

**Closeout Report to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for the
Gutenberg-e Fellowship and Publication Program,
December 1998 to March 31, 2008**

Introduction

As the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation's support for the Gutenberg-e fellowship and publication program comes to an end, we can report that this effort has been a qualified success. By the end of the project, 35 e-books will have been published in the program, offering a model to other scholars looking to create born-digital scholarship in history. Within the traditional parameters of our profession, the books are examples of exceptional scholarship while also demonstrating the rich possibilities of digital publication. More significantly, almost two-thirds of the authors will be tenured or on the tenure track (which is slightly above the average for history PhDs five years from degree). This indicates there is no substantial risk for publishing an online monograph. Nevertheless, the Press has felt the need to go beyond the original conception of the project by publishing print archival editions of the online products. In doing so, they have responded to the need expressed by authors for print copies to share with tenure review committees and book review editors. The Press feels that in the current environment, online publications need a print analog to minimize the risk to authors.

Working on the project also prompted us to develop a wide range of related studies on publication practices and the academic reward system in history, which will continue to benefit authors of electronic monographs and members of our discipline more generally. In the process, we also developed and promoted systems to help legitimate digital scholarship by better integrating it into the book review process in our field, closely examined some hidden assumptions about the requirements for tenure and promotion, and generally promoted the merits of digital scholarship.

But the project is not a complete success. It has not met the Foundation's goal of a sustainable business model for the project, though the partners in the project differ about why that might be. The "first-copy" costs proved to be higher for books making any substantial use of the digital medium than regular print books, and their availability in an online form did not reduce the costs of working in and through traditional channels for marketing and legitimation of these books.

In the end, the Gutenberg-e program yielded several useful results and lessons for the future, and enriched the world of historical scholarship. The project has also served as a valuable model for others studying and considering the development of online monograph projects in the humanities and related fields—where the monograph remains the "gold standard" for promotion and tenure—and we expect these books will continue to do so for the foreseeable future.

A Brief History

The Gutenberg-e program, launched in 1999 with the inspiration of AHA President Robert Darnton and a generous grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, was designed to use the prestige of the AHA and the Columbia University Press to set a high standard for electronic publishing. The AHA was responsible for selecting top-quality dissertations in the field—“by conferring the bluest of ribbons awarded by the grandest of juries with the full authority of the AHA behind it.” The Columbia University Press was responsible for assisting the authors in converting those dissertations into electronic monographs, and adding the weight and prestige of an esteemed university press behind the results.

Between 1999 and 2004, the AHA awarded 38 Gutenberg-e prizes (**Attachment 1**) to dissertations from many different fields and topics in history. Distinguished panels of scholars judged the dissertations, and selected award recipients primarily on their scholarly merits. Each prize consisted of a \$20,000 fellowship to be used by the authors to convert their dissertations into electronic monographs. Only 35 of the authors submitted final manuscripts for publication, and as of this writing, 24 are now published and online, while another 11 are in various stages of production, with the final publications to appear in August of this year (**Attachment 2**).

Adjusting Initial Goals and Expectations

Looking back almost a decade later, the initial assumptions of the project seem rather naïve. Back in 1998, we feared that scholarly monographs were at risk. As library budgets were squeezed by the rising costs of journals, we worried that the pressure on the system of scholarly publication might cause them to curtail monograph purchases and the presses in turn to curtail the number of new titles produced. And within our discipline, there was a good deal of anecdotal evidence that younger scholars were finding it more difficult to get their books published. Given that, we thought it best to look toward other less expensive forms of publication, and concluded that digital monographs would provide a useful alternative to print publication. We also felt digital publication offered a way to do history not just cheaper, but better. Some of these assumptions proved to be false (the publishing crisis), while others proved to be mutually exclusive (the notion that we could publish more for less).

Working from our sense that there was a crisis in the scholarly publishing system, we expected a flood of applications. Instead, we received only a trickle. Nevertheless, the judges only conferred awards to worthy projects, which meant that in some years as few as three dissertations were selected. In the end, one quarter of the awards were conferred in the final year of the project, when we finally opened up applications to all fields. While the uneven distribution of awards allowed us to maintain a high standard of peer review in the project, it also led to critical delays in the number of authors working in the project at any given time.

And shortly after we had selected the first cohort of authors, we discovered another faulty assumption—that dissertations could be turned into digital monographs within 12 months. We probably should have known better—it typically takes historians more than three years to turn dissertations into monographs—but we were optimistic that with the large fellowship offered by the program (\$20,000), Gutenberg-e authors could buy release time

and focus on their revisions. We failed to consider that as early career scholars, they would face any number of disruptions in their lives, such as entering new jobs (sometimes more than one), developing syllabi and lectures for new classes, and taking on heavy teaching loads as the junior members of their departments.

We also failed to appreciate the added burden of turning their dissertations not just into books, but into born-digital books. Early on, the authors expressed bewilderment at what a born-digital monograph would look like. Fortunately, with the help of a supplemental grant from the Foundation, we were able to bring the authors together for a series of workshops at Columbia University. This helped them talk through many of the difficulties involved in creating digital monographs with staff at Columbia, experts in the emerging field of digital scholarship, as well as each other. This proved to be an excellent test bed for discussion, and also helped the staff to identify potential trouble spots. Nevertheless, in the end, the authors' production schedules tended to be closer to the average for our discipline (**Attachment 3**).

The delays in the production of the books, and the uneven nature of their final publication dates, made it very difficult for Columbia to market the publications. These factors made it much more difficult to publish them in marketable clusters, or even to offer them in satisfactory bundles to libraries. We also failed to anticipate how many of the problems and costs involved in legitimating and marketing the books would actually be higher for these digital publications.

The one dark cloud that we foresaw going into this project was the possibility that senior historians would not accept these kinds of publications, so legitimating digital scholarship was an important part of the project from the outset. Unfortunately, this proved to be the most durable of our initial assumptions. And in the process, we also discovered that even the most obvious aspects of the legitimation process—making them available to journals for review—proved to be much more difficult in the electronic environment. Initially editors and reviewers balked at simply receiving a letter with a password to review the book, and many sought something tangible “that I can hold in my hand.” This posed a fundamental problem for legitimating the books within the traditional academic reward system. As a compromise, staff at Columbia decided to distribute the access codes along with galley copies of the text in the books, with a strong admonition that this offered just a superficial layer of the actual work. And with the assistance of Michael Grossberg, editor of the *American Historical Review* and president of the Conference of Historical Journals, the early books in the series were widely and generously reviewed. The *Review* then capped off the initial round of publications with a wide-ranging review of the entire project to date, in December 2004.

In recent months, the pace of reviews has slowed considerably despite an increase in the number of publications. This is apparently due to a new generation of editors again grappling with the issue of how to handle books in a digital form. As an editor of the *Pacific Historical Review* recently observed:

We faced two problems. One is the usual challenge to secure an appropriate reviewer for a very specialized book. In this case, we encountered somewhat more than the usual frustration and delay. Perhaps this was because some reviewers didn't want to bother with a strange format, but we don't have any evidence to that effect. Second, our correspondence with Columbia University Press indicated that the book was

undergoing change even after being formally published in electronic form. We may have been mistaken, but we gained the impression that the book was being fine-tuned on line, creating the dilemma of a moving target for both reviewer and readers. We did finally secure a reviewer, although I believe that the review is in our files waiting for publication rather than actually in print. So, any reluctance on our part has been about navigating the logistics (e.g., figuring out that we would need to ask the Press to send the reviewer an access code) rather than arising from concern about the validity of the publication form.¹

While traditional reviews of the publications have presented a challenge, we had far greater success in promoting the merits of the project as a whole. Throughout the project, we received wide attention, which helped to facilitate our larger goals. In the early phases of the project, AHA President Robert Darnton gave high visibility to the project through articles in the AHA newsmagazine *Perspectives*, the *New York Review of Books*, the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, and the *New York Times*. Both the *Chronicle* and the *Times* subsequently followed up with news stories, as did some other journals. As the project moved forward, staff at the AHA sustained attention to the project within the profession through regular articles in *Perspectives*, highlighting the author workshops and the status of the authors as they wound their way through the tenure process. And as the books began to appear online the project received further attention from *Library Journal*, the *Chronicle*, and a number of other authors studying the development of digital scholarship in the humanities.² Meanwhile, Robert Darnton and the project's director at Columbia University, Kate Wittenberg, actively corresponded with the department chairs and tenure committees of the authors, assuring them of their merits of the project. Taken together, it seems these efforts have served the central goal of legitimating electronic monographs in the academic reward system. In the end, the success rate among those authors who actively pursued an academic career seems to be slightly better than the average for Ph.D.'s in our discipline.

And the authors reported a range of positive experience as a result of their part in the project, such as helping them to land a tenure-track positions and advance within the tenure system, and providing time and resources to grow and develop creatively as scholars. While the problems with having their books reviewed presented some obstacles, on the whole, they reported positive experiences as their publications were accepted by their departments and by tenure committees. Many authors also highlighted their collaboration with the staff at Columbia as one of the greatest benefits of the prize, as their suggestions about converting the dissertation into a book and making the most of the electronic medium, helped the authors to grow as scholars.

What We Learned

As the project comes to a close, we look back somewhat ruefully on the erroneous assumptions with which we started, and can only wonder whether the project might have

¹ Carl Abbott, Portland State University e-mail communication to Robert B. Townsend, April 10, 2008. Used with permission from the author.

² Gail Golderman and Bruce Connolly, "Bundles of Books, Part 2," *Library Journal netconnect* (Winter 2004), 19–20; Anthony Watkinson, "Electronic Solutions to the Problems of Monograph Publishing," Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries, 2001; John B. Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*; Jennifer Howard, Gutenberg-e Lets Historians Present Research in Nontraditional Ways, *Chronicle of Higher Education* (July 7, 2006); and Laura Brown et al., *University Publishing in a Digital Age* (New York: Ithaka, 2007).

been more effective if we had planned better. We think the books that have appeared and will appear demonstrate the terrific value and potential for online publications. The books can be distributed more easily, and they can provide a much richer reading experience than a print publication.

As noted in the **Attachment 2**, the books now live on two sites—as part of the ACLS Humanities E-Book Project (HEB), and freely available through the Columbia University Libraries. The two sites will offer distinct benefits and experiences. The books on the Libraries' site represent the authors' initial vision for their publications, within the template of the project. The books made available through this site suggest the range of different approaches made possible by the digital medium. Some incorporated a more open, non-linear narrative style (such as Heidi Gengenbach's *Binding Memories Women as Makers and Tellers of History in Magude, Mozambique*), others added a range and depth of multi-media and archival supplementary materials. Helena Pohlandt-McCormick's "*I Saw a Nightmare...*" *Doing Violence to Memory: The Soweto Uprising, June 16, 1976* for instance offers an extensive collection of images from the police archives of the uprisings, offering a rich resource not only for reading her book, but for other scholars and teachers interested in the subject.

But some time ago the Press recognized that the subscription site for Gutenberg-e was simply not drawing the traffic they had expected or needed to sustain the project. So with the success of the ACLS Humanities E-Book project, they decided to combine the two projects. This will make the books discoverable in the much larger database of the ACLS project, and link them into the deep resources available there. From our perspective, the books published in the HEB collection demonstrate the advantages of a more scalable model of electronic publication, while integrating the books into related scholarship for their subject, incorporating online reviews and the author's related historiography for each title on the HEB site.

As this split form of publication reflects, we also experienced some of the friction between university libraries and university presses described in the recent Ithaka report on *University Publishing in the Digital Age*. The project started out at the Press, but early on the actual production and launch of the titles on the site shifted to a group within the Columbia library along with the day-to-day project administration, while the Press continued to announce the publication in its catalogues and sold the subscriptions. From the perspective of the AHA, it was often not clear which party at Columbia was responsible for critical aspects of the project. What was clear is that the press and the libraries have very different cultures, interests, and business strategies. At the end of the project, the staff at the Press was quite explicit about the problem of procuring titles that were not a good fit with their current areas of specialization, the impact on the business model of our decision to award prizes in under-published areas, the continuing obstacles to generating adequate and timely scholarly reviews of online materials, and the lack of adequate scale built into the conception of the project for funding ongoing publication costs.

Financial Issues

Although it was not explicitly stated as one of the goals of the project, the notion of creating a sustainable model of electronic publishing was certainly an implicit goal of the Foundation. And on that score, the project was clearly not a success. Our successes to date

were only made possible by the generous support from the Foundation, the library and press at Columbia University, and the Humanities E-Book project.

Quite apart from the fellowships given to the authors (which were never considered a “sustainable” part of the project), the costs of administering a selective peer review process for a wide-ranging publication program like this, and the basic costs of preparing books for publication does not seem sustainable without a significant revenue stream or outside support. As the chart of expenses (**Attachment 4**) indicates, the cost of production ran significantly higher than we had budgeted. Sustaining staff for a longer period than anticipated and developing books that make a substantive use of the medium raised the costs much higher than the initial projections. And these variances would appear dramatically greater if they included the true unfunded costs sustained both the Library and the Press during the life of the project.

Despite our initial assumptions that electronic publications would be less expensive to produce, the “first copy” costs of the books proved to be significantly higher for electronic books. The staff time involved in basic copyediting was comparable to that of a print book, but the staff had to take on a number of additional responsibilities to make them truly digital monographs. Assisting the authors with the thornier problems of obtaining rights to images for online publication, creating consistent file types, and standardizing and uploading files, all created significant costs over and above that of print publication. For authors who wanted to really develop their projects and take full advantage of the medium, the costs proved to be even higher. And only a few of those added costs proved to be a benefit to other authors in the project, since each of them brought a different vision and a different set of software requirements for their publication. Lastly, the material in these publications, and the publications themselves, present a significant problem of long-term maintenance and preservation. In the brief life of this project, for instance, the standards for coding web pages changed dramatically. Given that, we feel fortunate that the books will live on in the ACLS Humanities E-book project, which will be better able to migrate the books as the technologies evolve.

As this suggests, taking such full advantage of the medium proved to be double-edged. While it can clearly enrich the scholarship, it also raises a number of basic costs. For a time the Gutenberg-e program was a trend-setter in online publications, and we were regularly consulted for advice and input. But in the end, it seems that John B. Thompson accurately summed up the situation by observing that:

Gutenberg <e> is a highly innovative experiment in electronic scholarly publishing, and for this reason alone it is undoubtedly a worthy project. But as a business proposition it lacks one of the crucial features that enable value to be added in an online environment: scale. As one participant remarked, it suffers from the problem of the “boutique website”—the small, specialized site that finds it hard to get a seat at the table when librarians are dishing out their budgets, and hard to keep a place at the table when the budgets are getting squeezed. Sites of this kind may have a novelty value and may attract the attention of librarians who are sympathetic to the aims of the project, but they are not “must-have” content.³

³ John B. Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, 358.

Looking back, we can only speculate about whether this project could have been more sustainable with a different model. Even if the subscription sales had gone significantly better, it appears in retrospect that it would have done little to cover the real costs of the project. Perhaps if the topical selection had been narrower we could have developed a list that would fit better with the particular specializations of the Press; though the limited number of submissions received from any particular field in the course of the project seemed to preclude that. And perhaps the project could have been more sustainable if it had tried to publish a much larger number of titles, which would allow for the kinds of economy of scale demonstrated by Humanities E-Book.

Conclusion

At this late stage, we feel the project succeeded in its central goal—demonstrating the value and merits of digital publication of monographs. These books stand as models of exceptional scholarship in the discipline and rich examples of how new media can transform the traditional monograph form. The ancillary studies conducted in the course of the project, as well as the effort spent working with journal editors and crafting a better system for assessing these sorts of publications, have helped to secure the future for publications of this kind.

Attachment 1: The Gutenberg-e Prize Recipients

Awards were conferred in the following years and fields: 1999: Africa, colonial Latin America, and South Asia; 2000: Europe before 1800; 2001: Military History and History of Foreign Relations; 2002: North America before 1900; 2003: Women's History and the History of Gender; 2004: Open to All Fields of History. The names of the prizewinners are followed by their institutional affiliation at the time they received the award, dissertation title, the institution where the PhD was awarded, and a precis of the prize committee's recommendations. Please note that this list includes all 38 award recipients—only 35 will finish the project, as indicated in Attachment 3.

1999: Africa, colonial Latin America, and South Asia

Ignacio Gallup-Diaz (Bryn Mawr College)

“The ‘Door of the Seas and the Key to the Universe’: Indian Politics and Imperial Rivalry in the Darién, 1640–1750.” Princeton University, 1999.

This thesis is an ambitious ethnohistory of one of the remotest regions of Latin America and, because of its strategic importance, one of the most conflictual as well. Gallup-Diaz tells the story of indigenous peoples' relations to various European intruders (Spaniards and Scots) and how both the principal Indian group, the Kuna, and the Europeans were affected and altered by the contact. Drawing on manuscript sources from Scotland, England, and Spain, the author demonstrates how native social and political institutions were molded by contact and how Europeans were forced to make indigenous people an integral part of their own calculus of empire. The great strength of the thesis is its engagement with ethnohistorical approaches and its use of historical documentation to establish the cultural dynamic and relationship of the various historical actors. Gallup-Diaz is able to present the Kuna as active players in their own history, able to create new forms of leadership out of the process of contact which enabled them to survive.

Heidi Gengenbach (SUNY at Buffalo)

“Where Women Make History: Pots, Stories, Tattoos, and Other Gendered Accounts of Community and Change in Magude District, Mozambique, c. 1800 to the Present.” University of Minnesota, 1999.

This is a path-breaking study of how women make history, and how their history-making refigures prevailing accounts of rural society and social change in southern Mozambique. Working in an area where documentary sources are mostly silent about African women, and where women themselves, if questioned directly, usually deny any knowledge of “history,” Gengenbach has uncovered a rich and varied archive of unconventional source materials that, together with available archival and oral narratives, illuminates both women's experiences with colonial and postcolonial transformations and their perspectives on history and historymaking. To uncover women's perspectives on the past, Gengenbach moved beyond conventional methods of oral and archival history, living in a rural community for 18 months and using ethnographic methods to explore a wide variety of contemporary practices for clues to women's history and historical knowledge. Gengenbach challenges the recent scholarly argument that, by separating people from the places where their memories are “banked,” historical traumas such as war and apartheid have destroyed memories themselves. Through a series of equally sensitive and original readings of other kinds of contemporary practices like storytelling, pottery making, bodily decoration, and land use, Gengenbach both rewrites the social history of rural southern Mozambique from women's perspectives, and expands the already rich and varied methodological repertoire of historians of Africa.

Anne Hardgrove (University of Texas at San Antonio)

“Community as Public Culture in Modern India: The Marwaris of Calcutta, c. 1897–1997.” University of Michigan, 1999.

This is a most impressive work, adroitly and effectively combining historical and anthropological approaches to an important topic in 20th-century Indian history. The dissertation is a study of the growth and character of a distinctive “Marwari” identity as it developed among migrants from Rajasthan who established themselves from the early 20th century as a dominant commercial and industrial elite in Calcutta. With its view from both the archive and close participant observation, Hardgrove gives us here the first richly textured, intellectually sophisticated, account of this important business community. An exceptional dissertation, sensitive alike to historical change, cultural theory, and ethnographic detail.

Jacqueline Holler (Simon Fraser University)

“Escogidas Plantas”: Nuns and Beatas in Mexico City, 1531–1601.” Emory University, 1998.

This thesis deals with the origins of feminine religiosity in the early history of Mexico. It demonstrates how the early members of the religious orders were conceived of as an extension of the process of conversion and spiritual conquest. Over time, however, the creation of convents became a means of reaffirming the European nature of the colony, at least for its upper classes. Holler’s thesis is based on archival research in both Mexico and Spain. It integrates much of the existing historiography but is also particularly effective in telling individual stories and allowing the personalities, strengths, and foibles of various of the women involved to carry the history forward. This thesis is an important contribution in the growing literature on women in colonial Latin America.

Michael Katten (Independent Scholar)

“Category Creation and the Colonial Setting: Identity Formation in Nineteenth-Century Telugu-Speaking India.” University of California at Berkeley, 1997.

Unsatisfied alike with “top down” studies of colonial discourse, with their Saidian assumptions of hegemony, and easy “subalternist” approaches, Katten endeavors in this dissertation to assess the early colonial period, from the 1780s onward, in southern India as a “dialogic” enterprise, in which distinctive forms of identity emerge as the indigenous peoples interacted with the new colonial rulers. For several different groups Katten explores in detail, carefully and meticulously, close to the ground at the local level, how productive formulations of identity came into being through the working of historical contingency. Using a great deal of material never previously consulted, in both English and Telugu, probing carefully the way identities coalesced in early colonial India, Katten has created a work that, although it requires close attention to a difficult text, is of exceptional originality.

Helena Pohlandt-McCormick (Carleton College)

“I Saw a Nightmare . . .”—Doing Violence to Memory: The Soweto Uprising, June 16, 1976.” University of Minnesota, 1999.

This dissertation is an ambitious, deeply engaged reexamination of a protest by black school children against enforced instruction in Afrikaans, which escalated into a yearlong rebellion that spread to many of South Africa’s segregated urban townships, and transformed the history of the struggle against apartheid. Arguing that the voluminous literature on Soweto has neglected the children’s own role in and perspectives on the crisis, Pohlandt-McCormick sets out to remedy that shortcoming. Based on lengthy discussions with former student activists, together with an exhaustive examination of other contemporary accounts, including students’ testimonies to the government commission of inquiry, Pohlandt-McCormick offers both a reinterpretation of several aspects of the uprising and an extended critical analysis of alternative contemporary sources and their influence on the historiography of the movement.

Some of the dissertation’s contributions include an incisive analysis of the way both the government and the ANC, though reaching opposite conclusions about the merits and effects of the uprising, adopted similar terms in analyzing its causes; sensitive discussions of the degree to which students’ perspectives can be gleaned from the constraints of their testimony to the commission of inquiry and the way participants’ own recollections have been shaped by their subsequent histories; a perceptive discussion of the symbolic importance of language as the catalyst of the uprising; and a persuasive critique of the ANC’s underestimation of the appeal of the Black Consciousness Movement among schoolchildren in the 1970s. In all these respects, Pohlandt-McCormick’s dissertation offers important correctives and new perspectives on a turning point in the history of racial oppression and struggle in South Africa.

2000: Europe before 1800

Gregory S. Brown (Univ. of Nevada at Las Vegas)

“A Field of Honor: The Cultural Politics of Playwriting in Eighteenth-Century France,” Columbia University, 1997.

This manuscript offers a multilevel study of the intellectual, social, and institutional contexts of dramatic authorship and the world of playwrights in 18th-century Paris. Brown interweaves research in archival and printed materials; case studies of individual authorial strategies; a rich, often contentious historiography on the French Enlightenment; and analytical constructs (“the civilizing process,” “self fashioning,” “the public sphere,” “cultural capital”) from contemporary cultural theory and criticism. Drawing on a sophisticated array of recent studies, the author positions his work against and between the grain of alternative approaches and interpretations. He combines scholarship on the history of the book with analyses of political culture and cultural identity. The reader comes away from the manuscript with a strong and revealing appreciation for the tensions and crosscurrents staged at the center of the 18th-century “republic of letters.”

Mary Halavais (Sonoma State Univ.)

“Like Wheat to the Miller: Community, Convivencia, and the Construction of Morisco Identity in Sixteenth-Century Aragon,” University of California at San Diego, 1997.

Mary Halavais has reopened the question of the reality of *convivencia* in Aragon during the 16th century in a microhistorical examination of two villages, Báguena and Burbaguena, in the Jiloca valley. She argues, on the basis of notarial records, parish registers, and ecclesiastical archives, that in these villages local laity and religion made little distinction between old Christians and new (Moriscos). The distinctions were imposed, Halavais argues, from the outside by ecclesiastical authorities and royal agents. The dissertation is a good analysis of the sparse archival materials and the more abundant literature on 16th-century Spain. The thesis that the marginalization of Moriscos was imposed on localities by central authorities and that it did not grow out of antagonisms and hostility in the local communities themselves is revisionist and its interpretation will certainly be disputed. However, this is a creditable work that shows real promise and sensitivity.

Wayne Hanley (West Chester Univ.)

“The Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda, 1796 to 1799,” University of Missouri, 1998.

The approach taken to Napoleon is novel, and that is quite remarkable, given the massive historiography on the subject. The author uses images as well as text to show the artful self-crafting on the part of a young provincial on the make. Using a term actually invented at or near the Revolution, the thesis makes propaganda into a key element in the rise of Napoleon. This gives the thesis a nice interfacing of cultural and political history that fits with recent approaches to the Revolution taken by Lynn Hunt, Carla Hesse, and others. The committee saw here the makings of a fine, short, first book and believes that the author should have the time to pursue its creation from the dissertation. The potential for the electronic publication format seems very strong here, and we would urge the author to consider how best to make the most of the digital possibilities for handling the wide range and volume of the materials on which his work is based. This could be a model project for electronically published cultural history.

Sarah Lowengard (independent scholar)

“Color Practices, Color Theories, and the Creation of Color in Objects: Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century,” State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1999.

Seldom does any dissertation attempt to be comparative, in this case to cross the Channel and to say new and interesting things about the scientific culture found in both England and France. By using color, as a practice as well as a branch of optical theory, the author manages to weave material culture along with abstract science—again an integration seldom found in a first work.

William F. MacLehose (independent scholar)

“A Tender Age’: Cultural Anxieties over the Child in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” Johns Hopkins University, 1999.

William MacLehose takes the study of medieval childhood to a new level of sophistication by examining discourses that express anxieties about children and their susceptibility to external threats. None of these discursive fields directly and explicitly defines childhood. However, through a sensitive analysis of each, MacLehose is able to tease out a complex and multidimensional series of overlapping attitudes toward infants and children that goes far beyond the old debate of whether childhood existed in the Middle Ages. The strength of the dissertation lies first in the author’s control of each discourse. He has mastered the complex literature on each of these very different areas in a thoroughly professional way. He understands the particular genre, terminology, and contextual issues that gave rise to each, rather than mixing them into a bland composite portrait. Moreover, he accepts the contradictions and paradoxes of the images of children within each discourse and across discourses. At the same time, he is able to argue convincingly for certain commonalities in perceptions and modes of discussion.

Michael S. Smith (Univ. of California at Riverside)

“Anti-Radical Expression: Counter-Revolutionary Thought in the Age of Revolution,” University of California at Riverside, 1999.

Reconstructing antirevolutionary ideology in the profile of British political culture at the end of the 18th century, Michael Smith’s study steers a revisionary argument through the oppositions of a rich and complex historiography and a voluminous contemporary literature. English antiradicalism, Smith argues, shared a fairly coherent core of values and shifted tactically with circumstances, but one way or another, it was neither a form of reactionary Burkean conservatism nor a popularizing Toryism nor a still-hale survival from the English ancien régime. The dissertation’s five chapters analyze antiradical discourse and tactics on major topics, from political reform to property, the church, and political philosophy. The committee was impressed by the work’s cogency and challenge for a reconsideration of British political culture in the 18th and 19th centuries, by the wide-ranging but targeted research, and by the energy and verve of the presentation.

2001: Military History and History of Foreign Relations

Tonio Andrade (SUNY Brockport)

“Commerce, Culture, and Conflict: Taiwan under European Rule, 1623–1662,” Yale University, 2000.

The incorporation of Taiwan into the early modern European colonial trading networks, and its subsequent incorporation into the Chinese empire, are topics almost completely unexplored in Western language scholarship. This superb dissertation not only opens them up but does so in an exciting way by exploring the complex interactions between the European trade diasporas and existing patterns of Asian migration and trade. The author is well acquainted with recent and current debates on the critical transformation taking place in the global economy during the late 16th and 17th centuries, and imaginatively covers a broad range of issues. He argues convincingly, and in wonderfully rich detail, that it was Dutch protection that made possible the slow Chinese colonization of Taiwan—and ultimately its incorporation into China. Andrade brilliantly reminds us of how important the brief episode of European occupation was to the future development of Taiwan, including the birth of its sugar industry.

Kenneth W. Estes (independent scholar)

“A European Anabasis: Western European Volunteers in the German Army and SS, 1940–1945,” University of Maryland, 1984.

Estes studies the 100,000 West Europeans who fought against Russia as volunteers for the Wehrmacht and Waffen-SS. Estes shows tremendous knowledge of combat and writes gripping battlefield prose. Two-thirds of the West European volunteers came from Spain and the Netherlands, yet Estes demonstrates wide range and covers also Flemish, Walloon, French, Danish, and Norwegian combat units. Avoiding over-generalization, the author distinguishes carefully among the Danes and Flemings, the courageous but poorly-

armed Spanish, the ill-trained Dutch and French, and the Norwegians. Estes pulverizes the Nazi propaganda notion of a multinational European army defending “Western civilization” against “Bolshevism.” He shows that West Europeans, mainly of the urban working classes, volunteered from a mix of motives and demonstrates that the best-performing foreign legions were trained and led by German officers and formed parts of larger SS units, and also that the Wehrmacht placed little value on foreign formations until its other manpower reserves ran out in 1944–45.

Daniel Kowalsky (Washington University, St. Louis)

“The Soviet Union and the Spanish Republic: Diplomatic, Military, and Cultural Relations, 1936–1939,” University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2001.

A solid, broad, and critical work, based on Spanish and Russian archival sources that not only revisits and critiques almost seventy years of Civil-War scholarship but presents new evidence and conclusions on the nature of this strange, and ultimately hapless, bilateral relationship. Using hitherto untapped Soviet records, Kowalsky takes on several contested subjects, such as Stalin’s decision to intervene, his tactics, and strategy based as much on internal as external factors; the reasons for the Soviets’ early successes; the extent of Soviet contributions measured against Spain’s huge gold payments; and the causes of the Soviets’ defeats and withdrawals and the republic’s failures after 1937. A fine, traditional history, it is spiritedly written, meticulously documented, and convincingly argued.

Sanders Marble (independent scholar)

“‘The Infantry Cannot Do with a Gun Less’: The Place of the Artillery in the BEF, 1914–1918,” (King’s College) University of London, 1998.

A major work in its own right, and in the context of a growing body of literature on the institutional development of the BEF during WWI. That has often been called an artillery war, but Marble’s dissertation shows that the gunners conceptualized their role as a supporting arm, part of a “fire and movement” structure designed to move other arms forward. Artillery, in other words, was only one element of a larger production. Well researched and well reasoned, Marble’s work shows that while the artillery’s tools and methods changed almost beyond recognition, the arm’s place in the army’s “military culture” remained consistent, never asserting the French paradigm of “artillery conquering, infantry occupying.” The artillery cooperated because that was the fastest way to win the war.

Christopher O’Sullivan (Santa Rosa Junior College)

“Sumner Welles, Postwar Planning, and the Quest for a New World Order, 1937–1943,” (LSE) University of London, 1999.

O’Sullivan’s remarkable study of Undersecretary Sumner Welles shows that new research still fundamentally change our view of American foreign policies in World War II. Irwin Gellman’s *Secret Affairs* and Benjamin Welles’s *FDR’s Global Strategist*, both appearing in the last few years, milked the Welles papers to chronicle the rivalry with Secretary Hull and the sexual scandal that led to Welles’s departure from government. O’Sullivan takes the sexual peccadillos for granted and concentrates on Welles’s world view, especially as the undersecretary laid it out for the Political Subcommittee of the Advisory Committee on Postwar Foreign Policy in 1942–43. It turns out that Harley Notter’s anodyne 1949 official publication, *Postwar Foreign Policy Preparation*, doesn’t tell the half of it. O’Sullivan portrays Welles as coldly hostile to all the West European powers-Allies as much as enemies-and resolved to create a global Pax Americana on the Monroe Doctrine model after the war. Given FDR’s tendency to rely on Welles’s advice, at least until the fall of 1943 and to some extent beyond, this study may eventually promote a new look at U.S. war aims.

Kenneth Steuer (Center for the Study of Global Change at Indiana University)

“Pursuit of an ‘Unparalleled Opportunity’: The American YMCA and Prisoner of War Diplomacy among the Central Power Nations during World War I, 1914–1923” University of Minnesota, 1998. Comprehensively researched, this analysis sheds fresh light on both the general subject of WWI prisoners of war, and the role of the first NGO, the YMCA. The author is particularly successful in demonstrating the Y’s role in the increasingly chaotic conditions of East Europe, and merits credit as well for his insight into the synergy of Christian witness and secular tough-mindedness that informed the best of the Y’s people.

2002: North America before 1900

John Rogers Haddad (University of Central Oklahoma)

“The American Marco Polo’: Excursions to a Virtual China in U.S. Popular Culture, 1784–1912,” University of Texas at Austin, 2002.

In fluid and accessible prose, Haddad covers a fascinating topic with great sweep and mastery. His analytically rich and methodologically complex dissertation attends to various appearances of Chinese culture in America throughout the long nineteenth century. Examining museums, material objects, and exhibited persons, Haddad rejects prevailing modes of Orientalism that posit a one-way traffic between Asia and the West in which imperialist domination eclipses cultural exchange. Instead, his focus on these “popular educational events,” to use his term, demonstrates that exhibitions of Chinese artifacts held great popular appeal, even as they were also sites at which Chinese gained the possibility to control their own representation in America. Haddad makes compelling use of freshly discovered visual evidence such as trade cards, printer catalogues and engravings, and the publication of his manuscript as an e-book will permit a dramatic presentation of the vivid imagery on which this study is based.

Willeen Keough (Memorial University of Newfoundland)

“The Slender Thread: Irish Women on the Southern Avalon, 1750–1860,” Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2001.

Through astonishing detective work in memoirs, newspapers, court and land records, among other sources, Keough reconstructs the world of early settlement in Canada’s maritime provinces and demonstrates, in painstaking detail, the importance of women to that experience. With passionate commitment, she excavates the hard-working lives of women and centers their role as community builders in fishing villages on the coast of the Southern Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland. Her work connects North American Colonial history to an entire historiography published in Canada and Ireland about which U.S. scholars know very little. In doing so, she makes a great contribution to colonial history, the history of the social division of labor, and to women’s history as well. Keough has written a massively researched and defining dissertation that is extraordinary in its attention to everyday lives. Electronic access to her findings and her data archive should inspire a wealth of research, teaching assignments, and other uses of this intriguing story of gender roles and the demographics of migration and settlement.

Dorothea McCullough (Archeological Survey, Indiana University-Purdue University)

“By Cash and Eggs’: Gender in Washington County during Indiana’s Pioneer Period,” Indiana University, 2001.

Using court and church records systematically and with subtle insight, McCullough’s deeply researched dissertation makes a convincing and nuanced argument about the vital role of women during Indiana’s antebellum settlement period. As litigants, witnesses, guardians, executors of estates, and the majority in church memberships, women emerge in her study as contentious and willful historical actors who learned to use the courts to establish their rights to person, property and dignity. McCullough provides an important revision of the literature in gender and women’s history. She renews our understanding of how democracy was constituted, and its meaning for women in pioneer communities in the American midwest in the early nineteenth century.

2003: Women’s History and the History of Gender

Joshua Greenberg (University of Miami)

“Advocating ‘The Man’: Masculinity, Organized Labor and the Market Revolution in New York, 1800-1840,” American University, 2003.

In his “thorough, and imaginative exploration” of the relationship between masculinity and the young labor movement in the Jacksonian era, Greenberg examines diverse sources, such as plays, debates about birth control and comic valentines. He argues that “domestic issues and concerns guided workplace and political reactions to the new industrial economy.”

Timothy Hodgdon (Duke University)

“Manhood in the Age of Aquarius: Masculinity in Two Countercultural Communities, 1965-83,” Arizona State University, 2002.

This is a study “full of rich interpretation” that explores the diverse forms of masculinity found in counter cultural radicalism. Hodgdon argues that conceptions of masculinity developed along two main lines: anarchism and mysticism. These are explored by examining the communities of the Diggers of San Francisco, and The Farm in Tennessee.

Daniella J. Kostroun (Stonehill College)

“Undermining Obedience in Absolutist France: The Case of the Port Royal Nuns, 1609-1709,” Duke University, 2000.

In “a gripping story, well written,” Kostroun answers the question: why, in 1709, did Louis XIV have two hundred soldiers destroy a convent that was home to only twenty-two elderly nuns? While answering that question, she examines how women became the “vanguard of the Jansenist resistance to Louis XIV.”

Erika Lauren Lindgren (Wabash College)

“Environment and Spirituality of German Dominican Women, 1230-1370,” University of Iowa, 2001.

Lindgren compares “Sister-Books,” the literature written in the female Dominican monasteries, with the material culture of the women’s surroundings. She examines the ways in which spirituality becomes culturally constructed and the roles of physicality in religious behavior. She develops a “holistic view of the intersection between materiality and spirituality in female monasteries.”

Jeri L. McIntosh (independent scholar)

“Sovereign Princesses: Mary and Elizabeth Tudor as Heads of Princely Households and the Accomplishment of the Female Succession, 1516-1553,” Johns Hopkins University, 2003.

In her “very impressive” dissertation, McIntosh argues that Mary and Elizabeth did not succeed to the English throne simply because there were no male heirs. McIntosh assesses budgetary accounts, records of entertainment, numbers of important visitors, and political use of staff and retainers to show how Mary and Elizabeth established themselves as credible authority figures before their accessions.

Ann Elizabeth Pfau (New Jersey History Partnership Project at Kean University)

“Miss Yourlovin: Women in the Culture of American World War II Soldiers,” Rutgers University, 2001.

Pfau “extracted extraordinary materials from the World War II files in the National Archives” to complete her study. The work is a series of case studies that examine the women of the shared culture of World War II servicemen including the idealized wife, the promiscuous WAC, the seductive fraulein, the maternal bomber plane and the treacherous Tokyo Rose. Through these she examines the sources and consequences of an “ambivalent cult of American womanhood.”

Margaret Poulos (independent scholar)

“Arms and the Woman: Just Warriors and Greek Feminist Identity,” University of Sydney, 2003.

Poulos explores the intersections of militarism, nationalism, and feminism, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She argues that the essentially ambiguous nationalist imagery of a woman warrior has not been entirely efficient in the women’s emancipation agenda. The result is “an ambitious, interesting, and successful dissertation.”

Kirsten S. Rambo (Emory University)

“Trivial Complaints: The Role of Privacy in domestic Violence Law and Activism in the U. S.” Emory University, 2003.

Rambo traces the strategies of the battered women’s movement in her “analytically astute and well-argued piece of legal history.” She focuses on the role of cultural and legal notions of privacy in litigation and activism in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Maria Rentetzi (Polytechnic of Athens)

“Gender, Politics, and Radioactivity Research in Vienna, 1910-1938,” Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2003.

Rentetzi’s dissertation is “a complex, creative, and fascinating study” of women in Vienna working as independent researchers. She includes documentary research, material culture and built environment analysis, and oral histories to examine the culture of women in the unique positions of radioactivity researchers during the early twentieth century.

2004: Open to All Fields of History

Sherry Fields (Univ. of California at Davis)

“Pestilence and Headcolds: Encountering Illness in Colonial Mexico,” University of California, Davis, 2003.

Fields has an interesting take on cultures of health and illness in colonial Mexico as illuminated by popular beliefs and practices following the encounter of indigenous and European medical traditions. Her use of ex-votos as sources is especially interesting.... The dissertation offers thoughtful and reflective work.

Ronda M. Gonzales (Univ. of Texas at San Antonio)

“Continuity and Change: Thought, Belief, and Practice in the History of the Ruvu Peoples of Central East Tanzania, c. 200 B.C. to A.D. 1800,” University of California, Los Angeles, 2002.

Gonzales relies principally on historical linguistics as supplemented by field research and occasional archaeological data in developing a complex understanding of linguistic-cultural-historical development in east Africa. The scope of her work is breathtaking...

Sarah Gordon (SUNY, Purchase College)

“Make It Yourself”: Home Sewing, Gender and Culture, 1890-1930,” Rutgers University, 2004

This manuscript rests on a fascinating body of material: the documents pertaining to home sewing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The author shows that sewing activities both supported and undermined traditional domestic ideals. Gordon argues that the portrayal of home sewing shifted from a useful form of household labor to a way to nurture a family and cultivate attractiveness. She also attempts to demonstrate through an examination of sports clothing the role of sewing in altering conceptions of respectability.

Shah Mahmoud Hanifi (James Madison Univ.)

“Inter-Regional Trade and Colonial State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Afghanistan,” University of Michigan, 2001

Hanifi focuses on trade, literacy, and state building in locating para-colonial Afghanistan in the contexts of imperial and capitalist history. He juggles political, cultural, and economic considerations. He adroitly and largely persuasively balances theoretical perspectives with empirical data. He draws on an impressive blend of archival, narrative, and oral historical sources.

Robert Kirkbride (Univ. of Illinois at Chicago)

“Architecture and Memory: The Renaissance Studioli of Federico da Montefeltro,” McGill University, 2002

The overriding theme of the dissertation is that these rooms embodied theories of the art of memory, which Renaissance thinkers regarded as the foundation of all intellectual endeavors. Memory supplied the materials of oration, of reflection, and of theorizing. The two studioli of Federico are organized and filled with aides memoires and are ideal places for remembering what a statesman of Federico’s stature needed to remember. Overall, the dissertation is a tour de force of scholarship and writing.

Jennifer Langdon-Teclaw (Univ. of Illinois at Chicago)

“Caught in the Crossfire: Anti-Fascism, Anti-Communism and the Politics of Americanism in the Hollywood Career of Adrian Scott,” State University of New York-Binghamton, 2001.

This manuscript explores the politics of the Cold War by investigating the career of the Hollywood producer Adrian Scott and the fortunes of his controversial film “Crossfire.” From the start, it exhibits a refreshing energy.... The author connects her story to matters of gender and ethnicity as well as anti-communism.

Laura J. Mitchell (Univ. of California at Irvine)

“Contested Terrains: Property and Labor on the Cedarberg Frontier, 1725-c. 1830,” University of California, Los Angeles, 2001.

Mitchell combines archaeological and historical findings to argue convincingly for the overlap of “prehistorical” (i.e., hunting and gathering Khoisan populations) and historical (e.g., slaves of various backgrounds and settlers of European descent) periods. She takes on those who focus on slavery on the Cape and who lump together various forms of servitude. She looks at the role of kin and family networks in securing Dutch settlers, thereby identifying Dutch women’s contributions and roles.

Bin Yang (National Univ. of Singapore)

“Between Winds and Clouds: The Making of Yunnan (Second Century BCE-Twentieth Century CE),” Northeastern University, 2004

Yang takes “a global and long-term perspective on a local past.” Criticizing China-centric studies of southwestern China, he looks from Yunnan outward, locating the region’s central role in the Southwest Silk Road, and its transformations in terms of economy, administration, populations, sense of ethnic identity. He seeks to show that a world history approach is stronger at explaining local dynamics than a national approach.

Attachment 2: Current Status of the Gutenberg-e Publications

The following publications in the program are freely available through the Columbia University Libraries or through the ACLS Humanities E-Book project:

Author	Title	Columbia Libraries	ACLS History E-Book
Andrade, Tonio	How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century	Online	
Brown, Gregory S.	A Field of Honor Writers, Court Culture, and Public Theatre in French Literary Life	Online	Online
Estes, Kenneth W.	A European Anabasis Western European Volunteers in the German Army and SS, 1940-1945	Online	
Fields, Sherry	Pestilence and Headcolds: Encountering Illness in Colonial Mexico	Online	
Gallup-Diaz, Ignacio	The Door of the Seas and Key to the Universe Indian Politics and the Imperial Rivalry in the Darien, 1640-1750	Online	
Gengenbach, Heidi	Binding Memories Women as Makers and Tellers of History in Magude, Mozambique	Online	
Gonzales, Rhonda M.	Continuity and Change: Thought, Belief, and Practice in the History of the Ruvu Peoples of Central East Tanzania	Estimated online in July	
Gordon, Sarah	"Make It Yourself": Home Sewing, Gender, and Culture, 1890–1930	Online	
Greenberg, Joshua	Advocating The Man: Masculinity, Organized Labor, and the Household in New York, 1800-1840	Online	Online
Haddad, John	The Romance of China Excursions to China in U.S. Culture: 1776-1876	Online	Online
Halavais, Mary	Like Wheat to the Miller Community, Convivencia, and the Construction of Morisco Identity in Sixteenth-Century Aragon	Online	Online

Hanifi, Mahmoud	Shah	Inter-Regional Trade and Colonial State Formation in Nineteenth Century Afghanistan	Estimated online in August	
Hanley, Wayne		The Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda 1796-1799	Online	
Hardgrove, Anne		Community and Public Culture The Marwaris in Calcutta, c. 1897-1997	Online	Online
Hodgdon, Timothy		Manhood in the Age of Aquarius: Masculinity in Two Countercultural Communities, 1965-83	Online	
Holler, Jacqueline		Escogidas Plantas Nuns and Beatas in Mexico City, 1531-1601	Online	Online
Katten, Michael		Colonial Lists/Indian Power Identity Politics in Nineteenth Century Telugu-Speaking India	Online	
Keough, Willen		“The Slender Thread” Irish Women on the Southern Avalon, 1750-1860	Online	
Kirkbride, Robert		Architecture and Memory: The Renaissance Studioli of Federico da Montefeltro	Estimated online in June	
Kowalsky, Daniel		Stalin and the Spanish Civil War	Online	Online
Langdon, Jennifer		Caught in the Crossfire: Anti-Fascism, Anti-Communism, and the Politics of Americanism in the Hollywood Career of Adrian Scott	Online	
Lindgren, Lauren	Erika	Environment and Spirituality of German Dominican Women, 1230-1370	Estimated online in July	
Lowengard, Sarah		The Creation of Color in Eighteenth-Century Europe	Online	Online
Maclehose, William F.		“A Tender Age”: Cultural Anxieties over the Child in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries	Online	Online
Marble, Sanders		“The Infantry cannot do with a gun less”: The Place of the Artillery in the BEF, 1914-1918	Online	

McIntosh, Jeri L.	Sovereign Princesses: Mary and Elizabeth Tudor as Heads of Princely Households	Estimated online in August
Mitchell, Laura	Contested Terrains: Property and Labor on the Cedarberg Frontier, 1725-1830	Estimated online in August
O'Sullivan, Christopher	Sumner Welles, Postwar Planning, and the Quest for a New World Order 1937-1943	Online
Pfau, Ann Elizabeth	Miss Yourlovin: Women in the Culture of American WWII Soldiers	Estimated online in July
Pohlandt-McCornick, Helena	"I Saw a Nightmare..." Doing Violence to Memory: The Soweto Uprising, June 16, 1976	Online
Poulos, Margaret	Arms and the Woman: Just Warriors and Greek Feminist Identity	Estimated online in July
Rambo, Kirsten S.	Trivial Complaint: The Role of Privacy in Domestic Violence Law and Activism in the U.S.	Estimated online in June
Rentetzi, Maria	Trafficking Materials and Gendered Experimental Practices: Radium Research in Early 20th Century Vienna	Online
Steuer, Kenneth	Pursuit of an 'Unparalleled Opportunity': The American YMCA and Prisoner of War Diplomacy among the Central Power Nations during World War I, 1914-1923	Estimated online in June
Yang, Bin	Between Winds and Clouds: The Making of Yunnan	Estimated online in August

Attachment 4: Gutenberg-e Project Expenses through 2008

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Jan. to Mar. 31 2008	Total	Total Budget	Difference
fellowships	0	180,000	40,000	80,000	70,000	115,000	85,000	20,000	105,000	40,000	735,000	720,000	(15,000)
honoraria	0	6,000	1,000	9,000	0	5,600	6,000	0	0	0	27,600	36,000	8,400
salaries	0	8,893	16,703	10,025	14,484	13,828	6,420	0	0	0	70,353	77,100	6,747
travel	40	614	3,081	10,483	2,445	0	1,482	0	0	0	18,144	18,000	(144)
telephone	40	581	0	1,358	1,500	1,375	560	0	0	0	5,414	11,565	6,151
postage	0	908	1,638	2,511	1,323	115	94	0	0	0	6,589	7,974	1,385
duplication	73	1,720	474	5,611	7,862	400	0	0	0	0	16,139	5,620	(10,519)
publicity	0	0	10,080	1,457	450	9,965	200	0	0	0	22,152	41,715	19,563
perm./ rights	0	0	0	0	1,857	4,774	4,295	2,673	383	940	14,922	54,000	39,078
readers	0	0	0	0	0	800	800	0	0	0	1,600	4,800	3,200
AHA overhead		820	3,761	0	2,992	3,125	3,627	2,000	2,000	500	18,825	22,077	3,252
columbia	0	102,500	110,624	0	0	115,473	301,915	29,805	0	24,764	685,081	565,401	(119,680)
workshops						1,952	27,605	18,353	0	0	47,910	188,235	140,325

calendar yr. total	152	302,037	187,360	120,445	102,912	272,407	437,999	72,831	107,383	66,204
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1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
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Mellon Grant I	734,000									
Accum. Interest						84,545	3,443	7,210	4,713	874
Mellon Grant II										
Funds Received			32,000		14,000	355,000	345,134	233,866		
Funds Anticipated										
Total Funds Recd	734,000	0	32,000	0	14,000	439,545	348,577	241,076	4,713	874
Adjustments:										
returned prizes				10,000		10,000				
refund to Mellon						(115,999)				
Total Adj	0	0	0	10,000	0	(105,999)	0	0	0	0
Total Adj Income	734,000	0	32,000	10,000	14,000	333,546	348,577	241,076	4,713	874
Carry Over		733,848	431,811	276,451	166,006	77,094	138,233	48,811	217,057	114,386
Balance	733,848	431,811	276,451	166,006	77,094	138,233	48,811	217,057	114,386	49,056

Controller: Randy Norell

Date: _____ Date: _____