape recorder with the foot pedal, your transcriber has to back up almost every time she stops the tape in order to make sure that she is catching the words that might have sneaked by her. If you don't wish to get equipment with this automatic back-up system, and instead will be using a regular tape recorder with a foot pedal, be sure the pedal has a reverse button and isn't simply a stop-start mechanism as so many of them are.

Also a very handy thing is a slow-down feature on your machine so you can slow the voice by ten percent or so, because some people talk rather rapidly. If you have somebody who's talking very rapidly, it considerably lengthens the cost of transcribing because extra time is involved in listening and relistening to fast-spoken passages. If you've got this slow-down feature, it makes things a lot more efficient. We've also found that if we put our thumb on the reel and listen again that you can slow down and get those swallowed phrases.

Selecting your transcriber is terrifically important, I think, in that it's just not good enough to have a bright person who

can type well because people have a wide variety of capability in listening and sorting out the spoken word. It's really amazing how great the disparity can be. Our language is built on codes and patterns, and some people are better at anticipating what the words are going to be and pulling out these mumbled phrases and getting them accurately. As a result, whenever I have to hire a new transcriber, I test all the applicants. I give them a tape and I tell them to transcribe. Of course they're all a little bit flustered because the equipment is new to them, but I don't care how many times they "x" out. I want to see whether they can catch the words, and this is where I've seen what a tremendous variety of competence there is in people's listening ability. It also helps if your transcriber has a fairly good basic vocabulary, because if you don't know the word you can't transcribe it. All sorts of funny things can come out.

I think it is very important after the tape has been transcribed to sit down and listen through it with the manuscript in front of you, because there are so many errors that you can catch. I've got an excellent transcriber now, but there are places where she couldn't get the word and has left a blank, and I can get it because I was in the interview situation and remember what was happening. There are other times where words have been inverted, because as we try to hold these phrases in our brain, sometimes we'll invert two words in a phrase. Sometimes this can be a significant inversion. Now this is not a very time-consuming process if your typist has been good, and if she has been inaccurate, then it is going to be time-consuming but even more essential.

Select your interviewees carefully, and if possible have a brief chat with them so that you can evaluate them before you commit yourself to doing an interview with them. Now if you're doing the great-man approach, well then obviously you want the great man. But if you're doing more the type of thing we are, where, for example, there were several old lumbermen in the area, we wanted to make sure that we got the most well-focused and articulate old lumberman available.

Allow plenty of time for research. I can't say strongly enough how important I feel research is to a good interview. I find a good trick for me is that as I'm doing my research and questions occur, I write them down on four-by-six cards. Then when I'm ready to go into the interview, I can shuffle them and toss out the ones I no longer think are that important. I organize them, and then as I'm sitting in the interview, if the man happens to skip to another topic, well, I've got the flexibility. I can go right over to that section and ask all my questions with no shuffling of papers or a tremendous amount of brain-searching, although you should also know your questions, the general topics you're going to ask before you go into the interview. Nonetheless, the cards are valuable to remind you of specific details that you want to be sure to include in the interview.

As far as the art of interviewing itself is concerned, for those of you who are just starting projects or are in the process of

training interviewers, I would highly recommend that you read Charles Morrissey's talk on the art of interviewing that he presented at Arrowhead in the First Colloquium in 1966. I think this is one of the best synopses that I've seen. So I won't say much here except don't be afraid of silence. I think this is one of the few places where a smoker has an advantage because smokers can just sit there and puff and look very reflective, whereas I have to kind of hold my hands still and wait. But you can lose a lot of good material if you're too quick with the next question or too quick to try and help the man with his phrase. And of course don't be argumentative. If you don't believe what he's saying, don't argue with him. Use the technique of, "Well, some people have told me..." or "I've heard..." He can then attack these anonymous "some people" who've said that stupid thing and he's not attacking you. If he holds to what he said the first time, fine, that's significant, or sometimes he'll modify it slightly under this type of questioning. And don't lead your interviewee too tightly. Sometimes the wanderings are very valuable. Also, we've all heard about getting the interview situation just right -- nice, comfortable chair, quiet place and so forth -- but don't be afraid of unusual ones. I've interviewed in a car; I've interviewed on a hike; and you sometimes have to do this type of thing to get the interview, and it works as long as you have a light, portable machine with a lid on it so the reels won't fall off. As for the length of time, an hour and a half to two hours seems to be a good rule of thumb.

I do editing. On these old-timers, if you've interviewed them in two or three or four sessions, maybe the same stories have come up in three of the sessions, or maybe the same topic is covered from a slightly different angle two or three times. For the sake of our users I gather these together and reorganize them into chapters in the transcript. I think it's pretty essential on these old-timer interviews if you're going to have ease of use. But that doesn't mean I reorganize all interviews. In some interviews the interviewee will respond in the same pattern that my questions are set up and he'll have a very organized mind and never repeat himself, so then why bother? Do the least amount of editing that seems justified. And then on my student interviews, because they would not have a chance to see the transcript afterwards -- I couldn't see sending it out to all twelve places in the world where they'd gone after they graduated -- there I stick to verbatim, including false starts and so forth. So I think one has to be flexible; adjust your technique to suit the manuscript.

On sending the transcripts to the interviewees, people have commented that sometimes you don't get them back. So far I've been lucky. I think one of the reasons is that when I send the manuscript out I let them know that I expect it back right away, because people tend to procrastinate. When I take it out or send it to them, I say, "I'll call you on Monday to see if you're ready for me to pick it up," and I do phone, and if it isn't ready I ask if they are having any problems with it. One gentleman, his eyesight was bad, so I went out and read the transcript to him, and he was able to make some valuable

corrections. I think it's very important to let the interviewee see the manuscript because he can catch transcribing errors, help with proper names, and if you've done any editing, it helps to make sure that you haven't created errors in the process of your editing. They may also spot errors of fact that they themselves made that they want to correct.

I have them sign a release contract so that we can use the material, and they have the complete right to seal the material if they want. When they do want to seal it, though, I work very hard to get them to seal just the passages that are touchy so that the rest of the book can be available for people to use in the intervening fifteen or twenty years. I feel to have it used is worth the cost of rebinding at the end of that period. If you're dealing with youngsters, make sure they're over 21 when they sign the contract, or, in my case, I just had to wait until they'd all turned 21 and sent contracts to them to sign the second time because I thought that was easier than having their parents sign.

I like to include pictures, maps, and so forth in the oral history volume, and I like to include an introduction that says why this interview was done and what I did with it, whether I edited it a lot or not very much, whether the interviewee edited it a lot or not very much, to help the user evaluate what's going on. And I do index them very thoroughly. It's an awful job; I hate indexing, but, again, I think the whole point to doing oral history is to produce material that researchers can use, and an index encourages and facilitates use. We also keep a master index of all our volumes so if somebody comes in and wants to know about John Jones, we can determine where this man is described.

I also believe in not keeping your light under a bushel. I think that projects shouldn't feel that, "Gee, this is our possession, and only we have it, and aren't we neat." I think that it would be nice if more projects could get exchange agreements or make extra copies available. I know Berkeley now has started making their finished transcripts available to other libraries for the cost of reproduction, with the permission of the interviewee of course. They periodically send out lists of the manuscripts that are available. We exchange manuscripts with Berkeley, and we sometimes exchange with other institutions and are willing to reproduce our manuscripts for other research and educational institutions if they pay the reproduction costs. I hope more and more projects will adopt this policy.

CHARLES R. BERRY: I am especially interested in contracts. Would you explain this, the legal aspects of it?

ELIZABETH S. CALCIANO: Yes. You've got to be covered by a contract if you're going to make these materials available to the public, and that of course is the whole purpose in doing oral history. Our contract is quite short; it's two pages, and I think it's got everything in it that our lawyers want us to have in it, and yet it's in simple enough wording that the interviewees can understand it.

CHARLES R. BERRY: Do you put an indication on the transcript copy that part of it is under seal?

ELIZABETH S. CALCIANO: I ask permission to say in the introduction that certain portions have been sealed, but when you're doing this, you can't say "and a big section following Page 84 has been sealed," because the readers could all see what the dialogue was leading into and know what the touchy subject was. As far as the book itself looks, Page 84 just reads the same as any normal page, and then kept under seal are Pages 84a, b, c, d, e, and f, for the six pages that were sealed. On the sealed section we type the last sentence of the open manuscript and at the end of the sealed portion we type the next sentence of the open page so that years hence readers will be able to fit the text in exactly where the break occurred. This way, during the intervening 20 years or whatever, the users really don't know what subjects were touchy, and we feel that this is really the problem -- people want it sealed because they don't want it known that they really talked about so-and-so or such-and-such in harsh terms.

QUESTION: When you have students go out and do interviews, suppose they want to interview a major person? How would you feel about that, allowing students to do this?

GARY L. SHUMWAY: We've never had this problem come up. I think I would carefully analyze the student and his capabilities. I would probably in most cases discourage my students from interviewing the Vice President or the President of the United States or someone that I think another professional interviewer would be very anxious to interview. However, some graduate students are extremely capable, probably more capable than most historians are in the art of interviewing and more dedicated too. I would have to assess the individual situation.

RICHARD B. CLEMENT: Our program in the Air Force is very, very similar to Elizabeth's program. One thing that we don't have is that we don't have a good-looking blond to attract attention to our program. One of our many ploys to attract attention, to get our fellow members to come into our oral history office and see what we're doing and understand our procedures, is to put a quote of the week on the door. A person comes by to read the quote of the week and while he's there he stops in to see what we're doing, to see who we've interviewed, to see what all these tape recorders are doing and if he can steal some tape.

FLOYD A. O'NEIL: Gary mentioned the use of student help. We've been using work-study people for two and a half years, currently have seven. I have some suggestions. If you use as many as you anticipate in your remarks, look closely for a leader who can supervise the others. Make it clear to them that you will have each other edit and listen to the tapes after they have been transcribed. Also it's a good idea to choose your people not because they're good-looking blonds but because they have good ears. That's the prime requirement. And furthermore, since you're dealing with material that has legal

implications, it is essential, we feel, to tell the students that it is confidential and that they must keep their mouths shut about it. In dealing with Indian tribes, where the legal problems are exacerbated a great deal compared to most oral interviews, this is absolutely essential for us. The student leader to head up this kind of thing, this time-consuming thing, can be found among work-study people. We have found two who have been marvelous.

GARY L. SHUMWAY: And what do you have this leader do?

FLOYD A. O'NEIL: He keeps check of all of it. He also does our indexing. This entire effort has been headed by Greg Thompson and we have in completed form about 700 manuscripts, all of them completely indexed, cross-indexed, and cataloged within a week after the time they are recorded.

GARY L. SHUMWAY: The University of Utah's program is even more impressive when you realize that they not only have to transcribe the tapes but in many instances translate them from rather complex Indian languages.

LILA M. JOHNSON: If you're interviewing or if you're in charge of a program like this, you should transcribe an interview. It's really an experience. It's hard work, but you'll learn a lot about what you're doing, what should be done, and the problems just bounce right out at you when you have to transcribe your own interview.

ELIZABETH S. CALCIANO: I'd like to comment further on this business of keeping material confidential until you have the release contract signed. Our release that we have them sign covers the tape and the manuscript, but I don't feel I can let people listen to the tapes with any great freedom. Fortunately, I don't get many requests, because it's so much easier to use the written manuscript. But if a person has cut out this line and that line because, "Oh, I didn't want to say that about so-and-so," and "Oh, I can't have this go into the record," you've got a manuscript that's been laundered a bit and a tape with the things that he absolutely didn't want to be public. Now you've got a release for both of them, but I don't think you ethically can release both. So my rule of thumb has been if somebody comes up with a really legitimate question like, "You transcribed this and it says November, but are you sure it wasn't December?" well then I think it's very legitimate to go to that portion of the tape and check it out. But I don't feel free to say, "Sure, anybody can come in and listen to our tapes."

LILA M. JOHNSON: I do the same thing, though we do it a little more informally and try to get them to write us a letter saying that they release all their rights. But if they do change the transcript a lot, we usually don't save the tape. Or we might release the transcript several years before we release the tape, but always making it clear to them that there is now a difference between the transcript and the tape. Sometimes when things are said they look a lot worse

when they're written because you can't get the voice impressions, but the tape isn't as damaging or whatever the phrase is as the transcript, so often they don't mind having the tape released.

SAMUEL E. RIDDLEBARGER: The question of giving the interviewee the tape and transcript back to edit has fortunately not been a problem for us in the Air Force because out of some 230-odd interviews, this only occurred once. Once the interview is over, we press on with the tape and make a transcript. We don't have to refer it back. We offer them the opportunity, but so far only one has taken us up on it. So that's not a problem. The amazing problem for us though and a serious problem is a running dialogue -- I'm afraid of using the word "battle" -- with superiors that a transcript is needed to make the interview worthwhile to a researcher since our tapes are being used for the primary purpose of studying the war over there. That seems to overawe some people within our shop, but they're also being filed in the USAF Archive. And we're constantly told to make the tape and give us a page or two abstract of it and press on. But as we've seen, or at least I've seen in last year's colloquium and this one, there are not many researchers who want to play the tape. They want a transcript. We have a distinct problem. We're amassing tapes, we're getting them from the field, and we haven't gotten any from the field that have a piece of paper attached to them. We really don't have any transcripts.

ELIZABETH S. CALCIANO: You can't thumb through a tape to see what's in it the way you can through a transcript. Even if you have a time index, it's laborious to get to that point on the tape. But you said your people don't ask to see the transcript. Gary said he wants his people to see the transcript and I do too, because I feel that one of the key ways of assuring accuracy is their checking it and making sure that what they said is what they meant. Sometimes, especially older people will think that they said something, but they'll have left a "not" out of the sentence and it can be absolutely inaccurate until they have a chance to correct it.

One thing I meant to say on not getting transcripts back. Berkeley has started doing something which I think is wise. I've always, as they do, sent out a letter to the interviewee at the beginning explaining the steps in the oral history process. Berkeley now has their interviewees sign a carbon copy of that letter and return it to them so if he dies in the interim, they can go to the widow and say, "See, he really meant us to have this manuscript eventually." It's not a legally binding thing, but it's good moral support for getting the manuscript back from the heirs.

THEODORE FRED KUPER: The original record may prove very valuable. Preserving the oral record is comparable to getting the progressive drafts of a document.

ELIZABETH S. CALCIANO: Yes, I agree with you, and that's why I keep the tapes and I keep the original carbon and the edited version. But, again, I don't feel that I can release them now because I'm under a moral obligation,if the man has put out a laundered version, not to

release the original. Most of them fortunately aren't laundered very much.

THEODORE FRED KUPER: When I got my transcript from Columbia, they let me make changes in ink, and that's what they kept and they xeroxed a copy. It's very interesting to see the mistake I made -- it's there; and the correction I made -- it's there.

GARY L. SHUMWAY: It does make it a very significant document if persons can use the edited verbatim copy because it shows an additional story there.

LILA M. JOHNSON: You get into a problem, though, when they want something definitely crossed out so nobody can see it.

FRANCIS X. MOLONEY: First, I want to comment that I'm very much interested in the Chairman's interest in governmental figures of the State of Minnesota. As a great research institution, the Boston Public Library is interested in the political and municipal history of the 20th Century in particular of the City of Boston and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. We find that the 20th Century tends to be neglected by institutions that have a great deal of material on earlier centuries. So we are collecting papers and memorabilia of governors and legislators and administrators as well because this amplifies our holdings in the field of history, government, politics, and public administration.

I find preparation is the most difficult phase so far. If I'm interviewing a man who might have been mayor for at least ten years, it means I've got to know a great deal about the history of that administration as well, of course, as the basic principles of his politics and government. I wanted to ask any member of the panel, do you make out a long list of questions and do you send these carefully prepared questions to the person whom you're interviewing?

LILA M. JOHNSON: What I do in this case is to prepare an outline of general questions and send it to him if he requests it. I find that some have a tendency to sit there and read the question and answer it for me before I can ask it. When I go to the interview, I have a much larger list with many more specific questions on it than I have sent to him.

FRANCIS X. MOLONEY: I wonder what the various people would say about the varying values here. On the one hand, if you prepare the questions, it is a discipline which forces the interviewer to master his own subject matter and it also enables the person to be interviewed to see whether you have asked the right questions or enough of the right questions and gives him an opportunity to suggest questions that he would like to have asked. I assume those are values. On the other hand, there are perhaps difficulties, and I would like reactions from others.

ELIZABETH S. CALCIANO: I think it depends somewhat on the type of person you're interviewing. With a local old-timer, it's descriptive material you're getting, and he wouldn't do his research anyway. If you're interviewing a man in government or education, I think he does need to know generally what areas you're going to cover. The only time I sent a question list was because it was requested and it terrified the woman. She felt obligated to almost write the answers out and read them. I like more spontaneity. But I've got to do my homework, and I've got to have the questions well in mind and well researched or the interview will not be good.

FRANCIS X. MOLONEY: But if you ask a question which does involve considerable recall on the other person's part or a question about which he would like to reflect, if you haven't done this in advance, you necessarily get less than you can expect. I've had both experiences.

SAMUEL E. RIDDLEBARGER: We're currently engaged in getting some of the most senior people involved in the war. Our normal procedure which we've found to be the most effective is after our initial contact with the individual, securing his approval and talking to him, we send him a letter formalizing this to which is attached a list of questions. We've found that if we throw him one from leftfield, sometimes the next day he'll say, "You know, I thought about that last night. I'd like to come back to it." Now you have a fragment of a piece of tape here. When we get to the area, we have a preliminary interview with no tape recorders, and we try to achieve our rapport with the individual for interview purposes especially, but also to find out what's sacrosanct to the man that he doesn't want introduced into the tape, and what areas he wants to bring up. We have found that very often he's researched his papers and he's got notes. One of the individuals that I'm going to see in Turkey has already indicated that he has had his staff working on his private papers and he will need at least a week or ten days to straighten this out. But the interview itself is very spontaneous and natural. I also use three-by-five cards, which I shuffle around according to how the interview is going. I have a general pattern of cohesiveness, which can be thrown right out the window if he wants to take a different tack. It's very easy to shuffle the cards around.

LILA M. JOHNSON: We have an interview where the man was sent a list of questions. The interviewer asked the first question and the man responded in a very stiff voice. Another question was asked and he said, "No, you forgot question number two."

GARY L. SHUMWAY: One problem we're omitting is that if you give him these questions in advance, this is exactly what he's going to do in some cases. He's going to go out and do research on the questions and what you're going to get is quotes from The New York Times for this period or from other sources that you've already consulted in your preparation. People reading his transcript are going to be assuming this is his opinion when, in fact, he read it somewhere. I found this with the Navahos in 1968. I found some of the old stories that

they were telling me of their people's march to Fort Sumner were taking a certain pattern all over the reservation, and I found out that their children had read the stories to them out of the Navaho Centennial issues of the Navaho Times and they were telling them back to me.

LILA M. JOHNSON: What kind of machine do you have, Elizabeth, that has that back-up feature?

ELIZABETH S. CALCIANO: I got this idea from Alice Hoffman at Penn State. You can adapt this system to any recorder or cassette system. We have an IBM transcriber and the dictating unit and had the IBM people make a hook-up from our tape recorder to the IBM dictating unit, one of these electronic umbilical cord things. We play the tape silently through this electronic thing and it's fed onto 20-minute belts. My typist then uses the regular standard transcribing equipment that's designed for transcribing. There's supposed to be no loss of fidelity, but actually there's a slight loss. This has the slow-down feature and that's also why we went to this system. It's expensive, though. The factory-reconditioned units are about $315 each; the new ones are about $400 each.

ORAL HISTORY AS A TEACHING DEVICE

William W. Cutler, III, Chairman

I'd like to begin by turning to the problem of definition. It seems to me that oral history as a teaching device has been discussed before at these colloquiua, most particularly last year in the session which included Carlotta Herman and Gary Shumway wherein they described their efforts in Southern California to use the tape recorder in an educational as well as in a research-oriented fashion. But at that session, and I don't think since then in print, have we really tried to examine what we mean by oral history when we use the term in a pedagogical sense, and I'd like to try and sketch out what I see as oral history in this area.

Essentially it involves two criteria, which I'd like roughly to designate as involvement and chronology. On the matter of involvement, I think there are two ways in which oral history as a teaching device can be pursued, actively or passively. By actively -- and this is the position that I think the committee as it was originally constituted takes -- actively, I mean by oral history as a teaching device, children interviewing each other or people in the community where they live, in the region where they reside, and then taking the tapes that they derive from this sort of activity and listening to them, transcribing them, as in the case of the Ferro interview which Harry Kursh donated to Columbia's program last year. Now, this approach involves research as well as interviewing. It can be summed up as active participation, as an active approach to involvement by students in what is roughly called oral history.

Now, the passive approach, it seems to me, is what Mr. Weaver's work represents, and here I'm referring to the idea or the practice of having students listen to tapes created by others, professional historians, journalists, by any number of people who create such things for school children and for the public at large. Now you might even include in this, I suppose -- and there has been a considerable amount of work done in this direction -- tapes in which no interviewing is involved at all but rather tapes which tell a story through the medium of a narrator. Sometimes these might include pictures as well, slides, although I think this activity rests on the periphery of oral history as a teaching device.

Let me give you some examples of what I'm thinking of. In Western Pennsylvania there is something called the Historical Tape

Project of Crawford, Erie and Warren Counties which has been funded by a Title Three grant under the ESEA of 1965, and here narrators, professional historians and archivists have created a brace of tapes telling stories about important events and developments in regional history both in the recent and distant past. This, it seems to me, is the passive definition of oral history that lies at the periphery of oral history as a teaching device. More central to the passive approach, as far as involvement is concerned, are the thousands of tapes that the State Department of Education owns and makes available to public schools for use in the classroom, tapes that give the student an opportunity to actually hear great figures from the past as well as analytical approaches to particular problems in the area of American history. Finally, I think the World Tapes for Education work illustrates in perhaps the best way passive involvement in oral history.

Now, there's one other way that we can approach a pedagogical definition of oral history, and that involves the matter of chronology. Oral historians use the term "oral history" because they're stuck with it. They use the term because it's generic. And much of what's done by scholars in doing research, I think, in oral history is not oral history per se but rather oral sociology, oral political science, oral economics, oral social sciences in general, and when you apply oral history as a concept to teaching, the same thing develops because you can do historical tapes -- you can have students interview people about the past, but -- and this is what I've discovered in Philadelphia -- you can also have students interview individuals about the present, tapes that then produce what might better be called sociological documents or political science documents rather than strictly historical ones. So essentially what you have then, I think, are two ways of defining oral history as a teaching device -- first in terms of involvement, passive versus active, and second in terms of chronology, present versus past.

Now, before describing what oral sociology I have discovered in Philadelphia, I'd like to review briefly what the members of my committee have done in the past year. I'm sorry that Harry Kursh is not able to be here this morning because he could tell you about the hard work that his students put in in the spring of this year preparing for an interview with Jackie Robinson which was to discuss the problem of race relations in America. Regrettably, Harry's illness prevented that interview from taking place, just as it prevents him from being here this morning. Bruce Odenbach, who is a teacher at the Lincoln Senior High School in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, has made a start in attempting to promote oral history in a practical way in his school. He recruited several students from his advanced U.S. History courses into a small group to discuss ways in which oral history as an interviewing and learning process could be developed in the Sioux Falls area by his students. And while no interviewing, so far as I know, has been done, nevertheless they did work out some areas in which they might do interviewing on such topics as the effects of Prohibition in the Sioux Falls area and local church history. Odenbach wrote that in his preparation with

his students he has stressed two important things not only to oral history as a teaching device but to oral history in general, the first being the notion of intensive pre-interview research by the students just as by the scholar, and second, a clear understanding by the students of the purposes of interviews they are to carry out.

Now, finally and perhaps most importantly, the work of Dan Harris, who is not here because he is going instead to Houston, Texas, at the end of this month to present a session on oral history as a teaching device to the National Council for Social Studies. He sent out a mailer to all of the teachers of social studies in the State of Washington (he teaches at Walla Walla College), inquiring both about their work, if any, in oral history -- and there is quite a bit of work done by people who don't know that they're doing oral history -- and also to stimulate interest. He was hopeful that by sending this mailer he might garner some recruits for oral history as a teaching device. Finally, he's begun to develop a program, I understand, for the Washington State Council for Social Studies on oral history and its application to the classroom. So this then is a brief review of what my committee has done. It's a halting start but it at least is a start.

Turning now to the matter of Philadelphia, some of the stuff I've found is really very exciting, and before I describe it I'd like to summarize it to give you some idea of what I've discovered. There are in Philadelphia several projects which might best be called oral sociology, and I think it should be added as well that these are projects in oral sociology at the secondary and elementary level. My talk today is directed not towards higher education and its application there but towards the elementary and the secondary school. Second, it should be said that a good bit of effort has been made towards street interviewing in order to use this technique to understand events in the community. In the case of West Philadelphia, when the famous Novella Williams, a local black militant, tried to clean up a honky-tonk area in West Philadelphia, students from the Mantua Mini School went out into the street with tape recorders and tried to get the feel of what was going on. I don't know how successful they were because I never heard the tapes. But street interviewing at least is being done and is being examined as a way of getting kids involved, as a way of promoting learning. Finally, I'd like to say that the equipment that's being used in Philadelphia, as far as oral history as a teaching device is concerned, is much more than merely the tape recorder. The video-tape machine and the photograph are being used to create in some cases a unity of media to present and to study a particular project or phenomenon that the students are interested in.

Now let me go on to more explicit things. The Pennsylvania Advancement School lives in North Philadelphia, but it wasn't born there. It was born in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. It was founded by a man named Peter Buttonweiser, who has a view about compensatory education, which essentially can be summarized by saying that if you take children out of the regular public school where they are being stifled, and if you give them a chance to be a little free-wheeling

for a short period of time, perhaps when they go back to the more regimented environment of the public school they'll be better able to cope with it. As originally constituted in Winston-Salem, the school was an institutional failure. Imported from Winston-Salem to Philadelphia by the Superintendent of Schools in Philadelphia, Mark Shedd, it now exists somewhat tenuously. There are many teachers in the system who are opposed to it; they think it's a very wishy-washy educational idea. They take underachievers out of the junior high schools in the city, 7th and 8th grade boys, and the percentages are 85 percent public and 15 percent private, 60 percent black and 40 percent white. And they try and give them 15 weeks of intensive training in a variety of areas, one of which is media. The focus of the school is "how to live in an urban society." The objective is to "turn the kids on." The curriculum is what's happening now, and one of the means to implement that curriculum is the almost daily use of cameras and tape recorders and even in some cases video tape. Now, interviewing has been an important part of what's been done at the Pennsylvania Advancement School to teach kids how to live in an urban society, to promote their understanding of a very media-oriented world.

Interviewing each other has been a common practice in the Pennsylvania Advancement School. The children in the Fall of '68 had a mock election campaign at the school, and part of the procedure was to have the students interview the mock candidates and to become involved by asking each other and the teachers and everyone in the school about how the election was proceeding within the confines of their building and their floor. So this is oral history maybe as a political science tool, I don't know -- the term begins to get fuzzy at times -- but it is to some extent oral history, and the kids were interviewing each other and I think getting something out of it, at least this is what their teachers said.

More strictly oral history -- that is to say concerns about the past -- the youngsters who were in the Physical Education Department at the Pennsylvania Advancement School combined oral history and physical education by interviewing some boxers. They interviewed Gypsy Joe Harris, who is now retired, and in some sense that may make oral history what they were doing instead of oral sociology or oral political science. They also interviewed a boxer of the '30's named Joe Brown, and these interviews were done on video tape and were very good, so I understand.

Now the thing that I was most impressed with that the Philadelphia Advancement School did is really oral sociology. There is something in Philadelphia called the 23 Trolley. It begins in Chestnut Hill, a fairly swank neighborhood, and goes from one end of the city to the other through practically every kind of neighborhood that you could imagine. The kids took tape recorders from the Pennsylvania Advancement School and cameras and they went out and took the 23 Trolley and interviewed people who got on and took pictures of them in an effort to learn something about neighborhood structure, about the arrangement of the city, about the way it is put together, and about the attitudes of people who come from different neighbor-

hoods on social issues. I talked to one student who had participated in this and he shrugged me off. He was quite blase about it, as the students there tend to be. But I could sense from his interest that he'd learned something, and this of course is a wholly subjective assessment.

The other project that I'd like to describe that is on-going has been at the Frederick Douglass School Learning Center in North Philadelphia. Its mentor has been Shirley Likach. She was a television producer with CBS until she became tired or disillusioned with that job and left it to go into teaching, specifically teaching through media. She was fortunate enough, when she went into teaching, to receive a $10,000 grant from the federal government which helped to purchase audio-visual equipment for the Frederick Douglass School. It helped to purchase equipment for a TV studio in the school, and it helped to buy tape recorders and cameras to be used in conjunction with the video tape and the tape recorders. And in March of 1968 the Frederick Douglass closed circuit TV facility -- FDCC for short -- began operation.

Now, FDCC does a variety of things, some of which qualify as oral history. I think it has created a number of different and new kinds of learning situations for the children. They see news shows on TV, they do their own news, weather and sports in the morning on an almost daily basis. They have a "Meet-A-Friend" series in which the students interview people within and without the school, and this essentially is the lead-in to oral history. Before I go further I'd like to paint a little broader picture of the "Meet-A-Friend" series. Included in this series have been interviews with school administrators. The students also did a tape, quite naturally, on the life of Frederick Douglass. I saw the tape; it was fairly interesting.

Now, the things in the "Meet-A-Friend" series that qualify as oral history are as follows. In the Spring of 1968 a video tape was done by some 5th and 6th graders at the Frederick Douglass School with the Reverend Henry H. Nichols, who is a Methodist pastor, the President of the Greater Philadelphia Council of Churches and the Vice President of the Philadelphia Board of Education. The tape began with an assessment and review of Reverend Nichols' life. The children even dug up some of his baby pictures, which embarrassed him to a certain extent. They had his brother hidden on the premises and produced him at the appropriate moment, sort of like a recreation of "This Is Your Life." Then they went on to ask him some questions about his involvement in city affairs, in politics, in educational politics in particular. They asked questions like "What do you think of today's youth?" and "How do we keep youngsters from becoming drop-outs?" and "If they leave school, how can we encourage them to return?" They asked him -- and these were 5th and 6th graders remember -- "What has happened during your year as Vice President of the School Board that has made you the happiest?" Well now, these questions may seem to you somewhat artificial and perhaps primed, although I don't think that was entirely so.

The second interview that I'd like to describe goes a little bit beyond the one with Reverend Nichols in its sophistication so far as the questions are concerned. In the Spring of 1968, the students from the Frederick Douglass School went to the Emmanuel Baptist Church in North Philadelphia, whose pastor is the Reverend William L. Bentley. Now, Bentley at this time was one of the chief leaders of the Philadelphia contingent to Resurrection City. In fact, the buses left from the vicinity of his church for Washington in the Spring of 1968. And shortly before the marchers left, the students interviewed, again on video tape, the Reverend Bentley in the basement of his church, and they asked him, "If Martin Luther King had lived, would the march have been?" and "What happens after Washington?" The next day Shirley Thompson of the Community and Housing Council of Interfaith, Interracial Clergy came to the Douglass School and was interviewed by the students in her capacity as a march organizer. The students asked Miss Thompson where was food obtained for the marchers who were staying overnight in Philadelphia. They asked her was the march only for blacks or for everyone.

One of the most interesting projects that the children at the Frederick Douglass School did involved the Progress Plaza Shopping Center, which is not very far either from Temple University or from the Frederick Douglass School. So far as I know, the Progress Plaza Shopping Center is the first black-owned shopping center in America. This at least has been claimed in the Philadelphia papers. In any case, in 1968 in December, shortly after the Progress Plaza complex was opened, several students, 5th graders, from the Frederick Douglass School went to the Plaza with Miss Likach and interviewed Elmer Young, the Plaza's Executive Director. They interviewed a number of merchants there, including Mrs. George Bryan, who is a co-owner of a bookstore with her husband. They interviewed a black druggist, a black haberdasher, and even black shoppers in the street, to try and find out what all of these people thought about the Progress Plaza, to try and learn about how it had come into being, to try and get some better understanding of their community. I have seen the video tapes, which were produced with the aid of the tapes that were made by recorders and the photographs that were taken on this project, and it's a fairly sophisticated, fairly professional product. With her television background, Miss Likach is a good organizer and she's unsatisfied with anything but a good quality video tape. They took the tape recordings that they made at Progress Plaza and they took the pictures that they photographed there and put them together into a tape that was presented to the school.

There's one more thing I'd like to talk about, and that's what's projected, and I don't know if any of this will come off. I hope it does. I've been able to interest some of my students who are public school teachers in doing oral history in their capacities as social studies teachers in the public schools. One man who teaches in West Philadelphia in an almost exclusively black school tells me he now has fifteen or twenty juniors and seniors interested in pursuing oral history as a teaching device. He has in mind interviewing a number of black leaders in the West Philadelphia community, including Muhammad Kenyatta of the Black Economic Development Council and a man

named Walter Palmer who is a black community leader and a professor or a teacher at Penn. More creatively and perhaps explosively, both he and I have in mind a project involving what is developing into a major controversy in the Philadelphia Public School System. A teacher in the West Philadelphia High School named George Fishman has been attacked by his students, not physically but pedagogically, for what his students call uninspired teaching. It's a complicated affair. He's also an expert in black history, an unsanctioned expert since he does not have a Ph.D., but still a man who knows a great deal about black history. In any case, Fishman has been attacked by the students. They are demanding his removal from West Philadelphia High School, his transfer to some other school in the city, and this has almost precipitated a teachers' strike because the AFT feels in Philadelphia that students should not have the right to say who stays and who doesn't. In any case, the whole project...the whole problem...has the potential, I think, of becoming a very interesting oral history, oral sociology adventure.

Obvious problems of candor, of accelerating what is already an explosive problem, would have to be resolved before anyone, whether students or professional scholars, could investigate this as a community phenomenon. But at least at this moment Mr. Tunnell, the teacher in West Philadelphia High School, and I are kicking around the idea of trying to get a project started -- perhaps involving the students, perhaps not -- of investigating exactly what has happened to Mr. Fishman in West Philadelphia High School. Well, this is very tentative. It's surely nothing more than a blueprint and perhaps not even that because blueprints are precise and this is anything but precise. But it's projected and we'll see.

Now, I'd like to make some final comments about oral history as a teaching device. It seems to me that it has great potential, but first of all, you have to emphasize that oral history when it's used in the schools is, first, for learning and, second, for the collection of research materials. Now, a second qualification, perhaps a warning, I'd like to make is this -- there is a great danger for students to get involved in things that don't matter, for students to get involved in projects that lead nowhere. The project method, whether it be through tape recorders or other media, is an old educational idea having firm roots in progressive education in the hands of people like Francis Parker and William Heard Kilpatrick. Boyd Bode, an educational philosopher of the first order, was one of the earliest, I think, to identify clearly the dangers inherent in students working on their own. In Modern Educational Theories, a book that he published in 1927, he reminded Kilpatrick and others that the project-oriented curriculum can readily degenerate into trivia if it is not carefully controlled, not to exclude creativity but to prevent students from becoming involved in things that don't lead anywhere.

Finally, I'd like to say that what I've discovered in West Philadelphia and North Philadelphia illustrates a point that's central to me in my scholarly and non-scholarly pursuits and perhaps that scholars should be reminded of. Shirley Likach, for example, had

never heard of oral history. When I came to her school and looked at what she'd done and showed her the Oral History Newsletter and all of the materials that we've produced, she was flabbergasted to think that other people were doing this. That there was this brace of literature that more or less described what she was doing, in a somewhat different way to be sure, was completely a surprise to her. This illustrates the gulf that has existed for so long between the worlds of scholarship and practice. Increasingly, I hope, this gulf is being bridged within the university as scholars in colleges of liberal arts and schools of education get together. The fact that I hold a joint appointment at Temple is perhaps evidence of this, for I am a member of both the Department of History and a department with the rather euphoric and long-winded name of the Social, Philosophical and Historical Foundations of Education. Outside the university these bridges are not being built. Perhaps the start being made in the university will produce such bridges, ultimately, in society at large. It may, however, take a long time.

WILLIAM J. WEAVER: I would like to start this off with a few illustrations of what...or how I came about to make this particular presentation. I actually started this whole thing when I was living out in Arizona and New Mexico. If you work for the...I actually work for the National Park Service, and World Tapes for Education is a hobby and the history work that I do with it is a hobby. But I started recording the common man, people in all walks of life in the Southwest from the turn of the century. I'm a person that likes to experiment with ideas, so I made a tape and gave it to a schoolteacher and asked her to try it out in her history class. The tape included eight different people talking about Western life -- a cowboy, a description of a hold-up in a saloon, a train wreck, an actual hold-up of a train at Stein's Pass in New Mexico, a famous boxing match, the Fitzsimmons-Corbett fight at Nevada City, and another railroader who ran into Carrie Nation, the saloon-smasher. In other words, you might call these the important events of the average citizen living in this area. It was a cross-section -- farmers, miners, a fellow who described, for example, how they shipped gold out of the Mogollon Mountains. The teacher tried it out and said it was tremendous, but there were some drawbacks. She wanted them on 3-inch reels with teacher guides and outlines. She also said, "And if you could only get some pictures to illustrate them they would go over so well." And I have been intrigued ever since that time with motivating people with the human voice.

And now I'd like to just illustrate an example of the National Park Service. When we get a historian, let's say he just came out of college, he has a rude awakening. He gets stuck on an information desk and during a year's time he might talk to 100,000 people. He's answering such questions as where is such-and-such a marker or thing in the park and he gets very disillusioned. He says, "I spent all that time studying history to come here and do this." But soon he learns that he is an interpreter, and so what I like to call this is interpretive oral history. Interpretation deals with people's knowledge and their attitudes and their enthusiasm. It attracts them with a helpful, entertaining approach. The star that

it reaches for is to inspire people. It is not just educational, it is not just informational, it is not just a demonstration or showmanship or a guiding service or an outlet for propaganda. It is all of these things at once. Its aim is to send people forth inspired by new understanding and enthusiasm about their involvement with a new and fascinating world that has been revealed to them, and I think oral history can do this, and that is what the Park Service is really trying to do with oral history.

I'll just cite an example. We in the Audio-Visual Section are the group that is becoming interested in oral history in the Park Service and not the Research-Historical group. They have filmed Mrs. Carl Sandburg because the Park Service recently acquired her home. The purpose of the film is to orient the visitor when he comes in by seeing Mrs. Sandburg, hearing her talking about her husband. Then as you go through the house, she will take you on a tour. You will hear her voice describing the rooms and what happened in them. In the Smoky Mountains we're involved in environmental education, where the Park Service prepares lesson plans and teaching devices for the school system to teach the environmental history of the Smoky Mountain area. These are presented in the classroom and then the student is brought to the area and shown what it looks like right on the ground. We have a historian there who is using oral history. His work will be put into a form similar to what you're going to see here, tape and slide shows, so that the students will hear the people's voices and will see them, and then when they go out to the area they will have an additional dimension of the environmental approach.

This particular tape and slide show is one man's story of what happened to him at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. So let's go ahead and show that now.

STUDIES ON THE ACCURACY OF ORAL INTERVIEWS

David F. Musto and Saul Benison

Ladies and gentlemen, I am David F. Musto. Let us begin our discussion which is divided into three parts: first, an informal presentation of some studies on the reliability of oral history interview; then an informal but provocative comment by Dr. Benison; and then an informal and stimulating discussion among all of us about the first two parts of the session.

I want to make some comments about studies that have been done. There are various areas in sociology, psychology, and other social sciences in which theories have been developed based upon interviews with individuals, families or groups, and it has been the general assumption that when these interviews are conducted you've got a relatively accurate account of past events. For various reasons, it has often been difficult to examine the truth of this assumption. Now, in the area of family development, this has been especially a problem because when the interviewer asks a parent about the child, it is extremely important to discover whether you're finding out what happened in regard to the child, let's say, at the age of two or five, or whether you're hearing what the mother would like you to think about the child at five and two. If you cannot establish whether the mother is accurately recalling the history of the child and her attitudes toward the child, then whatever conclusions you base upon this will be greatly weakened. You may be describing the parent or the parents' attitudes.

A number of persons in the field of child development have attempted to find out whether the mother is accurately reporting what did occur, let's say, three years previously or six years previously. This investigation is relevant to the oral historian asking about any particular date or event which presumably has an objective answer. And then when you're asking about the attitude toward the child or how the child did with other children, for example, you're then dealing with attitudes which are the very core of history in which you're trying to describe relationships between individuals and groups. Therefore, the studies that have been done in this area are of significance to oral historians.

Now, the first study that I want to discuss with you was done in Oslo, Norway, in the late 1950's.[1] Here, 19 families were selected who had come to a well baby clinic. The parents were interviewed over a three-time sequence before the birth of the child,

during the first year of the child's life, and then during the child's sixth year, so that in some instances you were able to check on the comments made by the mother and compare them with comments that had been made seven or eight years previously. A wide range of questions were asked. When was the baby weaned? When did it walk? What were the parents' attitudes toward the child? and so on. Many investigators have questioned the extent to which anamnestic material gives a true picture of prior events. Although the vast literature on memory and its fallibility bears on this question, relatively few studies have been carried out which deal with it directly. Now, the purpose of this study was to compare the comments and statements about the past made by the mother to determine two factors. First of all, validity. If the baby did walk at one year of age and you know this from your observations in the clinic, later did the mother accurately report that this was the case? Secondly, the reliability of the mother's information. If the mother said during pregnancy that she was very fearful about childbirth, does the mother then eight years later remember that she was fearful about childbirth? It evades the question as to whether she actually worried about it but asks whether she gave the same story to the same question over a long period of time.

First of all, it was found that when you ask the mothers about what would be called hard facts -- such as the length and weight of the child at birth, whether the child was born at the normal time, the length of breast-feeding, and so on -- you generally got relatively accurate reports and these were borne out by what the observers were able to tell from other information. Then we discover that when you deal with the questions about what is termed by the researchers general wishes and attitudes, reliability rapidly drops. For example, general wishes and attitudes which had to do with parents' wishes and attitudes as to whether the child was wanted and planned for, the desired sex of the child, and, generally speaking, their attitudes toward various aspects of child-rearing, had a relatively low index of reliability. About half of the statements changed during a period of seven or eight years for this group of 19 families. What is especially interesting is the relationship of anxiety to the questions that were being asked. The accuracy at the end of seven or eight years indicated that if she was anxious at the time about a particular experience that was happening -- such as pregnancy or labor -- the reliability was very high; she tended to remember that event or experience rather well. If, on the other hand, she was anxious at the time either about her attitudes toward the child, e.g., was the child wanted, or was anxious about the question itself when interviewed seven or eight years later, the reliability was almost zero. In other words, if you average out the 19 families in this particular study, you find that anxiety related to events that occurred in the past increased the likelihood of remembering the information, whereas anxiety associated with attitudes toward what was happening decreased the likelihood of remembering the attitude that was previously reported. The workers in this particular paper conclude, "These findings suggest that anxiety serves to facilitate accurate recall when associated with the mother's experiences but interfered with such recall when associated with reported attitudes." This distinction may have some signi-

ficance for oral history.

One question frequently asked is, did the mothers tend to be consistently accurate or inaccurate in the reports at the three times of questioning. The study indicated that the mothers' reports were inconsistently reliable at each stage of time -- that is, the degree of reliability didn't change over time. Secondly, you could not pick out which mothers were inaccurate, which is an interesting point. They checked this in a variety of different ways. They tried, first of all, having interviewers, without having seen the previous questionnaires, rate the mothers as to whether they were anxious or not during interviews or whether they thought they could believe them. The result was that you could not predict whether their answers were more correct or less correct on the basis of how they presented themselves to the interviewer except in the areas in which the person showed obvious anxiety at the time of the interview over past reported attitudes. In other words, it was not easy for these social scientists working in Oslo to differentiate between the mothers in terms of reliability without actually checking the prior information that that person had given. For example, it didn't make much difference whether the mother talked a great deal or was very laconic, nor were a variety of other seemingly significant factors of any help.

Let me read the conclusion of this study: "The findings indicate that in many respects the mother's statements during the anamnestic interview were not particularly accurate as reports of prior events. It appears that the anamnestic material did not reflect the mother's earlier experiences and attitudes so much as their current picture of the past. This seemed obvious. But what did not seem obvious when we began this study is that the reliability of their picture and the past varied so greatly for different types of anamnestic material and from one mother to another. These findings do not, however, affect the fact that anamnestic interviews are usually conducted by persons who want to learn about what actually happened in the past. An additional complication is the evidence that anxiety serves to distort the accurate recall of many experiences. In coming to a school or other guidance clinics, for example, the informant usually is anxious and unable to cope with some kind of problem and so asks for help. In situations of this sort, the interviewer inquires about the past so that he can make intelligent decisions about what kind of help should be given. It is an ironic possibility that in those situations where accurate information is most needed it may be most distorted."[2]

Now, although the oral historian is not acting as a therapist, he is often involved with people who have had an event in their life which is extremely charged with significance for their own career or their relationship with other people, and in that instance there would be the greatest opportunity for distortion. "Clear differences occurred from one type of information to another. The hard-fact data, such as the length of the child at birth, were recalled best of all. General wishes and attitudes not involving anxiety were recalled next best. And attitude scales, concerning which the mothers were anxious at the time, were recalled least well with reliabilities around zero. If anxiety was associated with actual experiences, however, it seemed to

facilitate the accurate recall of those experiences."[3] Going back to the question of experiences versus attitudes, I would understand it something like this. If you were asking someone who was at a conference over, let's say, the Cuban Missile Crisis, "Was somebody present?", the likelihood is that they would recall that that person was present, but they would not accurately understand the relationships of various people in the group nor necessarily accurately recall the attitudes involved in the relationships between the people because that was the most anxious aspect of the whole matter. Of course it also would probably provoke anxiety when the participant was asked about it at a later date.

The next study I want to mention was done in Philadelphia at the University of Pennsylvania.[4] It is a study on the reliability of developmental histories -- reliability is here defined as consistency over time. They re-interviewed 25 mothers who three to six years previously had brought their children to a therapeutic nursery school. The investigators wanted to compare the historical material given on the two occasions. So up to say four years afterwards the mother was asked for the same kind of information she had been asked when she first brought the child to the clinic.

When scored for how different or similar these statements were over time, there were a number of areas which you might think a priori would be factors in whether someone was accurate or inaccurate or could recall well or not. But these assumptions did not hold up in the study. For example, the mother's education was not a factor. Income, number of children, number of therapy sessions at the clinic, the time between initial and research interviews, the number of only children and the age of children, did not significantly relate to the accuracy of the recall. The only significant relationship that was found -- and the interpretation is uncertain -- was that those mothers who gave high accurate recall or high reliability recall averaged age 29 and the average age of the mothers who gave low recall was 37. The only other factor found in this was that in five of seven mothers characterized as having low reliability of information, a high level of anxiety was noticed, although there was no consistent personality picture for the mothers who had high accuracy. Perhaps the chief significance is that it is very hard to decide on the basis of just the interview experience whether the subject is accurate or inaccurate.

Now, these researchers conclude that "there is no evidence that inaccuracy is due to a general tendency to recall earlier events as less distressing and more pleasant as time passes," an interesting point since you were dealing with children who were brought to the clinic because they were disturbed. "Rather, accuracy seems to be more a function of the affective content of the information being reported. Whether the child was wanted or not, whether he was breast- or bottle-fed, and the parents' sex preference are all highly reliable. The mothers' responses to these items consist of statements of fact, of unadorned reports of events. The emotional aspects of the behavior, or the motivations behind it, are tapped by other items

which significantly are not highly reliable. In a like manner, sleep patterns during infancy, illnesses and motor development were reported with little emotional involvement and in the study had a high level of accuracy. For instance, the illness item primarily consisted of a recall of disease and hospitalizations and not the emotional reactions of the mother or child. Equally important is the fact that the item referring to emotional aspects of the illness was not highly reliable."[5] So that the fact that someone did have an illness tended to be reliable, but over the period of time parents tended to report different reactions to the type of illness. "Examination of the inaccurate items lends support to the hypothesis that reliability is at least in part a function of the affective contents of the material...

"It is important not to put too great a strain on the affective content hypothesis, however, To begin with, not all the findings fit neatly into such a scheme. The mother's report of her physical health during pregnancy was as simple a statement as the report of her children's illnesses, yet the former was inaccurate while the latter was accurate. That is to say, the mother's description of how she felt during pregnancy tended to be inaccurate whereas the report of her children's illnesses tended to be more accurate." A similar problem is involved in the finding that toilet training was reported after the event as beginning on the average of eight months later than it actually took place. One might reason that mothers' distortions are in line with "socially acquired concepts of functioning." What actually happened may become distorted by the knowledge of what experts say should happen under normal or ideal conditions. Yet, why should this explanation apply to reports of toilet training and not to reports of weaning or wanting the child where social pressures are equally great? One should consider that relationships, evaluations and discipline are on-going features of the mother-child interaction in contrast to specific past events such as illness or specific feeding preferences. It is possible, therefore, that a completed activity, regardless of its affective content, is more reliably recalled than one which is continuously present over long periods of time.[6]

The general conclusion of this investigation is that one must be very careful in reconstructing information given in anamnestic interviews. The authors again point out that they do not discuss the accuracy or the validity of the subjects' comments but only whether the comments are consistent over a period of time.

The last study I wish to discuss is in some respects the most interesting.[7] It arises from a Ph.D. dissertation by L. C. Robbins at New York University in 1961, which attempted to discover two things. The first was to see how reliable were interviews on the same topic with the same subject over a period of time. The second was to determine how accurate are these reports and in which way do they tend to be distorted. Is there a consistent type of distortion? Now, this study compared retrospective accounts of child-rearing obtained from parents of three year olds -- a relatively shorter period of time than for the Oslo study. At New York University there is a large and long-term study of child-rearing, and so the doctoral candidate in her dis-

sertation tried to decide not only what happened at the time when the families were being observed but also what was the reliability of the reports.

She came up with what I think are some significant conclusions for all of us involved with the recording of social history. The sample they used particularly maximizes the likelihood of the accuracy of recall. This was a group of parents who participated in the longitudinal study, who were asked every three to six months a set of questions. They appeared to have been a relatively intelligent and alert group who were very concerned with their children, so you have various factors here which would maximize the likelihood of accuracy in the reports. Now, the mothers and fathers were interviewed separately and simultaneously by the author and her husband for about an hour. The interviewers went over the same questions which had been given three years previously. Altogether they spoke with 44 mothers and 39 fathers. Tape recorders were used in this study so as to be sure reports were accurately captured. The interviewers had no information beyond the name and the age of the child and no previous attempt had been made to collect any earlier retrospective information. After the interview Mrs. Robbins, a clinical psychologist, and her husband, a psychiatrist, wrote a personality description of the person they were interviewing to see if they could then get any correlation between what they saw in the interviewee and the reliability of the information.

The first question that Mrs. Robbins asked herself was how accurate are retrospective parental reports of child-rearing practices. People whose responses and the original records were in agreement were contrasted with persons who gave information which was off what the clinic records indicated was the case. Now, in this, again, certain factual information tended to be reported very accurately. For example, whether the baby was breast-fed or bottle-fed was reported with almost total accuracy. But it's interesting to note that it was not totally accurate, that about five percent of the mothers reported inaccurately on this issue, which you would think would be a very difficult item not to recollect in three years. Also, in regard to bowel-training, the mothers erred by an average of 14 weeks and the fathers by an average of 22 weeks. When you think about the fact that the bowel-training had been taking place only in the previous year -- these were still three-year-old children -- it is interesting that both parents recalled the event as occurring later than was originally recorded.

Now, this is very relevant to the issue of social history in that a rather elaborate study of social practices of child-rearing, which was completed in 1958, anticipated that the recall of whether or not a particular practice was employed is somewhat more reliable than a parent's estimate of when the practice was begun or discontinued.[8] However, even for the qualitative items, no factor was recalled accurately by all the parents and there wasn't any fact that all the parents got correct. Two items had significant discrepancies. Both mothers and fathers reported a far greater incidence of demand feeding

than had been described when their children were infants, and several stated that there had been no thumb-sucking in instances where the evidence in the original records was undeniably to the contrary. Now, we're dealing with a relatively short period of time and with rearing practices that many people consider very significant for the child's eventual personality. So even in these items we have a degree of inaccuracy in a group of people from whom you might not expect that.

Now, Mrs. Robbins went on to ask a very interesting question which, in a sense, is an historical question. Is there any relationship between the recommendations of experts in child-rearing and retrospective parental reports of their own practices? This they did, indeed, find was the case. Mothers tended to be inaccurate in the direction of recommendations on every one of the nine items for which suggestions were clearly made in the child-rearing literature. For instance, of the twenty mothers who gave inaccurate responses regarding the mode of infant-feeding they employed, 65 percent shifted in the direction of more demand feeding, which is popular, and only 35 percent toward less. This discrepancy suggests that mothers were desirous of appearing to have fed on demand even when they had not actually engaged in the practice. The age of weaning was markedly reduced in the retrospective reports while the onset of toilet training was recalled as later than when it was really the case. In both instances the shifts parallel the recommendations of Dr. Spock regarding the ideal timing of these practices. Finally, with regard to thumb-sucking, of which Spock disapproves, and the pacifier, which he favors, errors again reflected the recommendations. All seven of the mothers who were inaccurate in their reports of thumb-sucking denied that their child had ever sucked his thumb. The original records show not only that the thumb-sucking had occurred -- in three cases for as long as a year -- but also that several of these mothers had expressed concern about it at the time. In contrast, of five mothers who erred in their recall of the use of the pacifier, four stated that their child had used one, when, according to the longitudinal records, he had not.

The study that I refer to in the literature of 1958 by Bronfenbrenner was very much related to changes in child-rearing practices in America over the last thirty or forty years.[9] He reports, on the basis of the data that he gathered, that there was a rise in the reports of demand feeding from 7 percent in 1932 to 71 percent in the period of 1949-50, and that demand feeding is becoming more common in the middle-class. His conclusion, now, must be assessed in the light of what Mrs. Robbins found. She found that 77 percent of the mothers reported demand feeding. In other words, the curve is still going up. But in reality only 56 percent of the mothers had actually demand-fed their children. The number of mothers whose reports were erroneous were sufficient to make this one of the items in which inaccuracy was the greatest, and yet the reports of the mothers would have helped to confirm the hypothesis that middle-class mothers were increasingly demand feeding their children. Since we don't have information as to what the mothers actually practiced in 1932, the 7 percent in that study may reflect the attitudes of the 1920's.

According to the reports of the mothers, only 23 percent of mothers are now feeding on schedule, whereas almost half of them actually practiced scheduled feedings.

Now, in thinking about the accuracy of this sample, it's important to recall that one might expect these mothers to have been very accurate in their response because they were in a longitudinal study. Extensive reports of the child behavior and development were made at relatively frequent intervals. Another factor that probably serves to enhance the relative accuracy of the parents in this sample is that both parents were interviewed rather than the mothers alone. They might have shown greater care in their responses -- this is an interesting point, I'd be interested in your response to this -- knowing that their spouses were answering the same questions at the same time but without any opportunity to compare the information. The parents were aware that records were available against which their recollections could be checked, knowledge that might serve both as a deterrent to distortion and as an intellectual challenge for demonstrating their acuity to the personnel doing the research and the study. But in spite of this, a distortion was found toward what parents thought they <u>should</u> be doing and away from what they actually practiced.

One of the conclusions which I think is especially important to us is that the interviewers did not feel -- for what this is worth -- that the parents were aware that they were distorting the past, rather that the parents were generally trying to accurately tell what happened. This should be kept in mind when evaluating their other studies which include reports that neither good rapport, asking several questions in a given area nor internal consistency in maternal responses is sufficient to insure accuracy. The fact that you're getting along well with her, that you're asking her many questions on the point, won't change the fact that she may actually feel that this is the case when it is not. And, furthermore, it's significant that you cannot predict on the basis of how the person presents herself to you in the interview whether she is reporting something accurately or distorting it.

I'd like to conclude by making some general comments on a large number of studies. I would like to emphasize that the studies that I have discussed with you and the comments I'm about to make now are not intended to mean that this is <u>the</u> way it is. This presentations intends to point out how people have approached the problem of accuracy in oral interviews and how they have found that it varies according to when you ask the question, what kind of information you require and how the person feels about the requested information. I don't think that we are dealing here with exact laws, but it's interesting to think about it in relation to what is going on in the work of oral history.

First of all, there is clear evidence that reliability is a function of the kind of information the mothers are required to recall.[10] For example, factual material concerning motor development

and weight are accurately reported. Unfortunately, the only cloud in this sunny picture is that 40 to 65 percent of mothers cannot recall the child's exact birth weight from the first year on, and about 40 percent of mothers forgot when their babies crawled in the process of learning to stand up and walk. There is good evidence that illness histories are unreliably recalled. One study finds that approximately one third of the child's major illnesses and one half of his minor ones are forgotten, and not only does this involve measles and chicken pox but pneumonia and tuberculosis as well. Child-rearing practices are generally remembered well. They involve such things as breast-feeding or that the child was weaned and so on. But there is some evidence suggesting that mothers are unreliable in reporting whether they used schedule or demand feeding in taking care of the baby, and the age of toilet training is highly unreliable perhaps because it's such a charged issue in our society. By the time the child is around eight years old the mother may be extremely inaccurate in recalling the extent to which she encouraged personal and social independence two years previously. She also significantly changes information concerning her attitude toward the child's aggression, for example, which is another important factor in the construction of social history.

There is evidence which suggests that mothers are unreliable in recalling the relationship of the child to herself, to the father and to others. She also changes her over-all evaluation of the child -- for example, he was lovable, he wasn't lovable, at some particular time in the past. It is very significant that time does not in itself seem to diminish reliability. A number of pregnancy and delivery items are unreliable by the time the child is 21 months old while weight at birth is remembered fairly accurately after eight years. So you have something like an all or none effect. Forgetting takes place quite soon for some items and for other items it is retained rather well.

There is good evidence that there is no general trait of accuracy. On the contrary, there is evidence that a mother who is accurate in one area of information may be inaccurate in other areas of information. There is some evidence that anxiety lowers accuracy of recall, especially of attitudinal and interpersonal material. However, anxiety may increase accuracy of recall of certain factual items. There is evidence suggesting that reliability is a function of the emotional content of the information. Factual information, such as what happened and when, tends to be accurate, while information which touches on feelings undergoes significant change with the passage of time. For example, a mother's recall of whether she breast- or bottle-fed may be accurate, but her recall of the reasons for doing one or the other and her feelings about the choice are unreliable. There is evidence highly suggestive of the fact that when an intelligent middle-class mother distorts it is in the direction of bringing the child into line with cultural norms and ideals. What little data there is from the lower-class mothers fails to reveal the pull toward social conformity. So one of the most important factors involved in these studies has been social conformity, the knowledge

of what one ought to do and then re-reading into history what you did do. I think this relates very much to, let's say, society's consensus on a particular historical event as to whether you were for it or against it at a particular time. And in my own work I have seen considerable distortion in this area. If a project or plan was debated, went into effect and was relatively successful, by and large, everyone later recalls he was for it, although at the time the group may have been quite divided as to whether it was a good plan or not.

I think that the conclusion that one might draw from these kinds of studies is that an oral history interview is an extremely complex document. It is like the anecdote we heard earlier about Sir Walter Raleigh: When asked about what happened, the two street brawlers agreed that there had been a fight. They're not going to forget that. Why there was a fight in the street, how they happened to be there and what they did afterwards would be replies worthy of great circumspection. Therefore, in one sense, an oral record is a relatively accurate document. In other areas it is just the beginning of one side of a very elaborate system which can be further examined by using either historical techniques along with more extensive interviewing of other people. In a sense, then, the oral record is what the philosophers call a "memory claim" -- one person's claim to what occurred. It is up to the historian to decide whether this memory claim is valid and to what degree it should be given significance.

QUESTION: I would like to ask if in any of these studies the interviewee was faced with the apparent inconsistency in the record.

DAVID F. MUSTO: To my knowledge this was not done.

QUESTION: If I ask how many children there were by the time this child was three, counting back by nine months I figured either a fourth or fifth child could be on the way, and this would have an effect on the mother's memory of what a particular child had done. In other words, the facts might be correct but for the wrong child.

DAVID F. MUSTO: Yes, this could have been for some mothers a factor favoring distortion. Although studies which considered the number of children of the interviewee did not see this aspect as significant.

QUESTION: What about the Chicano mother who's never read Dr. Spock? I think you'd get a pretty darned accurate recollection from her about whether she breast-fed her baby or what she did.

DAVID F. MUSTO: The absence of a cultural norm would probably favor less distorted recall, although most cultures have some favored child-rearing practice. Perhaps I could now turn the meeting over to Saul Benison who has some comments to make about these studies in relationship to oral history.

Saul Benison

Certain things stuck me as Dave was talking. A long time ago I interviewed "Papa" Arthur Schlesinger, and I got to that point in the interview where I asked him about his philosophy of history. And he remarked that he didn't know much about the philosophy of history but of one thing he was sure -- that nothing stood still -- and this remark made a very deep impression on me; indeed it made a deep impression on his son who was preparing a series of his essays for possible republication and he took that as the title of the volume of essays which has just appeared, Nothing Stands Still. I think we have to take into account that when we interview anyone, they are not timeless oracles. We're interviewing them in a particular point in time, and they're looking back at events filtered from that point in time.

Now, this raises an interesting question -- who shall you interview? Shall you interview the older person exclusively? Now if you're working in the history of science, there are very good reasons for interviewing an older person. First of all, he has a range of experience that reaches back for fifty or sixty years, and, clearly, his memory is a link to events within that time period. Secondly, and more important, he is no longer actively engaged in the laboratory or in a classroom and so you can get at him for interview purposes. But clearly there are also advantages to interviewing younger men and, in particular, younger scientists. First, it is clear that the younger man, while not having as wide a range of experience, is more disciplined in his remembering. Things certainly are fresher in his mind. But for the historian of science there's an added advantage -- you can come back to him, and if you come back to him at stated periods of time, you find that often he has rewritten his history but not the accuracy of events, and I'm really not concerned with accuracy -- I'll explain that later. What I am getting in an oral history interview essentially is an interpretation of a large mass of data, primary data, secondary data, and this intangible memory of man. And the changes of interpretation in re-reading a man's history are extraordinarily interesting, because if you come back to the scientist in, say, three, five, ten-year periods, what you begin to get is an index of events that might have changed his interpretation, which is extraordinarily important if you're engaged in tracing scientific ideas. So there is a virtue also in interviewing younger people as well.

Now, I said I wasn't interested in accuracy. Of course I'm interested in accuracy, but let me explain that further. Let me say that I am not concerned, for example, if a man lies to me outright or if he creates a myth because he's doing something very valuable for me. He's giving me a self-portrait of himself, a psychological self-portrait of himself that's very important in interpreting the data that he has given me; I have data which I can check his memory against. And I think it is the contradictions sometime that come from oral history memoirs that become a catalyst to historical analysis and study.

Here is an example from my own experience. I'm very interested in changing treatment of various types of fevers and particularly fevers which attack mass populations like typhoid fever. Some

years ago I interviewed a wonderful woman physician in Cornell who had the distinction of being the first woman professor of medicine in the United States, Connie Guion. I asked her what her recollection was of the change in treatment of typhoid fever, and she was very definite. "Oh, I can answer that," she said, "We started to change our treatment of typhoid patients after Eugene DuBois' excellent papers on the basal metabolism of fevers in 1911." I ought to explain that the general treatment of typhoid patients circa this period was starvation. After DuBois' studies physicians gave typhoid patients a very high caloric diet. When I came to Boston and asked the same question of the professor of medicine in Boston -- when I say Boston I mean Harvard -- I asked him when did change in treatment of typhoid fever occur. "Oh," he said, "That occurred very early." He said, "Fred Shattuck fed his patients a very high caloric diet in the middle 1890's."

Now, as a historian I was faced with an important question -- who was right? Who was telling the truth? And clearly, both people were telling the truth as they knew it. Now, when I came to examine the records, by God, Shattuck was feeding his patients a high caloric diet circa 1895. If I was content to ask a historical question, who was first, the inquiry would have ended there. But actually, who was first is a very unimportant question in the history of medicine. The larger question was why was there a change in the treatment of typhoid fever circa this period from 1895 to 1911. Once that question was asked, a whole new vista of the diversity that exists in history became very apparent, and it was the result of particular factors that existed between Boston and New York, divided by a space of some 200 miles. But the differences are very, very important. In Boston there was typhoid fever, but if you begin to look at the record, you find an extraordinary decline from 1890. Why was there this decline? That too has a simple answer -- there were very rigorous inspections of milk and water supplies. The decline of typhoid patients after 1890 meant that there were less and less patients coming in to Massachusetts General Hospital, and Shattuck had a chance, literally, to examine these patients. As a result, empirically, he arrived at a solution that if he fed his typhoid patients a high caloric diet they survived, and if he starved them, they usually died.

In New York the situation was quite different, and even though there were a lot of laws on the books, there was no rigorous inspection of water supply or milk supply, and hence, there was no decline in typhoid patients. As a matter of fact, the only thing a doctor could do with a typhoid patient was to make him comfortable. He didn't have a chance to do any kind of empirical study. Gene DuBois' schooling is completely different from the schooling of Shattuck, who was trained in France in the French pathological school. His schooling occurred in Germany, where he learned the intricacies of biochemistry and introduced basal metabolism techniques to analysis of fevers in the United States. Yet even he could not have done this except that his cousin, who was a metallurgist, was concerned with a similar problem. If you're going to do basal metabolism you have to get an accurate measure of the body surface, and there were no mathematical formulas for doing this. His cousin was measuring the surface of certain metals, and he used that mathematical formula for measuring

the body surface of man. So out of this contradiction grew a historical analysis -- so I'm not concerned with "inaccuracies." I believe inaccuracies are often very, very helpful, and even untruthfulness is helpful. But I still am interested in accuracy and I might point out that when I interview my people it is not merely a conversation. It means going back to the record and preparing my man to remember by giving him letters, by reminding him that we're going to speak about the papers that he wrote circa 1910 or 1911, so it is not an unprepared interview. I am interested primarily in his interpretation of events.

QUESTION: Saul, you are interested in a subject's interpretation of events many, many years afterwards, which, as one would get from common sense as well as the studies cited by Dr. Musto, are quite likely to be different from the interpretation at that time, which is, I think, one of the things at issue here.

SAUL BENISON: This is why it is important for the oral historian always to give in an introduction to his memoir how old the man is he interviewed, what the condition of his memory is, and the environment in which the interview took place. For example, when I interviewed Rivers, he would never see me in his home, absolutely never. We were good friends, but he would never see me in his home, and one of the reasons was that he wanted this not to be a social call. It was a business we were engaged in and he didn't want any socializing around it. So he always met me either in the office or in the hospital. And I think it's important to state these conditions, so people who read the memoir at least have pegs to hang their analysis. Of course, I am quite willing to confront a man, but before I confront him, I want the memory as he has it of that moment. I think he should be confronted, whether directly or indirectly. There are ways of checking what actually happened.

QUESTION: Well, some of us get involved in talking to former politicians. Simply advocating confrontation might be a nice way to terminate the interview. A friend of mine was interviewing Norman Thomas about his relationship with Jasper MacLevy, who was the Socialist mayor in Bridgeport, Connecticut. We knew that they were on the outs, for the most part, in the 1930's. But Thomas was very benign about MacLevy, but the interviewer had a letter that Thomas had written to a third party denouncing MacLevy. Now, should he have said, "Well, look, this is what you said about MacLevy in 1933 or '34? Why are you telling me now that, after all, Jasper was a nice old guy?" Thomas would have said, "Well, that's right, and that's the end of the interview. Don't come back next time," and so on.

SAUL BENISON: You use your judgment. But one thing an interviewer should never do -- he should never interrupt a subject's story, no matter what his opinion is, whether he believes he's lying or making up a myth. That man has to be able to get the story. Whether you confront him or not really depends on the interviewer's judgment of his man, and here I think is what separates a good interviewer from a poor interviewer. You can terminate an interview by being injudicious, but I think most men like to feel confronted. In other words, this is one of the ways of drawing them out. Well, for example, I interviewed

Dr. Churchill, who's a surgeon, who is very pro-Arab in his thought, and he told me of a tour that he made of Israel and Pakistan. Now, many of the things that he told me outraged me, and he knew he was outraging me, he knew his biases. He said, "Saul, let me get this down on the record and then we can have a go at it." I would never think of interrupting him or arguing with him when it was going on.

QUESTION: My experience indicates that if you confront a person with a contradiction or inconsistency he very often is able to resolve it. It will turn out that it had to do with a change over time in the understanding of the definition of a word, or it has to do with the context in which one event took place as opposed to another event. I think that in setting up an oral interview one of the basic motivations for agreeing to do this with you is to set the record straight. If you have a letter or a document which indicates that he was very angry at someone and he's now saying that he really thought he was a very nice fellow, if you challenge him or present him with these inconsistencies, he will often be very glad to have the opportunity to show you how his thinking changed. And that's very important material to record. If you have convinced him of your basic sensitivity and willingness to cooperate with him in the whole business of setting the record straight, I don't think he will be put off by making challenges to him.

QUESTION: I guess I agree. In our office we tend to have interviews in which we see a person for a number of times. We send material to the interviewee so that we can both work together on this problem of contradictions. It's just a problem that we're working on together. We do a lot of this work before we turn the tape recorder on. I certainly agree that in political interviews memory is especially treacherous, probably because you have the impact of so many campaigns. It must be like having several babies, you just can't remember which campaign it was. We try to furnish the person with a lot of chronology, names, dates and things that happened, and even the controversial things. We want him to know that we know about them so that these things can be worked on together. And then one other point is that when something does slip into an interview and an interviewer feels that you mustn't at that point challenge for some reason or another, we have a second chance because when we send the transcript back to him, we can say, "Can you straighten out this contradiction because..." and ask him to add a paragraph or two there, or sometimes we can even go back with the tape recorder.

SAUL BENISON: I just want to make one comment. We seem to be juxtaposing documents and memory, and I'd like to point out that a lot of documents are self-serving. As a matter of fact, there are a lot of forged documents in history and a lot of history written as a diary after the event.

FOOTNOTES

1. "On the Reliability of the Anamnestic Interview", E.A. Haggard, A. Brekstad, and A.S. Skard. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 61: 311-319 (1960).

2. ibid. p. 317.

3. ibid. p. 318.

4. "A Reliability Study of Developmental Histories", C. Wenar and J.B. Coulter, Child Development, 33: 453-462, (1962).

5. ibid. p. 460, with paraphrasing.

6. ibid. p. 459.

7. Parent Recall of Aspects of Child Development and Child Rearing Practices. L.C. Robbins, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1961. Summarized in: "The Accuracy of Parental Recall...", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 66: 261-270 (1963).

8. "Socialization and Social Class through Time and Space", by U. Bronfenbrenner, in Readings in Social Psychology, New York, 1958, pp. 400-425. ed. Maccoby, Newcomb, and Hartley.

9. ibid.

10. The following is extracted from a summary of research findings in this field: "The Reliability of Developmental Histories", C. Wenar, Psychosomatic Medicine, 25: 505-509 (1963).

A LAWYER LOOKS AT ORAL HISTORY

H. Mason Welch

PETER D. OLCH: I'm delighted to introduce Mr. H. Mason Welch, a native of Vermont. He received his degree in law from Georgetown University in 1919 and in the same year was admitted to the bar in the District of Columbia. Mr. Welch has been in practice in the District of Columbia since that time, and I'm very pleased to say that my acquaintance with him did not begin when I was still a practicing physician because Mr. Welch's specialty actually is in the area of medical legal matters and malpractice. I met Mr. Welch at one of our local medical history society meetings. He kindly agreed to participate in this session after being provided with a list of somewhat difficult questions and concerns that were drawn up by the Executive Council some months ago. He also had at his disposal an earlier session which was held at Arden House on legal matters pertaining to oral history. Mr. Welch will speak to us informally for about 45 minutes and then we will allow a full 45 minutes for the many questions which I am sure you will have, because we certainly found at Arden House that this was one of the topics where we got down to the nitty-gritties and we either came away satisfied or petrified.

It's a great pleasure to welcome you, sir, Mr. H. Mason Welch of the firm of Welch, Daily & Welch of Washington, D.C.

H. MASON WELCH: I realize I did not come here at all as a humorist, but I have in mind a little story that I think epitomizes my thoughts with respect to what I have observed about oral historians since I arrived at Airlie. As you were just told, I have my roots in Vermont. Of course a great many people don't even know where it is or what it is. And up in Vermont we have an area that we refer to as the North Kingdom. The North Kingdom is up on the very north border of the state, and even though we perhaps are all peculiar, we think our North Kingdom brethren are a little more so than the rest of us. One day a young man was walking on the street in a small village up in that area of the state and he was thinking of the very recent bereavement of his family, his father had just passed away. On the street he met an old friend of his father's. The friend stopped him and said, "Francis. Francis," he said, "I was very, very sorry to hear about the death of your father. I knew your father well and I remember him way back when I was at the University Agriculture School. Your father taught many, many interesting classes in the broad subject of fertilizer. And I always said, Francis, I never knew a man who was more filled with his subject than your father was."

Now, the point of that might be misinterpreted. But I had no conception of what oral historians did or of the breadth and the scope of their intense interests until I began to rub elbows and be privileged to sit and listen to a few conversations yesterday afternoon and yesterday evening and this morning, and I am impressed almost to the point of fright at the magnitude of the knowledge and information that you people have. It is a direct contrast to someone who's been in the profession of law for 50 years and plowed a rather lengthy and deep furrow in a comparatively very narrow ravine. I spoke to some of my colleagues about this weekend and my proposed participation in it, and not one of them knew what oral history meant in the sense that I've learned what it means to me since I came down here.

I find that you folks know people. You've learned in varying degrees how to probe people, how to touch upon their likes and dislikes and bring from them information as to the kind of people that they are, what their ambitions are or have been, what their frustrations and their achievements have been, whether at heart they are charitable, kindly people or only have a veneer of suavity and kindliness. I think it's a wonderful calling, and perhaps the only thing that I have in common is that over the years I have had to learn, in dealing with witnesses, to be a good listener, and I assume that being a good listener is an important part of your discipline. I say "of your discipline" because I'm not sure, from listening to some of the discussions here, whether oral history and oral historians have yet developed a discipline, although it's obvious that some of you who have been engaged in this field for a long time have perhaps by trial and error developed a sophistication and a polish that many of your colleagues strive to acquire.

Now, your chairman mentioned the fact that there had been submitted to me a number of questions. Well, that is true, and I read the questions. But I didn't answer them and I don't propose precisely to try to answer them. These questions run the gamut of a number of specialty fields in the practice of law, and I think at this discussion all we can do is touch upon them and impress upon you, if impression is so needed, that many of these various facets of the law must be considered by you in all of your oral history undertakings.

I found, or to be honest about it, one of the young men in my office found while I've been busily engaged in trial work for the last two months, that research of the law has failed to disclose any cases dealing directly with the subject of oral history. Now, whether this be attributable to the exceptional ability and accuracy and discretion of oral historians or to extraordinarily good luck, I cannot say. However, this occupation, like any other, harbors a possibility of inflicting real or imagined injury and wrongs upon others, and those things usually, at least often, result in litigation. It seems likely to me that the apparent absence of case law is deceiving. Perhaps there have been some cases but they've not been reported or indexed as yet under the separate and descriptive category that the researcher would expect to find. In any event, it is clear that the activity of oral historians does expose them to numerous and various legal problems.

Fundamentally and basically, I would assume -- and from listening to the discussions here and some of the conversations, I am convinced -- that there is probably no unanimity in the matter of specific contract or specific agreement in precise terms with the interviewee, with the subject. I actually inquired of one or two of your members and I was somewhat astonished to learn that they usually have no agreement. I'm more astonished to learn that the subject, the interviewee, would consent to any interview in depth on important matters of public interest without insisting upon some agreed terms. But we do know that in many cases, perhaps in the majority, that the subject imposes certain conditions and restrictions upon the possible use of the information which he furnishes. In effect, that is the making of a contract, and in exchange for the desired information, the historian covenants to abide by the wishes and the desires of the deponent with respect to when the interview may be released or whatever the conditions of release may be.

In the event of a breach or an alleged breach of the agreement between the historian and the deponent, what recourse does the interviewee or his heirs, personal representatives in the event of his demise, have with respect to the unauthorized or the improper publication of the information obtained from him during the course of such an oral history interview? Well, it would be incumbent upon the aggrieved party to allege and to prove more than a technical violation to comply with the agreement. If, for example, the deponent stipulated that his statement must not be published until after his death, a premature disclosure would not necessarily subject the historian to legal liability and damages. The complaining party would first be required to prove that he had suffered a compensable injury as the result of the alleged breach and that his reputation or their reputations had been adversely effected or that their businesses and their income had been diminished. In some cases this will be true, and in others nothing will be provable except hurt pride. But that doesn't imply that the contractual element should be taken lightly. Certainly, if I may express an opinion, the contractual element between oral historians and their interviewees, their deponents, is perhaps the very fundamental, is the very foundation upon which the widespread success of oral histories does and may in the future depend. Up to the present time that obligation has obviously been recognized and observed because of the dearth of complaints and law suits alleging breach of faith on the part of the historian, not to mention the fact that sources would soon evaporate if the case were otherwise.

I assume that you find that many of your interviewees need some little bit of coaxing or education before they consent to divest themselves of their views and their information and their opinions for the record, and then they probably entertain some sort of a fear of retribution or some sort of a fear that the information that they are imparting may be detrimental to others or to the public welfare. I think perhaps that this might be so in the area where important and notable people in public office or in the armed services may be interviewed and that some of these interviews very possibly touch upon that sort of material and information that is classified, and oftentimes it

may be that unknowingly, or at least without a deliberate and willful intent to violate the areas of classification, information is given that should not be recklessly or carelessly made public. Of course, a particular interest to the oral historian is what is the oral historian's rights, what are his duties and obligations, what are his dangers, rather than a consideration of the interests of the interviewee or of third parties. There is a recent case in Pennsylvania -- I think it's referred to as the Frick case, and most of you may actually be more familiar with the Frick case than I am -- but it was a case that evolved because a surviving daughter of one Mr. Frick, who had been very much of an industrial tycoon and financial giant in the Pittsburgh area, had given materials to a Mr. Sylvester Stevens, as a result of which Stevens published a book, and the daughter of the deceased Frick undertook to have the court in Pennsylvania enjoin the publication of that book. And the court refused to enjoin its publication because the lack of agreement between Frick and the interviewer and the terms of the agreement such as could be definitely decided upon did not preclude a publication, and because of that, a surviving daughter or a surviving heir had no greater right of course than Mr. Frick himself would have had to forestall or to prevent the publication that was proposed by Mr. Stevens.

I suppose that in the discussion of oral history you have been overwhelmed with the consideration given to the question of libel. I think that it may very well be the same as the discussion of some fundamental topics in almost every field of endeavor. Probably the same thing as the coach trying to teach fundamentals to experienced football players. It isn't that they don't know the fundamentals, it's that they know so much more they forget the fundamentals. And one needs to continually hammer them home in order that the fundamentals not be neglected and in order that the house may not be built without a sound foundation. And in connection with the work of the oral historian, there is no doubt but what he leaves himself liable, open to the hazard of civil suits for the collection of damages because of libel, and he should thoroughly understand what libel is, particularly in the community in which he lives, the jurisdiction in which he operates. And other than to comment about libel in its broad aspects, when any question with respect to libel arises, the oral historian should consult an informed attorney in his own community. It is not only unreasonable but it is also a hazard for one making a brief discourse on the subject of oral history as it is related to legal problems to undertake to give specific advice because so many of these cases with respect to libel are controlled by established fundamental principles which become applicable only in the light of the peculiar circumstances of each case. That is so with respect to almost every field of libel law.

It does bear mention that the laws of libel have changed. They are still in a state of flux perhaps. I think it may be more proper to say they are still undoubtedly in a state of flux. But ranging from the harshness of our laws for seditious libel back in 1798 up to the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of The Washington Times versus Sullivan down in Alabama and then the Wally Butts case, we find that there has been a very definite and a

very persistent change in the fundamental rules with respect to the publication of alleged libelous material, and while in The Washington Times versus Sullivan case the court was dealing primarily with the aspect of libel that has to do with alleged defamation of public officers, in the Butts case it had only to do with the law with respect to a person of note and public prominence. Wally Butt, as you remember, was and still is the coach of the University of Alabama football team. But they applied almost precisely the same rules of law with respect to the publication of libelous material. The publication of libelous material is definitely privileged and proper in the course of comment upon public officers and their activities in or out of office — out of office particularly if it relates in any way, shape or manner to their public responsibilities and if it isn't willfully and maliciously intended to bring them into public shame and odium.

From a defense standpoint, the first consideration would be whether or not the statements made and complained about were true. Of particular relevance to historians is the doctrine of privileged communications, and on the ground of public policy the law recognizes certain communications as privileged, and as such they are not within the rules imposing liability for alleged defamation. But, ladies and gentlemen, this is an extremely complex area of the law, and one may glibly recite the fundamental principles laid down even in the landmark cases, but that does not suffice when we're considering particular problems. A careful and precise study of all of the facts and circumstances surrounding the making or the proposed making of a statement must be carefully considered in the light of the stated principle of law. And I think that because of that a wise historian, having consulted with his counsel, would most likely delete from certain documents, from the transcripts of interviews, a great deal of material that might touch upon the lives and the characters of others, particularly those still living.

Of course when we're considering libel we must consider the important subject of malice. Malice is an essential of the element of tort or the elements of proving a prima facie case in order to impose damages upon one who publishes a statement alleged to be defamatory. Malice in the legal sense means a wrongful act done intentionally or with evil intent, without just cause or excuse, or as the result of ill will or personal spite. It does not necessarily imply spite against some individual, but rather in many instances it may be merely a wanton disposition that is grossly negligent of the rights of other people.

Now, as I mentioned earlier, I had submitted to me a number of questions which I did read and which I considered rather carefully, but almost all of those questions appear to me as being in the nature of efforts to determine a precise legal answer that would fit numerous occasions. One of them, for instance, "Is the interviewer and/or the institution he represents held liable for a statement made spontaneously by the respondent, the interviewee, that is not resulting from a direct question to the interviewer?" Well, fundamentally, I don't think it makes any difference. During the course of an interview covering some precise area of activity in which the interviewee was a

participant or an actor and about which the historian is sufficiently concerned to have opened the door in discussion and probing, or even though the historian did not directly bring about the area of discussion, if it relates itself normally and reasonably to the subject matter that is being probed by the interviewer, then it wouldn't make any difference whether such a remark or remarks came as the result of a direct, leading question. I think the responsibility of the interviewer would be precisely the same. And I think there's an additional responsibility upon the interviewer in a cold sense that if he finds the interviewee making spontaneous statements not related to the subject matter and not provoked by questions propounded by the interviewer, he should stop that area of discussion and he should call attention to the fact that this does not come within the scope of what his questions intended or proposed.

Now, I'm mindful of the fact that in many of the agreements between the historian and the deponent there are arrangements made to submit the transcript of the notes or of the tape recorder or both to the deponent to edit and check. As to the practicality of that I have nothing to say. I think that the practicality depends entirely upon the circumstances of the precise case that you may be involved with and the sensitivity of the material that you are developing and its relationship to the current public interest or to the reputation of persons who are still in being and active in their work. It may be very advisable and it may be very ill advised from the viewpoint of the historian, but I think that each case must be governed by the circumstances surrounding that case and not by any general rule.

There's a question here as to when a manuscript is considered published as far as the statute of limitations on libel is concerned. Well, the statutes of limitation on libel are pretty much the same in all of our various states, and the statute of limitations begins to run at the moment of publication. It oftentimes becomes of considerable concern as to what is the meaning of "publication." What is publication? Some say that publication is the disclosure of the material to any third person. Well, of course that would include disclosure of the material to the transcriber. I think that it is a non-realistic narrowing of the intent of the meaning of publication. I think if part of the process of making use of the work product in these oral histories is to be followed, it is necessary that there be some transcription of the records other than typing them up by the interviewer himself, and I think that the permission of the transcriber or a group of transcribers perhaps working on one oral history project would be permissible and not considered to be publication. I do not think that these agreements between the oral historian and the deponent should be made cumbersome and cluttered with minutia and detail, but in some instances it might be very well to consider having it understood that, first, a tape recorder or a recorder device is being used, and secondly, that it will be complemented by personal notes, and third, that to make that effort of any use to anybody, those notes and the recording must be transcribed.

And then comes the question of who owns the end result. Is it owned by the deponent and is the oral historian merely the reposi-

tory for safeguarding that end result, or is it owned by the oral historian or the unit or organization for which he is employed in that effort, or is it owned jointly? I do think that unless it's utterly impossible to do it, the agreement between the oral historian and the deponent should be of such character that there can be no question as to who owns the end product. There may be contractual limitations upon the use of it under certain circumstances, but I think that there should be no question about the ownership of it. It could be very frustrating indeed to be thrown into litigation with the heirs of a deceased person who never intended anything except that the oral historian or the institution would be the owner of the end product. Therefore, it's necessary, I think, that as the field and the scope of the work of oral historians progresses and enlarges that we find ourselves in precisely the same situation as we will say hospitals are as they increase and develop the values and the kinds of services that they render. Each new step usually brings with it a new hazard, these hazards cannot be avoided. I think that as time goes on there is more and more reason for a definitive type of agreement between the oral historian and the deponent, and yet I think that as time goes on also there will be more and more occasions when it is very advisable for the oral historian to sit down and discuss the proposed steps in the use of the end result of interviews with local counsel or counsel for the institution that is involved in the historical development.

I want to end, if you'll permit me, with another story. An acquaintance that I knew up in Vermont tells this story about a friend of his who had a great and long-time interest in raising bird dogs. Now, in one litter he had a puppy that he thought was particularly promising. He raised the dog with a great deal of care and trained him with a great deal of patience, and he found that he had what he thought was a very excellent dog and a wonderful retriever. However, he took him out one morning when he was going to the duck blind, and the dog behaved beautifully in every conceivable respect. And finally the hunter saw a flock of duck and he fired both barrels and he got two, and at just a word the retriever walked out over the water and first he brought in one duck and then he walked back and brought in another. The hunter sat there in amazement, and he pondered about it all day, and that evening he asked a friend of his if he would go hunting with him in the morning, he wanted him to see how his dog worked. Well, the same thing happened the next morning, and after the dog walked back over the water and brought in the second duck, he said to his friend, "Jethro, did you see what I saw?" Jethro said, "I sure did, I..." He said, "What's the matter with my dog?" He said, "There's not a damn thing the matter with your dog except he can't swim."

Now, I told you that story because I perhaps have been in over my depth in trying to swim in water where I've only walked a little bit on the surface. Your chairman tells me that it is customary and it is desirable that we have something in the way of a question-and-answer discussion, and I shall be happy to participate in that and try to add something to it. Thank you for your attention.

QUESTION: Mr. Welch, generally speaking, does libel imply malice? Does it make any difference whether what is said is true or not?

H. MASON WELCH: Yes. Fundamentally, in a libel case, truth is an adequate defense. In some of the cases having to do with public officials, the courts have ruled that it is not necessary that the defendant prove the absolute truth. If it is fair comment and fair criticism and made in the public interest, it suffices. But in the ordinary libel suit against an individual or the ordinary type that we find throughout the country against newspapers, the truth is a complete defense.

QUESTION: If the deponent expressly gives the tape and the transcript to an institution, does he thereby divest himself of the literary right of the transcript?

H. MASON WELCH: Well, I think that that is a question that would bear a considerably amount of thought and discussion if it were to be exhausted, but the way you put the question, I think that if you give an authored article to somebody else, you give all of the rights that go with it. I do not think that one can give you the end product by agreement or the results of one or several interviews which it is understood will be transcribed and put into pamphlet or manuscript form and retain to himself any rights with respect to publication or otherwise unless those rights are specifically reserved.

QUESTION: Could we assume that if those rights are not spelled out as being specifically reserved that they are implied?

H. MASON WELCH: Well, I don't see how anybody having less than omniscience can imply that John Doe intended to reserve A, B, and C with respect to the usual rights of ownership. I think the implication would be if he made no reservation that it was his intent that there be no reservations.

FORREST C. POGUE: I'd like to ask a slightly different question which arose last night with the speaker, because in her case her interviews, like mine, are normally for a particular book but the interview may yield information beyond the scope of that book. Now, you don't say to the man you're interviewing, "I will print this only in the book." You say, "I'm gathering material for a book." She wanted to know if she could use this other material which did not pertain to the precise book in a lecture and be free to do that, and secondly, can she show that material to another writer provided the person who gave the information put no restriction on the interview but may have thought that he was giving it only for a book and not for a speech and not for the use of any other person?

H. MASON WELCH: Well, how does the interviewer know what he thinks if he doesn't express the thought? How will a court at a later date determine that he was thinking along some precise line when nothing whatever was said about it? I don't think that a problem arises there. But you'll remember in my brief remarks I did say that in some areas of the interview if the historian finds that the deponent

is going into some field not related to the purposes of the interview, perhaps it would be wise to stop it. But I don't think that at some subsequent time any court can realistically write into an agreement reservations or specifications or conditions that are not there. That's why I said that I think as time goes on and oral historians find themselves invading more and more important fields, the agreement between the historian and the deponent will become more and more important.

QUESTION: I wonder what must happen after a transcriber has produced a manuscript in order for it to be considered published.

H. MASON WELCH: Well, publishing, as used by the law, does not mean the same thing as publishing means to a publisher. Publishing means making it known to some other person. All you need to do to come within the purview of the word "published" is let some one unauthorized person read it or have access to it.

ENID H. DOUGLASSS: Are the laws of slander and libel so identical that there wouldn't be different problems in the case of the oral record? When the interviewee and the interviewer are talking, you're dealing in the field of slander, are you not, until the tape is transcribed?

H. MASON WELCH: Well, I don't think that you ameliorate a possible wrong by avoiding the technicality of libel and transferring it onto the board of slander. I think that the responsibility attaches fully as much to the historian to be careful about permitting slander by virtue of making available an unedited tape or making it available under unwise circumstances or contrary to the conditions of the agreement because, while my answer is not intended to cover every conceivable case you can think of or pose, I make the point that slander is just about as bad as libel except that it is spoken rather than written.

WADDY W. MOORE: This morning we heard some advice about going out and getting information from ordinary people, going even to the point of street-corner interviews. What would be the legal limitations of this kind of material where you might not see this person again? Does a verbal understanding on the tape clear you of liability of use of that material?

H. MASON WELCH: Well, the only liability imposed upon you for the use of the material is either spelled out in law or it arises by virtue of specific contract. Under the circumstances that you have suggested, one has no more right to publish libelous material or get involved in an instance of promulgating slander simply because he never sees that person who was interviewed again. As a matter of fact, under the circumstances that you proposed, I think the very looseness of the procedure demands a somewhat added circumspection concerning the use of the material.

WADDY W. MOORE: Well, I was really thinking more in terms of their literary rights to the material.

H. MASON WELCH: Well, I am at a loss to understand the niceties of rights in material in the literary sense if one voluntarily enters into a discussion knowing that you are making a record of it and knowing that you're going to use it.

QUESTION: I have several questions. One is, authors have rights to their notes; the notes belong to them. If you are taping and taking notes, wouldn't the tape be in the same category as the notes? That is one question. I'm wondering if an agreement is necessary. For an author, a constant procedure of signing agreements and setting up terms can really be a problem. I mean you can practically kill your interview by doing this sort of thing. You set up a suspicious situation, and I'm wondering what can be done about it.

H. MASON WELCH: Well, fundamentally, I assume that lawyers are prone to be too technical, and I take it for granted from my fifty years of experience that some of them enhance their natural ability to be technical by studiously being so. But I don't think that this is being precisely technical to say that if you desire to accomplish something you should not feel that the proper preparation for it defeats the purpose. Let me illustrate in something remote from your field. Physicians and surgeons today are so busy they can hardly keep their office hours and take care of their hospital work. Consequently, these elaborate record forms are seldom utilized to a full extent and often they're almost ignored on the ground that we're too busy. Well, ninety out of a hundred times it doesn't make any difference because the patient gets well and goes home or he dies and is buried. But every once in a while that lack of regard for making the record becomes the one thing in the trial of a lawsuit that worries everybody concerned with the case.

I recognize that you're going to find it more difficult with some people to enter into the arrangements that are basically desirable, and it may very well be that in some instances a recalcitrant individual doesn't want any agreement. Well, I think it should be made clear to him, or her, that if you feel so ill disposed toward reducing to some preciseness our agreement and understanding in doing this work, you must know that we are doing it with a definite objective. We intend that this material will become at least a source of historical reference and may in due course be published to a great or a lesser degree, and then it's up to him to decide whether he still wants to ignore your desire to have some agreement or not; particularly if you have a tape recorder, it can be right there in voice for everybody to hear.

Your comment about the interviewer owning the notes and owning the tape recording is probably perfectly true, although I suspect that there will in time develop a line of cases and a line of thought that it is jointly owned by the one who is interviewed and the one who is conducting the interview, and the ownership of notes that you can't do anything with except burn doesn't do much good for anybody. I don't know what you were thinking of precisely when you say that the reporter owns the notes. Are you thinking of the area of the possibility of those notes being subpoenaed or somebody demand-

ing to see them or something of that kind?

STATEMENT: Well, I know there was a case in Ohio of a writer whose notes were subpoenaed and his tape recordings subpoenaed. I'm thinking of the fact that if an author is collecting material for a book, as Dr. Pogue mentioned, traditionally his notes are usable by himself for the book, and the people interviewed, unless libeled, do not have the right to tell the author not to use this, that and the other thing. I mean this has been the tradition. As a writer, I assume that my notes belong to me.

H. MASON WELCH: Well, I don't think that any informed court would require you or anybody else to expose all of your notes or all of a tape recording on some fishing-expedition subpoena. I think that your notes are no more different from material that may be owned by any individual. If it has a materiality and a relevancy to the issues in a lawsuit, it's subject to subpoena. But certainly the attorney would need to specify what he wanted in your notes, and under ordinary circumstances you'd have the right to have those notes examined by a court to determine whether there was anything in there that should be made public or should not. I think that you're protected on that point.

THEODORE FRED KUPER: I'm afraid we have a little confusion here between those who are authors and propose to publish some works and who therefore are examining or interviewing people for the purpose of their product, which is quite different an area from those who work for universities or libraries who are compiling archival material and where the literary property of the interviewee may be protected. As you pointed out very well, that if before you start you have a clear and simple statement or agreement of what are the rights and obligations of each party, then the interviewee may own his literary property even though it's deposited in a library and where it may be disclosed in total or in part under certain circumstances. But you can't mix the recording by an author of Hemingway's works where he intended it obviously freely for his own work and becomes his own literary property and that which he is doing as an agent or an instrument for a library or for a repository or for archival material. All of which emphasizes what I think Mr. Welch indicated very well -- that many of these questions can be obviated if you have a preliminary statement of simple agreement so each of the parties at least understand what they're entering in.

H. MASON WELCH: Well, I understand that you can't mix oil and water very well and I don't think that you have precisely the same area when you're interviewing with the purpose in mind of authoring a book as the oral historian interviewing for the archival purposes you mentioned. But I don't think that they are so distinctly of a different species as to make it necessary to build up a different basic group of legal principles to govern the relationship between the parties. I think that even authoring should be made clear to the interviewee. He should know what the purpose of the interview is and the purpose that it was intended to use the material for. So fundamentally, I think that we have to be governed by the same principles in approach-

ing the interviews. It's just a matter of making a distinction in the different cases as to what are we doing this for, what are we going to do with it and what terms or conditions do you want to impose upon it, if any. I think that you probably encounter more limitation in some areas of sensitivity, of course, than you do in others, and perhaps very much so in some of the material that you use for library material and only for research work.

JERRY D. BIDLE: Well, returning to this recalcitrant interviewee that you mentioned a little bit ago. After you have initially explained to him the purposes for which this interview may be used and possible publication and he still expresses no interest in an agreement or being party to an agreement, can he at some later time then come back to you and say, "I want to put some restrictions on this," and so forth?

H. MASON WELCH: No, he cannot demand it. Of course he's always at liberty to come and make a request. But he cannot demand it. If he has entered into an agreement and you've proceeded on the basis of that agreement, that is it, that ends it. He can't at a later date reconsider the matter and alter the terms of that agreement without your consent to do so.

JERRY D. BIDLE: But initially there was no agreement. He consented to the interview and expressed no interest in an agreement, so you conduct the interview and do the work that you had intended, and then he cannot later then come back and...

H. MASON WELCH: Well, if initially there was no understanding whatsoever, you asked for the interview and he granted it and he talked at great length and gave you all of the material you wanted and said nothing about imposing conditions upon its publication or use, then I think that he'd be hard put to it to prove you didn't have every right to ownership in that and that you were not permitted to do what you thought fit and proper to do with it.

HOWARD R. FREDRICKS: I'd like to ask the question if the oral tape is transcribed and that transcription is edited and given to the interviewee for possible changes and deletions, must the original tape also be edited the same way or is it possible to have different records?

H. MASON WELCH: I'm not sure that I understand what you mean by edited. Do you mean edited by the historian or do you mean edited after it has been transcribed and put into final form by the interviewee?

HOWARD R. FREDRICKS: The historian edits the transcript and so does the interviewee. The interviewee may decide to make deletions. Say, he made a remark about somebody and he's hesitant about keeping that on the record, and he deletes it from the transcript. Now, what about the original tape?

H. MASON WELCH: Well, I assume that the business of editing a transcript by the interviewee is covered by your initial agreement and understanding with him. Editing certainly means that he has the right to make some changes, deletions or perhaps an addition. I do not think that the historian has any right of editing that material unless there is an understanding about it.

PETER D. OLCH: There generally is. Editing by the historian is generally breaking up these laborious, multi-page statements into something resembling paragraphs and sentences without changing the content unless it's taking a very wordy question and rephrasing it in capsule form. But I think the basic problem here that we're trying to nail you with, and it's a difficult one, I'm sure, for all of us -- the tape is not edited. The tape will contain material which has been deleted by the interviewee from the transcript. We are stuck with the situation of not destroying the tapes. They are available, and I would guess that if there is a statement which is in any way slanderous or libelous -- I guess it would be slanderous on the tape -- or if it upsets the interviewee because somebody hears something he deleted from the final transcript, then we have a real problem.

H. MASON WELCH: Well, I think that there is a very distinct hazard in not editing the tape as well as editing the transcript if there's any material change made in the transcript. [audience groans]

PETER D. OLCH: Do you hear the murmur, sir?

H. MASON WELCH: Yes, I hear the murmur, but I hear murmurs over and over and over again about doing something that is laborious and troublesome even though it is the safe and the proper thing to do.

GOULD P. COLMAN: I'd like to comment on this problem. Having generated dozens of forms with the aid of various lawyers in order to meet this problem, we have finally settled on a practice at Cornell where we simply negotiate separate agreements, one agreement applying to the oral record and another one applying to the transcript of that record. It depends upon the disposition of the respondent and the content of the record whether he will apply more rigorous restrictions to the use of the oral record than he does to the transcript. Now, I should add one more point. At one time we thought this was a very, very complicated problem, but the real problem was simply adjusting ourselves to the fact that we needed two different agreements. Once we recognized this, it turned out not to be a difficult problem at all. It's just one more sheet of paper. It perhaps takes as much as three minutes with regard to an interview that may take many hours of work, so it seems to be an almost inconsequential problem.

H. MASON WELCH: Are you supporting my answer?

GOULD P. COLMAN: What you're arguing for, as I understand it, is that there be no fudging around, that you have your agreement perfectly clear between the person who is doing the interview and the person who is responding to those stimuli and to the institution which serves, if an institution is involved, as custodian of the

record, so that everyone knows where they stand and the agreement be so clear that it is not subject to different interpretations by the various parties involved.

H. MASON WELCH: That's exactly what I meant everybody to understand.

PHILIP C. BROOKS: I am still concerned about what constitutes publication in the eyes of the lawyer. I understood you to say it only takes one use by an unauthorized person to constitute publication. Now, the normal case is that transcripts of oral history interviews go into an archives and are made available to perhaps several researchers, all of whom are authorized to use the transcripts because they are accredited researchers of that institution. But would that in your view constitute publication or not? I'm a little puzzled by that word "unauthorized" if I understood it correctly.

H. MASON WELCH: Well, I said that exposing to one person is enough to violate a prohibition against publication. Now, I think that just a moment's reflection will make perfectly clear what the law has in mind about publication. It boils itself down to the fact that a secret known by a third person is no secret at all. If you expose the material to one, you have no way of knowing how much further exposure there will be because of his knowledge of it. Well, I think that it should be made perfectly clear -- I don't want to oversimplify and I don't want to be burdensome -- but the interviewee should understand that the work product that evolves from your interview, even if it is to be in the archives of a research library, will be made available to those qualified historians in the best judgment of the institution who apply for the privilege of examining this document.

QUESTION: May I follow up this disclosure business with one more question? Does the legal responsibility of such a disclosure extend to things like gists and paraphrases or characterizations of the interview in shop talk amongst, say, archivists?

H. MASON WELCH: I think that what you're trying to do is say under some other guise may we give this information to colleagues without the circumspection that was intended by the terms of the agreement between the historian and the interviewee. I don't think that you can protect yourself with that device. It may very well be that you would never be led into any deep and troublesome waters because of the sensitivity of the people with whom you're talking. But I think that you're opening the door, and when you put it on as is there any difference in this type of exposure as compared to another, I think I have to say fundamentally I don't think so.

A LITTLE LESS THAN HISTORY

Frank Mankiewicz

LARRY HACKMAN: I'd like to tell you just a little bit about Mr. Mankiewicz. He was born in New York City; A.B. from UCLA; Master's from Columbia; L.L.B. from the University of California, Berkeley. From 1948 to 1952 he was a journalist in Washington and Los Angeles; then he went back to California and went to law school. He was admitted to the California bar in 1955 and practiced law in Beverly Hills from 1955 to 1961. He was a member of the Los Angeles County Democratice Central Committee and the California Democratic Central Committee from 1950 to 1954. In 1962 he became Director of the Peace Corps in Peru and served in that capacity until 1964 when he became the Latin America Regional Director for the Peace Corps. In July of 1966 he became Press Assistant to Senator Robert Kennedy and most of you probably know him in that capacity. He is currently, with Tom Braden, writing a newspaper column which is carried by over eighty newspapers and as a TV program on WTOP, Channel 9, in Washington, D.C. -- "The Big News." It is, then, with great pleasure and also a sense of relief that I introduce Mr. Mankiewicz to you -- a pleasure in the sense that I believe that he will entertain and inform you; relief in the sense that he made it down here and on time! I won't go into all the incriminating details, but suffice it to say that his wife, Polly, has told me that for as long as she has known him many of his friends have frequently referred to him as "the late Frank Mankiewicz," so I give you "the late Frank Mankiewicz," recently resurrected to appear with us tonight.

FRANK MANKIEWICZ: Thank you, I guess. You know I've heard that introduction a few times lately -- I've done a little speaking at some colleges -- and I always listen to it and I think that's right; I did go to Columbia and I was up there at Berkeley, and it's hard to believe that those places are as they are now considering what they were then! I mean, I was at Berkeley when you had to hide your Stevenson button under your lapel or risk a serious charge of student radicalism. And I even remember -- as recently as, I guess it was 1966 -- when I was thinking of leaving Washington and going back to California and I had some discussions with some educational people out in California. And they were looking for somebody to be the president of one of their small liberal arts colleges out there and we talked about it awhile and we never got very far. But they were looking for a president for a little place called San Francisco State, and I think they've had nine presidents since that time and a couple of acting ones!

But I am pleased to be back at Airlie House under more civil circumstances. The last time I was here was, I think, in the late summer of 1965, and Jack Vaughn, who was at that time the Assistant Secretary of State of Latin America, called together about, oh, twenty or thirty Latin Americanists, which is about all there are, because he thought that a lot of them were rather unhappy with the Johnson Administration, particularly with respect to the Dominican Republic. That adventure was by then about sixty days in the past. So he had about twenty of them come down here and he picked a couple of people from government -- myself included -- to join the group. And we went on for two days here, and every time Jack wanted to talk about economic development, or foreign exchange, or whatever these various problems were with respect to Latin America, everybody else just wanted to jump all over him about the Dominican Republic. And what would happen is that we would have these terrible fights all day, and then in the evening in the bar, Jack and some friend of his from the State Department would be off in one corner of the bar and everybody else would be all the way over at the other side and we never got to this room at all. The whole thing just broke up in a kind of shambles in the middle of the second day, and it was, I think, not one of the most successful things that have been done here at Airlie House.

And the other thing I noticed is that on your bulletin board here it says "Asilomar, November 10th to 13th." And I asked Larry, I said, "Is everybody going from here to Asilomar, be there tomorrow or the next day?" And he said, "No, that's next year." And I thought that this was a great thing I had discovered, which is get involved in oral history and it's just a floating conference! I mean, you get to Asilomar tomorrow or the next day, and by the 14th of November out at Asilomar it says on the bulletin board, "Woods Hole, November 16th to 20th." You know, these days it's a good way to live!

Well, I wanted to talk a little bit about history and some recent history, how these things are reported and perceived. I don't know that it's going to be very scholarly or even, as your Chairman suggested, that there's much possibility that it will leave you with much of a glow; you may have to produce that artificially afterward. But I think that from my brief experience as an interviewee in an oral history project -- two as a matter of fact; I've been interviewed now by what we at least call "the Johnson people" and by "the Kennedy people," and so I guess I'm involved in both those projects -- but also from my experience as a press secretary and as a journalist in linear journalism and in electronic journalism over the last year, I have a couple of things that I'm anxious to say, things that I'm fascinated with, and I hope you will help me with asking some questions during the latter part of this hour.

Larry talked about Clark Mollenhoff and that raises an interesting question which is the controversy that's now going on -- just to take it out of its historical context -- the question of whether Judge Clement Haynsworth is going to be confirmed or not as a Justice of the Supreme Court and, if so, what it means and, if not, what it means. Now, it may turn out to be not much more than an

interesting footnote in somebody's thesis thirty or forty years from now but, on the other hand, it seems to me that it has implications for the entire Nixon Administration and I wonder how it will be that we could ever pull together all the threads of this thing. Now, Mollenhoff is an interesting fellow. He's a journalist of long experience; an investigative reporter. Comes into the Administration for what reason I don't know, but I would imagine to protect the Administration against appointing people who turn out, upon examination, not to have been worthy of appointment, or to run down incipient scandals in the Administration or whatever it might be, and I think it's a useful idea, I suppose, to have a fellow in there whose responsibility it is. But since he's been appointed he's taken on quite another role, which is as a defender of a fellow whose credentials have been called into question, and now you get a slightly different situation. What are the ethics, for example, of a man who carries the title of "Deputy Counsel to the President," and who clearly speaks for the President on some matters and particularly on the matter of the ethics and propriety of the conduct of Judge Haynsworth? What are the ethics of a man in that position going, as he did last Wednesday night armed with the early editions of the Washington Post, to a meeting of the Sigma Delta Chi, which is a journalism fraternity which I think talks a lot about freedom of the press; I've never been to one of their meetings but I believe that's one of their preoccupations. And there he spends an hour and what does he do, he denounces two journalists, neither of whom are present; one of whom is I! Now, it's not without its amusing aspect but it's not without an overtone of threat to the independence of the press. I mean, I suppose it's perfectly all right for one journalist to attack another, but I wonder what is involved when a high official, when a high White House official, uses a public forum to attack individual journalists, not for inaccuracy but for personal faults; you know, for not being honest and not paying attention to facts and so forth. I mean, I'm more than willing to have anyone say, "Wrong," but, beyond that, it seems to me certain other questions are raised. But in any event, we'll have it out at 9:30 Tuesday night on Channel 9 and see where those matters take us.

Now, I also want to mention one other thing I saw in The New York Times today which I think has some bearing on your profession as well as mine. I saw a story that President Johnson -- it was kind of a follow-up story about what President Johnson and his colleagues who are still with him are doing down there in Texas and about old documents they are going over and so forth, and it talked about the enormous number of documents and files and so forth that President Johnson took with him when he left the White House. And it pointed out that Presidents, historically,at least recently, have been conceded that prerogative and that papers of that kind are conceded to be the personal property of the President rather than the property of the United States, and so when they leave the White House they take them with them. And they put them, presumably, in libraries and all kinds of valuable history is done as a result. And it talked about all these papers and then it said that Mr. Johnson had an appraisal made of their value before he was about to give them to the University of Texas and that the value put on them was 40 million dollars, and that

he was going to make that gift to the University of Texas and presumably take a 40 million dollar charitable deduction! Well, that's what it said! Now, you can give those papers over twenty years and take a two million dollar charitable deduction over twenty years and never pay income tax again. And the thing that interests me, and not specifically referring to the Johnson papers because I assume that is the pattern -- it has been the pattern with respect to the Roosevelt papers and the Truman papers and the Eisenhower papers and, I suppose to some extent, the Kennedy papers, although there you're not dealing with a man who has a continuing situation; in other words, there was a question of the estate and I suppose the taxation problem was different. But nevertheless, the principle has been the same, I guess, since the Roosevelt Administration, and I just wonder and I'd be interested to hear what any of you have to say on it later. Conceded that the people of the United States perhaps were wise and <u>are</u> wise in saying that those papers are the property of the President when he leaves office in his personal capacity, to deal with as he sees fit. But is it then appropriate for that President, in effect through the income tax deduction, to sell those papers back to us, and particularly at those prices! I just wonder whether groups such as yours and maybe historians generally ought not to think about that and to perhaps think about some exception to the Internal Revenue Code in terms of the charitable deduction as available to public officials who, in the first place, are permitted to take the property from the people when they leave office, and who perhaps then ought not to be permitted to sell it back, because that's what it amounts to.

Now,on the question of news, I want to tell you one thing about written news and then I want to talk about television news. We'll talk first about written news. Very early in my association with Senator Robert Kennedy we were out on a campaign airplane -- I guess going out to California or somewhere else in the campaign of 1966, the off-year elections in 1966 -- and an extraordinary number of Washington newspapermen from all of the leading newspapers and magazines that are represented here -- they're not just the local newspapers but the out-of-town ones as well -- were along. There must have been thirty or forty press people, including one young fellow from <u>The New York Times</u> whose first political assignment it was and who since has developed into a first-rate political writer for the <u>Times</u> in New York. And he sat with me for the first leg of this trip and he was quite struck by his colleagues. He said to me, "You know, it's just <u>marvelous</u> being on this airplane and covering this campaign. It's the first political story I've ever done." And he said, "I look around," (and he started to name all these famous people, all these journalists) and he said, "and here they all are. The leading political journalists of Washington." He said, "Every one of them is here; it's just marvelous because those guys really know everything that's happening in Washington!" And I agreed. And then I got to thinking about it and suddenly I had what James Joyce called an "epiphany," a kind of sudden blinding insight that you get very rarely, at least I do, and it struck me that he was absolutely right but not for the reason that he meant. He was right in this sense, that those people gathered in that airplane or gathered at the bar at the National Press Club, or wherever else you can find them all in

one place, they do indeed know everything that is happening in Washington because if they don't know it it isn't happening. And the more you think about it, the more correct it is and, in a way, the more sinister it is. I mean, if a political event can happen in Washington, and I assure you that it can, and it is not perceived or not perceived in the right way — in the way in which it happened — by the chief political writers of the Washington Post and The New York Times and the Washington Star and the Chicago Daily News and the New York Daily News and the Atlanta Journal and the AP and the UPI and Time and Newsweek and NBC, ABC, and CBS — and I assure you that it's very easy to fool all of those people or simply to do something that they haven't the time to see or lack the time to apply their experience to see it -- but if something happens and they don't know about it, then it didn't happen and it will not be reported as having happened. And twenty years from now or thirty years from now or a hundred years from now — particularly a hundred years from now — you want to go back and find out what happened that day, that thing is gone unless, I suppose, somebody remembers to tell some oral history interviewer, in which case you have what the gamblers call "a saver" at least.

But that fascinated me — that notion — and I began looking at all kinds of news events and I began looking at the way in which things are covered, and these people tend to share their information -- they read each other. And why not, because they're all as convinced as the young man from The New York Times was that these people know everything that's happening in Washington, and there's sort of a constant effort to catch up and to get yourself as au courrant as the fellow from Time or Newsweek or whichever you aren't. But it makes for a rather insular kind of reporting. It makes for an acceptance of standards of political behavior that are rarely re-examined and that go on from Administration from year to year and from Administration to Administration and, indeed, from generation to generation without re-examination. Politicians come to this town, or they emerge in this town, or they come and they leave, or they win elections, or they lose elections, and they are...they have to be Northern liberals, or Southern conservatives, or Southern liberals, or Southern moderates, or black militants, or white moderates, or whatever it is they are — big-city machine people, or Administration stalwarts, or old New Dealers -- and they are very quickly put into those boxes. And if they perform in some way that doesn't meet all of the boundaries of that box that they're in, then they're eccentric, or they're highly independent, or they have no effectiveness, or whatever it is, but they're always judged in terms of how they perform within the box into which they've been put and there's very little thought that goes on about whether maybe those lines ought to be changed. And I think that occasionally people come along whose force of personality and whose impact is so great that they simply will not fit in those boxes, and then people begin to re-examine it a little bit but by then it's usually too late.

I think, as a matter of fact, that the case of Robert Kennedy probably is one of those conspicuous examples, but it was far too late by the time people finally got around to looking and seeing that, indeed, it was very hard to put him into any of those boxes.

But it has not, so far as I can see, convinced anyone that the boxes were the wrong boxes in the first place, and now we're back and there have been a few new boxes; black militant is a new box. But there it is, and people who emerge get put in it and then when they don't fit the required behavior patterns, then they're somehow dismissed or, as I say, regarded as eccentric, or else they say, "Well, we were all wrong about that fellow; he's changed." Imagine the evolution of X from, you know, Northern liberal to border-state moderate, but it may very well be that he hasn't changed at all. So that this whole notion of perception of news in Washington gets right down to the question of the leaders of Washington journalism and what they put out and what goes.

You see, they're operating under a number of terrible restraints -- time is perhaps the major one. The United Press and the Associated Press must get out an overnight story on the Haynsworth controversy, or the Green Berets' story, or the Defense budget, or somebody's speech, or whatever it is, and they must get it out by a certain time and that story will serve, probably, as the lead Washington news story in 85 percent of American newspapers the next day. And that fellow simply hasn't got time to go back in his own files or worse, to go back into somebody else's files, or to read a book, or to listen to somebody, or even to check on his own hunches and his own judgments about what the Northern liberals did to the Southern conservatives, or the Administration stalwarts and the Republican independents; it's all he can do to count, and sometimes he doesn't count right, and that's to be excused. So that it seems to me that the whole question of history in our politics -- particularly here in Washington -- is one that depends a great deal on what it is that all these people who know everything really know. And they know what they know, but if they don't know it, then we're all in trouble, assuming that it happened. And I think the coverage, for example, of the moratorium and the coverage -- the anticipatory coverage -- of the marches that are coming up next week, and I suspect the coverage of them when they happen will be a pretty good example of this because everybody now has firmly fixed in their minds who all these people are, and the people who are going to be marching on November the 15th are militants and everyone knows how militants act. And the result is that the actions that will take place on the 15th that are appropriately militant will be reported and the ones that take place that are not appropriately militant will be somewhat <u>less</u> earnestly reported because they will be regarded as aberational, and I think that's a grave danger.

We'll see, but I suspect that what we see happening there, and the general willingness of the press to assign to the President what he claimed last Monday night, which is the "great silent majority," is interesting as well. It is now an absolute article of faith in Washington among far too many people that there is something called a great silent majority which is scorned by the chic establishment intellectuals and which is, in fact, great and silent and a majority, and what it does is support the President on Vietnam. Well, there's no evidence to support that. There clearly are people who support the President on Vietnam, and depending on how the issue is framed and how

the poll is done, it might turn out to be a majority. But that it consists of these people that have been carved out who represent probably about 85 percent of the people in the country, there's simply no evidence at all. We saw less than two weeks apart a Gallup Poll which told us that 58 percent of the people in this country support the Goodell Plan to get out of Vietnam lock, stock, and barrel in a year -- the works, five hundred thousand of them, out, gone, beginning now! And we also saw a poll which showed us that 58 percent of the people -- and this was after the October moratorium -- support the President's position on Vietnam. Now, you try and make a great silent majority out of either of those, or even a miserable loud majority, and it just isn't going to work, but the ground rules have been staked out and everybody understands now how it is. And how it is is that if you went to an Ivy League college and you have good modern art reproductions on your wall and you read the New Yorker, or worse, and you support Senator Fulbright, and you watch educational television, and read a lot, you're in the minority. And what's going to overwhelm you is a bunch of people who drink more than one beer and bowl, and own a lawn mower and a half, and read condensed books in the Reader's Digest, and they all support the President. Well, there is no evidence of any kind to support either of those propositions, but there it is. And more and more our day-to-day history is going to be written in those terms and I don't know who's going to turn it around. I don't know who is going to write the history, whether day to day, or week to week, or year to year, or generation to generation, that is going to go back behind those assumptions and point out that this happened somewhere around the first of November as the result of some traditional journalism -- the way in which our events are recorded.

I think it's a very, very serious problem and history is a very fragile thing, and these days it depends on what's going to be recorded in that pluperfect final of The New York Times and what ABC and NBC and CBS are going to keep by way of videotape and film and how they're going to make it available. And beyond that, I don't know what we're going to have and I don't know how it's going to be written, but I suspect that it will turn out that, sure enough, at that point in 1969 there emerged that great silent majority and there isn't going to be anything you can do about it except, I suppose, if some of us are still alive, say, "No, it wasn't that way." I mean, we have a sort of on-going research project -- Tom Braden and I -- to which we really only add problems every day; we've yet to come up with any solutions. But what it consists of is writing down a number of things that begin with: How many really.... And we've got a list now and we're going to try to find out what they are and I don't know if we'll ever find out the answer, but we want to know, for example, how many stockbrokers actually committed suicide in the late twenties and early thirties by jumping out of high buildings in New York. You read the history of that period and you listen to people talk about that period, you get the feeling that it was a common everyday occurrence. I suspect the number is probably less than five! We want to know how many people were selling apples. We want to know how many college students actually went through the business of eating a lot of goldfish in the thirties because I have a feeling that's a very small number too, but you will find that that's what all of us did. I mean,

if you went to college in the thirties you ate a lot of goldfish! And I guess the reason you did was a reaction because your father had sold apples! And you wait and see, it's going to turn out that there was this great silent majority.

The TV problem, it seems to me, is much more serious because I believe that somewhere in the middle 1950's -- maybe closer to the late 1950's -- a very significant time was passed in this country; if it weren't for Meg Greenfield, I'd say it was some kind of watershed, but I see none of you read the Washington Post this morning -- that's your problem out here! And that point in time was when Americans, for the most part, ceased to read their morning newspaper in order to find out the news, that is, when they ceased to be astonished, or surprised, or pleased, or whatever it was, by seeing for the first time in the newspaper the major events that had happened the day before. That's no longer true. If you care about those things, by the time you pick up your morning newspaper you know what happened yesterday; you've seen it on television, you've heard it on radio, or somebody who saw it on television has told you about it. If you care about the National Basketball Association, you know those scores. Obviously, you do not pick up a newspaper to see that the astronauts landed on the moon the night before. But you don't even do that; you don't even discover in your newspaper that General Abrams is rumored about to resign, or Henry Cabot Lodge is going to leave, or that the peace talks yesterday in Paris drew another blank, or whatever it is. The things that you're interested in you know about almost as soon as they happen and everybody else knows about them, too, all over the country and, indeed, all over the world, so that you pick up your newspaper for some other purpose.

You pick it up to see what so-and-so says about it, or to see the rest of the details, or to find out why it happened, or precisely how, or what it may lead to, what are the second-day leads, what are the other possibilities. But on a day in which the Senate takes a vote on an ABM or an amendment to the defense bill, or whatever it is, or the President says he's going to reform the draft, or Mel Laird says we're going to cut so much out of the defense budget, or there's a fight about some particular defoliant; if you care about it, you know and you don't wait to get the newspaper the next day to find it out. So that the television news is extremely important not only as a carrier of news but as a carrier of what people are doing about it. And I don't think we see television in that "messenger" capacity enough. Senator McClellan and his Committee were very worried earlier this year about campus riots and campus demonstrations, and they reached the conclusion -- and an easy one to reach just from the facts of the demonstrations -- that there must be some kind of conspiracy; these people must be getting together because they're all doing the same things, the same signs are appearing and the same causes and the same techniques of activity and, indeed, the same targets. Well, he doesn't have to worry about a conspiracy, I don't believe. The messenger is David Brinkley, or Walter Cronkite.

I mean, if you're worried at the University of Wisconsin about ROTC and you want some suggestions on how to handle it, watch the news and you'll see what they're doing at San Francisco State or

Yale, and you can copy their signs because they're there for about thirty seconds right there in front of you. And that's why, I think, you find that no longer does this go on even just at Yale and Columbia and Chicago and Wisconsin and Berkeley, it goes on at Southern University and even, I suppose, one day General Beadle State College! And the reason is that everybody's got a television set and this whole life-style of political activity is carried all across the country in a few seconds. And I don't know, I suppose many of you may move around among a lot of college campuses; I do. I speak at a number of them and I find that whether I'm at Washington State University or Southern Methodist or Eastern Illinois or some tiny community college in the middle of Montana, the questions the students ask are invariably the same and they are just as sophisticated. They know pretty much the same things and they have pretty much the same point of view -- conservative students, moderate students, liberal students, radical students, black students, white students, students who cross back and forth among these lines, kids who are worried about the draft, kids who are worried about marijuana, kids who are worried about the war, about the economy, whatever it is -- the information they all have is pretty much the same, and it is a great deal more than it was ten years ago. And that's television and it has that enormous impact and it is indeed the news-giving force, the major one at least. Now, we get the newspapers for other kinds of news; we want to know about our local tax rate or what's at the movies, or what the prices are at the store, or public announcements of various kinds, or even, in what is really the most self-devouring kind of activity, we buy the newspapers to see what's on television so that we won't have to read the newspaper, or at least so we won't have to buy it! And that has its impact too. Every time there's a newspaper strike, the circulation of that newspaper, when it resumes, rarely gets up above 75 or 80 percent of what it was before.

Television then is a terrible problem in that sense because it is so sharply limited, much more limited than the newspaperman we were talking about. Now, I spent a little time working for a television network last year. I worked for NBC for I think it was six days! But I learned a lot in those six days and I learned a lot in the two weeks before those six days which I spent up in New York. And I watched the Huntley-Brinkley Show get put together four or five days and it's a fascinating thing and I think people who are concerned with news and with how our people perceive the news and how we get our ideas of what's happening to us ought to do that -- ought to understand what that process is. The producer of the Huntley-Brinkley Show, and I assume I am talking as well about the producer of the Cronkite Show and the producer of the Frank Reynolds Show because they are all good men and they're all experienced and decent and educated and informed and driving themselves crazy trying to do an impossible job in the time they have available, and I'm ready to assume that these three producers are the three best men in the country. And none of them is biased or has an axe to grind, and their problem is how to figure out what news to put in that half hour that's available.

Well, the first thing to remember is that a half an hour is 22 minutes, assuming that it's a good half hour because if it's a good

half hour that means it will be sold completely and that means eight minutes of commercials, so now you've got 22 minutes of news. Now the producer of the Huntley-Brinkley Show has a marvelous exhibit on the wall of his office and it consists of a blown-up page one of The New York Times -- any New York Times page one. And then he has taken the script of a Huntley-Brinkley Show -- any Huntley-Brinkley Show, chosen at random -- and he has had it reset in the same size type as The New York Times and he has put it into columns and then he has overlaid it on top of this front page of The New York Times that he has. And The New York Times has eight columns on page one and a Huntley-Brinkley Show runs a column and a half, and that's it! And he has that up there to demonstrate constantly to himself that what The New York Times takes sixty-four pages of eight columns to tell you, he's got a column and a half to tell you about for each day. Now, The New York Times obviously has some ads, so maybe it isn't sixty-four pages, maybe it's a total of forty pages, but at forty pages it's 320 columns and he's got one and a half, so he's beat 320 to 1½ already. Now, obviously, he's got film so it isn't all talk, but nevertheless, that's a pretty good demonstration of the problem. In 22 minutes he's talking about maybe ten real news stories.

So he comes in in the morning and he sits down and around ten o'clock he looks at what he has. He has the AP budget, which is the list of things that somebody in Washington and New York at the Associated Press thought were going to be the most important things that were going to happen the next day; so he's got that. And he's got that morning's New York Times and he's got that morning's Washington Post and any other newspaper he wants. He sees where his television crews are and they are where his regional offices think the important news is going to be happening. And he sees what other visual aids he's got and that's it. And so around eleven o'clock he tentatively writes down what he thinks the show would be if it had to go on the air then; what are going to be the ten or twelve most important stories -- he writes them down. And then the day goes on and it turns out that that earthquake was not terribly important and there's a hurricane somewhere that comes in and that is a story; the President suddenly has a press conference, that's a story. A press conference that looks like it was going to be a story turns out not to be, or worse, there's a bad film; it was important -- the guy said it was important -- but it doesn't look good, so that goes out. Maybe there's a pretty good riot with some good signs, that comes in; if it's a bad riot with no signs, that goes out because he's thinking, to be sure, about film values as well as he is about news values and he's right to do so. Because if he gives you 22 minutes of what he thinks is important but it isn't interesting visually, you'll go to the other channel where it is interesting visually. And he's got some Vietnam stuff and he puts that in, and things come out and go in and other things drop out, and finally by three o'clock he's got eight or nine stories, and then maybe something comes in late and something else gets dropped, and by five-thirty he's got to go with what he has, and that's the news that day.

That's it for the people who watch his network because, as you know, if they watch his network they can't watch either of the

others in most cities; we're very lucky in Washington, you can watch both but I don't think very many people do. But in most cities you have your choice, you can watch ABC, NBC, or CBS and that's it. You've got a half an hour, that is to say 22 minutes, that is to say you have 12 stories, that is to say you've got what that fellow thinks are the 12 most important best visual stories that he has that day to tell you about, and if he doesn't tell you about it, you don't know about anything else. And the chances are you won't find out about it in your newspaper because they're going through the same thing and they get that same AP budget.

Now, that poses a set of very serious problems for the day-to-day chronicler, the journalist. I mean, what is he going to do in terms of theories of what's happening about this Administration -- what the hell is this Southern strategy; is it working; is it real; is there such a thing; how was it figured out, when all the time he's got these day-to-day things coming down the road that he suspects may not be the news but which he has no way of determining, really, whether it is news or not and which, in any event, he knows damn well the American people think is the news and therefore is. So how do you handle it? Do you try to go behind it? Do you develop in the face of everything else your own theory and say, "By God, I'm going to stick to mine and I'm going to pick what I think are the most important stories and talk about them."

You try it; you don't get in eighty newspapers that way. Every once in awhile we do a column about Latin America -- I don't know why, I guess just to keep the franchise -- and every time we do it, right away a rocket comes immediately from the syndicate office in Los Angeles saying, "Do you have to do that?" because nobody wants to read about it. I think it was John Gunther who said that Americans will do anything for Latin America except read about it! And it's true. And the result is that whatever goes on there is unrecorded unless it's an enormous mine cave-in or a spectacular revolution; then we say that General so-and-so's out and Colonel so-and-so's in and then everybody goes back to reading about countries where they have relatives. At least that's my theory about why nobody wants to read about Latin America! Latin America is a very declassé part of the world and nobody has any real connection with it among people who decide what goes into newspapers because they buy them. In any event, I think those state some of the physical dimensional problems of how we get news and perceive news and record news, and I suppose ultimately perceive and record history.

I want to tell you just for a moment what I think is the result of this; as a direct result of this kind of perception, what I think the Nixon Administration is doing because I think they're very good television watchers and very good readers. I think they understand what people are seeing and what people have been told and I think they're operating on the basis of that. I'll just give you a quick summary of what I think is going on in the short run because of this perception of news. I think the President decided very early, probably before he took office, that whatever else he was going to do he was going to be as different from Lyndon Johnson as he could be

because I think he interpreted the whole year of 1968 as the repudiation of whatever it was people thought Lyndon Johnson was. And he looked at Johnson and I think he said to himself, "All right, what is it that was widely believed about this man?" And, of course, there were two things that everybody agreed about with respect to Johnson because you got it constantly from the media. One is -- and a very simple one -- that he was a Texan, and everybody believed that. And the second is that he was a very fine politician, very gifted politician. Well, whatever they say about Johnson, he's a great politician and you either liked it or didn't like that.

But the fact is, of course, he was neither. He was not a Texan at all, he was a Washingtonian, and in a way that may have been the most central fact about him in assessing the way in which he responded to issues and the way in which he conducted himself. He lived in Washington for the 35 years of his life before he left the Presidency. Came here in 1933 as Assistant to a Congressman, and stayed as a Congressman and a Senator and a Majority Leader and a Vice President and a President, and we've never had a President before who was a Washingtonian. And he looked at everything through a Washingtonian's eyes. It was important and mattered and, indeed, nothing else was important or mattered except that box score of legislation -- is it through the Committee; is it through the House; is it over to the Senate; what's the Conference Committee doing; what are the amendments; has it been signed by the President; it has, then it's law and that problem is solved, let's go on to the next problem. But the country doesn't operate that way. The country understands that when a bill is passed and signed that doesn't solve the problem, that just states it. And then the question is what do we do with it and how do we deal with it and how do we implement it or how do we fight it or resist it or fall back or go with it or go against it; but he never understood any of that. Washingtonian, pure and simple -- not a Texan; a Texan would have known better!

The second thing was he was not a skilled politician. He was a skilled parliamentarian. He was a legislative politician. He was a Capitol Hill politician. He knew how to get votes in the Senate and he knew how to get them in the House and he knew how to trade them off. And he knew how to appoint a guy to a committee that he wanted and cash it in later with a vote somewhere. He knew all of those things, all of those things that go to make up that wonderful mechanism we have that somehow moves amid all the compromising and dealing and yielding and not yielding. And he was a master at it, but it didn't make him a politician. He didn't know anything about politics. Party organization disinterested him. He didn't want to know about how the political organizations were set up around the country and what he knew he didn't like. And it was nowhere better demonstrated than at the convention in 1960 where he <u>seriously</u> thought he was a candidate for the Presidency. Because he figured if Senator so-and-so was for him, that meant he had that state's delegates. And he got to Los Angeles and discovered that Senator so-and-so had a half a vote and the other twenty-nine and a half had long since been sewed up by somebody else.

Well, Richard Nixon is none of those two things. He's not only not a Texan, he's not really from anywhere! Now, I don't mean that in any pejorative way. He's probably the first President we've had who is really not identifiably from anywhere and doesn't care to make an identification with anywhere. He's not really a Californian now and he doesn't stress that. He lived in New York a long time. And when he was here in Washington, he didn't like it. President Eisenhower stayed here and Richard Nixon sort of ran the Republican Party. I don't think there's a country in the United States where he hasn't been to a Republican dinner and met people and talked to the county organization and the postmaster and the head of the Chamber of Commerce and walked along those streets and learned what kinds of problems those people have politically. He knows the politics of this country. But he's not <u>really</u> from anywhere. He's from California, he's from New York, and now I think he's got legal residence in California. But you remember that column of Art Buchwald a couple of weeks ago in which he said that everyone in Washington was very pleased because the President had decided to make Washington the site of the "autumn White House!" Well, it was funny, but it was kind of true; it was kind of true. Mr. Nixon doesn't like Washington particularly. He has not accepted Washington's values. He's not particularly concerned with the politics of the Hill. He's concerned with the politics out in the country, and he's right; that's how you get elected. You don't get very many favorable editorials in the <u>Washington Post</u>, but you get elected. And you don't look very good in that box score where they start checking off what's happening in the Appropriation Committees, but you can use that too, politically, out there. And you don't worry about that record and getting all those bills passed, and God knows, you don't worry about Home Rule! And the result is that his strength is elsewhere and his concerns and interests are elsewhere.

Take the simple question of Vietnam polls and then we'll just go to a slight second question about the presence of the President. Here Lyndon Johnson used to look at these polls that showed that 56, 58, maybe even 60 -- well, usually less than 60 -- percent of the American people supported his policy in Vietnam. And so he said, "Well, I don't care about these protests because if 58 percent of the people support me then I'll be re-elected." Now, no man who really knew American politics and tried to analyze it would have said that because it involved a significant misreading of the 1964 elections. The 1964 elections should have told Mr. Johnson what they told most people, because he got 60 percent of the vote and Barry Goldwater got 40 percent of the vote, and what it should have told him was that that meant that there were 40 percent of the people in this country who were going to vote Republican no matter what! That's really what that election said. In other words, 40 percent of the people were not going to vote for Lyndon Johnson no matter who the Republican candidate was. Now, he looks at the polls that show that he has 58 percent of the people behind him in Vietnam and he should have understood, but never did, that what that meant was that that 58 percent, that included 40 percent of the people who had already told him they weren't going to vote for him under any circumstances. Which meant that he had the support of between 15 and 20 percent of his own party, which turned out to be correct. When the Primary elections of 1968 came along and he realized that, that was the end.

Now, Richard Nixon makes no such misreading. He looks at the election returns of 1968 and what they tell him -- because he got 43 percent of the vote and Hubert Humphrey got 43 percent and George Wallace got most of the rest -- what they tell him is that 43 percent of the people in this country are probably going to vote Democratic no matter what and are lost to him and they include whole chunks and blocks of the voting population. And if he's going to get a majority, he's not going to go around relying on polls that include that group; he's going after the others. He can get up to 56 percent and leave that group alone and that's an overwhelming victory. Now, with that, I think I will abandon my formal remarks and see if anyone has any questions.

LOUIS STARR: How do you feel about News of the Week in Review, Newsweek, Time, and The National Observer? Are they too victimized?

FRANK MANKIEWICZ: Yes, yes, I think they are, more than they have to be. I like the thing that Newsweek seems to be getting toward, which is more interpretive writing and more columnists and maybe even some columnists whose names don't appear. But even there, they're the same people. Hugh Sidey and Tom Wicker -- one of them writes daily and one of them writes weekly -- but they're drinking from the same tainted well and it's just a little easier for a man who writes once a week, but it is not enough of an answer to say that you've got to rely on weekly journalism to get it. After all, they're watching the same television shows. I'm not full of answers, I'll tell you, freely. I don't know. But I don't believe that merely weekly journalism is an answer.

GOULD COLMAN: I thank you for raising this question of Lyndon Johnson and the 40 million dollar tax writeoff because I think it has a decided importance for this organization. I realize that Texans think big but even by Texans' standards a deduction of 40 million is still a lot of money. There are several implications. This afternoon one of our colleagues, Mr. Berkeley, Archivist at the University of Virginia, raised the question of tax deductions for oral history interviews. Although no person that we have interviewed has ever raised this question, the principle is well established that manuscript collections are subject to a tax deduction, and since we generate manuscripts, I think it's clearly applicable in our work. Now, whoever was bargaining with Lyndon Johnson's man did a poor job of it because there's every indication that Lyndon Johnson was sufficiently anxious to have those records publicized that the items could have been obtained for a lower valuation. One of the things that we have going for us is that people do not want to be lost in history. They know very well that their bodies are going to get tucked away, but they want their memories to go on. What are the implications of this kind of inflated tax writeoff for our work?

FRANK MANKIEWICZ: I would think disastrous because the Congress is going to get hold of it and their typical response is likely to be to cut the whole thing off.

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG: I have an idea that one antidote to the kind of easy labels you were talking about would possibly come from some of the work by the sensitive political historians who study the past and come up with new formulations that might be, as it were, read into press accounts. Do sensitive journalists who are working under this pressure really read the best history that they might in connection with getting new concepts?

FRANK MANKIEWICZ: Well, I would think some do. I know some journalists who are among the best-read people I know and I know a lot of academic people who are extremely well-read, but, of course, a lot of them don't. And I suppose you could get a difference of opinion as to what the best historical works are. I've got four or five books sitting on a table right now that I suspect you and I would agree are the best historical works that could be read in terms of an understanding of what's going on now, and when I'm going to get to them I have no idea. I may not be one of those sensitive analysts anyway, but if I'm going to be, I've got to read those books, you're quite right. And another answer, I suppose, is to come to the profession better prepared. People come to political reporting through police reporting, or through any number of other avenues, many of which have turned out to be quite adequate and, indeed, admirable. Schools of journalism maybe ought to pay some attention to this because more and more they're becoming the "farm systems" for the newspapers and the television networks. The day of the high school graduate who goes down to the newspaper and gets a job and works his way up to chief political correspondent is pretty well gone. It's more likely now to be the fellow with the liberal arts A.B. who's got maybe a couple of years on the outside somewhere doing something perhaps unrelated to journalism and then a year in journalism school and then onto a newspaper, and he's better prepared but I suspect he's not as well prepared as he ought to be.

SAUL BENISON: You mention television as sitting on a fantastic archive of material and that raises a number of problems. Television is not only something that you see, it is also a repository, and a strange thing about this repository, as far as I know, is that it's completely unorganized. And secondly, it is not only television that shows us news; television is, in fact, a huge educational complex that includes publishing, as well as the New York Yankees and subsidiary newspapers, and I wonder if you would talk about some of these implications.

FRANK MANKIEWICZ: Well, I will tell you some terrible facts, not just implications, about it. The news shows that you see every night are not being preserved anywhere. And if you want to go back and see the Huntley-Brinkley Show of the day the Tet offensive began or if you want to test the hypothesis which a great many people hold that public opinion concerning the war in Vietnam was turned around in the spring of 1968 by television coverage of the war, it's going to be pretty hard to document because those shows don't exist any more. It costs $155 for the amount of video tape necessary to keep a Huntley-Brinkley or a Cronkite show in an archive and they can save $155 if they don't keep it because they get to use the tape again. So that the only thing that is preserved of those shows is the portions of it that are on

film plus the scripts, but that's not quite the same thing. You are no longer able, for example, to go back and see the expression on Walter Cronkite's face as he told you about the American Marines fighting in Hue while one block away the South Vietnamese troops were looting. You can read the script, but it's not quite the same thing and if you want to record the impact on the American people of that show, you can't really; you can't see it again. You're going to have to tell them about it from the way in which you remember it or the way in which somebody else remembers it. So that that's a terrible problem just to begin with -- those news shows are not preserved in the way, for example, that The New York Times is preserved. And one reason is because they're run for profit, and it is a lot to ask in the interests of the historical preservation.

It's a lot to ask the network to spend several hundred thousand dollars a year of stockholders' money just to preserve a library of these events. But somebody's going to have to do it pretty soon or we're going to continue to lose a great deal of immediacy and a great deal of actuality that we will need, it seems to me, to reconstruct this period on any kind of reasonable historical basis. Now, I don't know, maybe the Congress ought to be turning its attention to that rather than to public television. I don't know. Or maybe they ought to be turning it to that instead of an awful lot of other things that cost a lot of money that have nothing to do with television. But certainly you've raised a problem, which is the networks are private -- they're RCA, and their stock has a quotation every day and people buy and sell it and the stock options that are granted to the executives depend for their value upon the price of the stock every day. So it's certainly in their interest to see that the stock goes up. The stock goes up when you spend less. That's a very simple statement of one of their problems. But there are also, in addition to being publicly held companies for profit, they're public institutions in a very real sense, as much as any library or publishing house, and indeed, some of them are also publishing houses, so that maybe that's something else you ought to be turning your attention to to bring whatever force you can bear as well as your colleagues in other areas of the history business. But that's a very tough problem you raise, and I tell you now that it's all going down the drain just because nobody comes up with those sums of money, either altruistically within the networks or publicly as perhaps Congress maybe ought to respond, or maybe private foundations could find that an appropriate repository.

QUESTION: I'm a little bit confused with what you're arguing. On one hand you seem to say that Nixon's a smart politician because he's looking at the small counties, the boondocks where the votes are. On the other hand, you seem to be arguing about the power of the networks, what Teddy White talked about, that one mile in New York which seems to control the American mind. Isn't this a contradiction?

FRANK MANKIEWICZ: I don't think so. What the networks control is what they see in Montana and I think the President understands that very well. But then that has to be translated in political terms. After all, what the networks show the people in Montana, in a sense, is what Mr. Nixon tells them to show them in Montana -- that is to say,

by what he does. If he has a press conference, the networks will move that to Montana. If he chooses, as he did during the first ten months of his Administration, to be the precise opposite of Johnson in terms of how the Presidency is presented to the public, that will be conveyed out to the political marketplaces where he wants it conveyed. And the people in Washington may not like that very much, but he believes, and I think correctly, that people were very tired of having a lot of President around by January of this year and so he gave them very little. I mean, for five years you couldn't turn around without seeing the President! I mean, he was there plucking at your lapel, you know, and showing you things and telling you what you had to do and getting mad at you because you hadn't done other things; exhorting us all the time. Press conferences, speeches, he'd give two or three speeches a day and they'd all be on television; you couldn't see a television news show without seeing him. He was on the radio. He was in the newspaper. You look over your newspapers and think about your television for the last three or four months; at times days go by without Mr. Nixon. He's not there. He's not making news. Well, that is deliberate and that's because that's what he wants to tell them in Montana -- that he's not an active, exhorting, omnipresent President. Now, he may change that now a little bit. I think he's beginning to step up the pace a little bit. But that contrast, I think, was very strong and, I think, effective out in the country if it wasn't very effective in Washington where people complain a lot because a lot of bills aren't getting passed and there isn't a lot of Presidential leadership. Well, he's not interested in the people who complain about that; he's interested in people who, he believed, don't want a lot of Presidential leadership. I think Mr. Nixon interpreted the message of 1968 as, "leave us alone" -- not "bring us together," but "leave us alone."

JOHN STEWART: Could you give us a few of your reactions to your role as an interviewee for the Kennedy and Johnson Oral History Programs?

FRANK MANKIEWICZ: Well, that's very difficult. I've only had one interview on the Johnson project and I've had four or five on the Kennedy project from Mr. Hackman. And I wouldn't want to generalize from those, but I must say that I'm impressed with the preparation and the knowledge of the events that I'm talking about that the interviewers had. Now, in each case we talked a little bit ahead of time about what we'd be talking about next time, and I would talk and say, "Well, this is what I'll be talking about; you might want to look up this or that record or this or that document or series of documents." But I must say I'm very impressed with it and I think it's a fine way to get the facts down. Because as I say, in connection with Robert Kennedy, which is what I've been talking about mostly, I believe that the journalistic record and the electronic record is largely incomplete, and to the extent that it's complete I think it's inaccurate. So that I'm very pleased to have had at least a small opportunity to do what I believe is setting it straight. Others might not think so, but I'd like to see the totality of the thing and I suspect that it will be vastly different than a conclusion you might reach from reading the newspapers and looking at the nonexistent television tapes.

A CRITIC LOOKS AT ORAL HISTORY

Nathan Reingold

GOULD COLMAN: Dr. Reingold's credentials are indeed impressive for the job that he has taken on; B.A. and M.A. from NYU, Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania -- fine institutions all. Even more impressive, from '51 to '59 Dr. Reingold was on the staff of the National Archives, and then seven more years with the Library of Congress. Since 1966 he has been with the Smithsonian Institute, most recently as Editor of the Joseph Henry Papers. In his substantial list of publications, I am struck by the common element: to what problems and subjects can certain collections of source material be most appropriately directed? And so I presume you are about to see this skill displayed with reference to the activities that we have participated in over the last three days. Dr. Reingold.

NATHAN REINGOLD: First of all, I don't regard myself primarily as a critic of anything, and I didn't quite see why I was picked to be a critic of oral history. I realized, after a phone conversation with Pete Olch, that I had the perfect attributes for a critic of oral history -- I had never been an oral historian and I have never studied or used oral history memoirs. Having no practice in this field I was, therefore, obviously well qualified. However, I think there is no real need for critics in that sense because there is very extensive critical literature on oral history done by practitioners (much of which I'm familiar with) and which is listed in the recent excellent bibliography on oral history that many of you know, I'm sure. Pete Olch also implied to me that he wanted me to be very stern, if not nasty, and so I hope if any of you take offense, you'll blame Pete Olch, not me. I'm just doing what he told me to do. I think what he really wanted was to have someone whose principal interests and occupations have been of a more conventional kind -- historically, that is -- with using manuscript sources, look at oral history. And this is what I am; this is what I have been. I have been a grand acquisitor of manuscripts, a describer of manuscripts and a user of manuscripts in various research situations.

I do have some background that Pete Olch may not be aware of. First of all, I've done interviewing in various stages of my checkered career -- no tape, though. I've also been called upon on a number of occasions by people who wanted an outsider to look at proposals for oral history projects -- should they or should they not be given funds. So I've been in on the beginnings of some projects -- in the background, in the shadows. And I should add, finally, that

of course I'm well qualified to be a critic of oral history because some of my best friends are oral historians.

Suppose a conventional historian wanted to find out something about oral history. He would probably do what would be simple and quite conventional for him. He would go to the library, as I did, and he'd find on the shelf, in all probability, an old catalog of the Columbia University Oral History Research Office. And he would flip through, and he would come across an entry that lists one, two, three, four, five, six volumes of the oral history memoir of a lawyer and 50 pages of somebody, and 611 pages of another lawyer and 136 pages of an agriculturalist, and so on, all of which sounds very impressive. He would also, in flipping through, come across other entries. For example, an entry to 63 pages of the Proceedings on the occasion of the award of the Alexander Hamilton Medal to Richard Rogers and Oscar Hammerstein of 1956. He would also come across an entry which I'll read in its entirety: "Thomas Doane, 1825-1916, Master Mariner. Manuscript prepared by his son, Benjamin Doane. Covers three seasons coasting before going to sea in 1841; extensive voyages in North and South Atlantic, Pacific and whaling expeditions. Narrative concludes with marriage in 1852. 465 pp. Open, 1956." And that might cause him to wonder. He could go on and flip through, and he would find a 24-page speech by R.W.G. Vail to the Architectural Historical Association in 1952 about 17th century New York architecture. And flipping through again, among other things, he might note that there are 286 pages of transcripts of the talks given by guest lecturers of the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University -- no date given.

He would also, if he attended this meeting, note the obvious fact that there seemed to be all sorts of things listed as "oral history" -- psychiatric interviews, very brief talks with influential people, the preparation of multivolume memoirs prepared in close collaboration with somebody. He might have encountered team interviewing and group interviews. He might encounter people who say that, "I don't do oral history," as one man did at this platform. "What I do in the course of my research is that I occasionally talk to somebody and interview them for information which I then use in a finished product." The first thing that strikes me now, as it struck me many years ago when I first encountered oral history, is that there seems to be not <u>an</u> oral history or <u>a</u> oral history -- as you prefer -- but many, many different kinds of things which are described as oral history. When I was called upon, in the past, by foundation officials, the things that they said to me were very simple. "How do we know what it is that oral history is when so many different things are thrown at us and there seems to be no experience or standards to differentiate these from one another and to guide us in making decisions?"

In thinking about that during this meeting, it occurred to me that one of the real problems in this field -- in its development -- is quite simply that. I would say that I don't know how many oral histories there are. There should be some long-range effort to carefully define all of the ways in which sound is and can be used for various kinds of research efforts. In defining these ways, we should very carefully describe, not in a restrictive narrow manner but in a

useful and operational manner, the characteristics of each and therefore what is needed in terms of staff, in terms of preparation, in terms of equipment, and in terms of the kinds of products that you get. As long as we have many things that people loosely describe as "oral histories" -- and this is what you have, this is what's been talked about at this meeting -- there are quite a number of problems for outsiders in reacting to this. And I would say quite a number of problems for insiders in trying to figure out what it is they are going to do.

One of the big differences among these various kinds of oral histories, as I have indicated previously, is the attitudes and purposes towards what it is that you are doing. There is one class of oral history that I have no particular comment to make about as oral history -- the individuals who, as I did so, go and talk to living sources in the course of their work. It is indifferent to me, as it is to Dr. Emme of NASA, whether or not these are recorded on tape. What they are simply doing is getting materials for a conventional final product which is a history or a biography, and the oral history angle is quite incidental. It's simply the equivalent for them of going to take a book down from a shelf. The product is judged for its own sake; the effectiveness of the use of oral techniques is judged in terms of the final product and not in terms of itself. But the various other kinds of oral histories that I described are quite different. In one large group of cases, there is an explicit archival function. You are producing a record. And in the second case, you are not only producing a record for posterity or for other historians -- contemporaries of yourselves -- but you are producing a specific product, an oral history memoir which is viewed not only as a source but as a thing in itself, a distinct literary product. Of course, these two purposes are quite mixed in several of the projects. I think one of the things that has to be carefully thought of in a lot of these projects is quite simply this. Is this literally history that you are doing? Or is this a step in the writing of history, either by yourself or some future person? Or is this a documentation project?

If it is a documentation project, I wonder why some of you destroy the tapes after you've made transcriptions. If this is a documentation project, I wonder why you worry sometimes so much about getting a smooth version of your transcripts. That is, why have the subject go back over it and take out all of his errors and put in all of his second thoughts? I think also that as part of the documentation project there should be considerable thought and effort devoted to the problem of indexing these sources. I am serious in my belief that one of the things this society should work on, in cooperation with other groups, is the problem of indexing the tapes itself. Perhaps you can save the costs and bother that you have in first making transcriptions and then conventional indexing of the texts.

When I was called on in the past to look at proposals for projects in oral history, one of the things that bothered many was the problem of the objective validity of the oral history memoir. There was a very interesting session, which some of you attended, by

Dr. Musto, who is both a historian and a psychiatrist, reporting on tests done in psychiatry of the validity of oral information which would indicate serious questions about the reliability of this source. In any source you get problems of reliability; part of the way of handling these problems is to determine the reliability of the source somehow or other in order to make adjustments for its peculiarities. This society is now old enough and well enough entrenched and is, in effect, an establishment. I can speak harshly to you if I wish; ten years ago, I wouldn't because I didn't want to say anything that might frighten away some people. But you are well enough established now so that you should seriously consider sponsoring objective tests of the validity of oral memoirs that have been prepared. For example, I would find a number of well-prepared oral histories. They have to be well prepared; we're not interested in histories we all know are poor jobs to begin with. I mean texts that have been prepared by good people following good procedures. I would take a body of these, and I would set them aside, and I would find some good young graduate student or new Ph.D. who has never had anything to do with oral history -- certainly not with the preparation of these particular memoirs. I would have him read them through. I would then have him go to libraries and look at sources in print on these matters. I would have him go to historical societies and archives and look at the manuscript sources that exist, including those that were used by the oral historian. And I would have him make a very, very careful analysis of what is in the oral history memoir that is not available in the conventional sources and try to appriase in terms of human and fiscal costs whether these oral histories were worth the effort. I would be interested in whether certain kinds of information seem to be more reliably determined from oral respondents than other sources. I am interested in knowing for a wide range of subjects and a wide range of oral histories just what it is that you do or do not get from oral histories. I think this field of endeavor and the society is old enough and well enough established to take the risk of an honest outside appraisal. And the appraisal should really not be to glorify the field nor to knock it down, but aid the field by giving feedback for the preparation of better oral histories.

One of the origins of the oral history movement, as I understand it, was the desire to rectify omissions in the record. I would like to suggest to you that there may be a problem here. I am not so sure that we are not embarking on a wild-goose chase -- maybe acting under a fallacy -- if we think that we are going to have some kind of total recall and some kind of total information. The idea I find here and there, explicitly or implicitly, in the literature on oral history is that there was once in existence the total information on something, but it somehow or other has been lost, in part at least. I don't know whether any such body of information ever existed, even if you count all of the things in the minds of all of the men involved as well as information in writing. I'm not so sure that we really want to embark on programs to recreate this hypothetical total body of information.

In other words, are these documentation programs realistic to begin with? It always occurred to me that history was a very interesting subject because the complexity of human existence, going way

back, just didn't start the day before yesterday; it goes back into the Revolutionary period and way, way back before then. I'm sure, in Rome so many things were happening simultaneously and of such different orders of magnitude. People then were and are now buffetted around by so many different forces of all kinds that it is highly unlikely there ever was a total body of information, I even include the signals that may be in our brains and in our nerves. Some of the oral history literature strikes me as unrealistic for that reason.

Continuing with my mandate from Dr. Olch, I'd like to raise some questions about why conventional historians, or hypothetical conventional historians, not necessarily myself, are not overly enthusiastic about oral history. Dr. Olch said to me over the phone he thought that when the Association had conventional historians here in the past or in other situations, they were rather condescending about oral history. That is, they said, "Oh well, you get a few opinions in retrospect and the nice local anecdotes sort of thing. This is pleasant to have but obviously not really important." Well, I'm going to pick up from that point.

First of all, most historians who I know who have looked at oral history records are extremely grateful for the fact that somebody has done them. They're very happy to find such information. Historians, I think, will use any source that exists, even when they are not convinced converts to the method. They will use any technique they can. But I think almost universally among my discourse with users of oral history and in my own prejudiced reflections about it, there are some doubts about the quality of the evidence. If you look at a large body of manuscripts, ideally -- and the ideal is true in a surprising percentage of the manuscript and archival bodies -- these are not self-conscious sources. There are generally items written to serve particular purposes of the author, to make a record and what-have-you. Most of the documents that pile up in archives and libraries were created in the heat of the moment for rather mundane matters of the day and were not written consciously to make a record and to be part of historical documentation. I think someone considering the validity of oral histories will have to think very seriously about the question of the self-consciousness of the person being interviewed who knows that he is speaking to posterity, who knows that this is his chance to make a record or to set the record straight. I think you all know that if there is a contemporary letter saying one thing and an oral history saying the opposite and there are no other evidences whatsoever on this point, nine out of ten historians will take the contemporary letter. How good the oral historian has been in his work will not count, simply because of this quality of self-consciousness and the fact that the other record was done at the time and, apparently, in the heat of the moment without any conscious regard for making a record or other self-serving purpose.

Secondly, I get very annoyed by the literature that exists and the things that are said by oral historians on the reason they have to do their work. "By God, there are no records produced nowadays, and those records that are produced are so poor in quality -- the telephone being the thief of history -- that we have to make up for this

deficiency." Well, in terms of quantity, I don't see how you can say that. You just have to read about the quantities of materials going into the Presidential Libraries, the Library of Congress, the Cornell Regional History Program, the Wisconsin State Historical Society, and many others. I brought into the Library of Congress I don't know how many hundreds of thousands of 20th century documents relating to the history of science and technology. The quantity is enormous. And as for the quality of the stuff, these documents are as good as anything I've seen and used for the 19th century or the 18th century. I simply do not believe that there has been any attenuation of the written documentation. I do not believe, however, that the written documentation is complete. The written documentation has never been complete, but it exists in great profusion and sometimes in great quality. Anyone who starts out by telling me that he's doing an oral history project has to demonstrate to me that for his particular research interest there are, indeed, no records, or that the records that exist are such that he cannot get adequate information on a particular historical problem.

I would say, as a matter of fact, in terms of conventional manuscript sources, that a historian of this century is incomparably better off than a historian of previous centuries. The reasons are very obvious. First of all, literacy is widespread -- everyone writes. Second of all, it is very easy now to duplicate copies -- copies are proliferated all over the place, increasing the chance for survival. Furthermore, we are a lot more bureaucratized, which means that there are more secretaries who are very carefully putting paper in file folders and labeling them. Many of these folders, in spite of the activities of my friends in records management, are very carefully thrust away into dark corners where they are forgotten until they are taken into libraries and archives and given heavy appraisals for the Internal Revenue Service. More is being produced and the quality of it is high.

I think you only have to look at military history. Once in my past I had some involvements with military history, and I bring this up because it's a very spectacular example. There are an enormous number of records for the Civil War in the National Archives alone. No one is going to go through all of those for the study of the Civil War. The quantity increases enormously in the World War I period. I'm not so sure about quality because they were handled very poorly, I think, in the years immediately afterwards. You then come to World War II and there are lots of troubles with World War II records but there are an enormous quantity of them. Many are simply superb as documentation. As a result of the World War II experiences, when the Korean War records came in when I was at the National Archives -- both the records of civilian agencies and the records of the military agencies -- they were often superb in terms of their organization and of their quality. Not everything was there, of course.

Just to throw out a figure, I believe that over the years that I was in the Library of Congress, the Manuscript Division must have taken in something on the average of 400,000 manuscripts a year. So that no one can really say there is a general shortage. There are

not enough historians to go through all those documents. Given this large quantity of records, when I then hear of proposals to do oral histories, I get very dubious about some of the choices. Here I'm repeating what was said by many of the speakers, notably Dr. Benison. I think quite frequently people select great men, great events, or great trends because they are great, and we should study them. I am much involved with the study of a very unique individual of the 19th century. But I think it very dubious to concentrate on oral histories that are very well documented and neglect, by and large, various individuals and topics for which we have very few sources. To give one example, take the Presidential Libraries oral history programs; I think they are very hard to justify on several grounds. First of all, there are an enormous number of papers of not only the Presidents but of their staffs, of the agencies involved, and of many prominent, involved individuals. The oral historians of the Presidential Library projects I am sure, given the short time that has elapsed since the events they are concerned with and the large quantity of materials, do not have access to all of the materials that they should have, ideally, for the preparation of their interviews. Under the circumstances, from the Olympian heights that I have placed myself on, it seems society would be far better off if, instead of looking at great men and great events like this, the money would be put into organizing and describing the records or else some other kind of oral history project.

I would think -- continuing with this thought -- that it would be very useful if people got away from these great men and deliberately looked for people, trends, and events that are largely bereft of conventional documentation. And largely bereft means that you have actually checked and know for a fact, not that you think that this is a good topic and "boy, I would like to do it and I know a foundation that may give me money." I'm talking about the humble annals of the poor; I'm talking about the mass man; I'm talking about the sort of topics that do not appear in written records. For example, the sort of thing that Kinsey wrote about; those topics do not appear normally in books, or only in a few books, and rarely in manuscript sources. I think, for example, a fine kind of project is the sort of thing done by the folklorists who went out to people who did not have a written tradition and asked them to tell stories and to sing songs. I think a perfect example, from the standpoint of my remarks here, are the sort of things that the anthropologists do when they go out to preliterate peoples and ask them to sing, to play the drums, and to tell their traditions.

Having said this, I should admit to you that I know there is a great problem in doing the humble annals of the poor and mass man. By and large, our historiography is aimed at great men, great events, and great trends. We know, more or less we think, how to deal with such things in conventional histories. We can transfer the experiences of conventional histories to the preparation of our oral histories. We don't really know much about how to do this other kind of documentation. There's a real problem of methodology. There are precedents. I mentioned anthropology, a most interesting precedent because the anthropologist tries to come up with types but often ends up dealing with specific individuals. It is unlike the experiences in

interviewing of psychology and sociology which tend to put the interview format, insofar as I can judge, into something like the oral equivalent of a questionnaire in order to find either quantitative data or to reduce things to usable, manipulatable stereotypes -- in other words, to get statistical norms or to interview in terms of conceptual abstractions rather than real individuals and particular times and places. Such interviews do not deal in terms of real life and ideas of ordinary people, but they are really about the ideas of psychologists and sociologists which are applied against certain groups of test animals, human and otherwise.

Although historians are at a loss in dealing with mass man and the humble annals of the poor because of the lack of experience in dealing with conventional sources in these areas, there are books on this subject. There are people who have done such research. There also are sources that can be used which can provide the "jumping off place" for such oral histories. For example, statistical sources like census data or public health records. I'm not sure that I wholly approve or appreciate Oscar Lewis and his method for this purpose because there is something in it that is too artistic. It is a great credit to the man who is producing a work of art, but one has the feeling somehow or other that there is a kind of fictional gloss being applied. I don't know whether this is true or not, but it's so skillful and so smooth that one wonders about it. I think we need something different and something that is a <u>real</u> history of <u>real</u> people done in ways that one can compare and judge in terms of the histories done of real people who happen to be prominent.

Another reason why conventional historians, in my opinion, have reservations about oral history is the fact that a high percentage tend to be sponsored. Now, I have used quite a bit of history produced under sponsorship. I think some of them, such as the Army in World War II, the AEC history -- to mention two that I'm familiar with -- and some others, are first-rate. These are perhaps the best examples of historical research that our generation has. However, in spite of these, there are doubts, and I don't know what you can do about it. The problem here is that if you have a contract from a sponsor to do an oral history, which you then stash away (not sealed, mind you, but just sitting there), the profession at large just says, "Well, this is sponsored." They don't know whether it's good or bad, but they are suspicious. To overcome the onus that unfortunately many people attach to sponsored historical research, I think oral historians should try to produce conventional histories and biographies from these oral histories. If the conventional are good, they will allay any doubts or qualms that people may have. The real problem in sponsored history, it seems to me, is not the question of falsification -- that is, in the sense of suppression -- or of omission. It's a much more subtle thing and has, I think, raised a basic problem in appraising all kinds of oral histories, whether sponsored or not. Somehow or other the person doing the work -- the scholar -- may become a captive to his sponsor in the sense of accepting the sponsor's frame of reference. I don't know who said it once, but I keep on using it, and if someone knows who said it they should tell me quietly after the meeting: "To know is to understand, and to understand is to forgive." If you are interviewing

somebody, it seems very hard to me -- and we discussed this at one of the meetings -- that you would not, subconsciously at least, fall victim to the impact of the person -- that is, you would have to discuss the topic to some extent within the framework he himself has set up. If you try to make a confrontation with this man (and maybe that's too strong a term) -- that is, to bring him out of the framework -- this is a very risky thing because it may terminate the interview right away. If it doesn't terminate it, it may just produce a situation that's nonproductive. Furthermore, if you are doing a sponsored research piece, you may have set up a frame of reference which is a perfectly valid one and which will be perfectly useful to you in getting material but will be one that will simply never consider alternative questions. As I said earlier, the way around this — one of the ways around this -- is to produce conventional histories from the oral history sources demonstrating that you are not enthralled to the frame of reference of your sponsor or of the person you are interviewing.

I've been talking for a long time and I don't want to continue much longer, but I do want to say a few things further. First of all, I'd like to repeat my earlier call for the need for objective tests of the various kinds of oral histories, of the various methods used, of the various presuppositions involved, and of the quality of the various kinds of products. I think this is very, very necessary. And, in addition to this testing, I think that some standards, not narrow prescriptions, should be formulated. I also think that the field has become a little overly conventional. I don't think there's anything said here that I didn't hear around 1959 when I had quite a number of contacts with people in oral history. Very little, I mean, except new programs. In general, the questions, the problems, the arguments -- they're about the same. And I think we have to do some more experimentation.

I've suggested one thing -- getting away from the great man. I also suggested the business of the personal equation -- that is, the effect of dealing with the one man in his frame of reference. I know from my work on a dead man that it is extremely difficult for me not to react to the man and the personality. I think people should be involved and committed in anything they do. They should think it interesting and important and have feelings about it. But I also think that it is highly desirable that you have a kind of brutal cruelness in the way you look at things. That is, that you ask all sorts of nasty questions, and you don't take anything for granted. In effect, you must have an extreme degree of skepticism, maybe cynicism. I know that the impact of dealing with a great man can be quite impressive. I have a picture in my mind of some young oral historian who doesn't really like some distinguished elderly person, but after several hours can't help but having a grudging respect, if not fondness, for the tough old bastard.

When I was at the Library of Congress, I went to J. Robert Oppenheimer to get his papers for LC, and we had a 45-minute talk. And in the course of that talk, Oppenheimer was completely expressionless. I've always regarded his face as a mask; sort of like something

that was put on, or old leather. At one point, and one point only, did the mask slip. I knew the answer to one question that I asked because I had done a little bit of preparation, too, for this interview, as a good oral historian should. I asked him what the time coverage of his papers was, and he said, "Well, he didn't have anything before 1947." I said, "Well, where are the pre-1947 records?" He said, "Well, they were just never kept." I said, "And what about the stuff after 1947?" He said, "Well, it's not very complete from '47 to about '52 or '53; thereafter it's pretty complete." So I said, "What happened to the stuff between '47 and '53?" And then the mask slipped! His eyes smoldered as he remembered the day after the wall had been placed between him and the AEC, when the AEC security people came to the Institute for Advanced Study and went into the file room outside his study and went through his files and took everything out with any security stamp. He remembered that! Now, suppose I had to interview J. Robert Oppenheimer for an oral history. I'm not particularly fond of J. Robert Oppenheimer, and I suspect that I might end up, if I had to write an essay on him, maybe making some critical remarks. But I can't imagine having to sit with him for 10, 15, 20, 30 hours and not being very greatly affected by the experience in some way or other, maybe negatively. Maybe I'd come away hating his guts and write a thoroughly biased study from that standpoint. I don't know.

I also think -- to get away from this "great man and personal equation" bit -- that I would be very interested if those people who say that they only want to help somebody prepare an autobiography would remove themselves from the process as much as possible. I'm not sure I like this business of saying "I simply want to help somebody prepare his autobiography." It strikes me as in line with the grand journalistic tradition, you know, about some madame in the tenderloin recounting her memoirs as told to...! It seems to me that what we might do here to remove this personal equation is to stimulate the man to do the autobiography by himself, for example, by preparing a set of questions to which he could reply into a recorder and to have some kind of a feedback device. For example, I'm thinking of teaching machines and their applicability. And I think possibly that the use of some kind of teaching machine or a set of queries might be very interesting in testing validity by getting many responses to the same set of queries. I also wonder about the interview which now seems to be a very highly successful feature. That is, people know a great deal about the technology of interviewing. But I wonder whether, in dealing with the man, we couldn't make this more of an experience. I wonder, for example, about the use of pictorial materials or pictures of documents and have the man sit down, using audiovisual techniques, and show him films of the events and of the documents, and let him sit there and react to those.

Finally, I think that there is something to be said about the problem of selection of respondents which everyone keeps on coming to, at one meeting or the other. And as a collector of manuscripts, I knew that what influenced many of us and what influences many of you is nothing more than acquisitive greed. You want to have lots of interviews and to be able to say you had so many hours and so many pages. Now, even if the stuff is of high quality, there's a real

problem about the significance of these things because you don't really know where these men necessarily fit into the whole story. I mean if you take one general, that's one general; if you take one corporal, that's one corporal; one doctor, that's one doctor. It would seem to me highly valuable if there was some attempt to use a kind of statistical sampling in dealing not only with the humble annals of the poor but with people who you think are great. That is, I think that you should select people not solely because of their reputation but because you simply want to methodically get one out of every twenty ophthalmologists -- think of that oral history -- or one out of every one hundred members of Congress; or all Congressmen with certain characteristics, or something like that. Otherwise, the kind of data you have may have the quality of being interesting but requiring an entire new set of research to determine its validity. And I hope that you will react to some of these things and try them and show me that I'm wrong because I'd be delighted to learn of such experiments.

I think the nicest thing about this meeting is that I was greatly impressed by the fact that there were so many people here who are so obviously enthusiastic about oral history, who are obviously committed, and who are trying their darnedest to do a good job. Now, by analogy with my former experiences as a collector of manuscripts and other things, human beings collect all sorts of things, now and in the past. You know, books, manuscripts, pieces of china, lace, crinoline, postage stamps and oral histories, and no one knows really how good these are or what purpose is served. It's sort of silly for me to try to pass any definitive judgment. I'm sure that this group, with so many intelligent and committed people, will continue doing oral history. Somebody some day in the future is going to pass judgment on you. I foresee a time in a couple of centuries now when there'll be some person in some history department who will come across this large body of strange and mixed-up rules because that is what the literature indicates. And these oral products relate to practically everything. I think that that person is going to have a marvelous time trying to figure out what it is that you were doing and whether it was worth it all. I'm not going to try to predict his conclusions.

GOULD COLMAN: You've challenged me, thank goodness, to say that what we are engaged in is the most valid form of historical documentation that exists. I reach that conclusion by way of Dr. Reingold's question: What are we documenting? And, of course, what we are documenting is the interaction that occurs between interviewer and respondent. Our document is a record of that interaction. If we keep the tape recorder going, and if we don't mess

it up by editing, we can turn out a verbatim transcript which is far more valid than other primary source material because dating is always uncertain, authorship of manuscripts is uncertain. There are a great many uncertainties. But here we know the date, we know who was involved, and we know what was said. We have 100% validity.

Now, let me take this one step further. I was once under the impression that in oral history we are documenting events and developments in the past. Clearly, what we are documenting is not the past; we're documenting what is said in the interview.

Now, what is the importance of this distinction? We have such an incredible sense of immediacy. Let's pretend that we have an interview done in the year 1510, and they're talking about things that happened in 1492. Well, from our point of view, four hundred years away, it's minuscule -- we can learn a tremendous amount about medieval life from the valid document that we have. I thank you for raising that question of what are we documenting.

PHILLIP BROOKS: I'd like to say a couple of words about the Presidential Libraries, as you might expect. They really will have broader application because in a sense I think that I agree with most of the precautions that Dr. Reingold has issued, and he has observed that much of what has been said at this conference has been said at other conferences, but it never hurts to repeat since at least half of the people here have not been in the business very long and perhaps it's just as well to repeat these precautions. Now, this is sort of ex post facto because Nate has already abolished the oral history programs of the Presidential Libraries, but he had announced beforehand that he was going to say something about it. He has said that you have to be sure and be able to show that there is actually a lack of documentation before you can prove the worthwhileness of an oral history program and he has said that on the average historians will give more attention to the written record than they will to the oral because they know the fallibility of human memory. I question both of these hypotheses. Let me say that I certainly was impressed by Saul Benison's and Nate's desire for documentation or getting the stories of the common man and not only the great men. In the Truman Library our interest is not limited to the great men in the White House.

NATHAN REINGOLD: Well, I'd like to comment about use and validity. Any bit of information you get is valuable, and I'm not denying the fact that there are good oral histories and that they're valuable. And I even said that poor oral histories are going to be looked at and used as even poor sources of any kind are going to be used. The question is quite different, it seems to me. If you go and ask a person, well, I had a story told to me by someone who has used oral history tapes. He was interested in a particular government official who is documented by a very lengthy oral history which he went and read. Now, for that man's career there is a large personal paper collection. There also are the records of the department -- which is very large. And he said to me, "Well, it was nice reading it, but there was so much more fact and detail in the official records that obviously this is where most of my information is going to come from." I'm not saying that you shouldn't do oral history and I wasn't really pointing the finger at you, Phil, although I was sort of casting a wide net. I was really complaining about the general problem, you know. How do you use resources and where do you go at them? It occurred to me that, given all of these documentary materials, perhaps there were better ways to use resources.

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG: When I was listening to your suggestion for evaluation, my mind went back to the evaluation of historiographical techniques that the Social Science Research Council set up some thirty years ago. I don't remember enough, because it wasn't my field, about the re-evaluation of the work concerning Polish agriculture that was done, but I remember something because I knew both Walter Prescott Webb a little and Fred Shannon somewhat better. In the situation of the re-evaluation of the great plains book, the Social Science Research Council set Fred Shannon to work on The Great Plains. I came to feel then something that I've felt very deeply ever since -- that we live in such a pluralistic world from the point of view of evaluations. Walter Prescott Webb had a certain poetic sense; this was intellectual history, this was a breakthrough beyond empirical data to historic poetic truth. Shannon couldn't understand that at all. He called "intellectual history" philosophy, and he was sort of a computer man before computers. It had to be physical data or it wasn't any good, and he was very adamant that never would these two meet. And yet, they both are valuable. We'd be the poorer, obviously, if Webb hadn't done the book and, in a sense, we'd be the poorer if Shannon hadn't done the critique. How do we know what the future is going to say about evaluation, about which point of view to take? I've just read Dick Hofstadter's work about the progressive historian. My God, what a devastating critique of the idol of American historiography from his particular point of view! And so I think we need the oral history; we need the critique, but there's no one of us now who would agree on a particular perspective and certainly the future won't. And so I'm for the whole thing; I've got to be a pluralist.

SAUL BENISON: I'd like to say something about Mr. Reingold's "schrecklichkeit," which has always, as far as I know, been very, very equal. It is an extraordinary kind of "schrecklichkeit" because it makes you think, it doesn't make you afraid. The problem of evaluation is an important one and we can't put it into a corner. Yet,

I've had less faith than Mr. Reingold has in this wonderful, mythical, Ph.D. postdoctoral candidate. However, there is one thing that we can do which we haven't done, and I don't care whether any oral history project puts its best foot forward or not. But it might be a practice that oral history programs submit to historical journals at the end of a given year whichever of its products it thinks it might like to have evaluated and send it for review. Let an expert look over it; let him make a preliminary evaluation of the usefulness of a piece of work.

NATHAN REINGOLD: There's a problem with that. Since so many of the topics that are being worked on are on contemporary history, not too many other historians will know about them. There'll be very few people you could get who would really know enough on these newer areas and who would be knowledgeable about the sources. In order to do such an evaluation you have to hit on one man really who has that kind of expertise.

SAUL BENISON: That isn't completely true. If Oscar Handlin is working on a biography of Al Smith, and he goes through material at the oral history project at Columbia, he is in a position to make evaluations.

NATHAN REINGOLD: Pardon me, I don't think Oscar Handlin is. I read that book of his, and in that book he said in the bibliography that there are no manuscript sources and so he's not using any. And there were, if course, the official records in Albany and there were the papers of Robert Wagner and there were the records in Hyde Park. So I do not consider him qualified.

GOULD COLMAN: Gentlemen, I'm afraid this is the kind of thing that one can carry on indefinitely. If we find merit in Saul's point -- and personally, I do -- and we have this Association and we are seeking new functions that it can perform, and Saul is now a member of the Executive Council so he doesn't need me to advise him where to plug the idea in if he likes it when he wakes up tomorrow morning. I hope he does.

ENID DOUGLASS: I'd like to turn this around about documentation. I would be inclined to say that possibly the fact that we are inundated with papers creates another important use for an oral history memoir, namely a guide to the contents or important areas in these papers.

NATHAN REINGOLD: That's a nice question. I'm glad to raise it because I had meant to say something about it. In several of these sessions, people kept on saying that one of the great values of the oral history was that it provided a guide to the papers. There are several comments that can be made about that. It provides the guide to the papers in the terms of that particular person and his biases, whatever they may be. Second of all, it would indicate to me that if this is the way you have to have a guide to the papers there's something drastically wrong with (1) the work of archivists and librarians in organizing and describing the materials and (2) that there's something drastically wrong with the training that graduate schools give to historians because

they should have these skills independent of oral history because not everyone is going to be covered by an oral history. And I happen to believe that both statements are true -- that there are things drastically wrong.

TOM BLANTZ: My only experience in serious research is doing labor history and I agree that the written record is certainly voluminous, but I found that it contained what happened rather than why things were happening, and this is especially true with individual strikes. Very often two negotiators could not get along, not because of wages and hours and seniority and fringe benefits, but because of differing ethnic backgrounds. Much of the story of the hardships, etc., sustained by the striking workers' families did not get in the written record.

NATHAN REINGOLD: True. The written records are always incomplete. And one of the questions that has to be tested is what sort of things you may or may not get in various situations from various kinds of sources. If the record were complete, whether by oral history and conventional sources or either or what-have-you, I think you would not have a need for historians. What you would do then is simply place on display the record -- oral or what-have-you -- and that would be the whole story and there would be no need for historians. They would be sort of chroniclers or scribes. The fact that the record is always incomplete is what makes history possible. Now, if the historian gets this incomplete record, incomplete even with your tape, what he does is to interpret it. You make leaps between the data that you have in order to give explanations. And it varies considerably from point to point, you know, and from field to field. Would you have been happier as a historians without any of that voluminous record? I think you would have been very unhappy not to have it. I mean now that you know it exists. For the 19th century, for example, there are lots of records that exist that are absolutely trivial. You have one great man writing to another great man saying, "Yes, I will come over and have dinner with you tonight" -- the sort of thing that's on the phone today. There are lots of files of prior days that are filled with little things like that as well as other things. I think that you have to look at each situation, appraise the kind of documentation and act accordingly. But I'm delighted there are gaps. I think this is what makes history possible.

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