MICHAEL BIRKNER INTERVIEW WITH DR. WILLIAM G. SHADE, 10/3/2014

This interview was conducted through the auspices of the Pennsylvania Historical Association oral history program focused on senior members of the Association from Pennsylvania who have made distinctive contributions to historical study. It has been reviewed and corrected by Bill Shade, who subsequently added two afterwards to the transcription.

Michael Birkner: This is October 3, 2014. I'm Michael Birkner and I'm sitting in a conference room in the basement of Musselman Library at Gettysburg College with William G. Shade, Emeritus Professor of History at Lehigh University. This is a life-review interview that I'm conducting with Bill on behalf of the Pennsylvania Historical Association, which has launched a project to get the life histories of a number of its most eminent members. Bill certainly qualifies.

Bill, we're going to start at the beginning. I want to ask you where and when you were born, and then if you would tell me a little bit about your mom and dad.

William Shade: I was born in Detroit, Michigan, April 5, 1939, at Harper Hospital. My mom and dad had met in Detroit. My dad was brought up in Gettysburg, and went to high school in

Gettysburg. His dad owned what they called then "cabins," the precursor to a motel, and they had a gas station. He was a mechanic. Now, my grandfather went through eighth grade, and was a mechanic all his life, and was also a farmer when I was a young man as well. He was then a tool and die maker, actually, at Ford. My father ended up working for General Motors, so whatever hostility there had been between them before was accentuated, particularly during the automobile strikes after World War II. My grandfather was a staunch union man, and my dad was an executive.

Birkner: Your grandfather ran the cabins?

Shade: Right, and [he] was a mechanic, and then a tool and die maker. My father was an engineer [who] worked for General Motors eventually, and [for] almost all of his life. He went to college in Detroit. My grandfather, for some reason, left Gettysburg and moved, because he had a job in Detroit. He usually had a couple of jobs. He moved to Detroit in 1931, when unemployment in Detroit was about as high as any place in the United States. But he managed to get a job, and worked for Ford Motor Company. My mother's father was a doctor in Detroit, and she went to Wayne State University, where I got my Ph.D. Her best friend at Wayne had a good friend at Lawrence Institute of Technology who was becoming an engineer. These two friends got them together.

Birkner: Are you saying that your father went to the Lawrence Institute of Technology?

Shade: He went to the Lawrence Institute of Technology, along with his friend Ron Groves.

Birkner: Is the Lawrence Institute of Technology a distinct school from Lawrence University?

Shade: They're two different institutions.

Birkner: Where is Lawrence Institute of Technology?

Shade: It's in Detroit. My dad went to the University of Detroit and then followed Dean Lawrence when Ford set up his own college. Eventually my dad briefly taught there.

Birkner: So [your parents] met and ultimately connected and married, and you came along. Were you the first child?

Shade: I was the only child.

Birkner: Before we get into your first memories, we should get your father's name and your mother's maiden name.

Shade: My father's name was William Shade. My grandfather's name was William Shade. Although we have different middle names, all three of us [have that name] — I'm not exactly Junior, or the III. My mother's name was Elaine McMahon.

Birkner: When your parents married, did they settle in the city or the suburbs of Detroit?

Shade: The suburbs.

Birkner: Do you know what the name of the suburb was?

Shade: Actually, we were inside Eight Mile Road, so we were really in the city. Right at the edge of the city.

Birkner: Were they living in that place when you were born?

Shade: Yes.

Birkner: What are your first memories of that environment – ethnically, and also the lay of the land with housing developments, et cetera?

Shade: It was a brick Colonial house, a suburban-style neighborhood. About two blocks away was a school that I went to, [that] also went through high school. It was a white, upper-middle-class or middle-class area, and still is. My mother died in 2002, and she's buried in Detroit. My daughter and her husband and family were at the burial, and my son as well. We drove back and looked for the house that I was brought up in, and it's still there.

Birkner: Is the neighborhood still intact?

Shade: Yeah.

Birkner: That's interesting. So there are places in Detroit that were suburban and still are.

Shade: Most of the places [where] I've lived in Detroit look nothing like the pictures you see on television.

Birkner: We always have this one image of Detroit, which is distressed; not all of Detroit is distressed.

Shade: My grandfather, who as I said was a doctor, a surgeon, lived in a very fancy apartment building on the Detroit River. So my vision of Detroit was always from very nice suburban areas, to this extremely fancy apartment building; and his office was in downtown Detroit, in a very nice part of the city. So my memories of Detroit — even though I was there when the 1943 race riot occurred — are of a much nicer place than we see on television these days. [Added later: I did not understand race when I was a little kid, but my grandfather told me that he had to sneak into the back entrance of a Black hotel to do an insurance exam on Duke Ellington!] Remember, I went back there to graduate school, and it still seemed to be a really nice place. Now, when I was in graduate school, I spent a lot of time mooching off my uncle and aunt, but they lived in Grosse Point. They had a very nice house.

Birkner: Let me take you to your first memories, [which] would have occurred during the Second World War. What are some of your first memories of growing up in the neighborhood you grew up in, and to what extent were you aware as a little boy that there was a war going on?

Shade: I was very aware that a war was on. In fact, I was given a toy rifle, and I spent a lot of time in the back yard shootin' "Japs." One of my uncles was in the army — Jack McMahon, my mother's brother — and he was in Australia and New

Zealand and that part of the world, so we listened to the radio. We had a map of the lines of battles. Then I remember the guys coming around, looking for bombs and stuff like that.

Birkner: Civil defense people. Do you recall blackouts or anything like that?

Shade: Yeah, there were some.

Birkner: You had to pull the window shades down, right?

Shade: Yes, pull the window shades down and all of that.

Birkner: Did you listen to the radio as a little boy then? Was that part of your life?

Shade: Yes, it was. Later I listened to a lot of other things, but then mostly I just listened to the war reports.

Birkner: It's interesting, because you would have only been five or six years old when you were listening to these things, and I don't know that a typical five- or six-year-old would ever pay attention to that.

Shade: We moved to Grand Rapids when I was five. Although I had started in school when I was four and a half, so I had a year and a half of kindergarten — a half-year in Detroit and a year when I first got to Grand Rapids.

Birkner: Why the move to Grand Rapids?

Shade: My father was transferred by General Motors. He had been at General Motors Research, where he worked with a man who was his friend from Lawrence Tech, actually, and who's married

to my mother's best friend. They later moved to Grand Rapids, too. So I knew them both that way and from Detroit, but also from their years in Grand Rapids. They had a daughter that was my age.

Birkner: Tell me where Grand Rapids is in relation to everything else in Michigan.

Shade: Grand Rapids is about 150 miles slightly northwest of Detroit. I think it's exactly 28 miles from Lake Michigan and Holland, Michigan, where we spent a lot of time when I got older and we were having beach parties and stuff like that. It's amazing to Europeans or people who don't know it, [but] if you go to Lake Michigan, the beaches are just like they are on the ocean. You can't see Wisconsin over there. I know it's over there. [laughs] I've even sailed over there.

Birkner: That's why they call it an inland sea, right?

Shade: Right. You can't see across Lake Michigan. It's like being on an ocean almost.

Birkner: I take it that your family did not have downward mobility in making this move — that you lived in a nice upper-middle-class environment in Grand Rapids.

Shade: Right. It was even better than that. I didn't realize until much later what a privileged life I lived. I went to a public school, East Grand Rapids High School, where everybody graduated and went to college — [to] "lousy" places like Harvard

and Penn and Colgate. Lots of them [went to] Michigan, of course. Michigan State was kind of the lower tier.

Birkner: It sounds like the equivalent of Scarsdale.

Shade: Yes. The school I went to always compared our test scores and stuff with New Trier, which is the Chicago suburb where Northwestern is. I had a couple of friends who went to Northwestern.

Birkner: It was a high-aspiration place.

Shade: Oh, yeah. The best all-around jock — he was All-State in football and basketball — is now president of a bank, and has a master's in business from Northwestern. I played on a state championship football team, on the line — I was center. Two of the people from the line are MDs, and two are Ph.D.'s. I thought that was normal; I thought that's the way everybody was.

Birkner: I want to learn a little bit how you liked spending your time as a kid growing up in Grand Rapids, and then on a separate track I'd like you to comment about what you gravitated toward in terms of your strengths and interests as a student.

Shade: That's kind of funny. Again, I thought I was this normal kid. I played football, golf, tennis, baseball, basketball. I was a pretty lousy basketball player. I was such a lousy basketball player that they made me manager of the basketball team. So growing up, I was pretty much involved with sports. I also early got into golf and sailing. Although I

never had my own boat, I served as crew, and one time I was even sold with the boat by someone who I'd crewed for — he sold the boat, and they had me be the crew too. [laughs] So I did a lot of sailing, Snipe sailing mostly. That's a 16-foot boat; it's one of the most popular kinds of sailboats. I sailed in the national championships. Almost won.

Birkner: Tell me a little bit about school — what you made of school, how much you enjoyed it, and what you liked most.

Shade: It's hard to say exactly what I liked most. It was kind of accepted that we were all going to do well, and I never thought much about school. I realize now that this was a pretty good school. They made everybody start out in first grade with a musical instrument, and you couldn't quit until fifth grade, so I was a pretty lousy clarinet player for a while. I don't remember much that really stands out. I enjoyed history from the beginning. But my father, being a former engineering professor, when I was three and four gave me a set of addition problems. When I went to school I could already add, and knew a lot about numbers from him. Also, fairly early on, my parents, particularly my father, were pushing me to learn to read a newspaper — at first, at least, the headlines. Then they would talk to me about it.

Birkner: I'm wondering if you'd comment on being an only child, and whether you think as a result you were especially doted on, or [there were] higher expectations for you.

Shade: I don't know that that's the case. They did have high expectations, there's no doubt about that, and I was to a degree doted upon, and had very good relationships with my grandparents on my father's side and my grandfather on my mother's side. My grandfather and grandmother were separated — I don't think they ever got divorced — and my grandmother [on that side] was a little difficult to handle. The other grandmother, I was madly in love with her as a kid, and was until she died. Both of my grandfathers I liked very much. Both of them had high expectations for me too. As I said, my grandfather only went to eighth grade, but he sent all of his three boys to college.

Birkner: Having been born in '39, and having gone through high school in the mid-'50s, this was an era that we commonly associate with a focus on the very internal things that high schoolers would care about, which would be sports, dating — nothing particularly heavy. I'm just curious if that fits your own life experience.

Shade: Sports and partying, yes. I didn't date very much. In fact, I only dated one girl. There's one girl that I went on more than one date with. [laughs] She was kind of an interesting person, and I still know her. I just got an email

from her a couple of days ago; I went to my fifty-fifth reunion a couple of years ago, and she was one of the organizers of it. But anyway, one thing I remember that sort of fits some things that are going around these days is that Grand Rapids had a women's professional softball team, called the Grand Rapids Chicks. The girl that I dated, who was the best baseball player in my school in eighth grade — male, female, she was the best — was the bat girl for the Grand Rapids Chicks.

Birkner: I take it you saw one or more of those games.

Shade: I went to lots of them. Grand Rapids had a men's team, too, the Jets, that I went to, although I think I went to more Chicks games than to them. When I wasn't playing football, I went to football games for other high schools, particularly the high school right next to us that was our great rival. But one of my friends and I went to high school games.

Birkner: That's what you did in those days, right?

Shade: Yeah. The guy I hung around with most, Glen Avis, who is a Ph.D. now, and had his own computer firm, is still alive; he lives in Michigan.

Birkner: Was Gerald Ford your congressman?

Shade: Gerald Ford was not only my congressman, he was my neighbor, and my dad and Jerry Ford were golfing buddies. When my father died, going through all of his effects, [I found] this pile of Christmas cards from the Fords, before they were in the

White House and when they were in the White House, because they kept up this relationship. But the home from which Ford ran [for Congress], the house he used as his address, was about a block from our house. He didn't live there, he lived in Washington; he rented that, but that's what he used as his address.

Birkner: Ford actually just rented a house in Grand Rapids?

Shade: No, he owned the house; they rented it out. I really didn't know the Fords at all.

Birkner: They weren't even doing the three months in Washington during the session and then back to Grand Rapids. They were Washingtonians. You couldn't get away with that today, I suspect, but in those days you could.

Shade: Aren't two of the Senate races [today] revolving around the fact that the person doesn't live in the district, or in the state?

Birkner: [In] Kansas and Louisiana, absolutely.

Shade: Because of my experience with Ford owning this house — I could see it from my porch, it's only a block away — I thought that everybody had to. In Bethlehem, my next-door neighbor when I moved in was Fred Rooney, our congressman.

Birkner: So you've been close to politics and power, of a sort.

Shade: The closest I got to politics was when I was on the Advisory Board for the National Park Service with Lady Bird [Johnson].

Birkner: We'll get to that. It seems logical that your dad was a Republican.

Shade: My dad was a staunch Republican. His last known address was my home in Bethlehem, and so I still get stuff from the Republican Party asking me — or asking William S. Shade, who's been dead since 1996 — for money. He was very active and very interested in Republican affairs. Now, this is one of the interesting things. My mother's family were Irish Catholics and Democrats.

Birkner: How did she do, in terms of politics?

Shade: She moved over to the Republicans when she married my father. At least, the first thing I remember of her, she was a Republican — both of my parents were. One of the things about my parents that I should start right off with is that I have no idea in the world why they ever married each other. Totally different personalities. My father was very organized, very organized. Every night, he'd take the change out of his pockets and line up the pennies and the nickels and the quarters on his dresser.

Birkner: An engineer's mentality.

Shade: An engineer's mentality, exactly. My mother was a slob — a lovable slob. Everybody in the world that she knew loved her, but she was a terrible housekeeper, and she smoked. I don't think I can ever remember when [my parents] got along, and my father and mother pretty much drifted apart. I would say by eight or nine, I saw very little of my father. Eventually they did get divorced, but that was after I was [grown].

Birkner: Was your father not coming home for dinner?

Shade: He was living actually with another woman. Very complicated. He would take me out to dinner, and that's one of the things that he did with me. I never knew where he lived.

Birkner: How did this impact you?

Shade: I'm not sure that I've ever really figured out how this impacted me. But I do remember my parents fighting. Usually I was upstairs, and my father would show up to give my mother her allowance, and they'd have an argument about something, and so I'd stay in bed, and then he'd disappear. But when I was a late teenager, the only way I contacted my father for most of this time was either calling him at work or calling him at the country club. When I was a late teenager, I had a friend who was working as a mailman in [the] summer, and he found my father's house, so I learned where it was.

Birkner: Your father did not tell you.

Shade: No, he did not tell me. Eventually, after I got married and stuff, I was at the house. But during those teenage years, my father was just someplace else.

Birkner: Like any teenager — particularly someone like you who's mixing it up with other kids through sports teams and all — you have pals. Don't your friends say "Where's your dad"? How do you respond when they do?

Shade: The person who was most curious about [that] when I was very young was a next-door neighbor. My next-door neighbors had two kids, one exactly my age, one a year younger — who I still know, by the way. I always had a thing about the girl, but she married my best friend and things like that. [laughs] But in any case, Mrs. Rood, the mother, was curious. She was sort of mothering me all the time, because I was at her house a lot of the time, and she was very nice to me. In fact, they got me sailing. But she would ask me where my father was. The standard story was that he was gone on business, because he did travel. He had a couple of patents on diesel injectors, and he had clients all over, so GM sent him out to the places to deal with the people they sold the injectors to. He happened to go to Bethlehem at one time. So he was kind of laughing about that, and as I said, he grew up in Gettysburg. He wanted to go to Lehigh, and then they moved to Detroit, so he went to engineering school there.

Birkner: Did you ever meet his other partner?

Shade: There were more than one. I later learned secondhand that during the war when he was moved to Grand Rapids, before we moved there, he was having an affair with his secretary. Then he also was having an affair with another person at his country club. Eventually, she got divorced. The secretary and he split, for some reason. What does a six-year-old or 10-year-old even know [about] the details of these kinds of things? But he did marry, eventually, the woman from the country club, so I did get to know her. She didn't like me very much, and she really disliked my children.

Birkner: Did they stay in Grand Rapids?

Shade: They stayed in Grand Rapids until my father retired, and then they moved to Sun City, Arizona — one of those Del Webb communities.

Birkner: Clearly, you knew you were going to college from the get-go. As your senior year in high school arrives, what are you thinking about?

Shade: That's the thing; I liked lots of things. I really enjoyed school. You get to your senior year, and you have to come up [with something], because everyone is asking you, "What are you going to do? Where are you going to go to college?" Since I did well in math and physics, and I had no real answer for them, I said I was going to be an engineer. I applied to a

number of engineering schools — Case Western Reserve, where a friend of mine who I said was a Ph.D. went. It happens that my father's boss at General Motors, who was an engineer, had gone to Brown. I was recruited by a very active alum, who went around and talked to kids that were at the top of the class with their grades and SATs and stuff and knocked on [their] door. One day I was watching television and there's a knock on the door. [The] guy comes in and says, "Can I talk to you about college? Where are you going to go to college?" There were several places [I was considering] — Michigan, Purdue, Dartmouth, Tufts. Michigan has a very good engineering program. He said, "Have you ever thought of Brown?" I said, "I don't know anything about it." So he goes into it, brings me all sorts of stuff, and he literally recruited me. I thought, "That sounds like a pretty good place."

Birkner: Had you ever visited it before you applied?

Shade: No. Then it turns out my father's boss had an engineering degree from Brown, so my father's saying it's a great place. My father was all in favor of my going to Brown.

Birkner: I get the sense that your classmates, particularly the crowd you ran with, were also going to good schools, and [that] this was a feather in the cap of the school.

Shade: Three kids in my class, including me, went to Brown. One of them went to Pembroke, which is the women's college of Brown.

Birkner: Was this '57 or '58 that you went off to Brown?

Shade: I graduated in '57, so it was in the fall of '57 that I went.

Birkner: Describe your first impressions of Brown.

Shade: Since I had enjoyed high school, I was just interested in meeting other people and all of that. I didn't have the sense that I probably should have, that I was with some horribly privileged people. One of my dorm mates was a Rockefeller. Another one was a guy who you might not know by name: he was a football player at Brown named Harry Usher, but he ran the Olympics when they were in Los Angeles. So he must have succeeded at something. [laughs] But all of the people who were there in the dorm eventually did quite well. My original roommate was a guy from Long Island named George Neibel. I met Lewis Gould there — he was in the same dorm — and eventually Lew and I roomed together. I only thought for a while about joining a fraternity, and there was only one that I went to, and they rejected me, for whatever reasons. I think I didn't get along with a couple of the people there. In any case, I was an independent, and lived in an independent dorm, with Gould as my roommate, all the rest of the time I was there.

Birkner: Lewis Gould is a distinguished American historian. Did he have anything to do with your gravitating to history from engineering, or was that a natural progression for you?

Shade: Actually, the way my college career went was [that] I started in engineering, and after a semester of that I decided that this wasn't really for me. Also, I got a D in Engineering I. One of my favorite stories is that in the second semester, after I'd dropped engineering and become a math major for another semester — because I did very well in math — I ran into my engineering professor, and he said, "Mr. Shade, why aren't you coming to class?" I said, "I dropped out of engineering." He said, "What'd you do a damn fool thing like that for?" I said, "I got a D in your class." He said, "Everybody got a D. I give everybody Ds the first semester." [laughter]

Birkner: That's funny, but it's a great way to drive people out of your program.

Shade: Brown had this situation where you would take a course, and you'd get a tentative grade the first semester. That's when he was giving out all the Ds. Then you'd get your final grade after the second semester, and they'd go back and change your first semester grade to what the final was.

Birkner: You got out while the getting was good.

Shade: I got out while the getting was good, and I didn't stay in Math for very long. Then I was thinking of English, and then

history, and then I found the ideal place that mixes up History and English — American Studies. Brown was one of the first schools with what they called an American Civilization degree. So that's what I ended up [doing]. I was also sports editor of the Brown Daily Herald and in student government.

Birkner: Was William McLoughlin there at the time?

Shade: Yes, he was. He was one of my teachers.

Birkner: Was John Thomas there at the time?

Shade: Jack Thomas probably had more influence on me than anybody. I had him when he was a graduate student still. He had gone to college and taught in high school, and then came back at a later age than most people. He was still a Graduate Assistant. He got his Ph.D. at the same graduation that I got my undergraduate degree, in 1961, at Brown.

Birkner: It's unusual for someone to stay at the same institution for their career that they got their Ph.D. from, isn't it?

Shade: He went to Harvard first. He was very highly sought after, and he was at Harvard for a couple of years, and then Brown brought him back. But as a teaching assistant, he was teaching an odd course they had at Brown. They had a sophomore seminar called an IC course — Intercommunication of Ideas. I had a year-long [seminar] course when I was a sophomore on revolution, beginning with reading Crane Brinton's Anatomy of

Revolution, and then going through the major [revolutions], starting with the English revolution, and going through the American and French revolutions, and up to the Russian Revolution. It was a wonderful course, by the way, as you can only imagine. But Jack was a teaching assistant really, finishing up his Ph.D.

Birkner: I'm assuming it was at Brown that you first encountered Forrest McDonald?

Shade: Yes. Forrest came to Brown about the same time I did. He had quite a reputation. He was highly thought of as a historian.

Birkner: He'd written the two books on the 1780s, and he'd also written a biography of Samuel Insull.

Shade: Not then. Those came later.

Birkner: He wrote the book demolishing [Charles A.] Beard,did he not?

Shade: Yes. [McDonald published his book on the coming of the Constitution, We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution, in 1958.] This is the book assaulting Beard's An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution.] He was teaching things that I was interested in, and Bill McLoughlin was too. Bill McLoughlin taught intellectual history; Forrest taught economic history. Also, at Brown I had experience with someone

who had a lot of influence on me, and who I really thought was great — Tom Govan, the biographer of Nicholas Biddle.

Birkner: I didn't know he was at Brown.

Shade: He wasn't ordinarily at Brown. He was between regular jobs, essentially, and he was called in. He was a friend of McDonald's, and he was called in to teach economic history because the usual person who taught economic history had health problems and they needed someone to do it. Tom taught me economic history. So that's where I got interested in [H. L.] Mencken. I made a list of people that I remembered very closely — Forrest and Jack Thomas and McLoughlin, but also Natalie Davis, who taught European Medieval history. She was at Brown at that time in her peripatetic career.

Birkner: I assume you immediately recognized her brilliance.

Shade: Oh, yes. Actually, I immediately recognized how good-looking she was. [laughs] She used to sit at the desk, lecturing with a short skirt and her legs crossed. All of the 19-year-olds were just infatuated with Natalie. But also she was incredibly smart. She went from Brown to Berkeley to Princeton. When she was at Princeton, and I finally got enough power at Lehigh to do things like this, practically every year I brought her over to speak, and everybody liked her. But she also was someone who was pushing me to go to graduate school,

and eventually wrote letters of recommendation for me, along with Forrest and John Thomas.

Birkner: These were powerhouse people that you were exposed to as an undergraduate.

Shade: Again, I thought this is normal. [laughs] And they weren't just normal. I had a creative writing course with the novelist John Hawkes. I wrote a silly play for him. He said, "Mr. Shade, you are a clever fellow, but I doubt you have a career in the theater."

Birkner: [You studied with] distinguished scholars. . .

Shade: Yes. It's interesting that these were all people who really did help me and push me. When I graduated from Brown, I had no idea what I was going to do [with] my American Civilization degree; I really had no idea what I was going to do. So what did I do — I applied to several law schools. Thought I might be a labor lawyer. I got into Wisconsin Law School. I'd taken a labor course from Phillip Taft, who's written that great book on labor; he was at Brown, too.

But in any case, I thought, "OK, I'll try law school." We were talking about how chance plays a role. I saw an advertisement for an organization that was coming in to interview people — the CDC [the Centers for Disease Control]. Now, with the Ebola thing, the CDC is something that you recognize. I spent [the] summer after my senior year in

[college] in a training program to be an epidemiologist with the CDC. I spent my summer living in Greenwich Village, working for the CDC as a field epidemiologist. That meant going out and finding people who had possible connections with VD, to get them to come in and get free medical exams. That meant I went to a lot of bars. [laughs]

Birkner: So you had a very interesting summer in Greenwich Village hitting the bars.

Shade: Hitting the bars, and learning about VD. It was a training program. I learned more about VD than most anyone knows. I looked upon it as being a sort of social work, and I had considered being a social worker, so this sounded like a really interesting program. I got to a point by the end of the summer where the next step for me would be to go to Atlanta to the CDC [headquarters] and get into the bureaucracy. As I have said often, had I made that choice and moved up into the bureaucracy, you would have been hearing me talk about HIV in the 1980s on television. But McDonald and I kept in contact, and McDonald kept saying, "Come back to Brown."

So I decided that I would go back to Brown and go into a special program they had, which was called an MAT program — Master of Arts in Teaching — and I would be a high school teacher. Now, one of the things is that I didn't think that I was really a good enough student to get a Ph.D. So I thought,

"OK, I'll get this MAT and be a high school teacher." I did teach for a year in high school in Rhode Island. But McDonald kept pushing me. At the time, Gould, my roommate from Brown, had gone to Yale to get his Ph.D. He was always a better student than I was. I thought, "I couldn't do that." Because my family lived in Grand Rapids, and I was at Brown in Providence, Rhode Island, on vacations I didn't go home to Grand Rapids — I went to Old Greenwich, Connecticut, where I got to know Lewis Gould's family. [I was] particularly influenced by his father, Jack Gould.

Birkner: The radio and TV critic for The New York Times.

Shade: Jack and I talked a lot. I talked to Carmen, Lew's mother, too; she was an actress. She'd been an actress. In any case, McDonald was on me about going to graduate school and getting a Ph.D., and I talked to Jack Gould about this. I said, "Lew's always gotten much better grades." Jack Gould said to me, "Look, I've been to Yale. I've talked to those kids. You're smarter than they are. Go to graduate school. Get a Ph.D. You can do it." I saw an awful lot of the Gould family, including Lew's brothers. Jack probably was the [one] that really pushed me, although Natalie and Forrest were both pushing me, and Jack Thomas. Forrest was doing most of the pushing.

Birkner: I want you to tell me about Forrest McDonald, and why he departs Brown. [Also], you were at Brown at the time of the

1960 presidential election, and I want to get your recollections of that and your interest in that.

Shade: In 1960, which is the first time I voted for president, my experience at Brown had been moving me — and Jack Gould had something to do with this, too — from my upbringing as a Republican into being a Democrat. Not as lefty a Democrat as I'm supposed to be now, but a Democrat. So in 1960, I was ready to vote for Kennedy. But I also voted for Mitt Romney's father [George Romney] for governor of Michigan. [laughs] I still had some Republican [in me]. He was also an excellent governor, by the way, and was in favor of civil rights.

Birkner: Yes, he was, more than his own father. George's father was a Taftite in Utah.

Shade: George was in favor of civil rights, and civil rights was a big thing going on. Recently, one of my nephews' wife asked me how I ever got involved in civil rights. It was because of my main interest, other than sports, in high school. I'm a jazz freak. [laughs] She said, "Who made you interested in civil rights?" My answer to her — and she looked at me, not knowing either of these people — was, "Lester Young and Billie Holiday." I'm a Billie Holiday fan. I have a huge picture of Billie Holiday in my office at home that my daughter gave me as a present, because she knew about Billie Holiday. In fact, she took a course on the '60s when she was a student at Lehigh

briefly, and the person — who will remain nameless — who gave the course handed out the lyrics of "Strange Fruit." My daughter looked at them, went up to him, and said, "Sir, this isn't 'Strange Fruit.' This is not Billie Holiday's song." And she was right. He said, "How did you know that?" "My dad plays the damn thing every day. I've heard it a million times." [laughter]

Birkner: There wasn't much difference between Kennedy and Nixon in '60 on civil rights. It would have been more that you were gravitating toward the Democrats at that point.

Shade: I was gravitating toward the Democrats, and Kennedy personally appealed to me. Nixon never really got to me. I was just becoming a Democrat generally.

Birkner: Was there much going on at the Brown campus in 1960 relating to the campaign? Did they have a visit by any candidate? I assume Rhode Island was a Democratic state even then, so it might not be a place that either candidate would visit.

Shade: I didn't see a presidential candidate up close and personal until I met Lyndon Johnson, when I was at Wayne.

Birkner: Forrest McDonald was renowned for being unorthodox, shall we say?

Shade: Unorthodox, yes. He was terribly unorthodox. I remember taking a summer class from him, and he lectured in a

bathing suit. [laughter] He also was a womanizer. He was a right-winger, but he had wild ideas about an awful lot of stuff. I said that he was pushing me to go to graduate school; he pushed me to go to Wayne because of a friend of his who was a professor there. McDonald was just kind of a wild guy. Drank with the students. He got put in jail at one point for throwing firecrackers out of a car.

Birkner: I think you told me that story 40 years ago.

Shade: You knew what he was like. He would come over to our apartment and drink.

Birkner: Was he married at that point in time?

Shade: He was married, but eventually got divorced. He's still alive — or at least a year ago, he was alive. A friend of mine, Rick Matthews, who's the head of the Politics Department at Lehigh, saw him a year ago. But he's married to someone who was a student with me [Ellen Shapiro McDonald]. He has now been with her for many years.

Birkner: Is she the woman that he wrote a couple of books with?

Shade: I think so, yes. The thing I most remember about them, though, is that I went to his house after they were married, and they had a nude picture of her over the mantle. [laughs] Unorthodox. An unorthodox fellow.

Birkner: Did McDonald get tenure at Brown?

Shade: I think he did. But I don't know the details about why he left Brown. There was his being arrested and other things, and his just generally being slightly unconventional. He didn't really fit in to the Brown [mold]. He had taken up with a student. He just wasn't quite like Jack Thomas or someone like that.

Birkner: Did he go immediately to Alabama, or did he go somewhere else?

Shade: No, he went to Wayne. When I was leaving Wayne, they were considering him for a job there, so they asked me about him, because they knew that I had had him as a teacher. I said that he was an excellent lecturer and an excellent teacher. He really did, as I said, push me eventually into graduate school. One of the [things] I was going to say about Brown is [this]. Gould was my roommate, but I went to Brown with [Ronald] Formisano too. We didn't know each other very well; we only had one connection — we were both dating the same girl at the same time. [laughs]

Birkner: You became friends with him later.

Shade: In graduate school.

Birkner: Did he wind up at Wayne also then?

Shade: Yes. He went, also influenced by Forrest. He went to Wisconsin for his master's degree; while I was getting my Master of Arts in Teaching at Brown, Ron was at Wisconsin. Wayne was

trying to create a graduate program, and so they were offering very nice stipends, and they were getting people to push students toward that.

Birkner: Was the professor that you alluded to a moment ago Lee Benson? Or was it somebody else who had gone to Wayne who McDonald said would be a good person to get to know?

Shade: Actually, after all the fighting — on paper, he and Benson were at loggerheads — McDonald said Benson would be a good person to work with. It's interesting that Benson had been blacklisted because of his Communist Party affiliations, which somebody's been writing about recently. I liked Tom Govan, and I was sort of gravitating toward the Jacksonian period, and Benson was in that field, and he had just brought out his book.

Birkner: The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy. That was a 1961 publication, and that's exactly when you're graduating from Brown, so it would have been there while you were getting your master's degree. Let's just clarify, was Benson at Wayne at that time?

Shade: Benson was at Wayne when I got there, yes. I'm not sure exactly when he went to Wayne, but it was around 1960.

Birkner: Did he stay the whole time you were there?

Shade: He stayed while I was there. He eventually went to Penn. It was in the '60s sometime.

Birkner: When you made the decision to go to Wayne, take their fellowship and get serious about a Ph.D., Benson was there, and would become a mentor of yours?

Birkner: He would. Now, he didn't actually direct my dissertation. Forrest McDonald's buddy was named Ray Miller, and Ray Miller you've probably never heard of unless you're interested in electric power, because he wrote a book on the Detroit Edison Company. Ray was a Kansas guy — went to the University of Kansas, wrote his dissertation on Kansas populism. [At that time], in the early '30s — as you're talking about professional cycles — it was hard to get a dissertation published. You might have seen Ray Miller's name in the bibliography of John Hicks' The Populist Revolt, because it had all of these dissertations [listed] in it; [but] Ray actually never did anything with that [dissertation], because of the time. But he went to Wayne in the '30s, and he was very good, and as I said actually ended up directing my dissertation.

At Wayne, aside from Benson and Ray Miller, I had courses with Ed Lurie, who's an intellectual historian and a historian of science; Al Kelly, who was a Constitutional historian and a bigwig in the AHA [American Historical Association]; and I also had European history from a guy named William Bossenbrook, who by some weird chance had been a teacher of my mother's. [He]

was absolutely wonderful. Just a wild man. Hayden White's mentor.

Birkner: Describe the atmosphere at Wayne at the time you were there. What's the gestalt of a place like that at that time, and what kind of people were in the graduate program in history?

Shade: They were trying to get the best people they could, and they were offering very good monetary support. Also, in putting together this new graduate program, they brought in a bunch of young Turks as teachers — Charles Dew being one of them, the historian of slavery. He was still finishing his doctoral dissertation. I had an office, because I was a TA, and the office across the hall from me was Charles Dew's. So there were a bunch of young people there, including Richard Reinitz, Robert Skotheim, and Lynn Parsons, and there were some older people like [William J.] Bossenbrook and Al Kelly, and another guy in European history who had a tremendous influence on me, John Weiss.

Birkner: You had some intellectual firepower there.

Shade: They were very good. The younger ones all went on to different places, and quite good places generally.

Birkner: Your experience at Wayne fulfilled your expectations for the place?

Shade: Yeah. It's again one of those things — I just ended up there in a way by chance, yet everything fit very well. I

became an acolyte of Benson's, but Ray Miller was the one who was guiding me around. I did think of possibly writing a dissertation with Ed Lurie, too.

Birkner: Did you wind up doing the banking in Michigan dissertation, or something else?

Shade: No, banking in the Midwest.

Birkner: Was that an outgrowth of having taken a course with Govan at Brown?

Shade: It was an outgrowth of that, and Ray Miller also was an economic historian.

Birkner: I read Banks or No Banks [The Money Issue in Western Politics, 1832-1865 (Wayne State University Press, 1972]] as a grad student, many years ago. There are parts of that book that I think are fabulous, and there are parts of that book that I think are less compelling. I've never been a fan of the ethno-cultural interpretation. When you wrote the dissertation, to what extent was the ethno-cultural stuff already percolating with you?

Shade: It was already. I was very impressed by Benson's work, and the work of some other people who were in the ethno-cultural crowd. [Allan Bogue, Samuel Hayes.] So in the dissertation, what I was trying to do — the parts that you clearly didn't particularly like — was to try and work in the idea of being in

favor of banks, or being opposed to them, with different ethnic and religious groups.

Birkner: It was an innovative approach, but the question is, was it a dead end or not?

Shade: In a way, Formisano was doing some of the same sorts of things. We were writing our dissertations at the same time. [Formisano's dissertation was published in 1971 by Princeton University Press as The Birth of Mass Political Parties, Michigan, 1827-1861. He has subsequently published five other books, on disparate topics.]

Birkner: Were you cross-fertilizing with Formisano?

Shade: Yeah. We were very close friends at that time.

Birkner: What was Miller's view of this work? He probably came out of the older school about the Populists, which would have been more of a Beardian approach. Was he still sympathetic to you?

Shade: He was very sympathetic. "Try it."

Birkner: It seems to me that part of Benson's approach was to get away from the old, anecdotal [historical method]: "This is what three newspaper clippings say about what people think about this," [and instead] go to the grassroots and figure out how political behavior really plays out. Is that what you were interested in?

Shade: Yes. How were the people [who were] voting organized? What is there about them? I wrote a lot about that. That fascinated me — the cultural and religious backgrounds of the people. Why would people who were Catholics, for instance, take to the Democratic Party? Where did the Know-Nothings come from? What was the relationship between the Know-Nothings' ideas about immigrants and their economic ideas? I was always fascinated by that. I was fascinated by the Whigs particularly, and by Abraham Lincoln, who was a Whig. The end of my banking book, of course, is on the banking reforms that come with the Civil War — the economic legislation of the Republicans, which Lincoln was definitely involved in. I was always trying to figure out how these things could work together. I speculated a lot on them, and some of the speculation probably didn't go anywhere.

Birkner: I haven't read your book for many years, [but] it seems to me that you started getting into symbolic connections. I thought that was the hardest part to bring home.

Shade: That's what it has to come down to — the symbolism. What did this signify? How did they relate?

Birkner: Were you picking up on Benson's emphasis on [the resonance of] negative referencing grouping? My recollection is that [there was] some of that. This is interesting, because it relates to a very fine book you did later in your career — the book on Virginia politics. In preparing for this interview, I

accessed a review of that book by Lawrence Kohl [in Reviews in American History]. Some of what Kohl said in 1998 fits what I was thinking in 1974 when I [read] Banks or No Banks. He gives you full credit for sharing so much information and perspective on the early democratization of Virginia politics. Then he says, "Shade has done prodigious research on the social and economic life of Virginia, but in the face of the problem of explaining the partisan choices of individual voters, the information he gathers appears superficial. Hopes of making history a science, which blossomed once again in the era of the new political history, have since faded." He says in effect that you've reached the end of the line, and it's going to take a new generation of students to make any of these connections stick. Did you ever read that review, and did you have any reaction to it?

Shade: I probably read the review; I would have read it. I don't remember the actual review, but one of the things that I was doing in the Virginia book, and what he's complaining about, is trying to go against much of the literature about the new political history, [which] said that it didn't really fit the South.

Birkner: Because you had less immigration there, hence fewer distinct ethnic groups.

Shade: Right. What I was trying to see was, what were the cultural divisions and groups in a classic Southern state like Virginia?

Birkner: You also wound up illuminating a lot about how partisanship worked, and how the polity worked as a republican democracy.

[Break for lunch.]

We reconvened shortly after lunch.

Birkner: In 1966, when you got your Ph.D. from Wayne State, you told me you had four [job] opportunities. Is that right?

Shade: Yeah. It was actually earlier than that. Do you know Lynn Parsons at all?

Birkner: I know his work, sure.

Shade: We were at a John Quincy Adams conference [in Russia], and he was giving a paper there, and he was talking about how lucky we were — the timing. Neither of us got into the Vietnam War; we were too old, or we were married. Then we came out of graduate school, and there were jobs — plenty of jobs, because education was expanding.

Birkner: You've had a charmed life, you could say.

Shade: Yes.

Birkner: Tell me how you wound up at Temple.

Shade: It's interesting. One of the places I could have gone to was the University of Nebraska, Omaha, and my wife had no desire to go to Nebraska. She thought that [Temple] would be a good place for us to go, and Russell Weigley [the chair of the History program at Temple University at the time] had been very persuasive. I was guessing what would be a good place to go.

Birkner: It was a substantial university in a nice city. North Philadelphia had been going downhill for some time, but it probably wasn't quite as bad in '66 as it would later become.

Shade: No, it wasn't all that bad. It had a reputation that it was going downhill, but it really wasn't all that bad. We lived in Germantown, in a very nice apartment. I was still writing my dissertation. In fact, my wife for some reason was reminding our daughter that, when she was a baby, I used to hold her and type when she'd stay awake at night.

Birkner: You started at Temple in Fall 1965, and got your degree from Wayne State in 1966 — you were still finishing the dissertation at that point. That was commonplace in that era. You said [off tape] that not long after you arrived at Temple, the new department chair suggested it would be wise for someone in your situation to depart, because they had more Early Republic-Jacksonian scholars than they needed.

Shade: Right. The way it turned out was that they hired young people to cover their freshman courses. I wasn't hired to be a Jacksonian historian, nor was Herb Ershkowitz. We were just hired to take care of the huge numbers that they had in their survey courses. So it ended up with this group of young people, having too many of them whose specialty was in the same thing. So the chairman said, "Start looking for a job. I'll help you." And he did. It was just an unusual fact that Herb was on vacation when the call from Lehigh came through, and so I got the interview, arranged by Professor Raymond O'Connor.

Birkner: The offer came through for you.

Shade: And the offer came through for me. Which was kind of interesting — most of the tenured professors at Lehigh were [gone]. It was in the summer, and they were not there for the interview, so I was just interviewed by one senior person and a very junior [instructor].

Birkner: Tell me about your first impressions coming to the Lehigh campus, and the job that you had in the history program in September of 1966 when you arrived there.

Shade: Lehigh has a very attractive campus, and I had heard good things about Lehigh. As I mentioned to you, my father had even thought of going there to be an engineer. Lehigh was basically an engineering school, and it was only in the '50s and particularly in the '60s that they began to [develop] in the

arts — although you could get a Ph.D. in history from Lehigh. But it's very attractive. My colleagues came back for the fall, and there's this kid sitting in the office that none of them had ever seen [or] even talked to. So they were a little wary. But eventually, Joe Dowling decided to get to know me better, and he and Leon Tipton became very close friends of mine. Eventually, although he came there the year after I did, Larry Leder was the chairman most of my career.

The department was extremely cohesive — very, very cohesive. One of the things that they did was [go] to the American Historical Association meeting every year as a department, as a group. They got me into doing that, and I don't think I've missed an AHA [meeting since]. Joe and Leon became my closest friends. There was a French historian named Jack Haight [John McVicker Haight, Jr.] who was one of my neighbors at Bethlehem, who was a little older. If there was some conflict [in the department], it was between Joe Dowling and Jack Haight. Joe was a working-class Scot who went to NYU, actually — eventually, but he started out in Scotland — and Jack Haight was about as upper-class as you can imagine. Jack's grandfather was President of Columbia, his father was J.P. Morgan's pastor. [Jack and Joe] were not close. So there was some conflict there. I got along with both of them.

Birkner: What was it like teaching the Lehigh students? To what extent were you able to get engineers interested in American history, [and] to what extent were you building your own clientele there?

Shade: They were expanding the whole curriculum when I went there, and they had been doing it for a while. Actually, Joe Dowling was hired in the '50s as an intentional hire to help expand the graduate program in history, and to expand the whole Liberal Arts College. The Liberal Arts College is [located] mostly in McGinnis Hall, and McGinnis Hall is named for the McGinnis family, of which one who was a trustee, Nancy McGinnis — Henry Kissinger's wife. So we gave a couple of degrees to "Hank." *[laughs]* The last time I saw him was in Russia, in the American Ambassador's house in Moscow.

Birkner: In person you saw him?

Shade: Yeah. I've talked to him a number of times.

Birkner: What about the students that you were teaching?

Shade: The students I was teaching were mostly in liberal arts. Lehigh engineers had to take a certain amount of liberal arts courses — usually they put them off until their senior year — and a lot of them took history. So I did have students who were engineers, but most of my students were in the liberal arts college, and were getting degrees in something—English, Political Science, Social Relations, etc. Lehigh's business

college was growing, and I got a lot of people from the business college because one of the advisors, [an] economist [Jon Innis] who's a friend of mine, was a history buff, and so he advised his business students to take history. *[laughs]* I always got some of Jon's students. I ended up at one point teaching economic history, and co-teaching it in the Business College with an economist.

Birkner: One of the striking things about your résumé is how many different courses you've taught. I'm impressed by how versatile you are.

Shade: It comes, oddly, from things that I did in my picking around in my educational background, and doing a lot of different things and moving from one thing to another. When I was a TA in graduate school, I had to teach Western Civ and things like that. I was fortunate when, in my last year at Wayne, they gave me a regular American history survey course. I wasn't anybody's TA, it was mine, and so I had to do a whole survey course — I had to make it up, pretty much. So one way or another I got into those kinds of things.

Birkner: When you arrived at Lehigh, did your department chair sit you down and say, "Bill, if you want to get tenure at Lehigh, you have to do X"? Or does that conversation not happen?

Shade: You get the idea that they expect you to do a certain amount of [scholarship], but it was more an emphasis on publishing than on perishing. As I published things, I got pushed up the [ranks].

Birkner: One of the interesting things about [your publishing record] is that, while you did an essay on Michigan free banking in the fall of 1968, your early books are [on] African American history, women's history, and this collection on Lawrence Henry Gipson. You clearly had a wider reach than the average Ph.D.

Shade: I began that part in teaching social history, and then when we decided we had to expand our offerings, I started teaching black history. As I said, I got into that in part because of my vast reading about jazz and jazz musicians. I'm not quite sure exactly how I got into it, but I started teaching women's history too, and I edited a book on women's history [Our American Sisters: Women in American Life and Thought] in part to push a female graduate student of mine [Jean Friedman] who had written a political history dissertation.

Birkner: You found a publisher, Allyn & Bacon, for that, at a time when people were getting interested in women's history.

Shade: Actually, Larry Leder found Allyn & Bacon. He had a connection with them.

Birkner: Friedman wound up getting a job in Georgia?

Shade: She did her career at the University of Georgia, and had taught at Old Dominion before that. Finally, at the end of her career, she got married to another faculty member, and they both retired and moved back to Bethlehem. She was originally from Bethlehem, and had gone to Moravian College, because Lehigh didn't have any women undergraduate students at the time.

Birkner: That started in the early '70s. You once gave a talk about that, and it was published ["Slouching toward Bethlehem: Lehigh University Goes Coed," 1985]. There must have been a symposium on schools going coed, and you wound up writing the Lehigh piece, is that right?

Shade: Yes.

Birkner: How did you get on to that?

Shade: Gloria Steinem was brought in to do a lecture on women's studies when we were putting together the Women's Studies Program, then [Skidmore College] had a symposium, and I was invited to it. One of my female graduate student friends taught there.

Birkner: You had to go to the archives as well as do some interviews to complete this piece?

Shade: Yes, although I was at Lehigh at the time it was going on, and was on the committee that was involved deeply with it.

Birkner: That must have been an exciting moment for Lehigh. I assume some of the old-time alumni were not happy with it.

Shade: You're right. *[laughs]* You can only imagine that a lot of them were not happy with that.

Birkner: On the other hand, wouldn't 50 percent of their children have been women, and would they not have had a stake in wanting their kids to have that option?

Shade: Exactly. It was very interesting, the kind of fight that went on. It ended up like all of the fights that have to do with men and women — it was about bathrooms. *[laughter]*

Birkner: Lawrence Henry Gipson was one of the grand old men of Lehigh — and I mean old — by the time you met him. When did you first make a connection with Gipson? Take it from there, in terms of your doing a conference [and] collection of essays about him.

Shade: The Gipson collection [was done] when I was editing Pennsylvania History. I also did one on Roy Nichols. I was sort of fascinated to meet Gipson. He wasn't really in the department; he had his own suite, with his own assistants. It was in the library.

Birkner: Sort of like Dumas Malone at UVA [University of Virginia] in the early '70s?

Shade: Yes. It was supported entirely by the president's office. I don't think he had taught at Lehigh in years. He was mostly a scholar. He was writing a history of Lehigh when he died.

Birkner: Malone was writing a history of UVA when he died, after finishing the six volumes on Jefferson.

Shade: Gipson did his 15 volumes on the British Empire.

Birkner: When you arrived in ’66, Gipson was still working on that series?

Shade: He was still finishing the British Empire thing.

Birkner: Had you been aware of him before coming to Lehigh, or did you become aware of him on coming to Lehigh?

Shade: I had actually read one of the books he wrote in the New American Nation series [The Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1775, published in the New *American Nation* Series in 1954]. I had read that before, so I was interested in him. He was interested in me — he wanted to get some new blood into the History Department, and he was really happy. So he wanted to talk to me about what I was going to do, and what I was doing, and he was really with it until he died.

Birkner: He died in his mid-nineties, I’m thinking.

Shade: 91. He was still writing, as I said, and he was interested in looking at what I had written, and talking to me about it, and [about] what I was planning to do — things like that. Gipson ate lunch in the faculty dining room every day. He was a man of steady ways, shall we say. He walked home and to the school — it was only maybe half a mile — he walked around the campus, and he worked in his suite.

Birkner: Did he have a coterie of people he regularly ate with, or did he eat with different people, or by himself?

Shade: He ate with a group of older faculty.

Birkner: Where did you connect with him? Did you go to him or did he come down to you?

Shade: I went to him. But he was aware of who was being hired and all of this, and someone had given him my dossier. Actually, he got along with the old guy who hired me. So we got to talking, and he noticed that I was editor of Pennsylvania History, and he had a subscription to Pennsylvania History. He was one of the founding members of the Pennsylvania Historical Association.

Birkner: You didn't become editor of Pennsylvania History until 1968, but you were appointed Assistant Professor at Lehigh in '66. Did he not meet you until '68?

Shade: No, I think we met right after I went there. I got the Pennsylvania History post from a guy who was the previous editor, who was at Temple, Seth Scheiner. He said, "You ought to do this." So I went through the motions, and finally he turned it over to me. Somewhere in that time, and I don't remember the exact timing of it, I talked to Gipson, and off and on I would drop in and see him.

Birkner: I thought you had done a special issue of Pennsylvania History about Gipson, but you have it listed here as a book.

Shade: It's published separately also. Lehigh published it.

Birkner: How did you come up with the idea of doing [that]?

Shade: I was thinking about making something like this part of Pennsylvania History, expanding different kinds of things. I'm not sure exactly who suggested this to me, but it came out of discussions with my colleagues, and with Leder and others, and also the guy who was president of Lehigh who had been supporting Gipson. So it looked like an obvious thing to do. Then I just had to look around and find some people to write some of the articles.

Birkner: What do you think about what you produced?

Shade: I think it was OK. It came out, and I think we did as well as we could. The so-called Asa Packer Society ["established in 1967 to perpetuate the philanthropic tradition of Lehigh's founder"] bought a pile of these books and gave them out to all of their members.

Birkner: In the course of putting this together, did you figure out why Gipson wound up at Lehigh?

Shade: He was at Wabash College, and I think Lehigh got some money and went out and recruited him. He wanted to go someplace where he could do more than he could at Wabash College. [Lehigh] pretty much left him alone so that he could work on his great work.

Birkner: I wonder if anybody reads it anymore.

Shade: I don't know. That's an interesting question.

Birkner: I was intrigued by it when I first was in graduate school — not that I was ever going to read all those books. But if you looked at the books, you knew that the first several were published by Caxton Press in Idaho. That was run by his brother, wasn't it?

Shade: Yes.

Birkner: I guess it got such positive reviews that then Knopf picked it up. It's an unusual thing, isn't it, to go from an obscure press in Idaho to being published by Alfred Knopf?

Shade: Absolutely, to go from a press that you knew would take it because it was your brother. I once met Knopf at an AHA cocktail party. He told me how much he respected Gipson and felt he had a responsibility to support such scholarly projects.

Birkner: I was recently working in the Robert Taft papers at the Library of Congress. Gipson's brother was a Taft supporter, and was writing him about how to defeat Eisenhower in '52; [the letter] was on Caxton Press stationery. It hit me that that's how that connected.

Shade: Gipson was a Republican. He was sort of a nineteenth-century Republican. *[laughter]* He was a nineteenth-century everything, in many ways. But no, he was still a Republican when he died.

Birkner: It's my impression that back in the '60s the Pennsylvania Historical Association drew its sustenance from virtually every college in Pennsylvania, and that department chairs would encourage their members, whether Americanists or not, to join the PHA.

Shade: Yes.

Birkner: So when you came to Lehigh, it was a good thing to join the PHA. Was Leder involved with the PHA?

Shade: He came after [me], but not really. I don't even know if he was a member. He had much more involvement with the New-York Historical Society.

Birkner: That's where his scholarship was.

Shade: Yeah, and his work was on New York.

Birkner: It sounds like you were not so much recruited to edit the journal through your PHA connection per se as through your Seth Scheiner connection. Is that correct?

Shade: Yeah. He was one of the younger people at Temple when I was there, and I got to know him when I got to know Herb [Ershkowitz]. He encouraged me to join the PHA. My advisors and teachers at Wayne were always pushing: "Belong to associations. Be a part of the profession." I'm a member of a number of professional associations—six, I think. You asked me, did anybody ever tell me exactly what to do to get promoted at Lehigh. One of the things that was told me by the older faculty

members who eventually made me part of their group was that you should be professionally active. Not just publish, but be a part of the history profession. Give papers; go to meetings; be on various boards. In fact, it was the idea that you were part of the profession, more than what you published, that was [what] they said they were looking for.

Birkner: That fit the ethos of the era for places that wanted to do well.

Shade: And were trying to build up their [programs]. As I said before, we'd go to the AHA as a group.

Birkner: That speaks well of the department and its ethos.

Shade: It's kind of an interesting thing about that. The [History Department] — Joe and Leon particularly, [who] were old drinking buddies — had something of a reputation, because we would often eat lunch in a bar called the Tally Ho.

Birkner: People would have a little snort at lunch?

Shade: Sometimes. Particularly if they'd had a class in the morning and didn't have anything in the afternoon.

Birkner: *[laughs]* And sometimes even if they did.

Shade: And sometimes even if they did. Also, we had evening classes, and when Tipton and I had the same evening classes, after the class, we'd go directly to the Tally Ho. *[laughs]* Sometimes with graduate students, and sometimes without.

Birkner: I was having a conversation recently about college teachers in the ‘60s, and the conversation gravitated to the fact that a lot of faculty members smoked.

Shade: I didn’t smoke. That’s one of the few sins I haven't [committed], in part because of my mother being a smoker, and in part because my father was very opposed to smoking. Most of the people in the department did.

Birkner: Were they more pipes or cigarettes?

Shade: Cigarettes. I think Haight smoked a pipe.

Birkner: People smoked while they were teaching, did they not?

Shade: Yes, they did. I remember some people at Brown smoked while they were teaching. I never did, and I think there was a division between the smokers and non-smokers. I remember it was in the ‘70s [when] the dean finally decided to outlaw smoking in offices, and I took up the case for the smokers, who were friends of mine. *[laughs]*

Birkner: Do you have a memory [of] who the majordomos were in the [PHA]? I’m going to guess Philip Klein would have been one of the people who was central to that organization.

Shade: Yes. I don’t have too much memory about how it was run, but certainly Phil Klein was a very important fellow. Phil Klein was always very nice to me. I got along with him very well, and at one time he told me that he thought I should take his place at Penn State.

Birkner: Tell me about what you thought you could do as editor of Pennsylvania History. The two things that stand out, from my perspective, were the Gipson special issue and the {Roy F.] Nichols special issue. The Nichols special issue is still valuable; I've used it many times in my own work. Was that [created] because he was retiring, and you wanted to do something to mark that?

Shade: Yes, and also because he was one of my favorite historians. Oddly enough, considering their differences, Benson was always very high on Nichols. Benson did not just end up at Penn by chance. I eventually did meet both Roy and Jeanette, and it was just one of those things. I really liked his work.

Birkner: Did you meet him in connection with this special issue, or for other purposes?

Shade: I think I first met him through some sort of connection when I was at Temple. It was sort of like I looked up to him, and I just listened.

Birkner: Was he still alive when the special issue came out?

Shade: I think so.

Birkner: He went into a period of cognitive diminishment, right?

Shade: Yeah, that's as I remember.

Birkner: But I'm sure his wife would have wanted to see this happen, and would've been happy with it [even] if he wasn't totally aware of it.

Shade: I hadn't been thinking about this, but I think Russ Weigley introduced me to Nichols. I'm not sure exactly what the occasion was. Nichols may have been over at Temple giving a lecture. But it was through Russ that I met a number of people, actually. But he was very tight with the Penn people.

Birkner: Aside from those special issues, how do you recall your years as editor of Pennsylvania History?

Shade: It was a lot of work, but what I remember was trying to recruit more people to write for it. I did send letters to people and try to encourage them to contribute, and tried to broaden the contributor base. And I think I did — I did get some people to write articles that weren't long; Jack[son Turner] Main, for one. I just wanted to try and broaden it out, make it less parochial, a journal that other people might want to read.

Birkner: What kind of support did you have in terms of getting the issues out? Did you have an associate editor who had responsibilities for certain things?

Shade: I was pretty much it.

Birkner: You did everything — solicited the articles, vetted the articles, copy-edited the articles, and saw it through the

press four times a year. You were doing that on top of your regular teaching load. Did they pay you in those days? I'm thinking they may not have started paying editors until the '80s.

Shade: I don't think they paid me ever. I don't remember actually. *[laughs]* I certainly didn't get much, if I got anything. I thought of it as being something to add to my résumé.

Birkner: In a way, you and I have that in common, because you were still an assistant professor when you took this on, and [at] virtually the same place in your career that I was when I took it on. I was [relatively new] at Millersville University when I was asked to become editor [in 1987]. In the scheme of things, I made some good connections with people that I've liked over the years. But the amount of labor that [goes] into it for the amount of benefit you get from it is disproportionate. You could do better things with your time if you're not doing that, and I was trying to get out a book, et cetera, and you were too.

Shade: I met a wider variety of historians when I was running the Gipson Institute. Gipson left money to create this eighteenth-century studies institute named for him, and that meant that I could bring several speakers a year to Lehigh, and then publish [them] — some of those books I edited were collections of these essays that I ended up with. So what I

tried to do was bring in as many big-time Colonial historians as I could possibly do.

Birkner: Did you have help with that?

Shade: There was an advisory board and all of that. I was director, in fact co-director — a person in the English Department and [me].

Birkner: How long did you do that?

Shade: For quite a while — maybe 10 years.

Birkner: You got quite a few [grants].

Shade: That's one of the things [we] did. We gave out grants for people to do research. I did not give myself any grants.

Birkner: You are not, technically speaking, an eighteenth-century scholar. How did you manage to get these grants?

Shade: We gave them out for a number of other things. We even gave them sometimes to people who weren't American historians. That was connected with some stuff that Lehigh did, and so we used it as a vehicle to get these grants from the Lehigh Office of Research.

Birkner: One of the books that came out of this was called Revisioning the British Empire before the American Revolution: Essays from 20 Years of the Lawrence Henry Gipson Institute for Eighteenth-Century Studies. This was published by Lehigh University Press in 1998. That would have been one of the major outcomes of these lectures?

Shade: Yeah. That was one of the things that we had to work out, was what to do with these [lectures].

Birkner: How about The World Turned Upside Down: Essays on the Current State of American Colonial History, Lehigh University Press, 2001, which you did with Michael Kennedy?

Shade: He was a student of mine. He was a student actually of Larry Leder's.

Birkner: Was this a Gipson Institute venture?

Shade: That was a Gipson venture; that was connected. This whole set of things kind of worked in together.

Birkner: Did you ever get either [Bernard] Bailyn or [Edmund] Morgan to Lehigh for this program?

Shade: No, I didn't, but I was always hoping to. I tried to get Bailyn several times, and it just didn't work out. I don't think the people we brought in were "chopped liver." We only brought in two or three speakers a year and ultimately I published [their lectures] in three books.

Birkner: Did you get Michael Zuckerman? He was a hop and a skip from Lehigh [being based at the University of Pennsylvania].

Shade: Yes. We also had a visiting committee that some of these kinds of people served on, to oversee the History Department. There were a number of people who were well-known

Colonialists. Jack Greene and Richard Bushman are hardly unknowns.

Birkner: Does the Gipson Institute still operate at Lehigh?

Shade: I don't think it does. I was recently told that it wasn't operating anymore. It had a number of different directors; one of the Latin Americanists, Jim Saeger, was director at one time. So it changed around.

Birkner: If I were to be on the Lehigh campus, walk into the History Department, talk to the hires of the last 15 years, and say, "Tell me about Lawrence Henry Gipson," would any of them be able to do it?

Shade: I'm afraid probably not. *[laughs]*

Birkner: It's a sign of our own obsolescence as historians — we all have shelf lives, right?

Shade: Oh, yes. Also, honestly, I don't know most of the people in the department. There are a couple of them left from my time. Roger Simon, John Smith, who is in the History of Technology. Steve Cutcliffe, who was the chair — I'm not even sure who's chair right now — was a student of Leder's. He went through the whole thing of coming up as a student and then staying around, and he ran a History of Technology Institute. When I left, Jean Soderlund was the chair, but she then became an administrator. I haven't seen Jean in quite a while. The last time I ran into John Smith and his wife — who is also a

historian, by the way — was coming out of a State [liquor] Store. *[laughs]* There's a State Store right off the Lehigh campus. Very convenient place.

Birkner: We've been talking about your connections with the Gipson Institute and the PHA, but looking back on it, what professional organizations meant the most to you?

Shade: I've been active by attending meetings of the Organization of American Historians, the Southern Historical Association, and the American Historical Association. But the one that I probably have — I've been on the board and all sorts of things — is SHEAR [Society for Historians of the Early American Republic].

Birkner: [You belonged] pretty much from the beginning?

Shade: Yeah, although I officially am not one of the founders of SHEAR. James Broussard, who founded SHEAR, talked about doing this even back when I was at Virginia [1972-73]. It's one that I probably will continue to go to; it's probably the one that I've been most active in. The Social Science History Association also. I've been involved in the Social Science History Society since its beginning, pretty much. It was basically founded by Benson.

Birkner: You have ranged fairly widely over a long period, going back and forth between doing different kinds of history. I

think it speaks again well of you not getting pigeonholed into one thing.

Shade: I've done an awful lot of political history. I went to that Michigan summer program on statistics and using social science modeling and things like that, and I read a lot of social science stuff.

Birkner: What was the biggest impact of that Michigan program on the work you did?

Shade: That's really hard to say. It just improved my skills. It lifted the skill level, and I met some other people. Some of the things that I've published are done with people that I met there.

Birkner: Who would be an example of that?

Shade: Stephen Moiles. No one [else] you would know, other than Jerry Clubb, who was running the seminar. The articles we wrote began as a project at the program.

Birkner: As a relatively young professor at Lehigh, you spent a year at the University of Virginia. It had something to do with the fact that the chairman of the History Department at Virginia at the time, Merrill Peterson, knew the chairman of the History Department at Lehigh. Is that right?

Shade: They had known each other, because they taught at Brandeis together. Virginia got to a point where they needed somebody in Jacksonian history — Richard Ellis had gone to

Buffalo, I think it was — so Larry Leder pushed me with Merrill Peterson, and eventually [the department at UVA] said, "OK, we'll take a look at you." It seems that at the same time they were looking at Michael Holt; we're about the same age, and we're about the same place in our career, although his book was published before my book. He obviously did get the job, and is still there, I think.

Birkner: He's retired.

Shade: He's retired, but he's still in Charlottesville.

Birkner: You didn't go through a process [of] applying for a job; you were there as a visiting professor for a year.

Shade: Right, while they were looking me over, essentially.

Birkner: Were [members of the Department] coming into your classes? Were you giving a paper to the Department? How did they look you over?

Shade: I did give at least one paper; I may have given more. I discussed a lot of things will Bill Abbott, who was the chair at the time. Merrill was no longer the chair; I think Bill had just taken over. I talked with Merrill, and with Willie Lee Rose [and] biked to school with Joe Kett, who was a neighbor who I liked to work with. It wasn't really formal, but there was an awful lot of discussion.

Birkner: Tell me how you felt about being there that year. I got the sense you were enjoying yourself.

Shade: I did enjoy myself, yes. I thought it was a good place, a good department, certainly, and the people there were very nice to me.

Birkner: But the expectation was [that] it was a one-year position, and you could go back to Lehigh.

Shade: Right. Larry Leder wanted me to come back to Lehigh. Out of all of the discussion, he raised my salary significantly. *[laughs]* He did that several times when I was offered [other jobs].

Birkner: Can you tell me about the other opportunities?

Shade: If somebody had come up with a job at what I would have considered a more major school, I would consider going to the Midwest, or out to California. The worst thing I did in my career, I think, was when I didn't go to Santa Barbara. Larry also upped the ante there. We had a historian of technology, Carroll Purcell, as a visiting professor, and he and his family and my wife and I became very close friends. In fact, his son used to live in our television room, because Carroll, a historian of technology, would not have a television in his home. *[laughs]* So Matt, who is now a Ph.D. historian, spent an awful lot of time sitting in our TV room — [he'd] come home from school and go to our back room and watch television. His very lovely sister caught my son's eye. *[laughs]*

Birkner: You had an opportunity to go out to Santa Barbara?

Shade: They [Robert Kelly and Carroll] were asking me clearly to come and go through the formal [process], and so I thought about it. It's very interesting — I discussed it with a number of people, [and] for some odd reason, Hayden White [a Wayne State gradate] was one of them. He said that one thing I should think about is how different the California culture was, and how difficult it would be for my family there. He taught at Santa Barbara too, and was pointing out some differences. So I was considering that, and talking to my wife, and thinking about the kids at school and whether this would disrupt them, and so in the end, I decided to withdraw from their [search].

Birkner: You have an occasional twinge about it?

Shade: Yes. I'd never been there. When my son was 14, which would have been [in] '83, we decided to take a family trip around the United States, going pretty much from college to college to college where I knew people. The western end of that trip was in Santa Barbara, with Carroll and his family. That's the first time I saw how lovely Santa Barbara is, and how these kids keep their surfboards in their rooms. But also, I met some more of the people from Santa Barbara, who I was very impressed by. I have sometimes regretted that I didn't push harder for it. They might have ended up [taking me] — although <u>they</u> were asking <u>me</u> to get involved in their search.

Birkner: You did move up the ranks at Lehigh. Did you ever chair the department?

Shade: No.

Birkner: Why was that?

Shade: I'm not sure. I didn't particularly want to. I enjoyed running American Studies.

Birkner: Did you have a long-term chair during your era there?

Shade: Yeah, Larry Leder was there until Jean Soderlund [took over], from when he was hired in the '60s.

Birkner: In the last 20 years, the tendency for long-term chairs has dramatically decreased. Nobody wants to chair departments because of the paperwork involved; it's much more than it was even 10 years ago. Any tenure decision that's negative is possibly going to litigation, so you have to have everything done out the wazoo in terms of detailed reports and evaluations and such. And that's just one piece of a larger set of responsibilities that a chair would have.

Shade: That's been the case at Lehigh. The long term that Larry had [lasted] until I think '89, when we hired Chris Daniels as the Colonial historian, although Larry lived on further — Larry was one of my neighbors too. Since then, there have been several [department chairs]. Joe took over until we hired Jean.

Birkner: How do you place Lehigh in the constellation of higher education?

Shade: I think that one of those rankings — what is it, US News and World Report, or something that ranks colleges — consistently ranks Lehigh in the thirties, 34th, 32nd. I think it's definitely in the upper tier. I can't say whether it's 28th or [what].

Birkner: Those ratings are quite arbitrary anyway.

Shade: They're terribly arbitrary. But I think the quality of the faculty across the board is very good. I got to know a lot of the people in the English Department; I know a lot of the economists. One of my best social friends is an economist. The Business College is ranked very highly. Lehigh's reputation was basically built by the Engineering College, and [that] continues to be, I'm told, very, very good; but the Business College, which was started in the '50s, has now got quite a good reputation. I think the Liberal Arts College, from what I know, is very good.

In McGinniss Hall, we shared a building with the Political Science Department — which calls itself the Politics Department — and Religious Studies, Classics, and Foreign Languages. There's a neat thing in McGinniss Hall: there's a room that's set up in there that gets satellite television. This is for the Foreign Language Department, which is up on the third floor; the

English Department is up there too. You get the news from the major capitals of the world on television, in [their] languages. You get Paris, and it's in French. And Moscow! There were three Russian speakers in Politics and International Relations while I was there who went up and listened to the Moscow news every day.

Birkner: The relationship between Lehigh and Lafayette is often spoken of in terms of [their] sports rivalry. But is there any other kind of relationship one should know about? Do the History Departments converse?

Shade: Yeah, sure. I've taught at Lafayette. There was — it no longer exists, I'm told — something called the Clio Society, which started out bringing together the historians from Moravian, Muhlenberg, Cedar Crest, Lehigh, and Lafayette. It started out that they actually gave papers, but then it turned into a drinking and eating society. But they'd meet a couple of times a year and get together at one of the schools. There was a very cordial relationship between the historians, and we exchanged faculty. So I've taught at Cedar Crest, Muhlenberg, Moravian, [and] Lafayette.

Birkner: Under what auspices? How does the pay thing work?

Shade: You get your Lehigh paycheck.

Birkner: You do it because they need someone with your expertise in a given semester?

Shade: Yeah. The first time I taught at Lafayette, I had just arrived at Lehigh. In the second semester, the person who taught Civil War history at Lafayette had emphysema, and two days before the semester his doctor said, "You cannot teach."

Birkner: That would have been Edwin Coddington.

Shade: Ed Coddington, yes, who I didn't know from Adam back then, actually; I don't think I ever did meet him. Coddington had three courses. One of the deans at Lafayette was a historian. They called Lehigh, and Joe Dowling, the intellectual historian, took over one of Coddington's courses, and I took over the Civil War course. We did get paid an overload salary for that. On the exchanges, though, you got your [regular department salary]. When I taught at Cedar Crest, Bart Shaw taught Southern history at Lehigh, and I taught women's history at Cedar Crest — which is a women's school. I was the first person to teach women's history at Cedar Crest. *[laughs]*

Birkner: I want to give you an opportunity here at the closing to offer any reflection you thought appropriate about the career you've had and the life you've lived. From my perspective, I would say you've packed more into this last half-century than almost anyone I know. But I'm sure I've missed things, so why don't you say anything you'd like?

Shade: One of the things that I thought we might talk about was the wonderful experience I had when I was working for the Advisory Board of the Secretary of the Interior for the National Park Service. When I was editor of Pennsylvania History, somebody suggested to Senator Hugh Scott that maybe I would be a good person for the Historical Manuscripts Commission — a 28-year-old, one-article historian, which they didn't know until they saw my vitae. I didn't receive that. In fact, my wife was reading a newspaper and said, "Hey, somebody took your job!" *[laughs]* The president of the American Philosophical Association [got it].

Anyway, eventually Scott's office put me on this Advisory Board. Although it was a couple of years later, I still was not the quality of person that they were [seeking]. As I said, the person I was put on with the same day was Lady Bird Johnson. She and the astronaut, Wally Schirra, and a lot of other people — Nate Owings, who did the Washington Mall, and [co-founded] Owings, Skidmore, and Merrill, one of the biggest architecture firms in the country. It was all people like that. But I served on that for 10 years, and that was just amazingly good fun. We'd meet once in Washington and once in a national park. Getting to know some of these people . . . Marian Haskell. You don't know Marian Haskell, I don't think.

Birkner: Was she married to the Haskell from Time-Life?

Shade: Yes, but she owns The New York Times. Marian Ochs Sulzberger Haskell. *[laughter]* I actually had dinner with both of them in their apartment at 1 United Nations Plaza. Those are the kinds of people that are usually put on. I was not only 15 years younger than anyone else, but also totally unknown. But it's certainly fun to go to cocktail parties with those people.

Birkner: I would close this with a comment you made off the tape, which is that your life has been punctuated by some remarkable opportunities that you can associate with serendipity or luck.

Shade: Right. That was total luck that I was put on that advisory board. I told you about my lucky chance to get the interview at Lehigh.

Birkner: And the opportunities you've had to teach abroad, and to be editor of Pennsylvania History — you knew Seth Scheiner from Temple. Et cetera. I think that that doesn't mark your life as unique in any way, because other people have these serendipitous things too. But your life [has] had really good bumps and accidents, and you were able to have a very rich career. In the end, you made the most of every opportunity, Bill, and that's what I think makes a career.

Shade: I had good choices. Undoubtedly, had I not gotten the interview at Lehigh, I would have gotten another interview. There were jobs then, it was not as bad as it's become. If I

had stayed at the first job that I had right after Brown, I probably would have gone to Atlanta and been in the CDC and worked my way up in the bureaucracy there.

Birkner: But we both agree that the academic world can make for a high quality of life.

Shade: The best thing about the academic world is that you have so much control over your time. Also, it's something that's fun. I really like doing this. In fact, one of my Russian friends said to me that what was noticeable about me when I was lecturing is how much I enjoy it, and how much I like dealing with the students. I'm in contact with some of my old students today. The graduate students particularly, although I didn't have many, because the Lehigh graduate program in history is very small; but I did have some, and then I got to know some. One of my closer friends was one of Leon Tipton's students in Medieval History. But he and I clicked, so I was a friend of his until he died of cancer. Another one of my friends, who I just got a letter from, decided not to go to graduate school after he'd been an undergraduate. He got a master's degree from Lehigh, and then he went to law school. He's been a very, very successful corporate lawyer in Washington.

Birkner: I'm at the age where I've reflected on these very same things, and you say it better than I could say it. These associations that come out of your teaching and mentoring

experiences are very meaningful. It's been meaningful for me to know you for over 40 years, and to have the opportunity to talk with you in this way.

[End of Interview]

[Afterward: Handwritten comments appended to Bill Shade's corrections on the draft transcript; also, Shade sent in additional comments via email after reading the revised drafts.]

Michael, I know that you did not want to concentrate on my immediate family, but you also know how much one's partner plays in the evolution of one's career. I met my wife (formerly Mary Lou Langford] when I was at Brown and she was at Wheaton, and we have been married for fifty-two years. She went through my kicking around at Brown and my indecision about a career.

At one point we considered going to graduate school at NYU where I could work on a Ph.D with Tom Govan, and she could get a degree in Social Work. When I got my very lucrative offer from Wayne she thought about enrolling there. However, to support us she got a job doing real Social Work with the Girl Scouts. She continued to think about getting a degree until our daughter, Alexandra, was born.

When we moved to Bethlehem she gave up formally being a Social Worker, and became an activist in women's groups inside and outside the university. We had another kid, Christopher, and eventually she was president of the local League of Women

Voters. This was before she finally, in 1979, began selling books at the Moravian Bookshop, which you probably do not know is the oldest continuing operating bookstore in the world. Our "kids" are both presidents of small businesses and great parents. One of my grand-children might just become a historian.

March 2015 addendum:

Although Robert Kelley encouraged me to apply for the Fulbright at Moscow State University, I was led to my first Fulbright application by an odd coincidence. I was playing tennis with my Economist friend, Ritchie Aronson. Earlier that day we had both read a flyer about available Fulbrights that has circulated around Lehigh and during a break he suggested that we both should apply. He ended up in York, England and I in Galway, Ireland. I ended up teaching /American history at night school at the branch of University College, Galway, in Ennis as well as two courses at the main campus. It was a wonderful experience for me and my family. I met a number of Irish scholars who remain friends. My closest faculty friends at Galway, Nicholas Canny and Gearoid O' Tuathaigh. received got their Ph.Ds respectively at Penn and Cambridge. My family and I also saw as much of Ireland as we could, including the area from which my mother's family came. I also read a lot of Irish history, which I worked into my courses both there and back at Lehigh. I also developed a student-faculty

exchange although that took time and the work of others to come to fruition. Ritchie and I saw an opportunity and came back as boosters of such exchanges. This led to a trip to the British Isles, along with a friend in the Scholl of Education,, Bay Bell—a Scot by birth—to open talks about various exchanges.

This led a decade to yet another trip to try to expand our contacts. Part of this involved my teaching at the University of Nottingham and the visit to a dozen colleges to discuss exchanges. I put 3,000 miles in my rental car before joining my wife and son in Ireland where I visited more schools. Then in 1988 I joined with three colleagues with Lehigh connections in Dublin for an International Women's Studies Convention. In the early 1990s I had lured with a fellowship. Una Bromeil is the niece of one of my Galway friends. She now has a Lehigh Ph.D and published her dissertation in Ireland. After I retired from Lehigh and became a world traveler, she invited me to come to Ireland. As ended up I taught at three college—Mary Magdolin and the University of Limerick, where Una has a joint appointment, and again in Ennis .

All along I wanted to get the Fulbright Distinguished Professorship at Moscow State University. At one point I did apply, but various family matters forced me to withdraw. After retiring from Lehigh and my last Ireland adventure, I thought that would be out of the question. But then luck once again intervened and gave me a new career in Russia. A very well known American scholar, who had

been chosen, withdrew very late in the process. They needed a replacement and looked back in their records and found me. They called and I immediately said yes.

I had no sense of what it might mean for my family nor any sense that I was beginning a new adventure that would last a decade. As in Ireland I developed a very close set of friends among the Russian Americanists. I found out that regardless of our countries differences that most Russians like Americans, one on one, and that the students were fascinated by the United States. I also found out that good students in b/Bethlehem PA are little different from those in Galway and in Moscow. I also did my best to get into the profession, going to conferences and giving lectures at various colleges. In my first week I attended an American Studies conference and was invited to lecture at Volgograd—formerly Stalingrad—by a Russian who had taught at Moravian College in Bethlehem.

I had intended to enjoy my year and come home, but in part by my connections established by my closest Russian friend, Masha Troyanovsky, who had been my "handler" for my Fulbright, I ended up teaching at five other colleges in Moscow and lecturing at a number of other places. Through this I met a number of Russian Americanists. I helped one student get a Fulbright to the US and others developing relationships with American scholars. I also published several articles in Russia and edit two sets of symposium papers. I even spent one

winter semester teaching 7th and 10th grade students Ifelt more at home at the Russian Academy of Sciences than at the Library of Congress. Everywhere I was well treated and developed friendships I maintain. People have often asked me if the American history Russians teach is slanted. The fact is or was during the time I spent among them that what they teach is what we call “Progressive History,” an economic interpretation very much in the mold of Charles A. Beard or Carl Becker.