

Humanities



Courses By Newspaper: In Search of the American Dream

September 29 marks the reopening of the largest college class in the world, with students numbering in the millions, when the NEH-funded "Courses by Newspaper" begins its second year.

There is no classroom to accommodate this class, but "lectures"—in the form of articles—will be delivered by means of the daily newspaper in dozens of cities across the nation. The lectures comprise a part of a college-level course specially designed by a group of leading American studies scholars and coordinated by Dr. Robert C. Elliott, professor of literature, University of California at San Diego. The course, "In Search of THE AMERICAN DREAM," focuses on the utopian ideals that helped shape America's destiny. Like its predecessor last fall ("America and the Future of Man"), this course is aimed at three basic audiences:

- the reader whose interest is aroused by the newspaper articles—there'll be one a week for 18 weeks—and who reads them for pleasure and intellectual stimulation;
- the reader who wants to move deeper into the subject and can do so by purchasing a supplementary Reader and Study Guide that will be available in paperback at his local bookstore or from a central source (see below); and
- the reader who seeks college credit for the course.

This last group, the credit seekers, may enroll at one of the participating colleges or universities in their vicinity. They attend a midterm "contact" session and take a final examination in order to complete the course. Last year there were 180 institutions cooperating with 273 newspapers in this manner.

In describing the new course, Dr. Elliott states that it will trace how different generations of Americans have viewed the nation and its purposes. The lectures and other course materials, according to Elliott, "will take full cognizance of the betrayals and sidetrackings and confusions that have marked our country's history, but they will concentrate on the continuity of the founding themes: their abiding function as norms which permit us to evaluate our experience."

The course will lead off with Dr. Elliott's lecture, "Columbus Discovers Utopia." Elliott is author of *The Shape of Utopia*, *The Power of Satire*, and other books.

Next will be three articles on "The New World as Utopia" by Winthrop Jordan, University of California, Berkeley, professor of history, and author of *White Over Black*. He has received the R. W. Emerson Award, the Parkman Award, the National Book Award, and the Bancroft Prize.

Then will come four articles, "Aspiration and Actuality in the Age of the American Revolution," by Michael Kammen, American history professor at Cornell and author of *People of Paradox*, *Empire and Interest*, and other books. Kammen received the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1973.

William Goetzman, Stiles professor of American Studies, University of Texas, will contribute four articles under the title "Progress and Perplexity: Institutional Adventuring in Nineteenth Century America." He is author of *Exploration and Empire* and *When the Eagle Screamed*, and has received the Parkman Award and the Pulitzer Prize.

Four articles, entitled "Crisis and Continuity: The Twentieth Century," will be written by Jay Martin, professor of English and comparative literature at the University of California, Irvine. Martin is author of *Harvests of Change: American Literature 1865-1914*, *Nathaniel West*, and other books.

The final two lectures—"Reflections on the Record"—will be given by Robert Penn Warren, author of *All the King's Men*, *Brother to Dragons*, *Promises: Poems, 1954-56*, *Who Speaks for the Negro?* and many other works. In addition to two Pulitzer Prizes, (one for fiction and one for poetry) Warren has been awarded the National Book Award and the Jefferson Lectureship in the Humanities, 1974.

The Reader (\$4.50) and Study Guide (\$2.50) for "In Search of THE AMERICAN DREAM," which were edited

BICENTENNIAL ISSUE

NEH since its inception has supported a large number of education, research, and public projects designed to make a humanistic contribution to the understanding of our nation's history and the remembrance of its 200th birthday in 1976. This issue of *Humanities* describes a few of these projects which are intended to promote serious reflection about this important historical occasion.

by Jane Scheiber and Robert Elliott, are currently available in local bookstores or by mail from: The New American Library, Inc., P. O. Box 999, Bergenfield, New Jersey 07621.

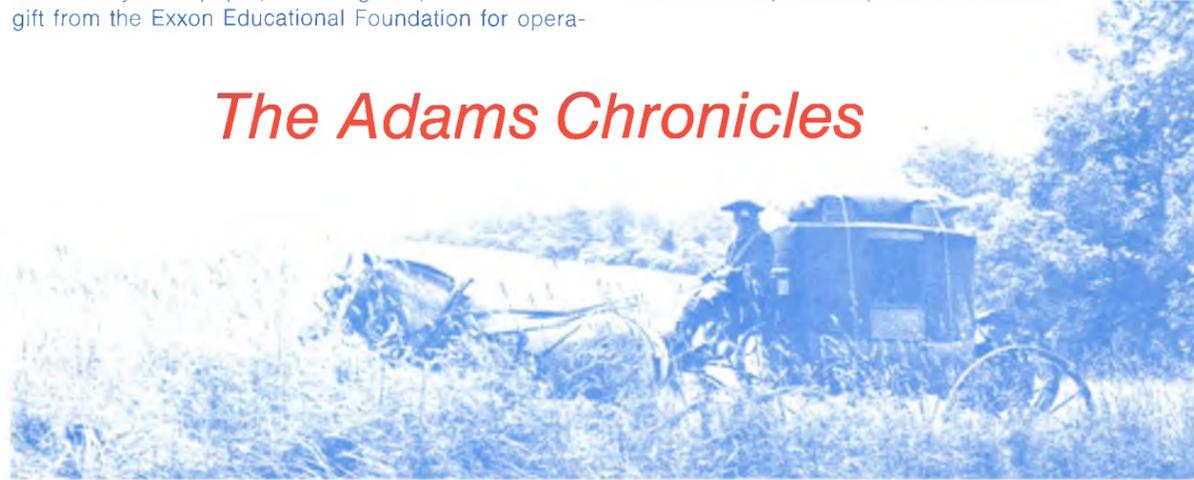
Courses by Newspaper was conceived and developed, under a grant from NEH, by Caleb A. Lewis, Director of Media Programs, University Extension, University of Southern California, San Diego, who felt that the newspaper offered an ideal vehicle through which to reach people who cannot pursue formal college courses for either their own enrichment or for credit.

Thus far, NEH has granted \$344,997 in support of Courses by Newspaper, including \$37,500 to match a gift from the Exxon Educational Foundation for opera-

tion of the first year's program. The newspaper articles are distributed free to the participating papers by the Copley News Service as a public service.

According to John Pinkerman, editor and vice-president of the Copley News Service, there is still time for newspapers to sign up to participate in this innovative program, and for colleges and universities to arrange with their local newspapers to coordinate the course in their communities this fall. Further information about Courses by Newspaper may be obtained by writing to Caleb A. Lewis, Director of Media Programs for University Extension, University of California, San Diego, P. O. Box 109, La Jolla, California 92037.

The Adams Chronicles



NEH has recently awarded a grant of \$4 million to the Educational Broadcasting Corporation in New York to produce a series of 13 dramatic productions entitled "The Adams Chronicles, 1750-1900." These programs, to be carried on the Public Broadcasting Service during the 1975-76 season, will constitute public television's major contribution to the national Bicentennial celebration. With \$1 million awarded in outright funds and \$3 million offered in gifts-and-matching by NEH, the Andrew Mellon Foundation has pledged a total gift of \$1.5 million, which will release another \$1.5 million of matching funds from the U. S. Treasury. Additional money has been contributed to WNET directly by Atlantic Richfield Company to complete the triad of supporters.

The series will interweave the thread of American history—from the French and Indian Wars to the Spanish-American War—with the saga of the Adams family, beginning with our second president, John Adams, and his wife, Abigail, and proceeding with other members of the family, including John Quincy Adams (son of John and Abigail and sixth president of the United States), as well as other diplomats, legislators, financiers, educators and historians, who played important roles in the development of the nation.

WNET's Virginia Kassel, who conceived and began planning the series four years ago, will be aided by consultants from the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose president is Thomas Boylston Adams, a fifth-generation descendant of the colonial family, the Harvard University Press, and The Adams Papers, a family

archive of some 300,000 pages of manuscript material. L. H. Butterfield, editor-in-chief of The Adams Papers, Marc Friedlaender, editor, and several other scholars are working closely with Miss Kassel to ensure the historical accuracy of the presentations. Among the dramatic writers hired to work on the original television plays are Tad Mosel, Jerome Coopersmith and Ian Hunter. Executive producer will be Jac Venza and Jacqueline Babbin is script consultant.

Announcement of the award was made by Ronald S. Berman, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and John Jay Iselin, President of WNET/13, at a Congressional reception in the Caucus Room of the Old Senate Office Building hosted by Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities. Others present included Peter Boylston Adams, 31-year-old Boston banker and great-great-great-great-grandson of John Adams.

Although two brief pilot films have been made, actual production of the series will begin in the fall. Much of it will be done on location, using buildings of the 17th and 18th centuries, with the benefit of expert advice from those well versed in Adams family history, and with a wealth of historical sources to draw upon.

The NEH and associated awards represent a total of \$5.2 million, the largest grant to a television production except for those from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to the Children's Television Workshop for its children's programs, "Sesame Street," and "The Electric Company." □

Our First POW's

The Other Founding Fathers



... The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world . . .

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands . . .

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America . . . solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States . . .

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.



It is a magnificent document, almost as memorable for its literary qualities as for its political consequences. Politicians pressed, as our Bicentennial approaches, for something new to say to July 4 picnickers about the American Revolution might do well to stand at the lectern and recite something old. The Declaration of Independence is hard to improve on.

Fifty-six men signed it, one (Thomas McKean of Delaware) not until 1781. Their lives, their fortunes, and their honor were indeed at stake: as Benjamin Franklin is said to have observed, after appending his flamboyant signature, "We must indeed all hang together, or most assuredly we shall all hang separately."

But, by proxy at least, hundreds of thousands of other men and women put their lives on the line, too. As we approach the 200th anniversary of our Revolution, Jesse Lemisch thinks we should not only wonder whether the nameless thousands who did most of the fighting and suffering in the Revolution backed Washington and Adams, but should examine the entire process of history-writing which canonizes a Thomas Jefferson but virtually ignores the women and the farmers, the indentured servants and common soldiers who gave Colonial society its humble muscle. History from

the top down is well told: we have a multitude of diaries, letters, and biographies of those who were rich, literate, or prominent to tell us what happened. Lemisch wonders whether those who were poor, illiterate, and obscure saw history-in-the-making in the same splendid light, and whether we can get these "inarticulate" to speak. He wonders if we can write history "from the bottom up." He has attempted to do this in such published work as "The American Revolution Seen from the Bottom Up," "Jack Tar in the Streets," and "Listening to the 'Inarticulate'"; and in such studies in progress as "The Many Minds of Jack Tar" and "The Sea and the Frontier: The Double Safety Valve and Early American Radicalism." The informa-

Who built the seven gates of Thebes?
The books are filled with names of kings.
Was it kings who hauled the craggy blocks of
stone? . . .
In the evening when the Chinese wall was finished
Where did the masons go? . . .
Young Alexander conquered India.
He alone?
Caesar beat the Gauls.
Was there not even a cook in his army?
Philip of Spain wept as his fleet
Was sunk and destroyed. Were there no other
tears?
Frederick the Great triumphed in the Seven
Years War. Who
Triumphed with him? . . .
Every ten years a great man,
Who paid the piper?

Bertolt Brecht

Reprinted by permission of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. from "A Worker Reads History" in *SELECTED POEMS OF BERTOLT BRECHT translated by H. R. Hays, copyright, 1947, by Bertolt Brecht and H. R. Hays. Quoted in Lemisch: "The American Revolution Seen from the Bottom Up."*

tion in this article is derived from these works.

Lemisch, 37, is a historian in the Department of American Studies at the State University of New York at Buffalo. He has been interested in history as seen by the "inarticulate" since his doctoral-study days at Yale, where he did his dissertation on the role of New York seamen in the making of the American Revolution. Generally, he wanted to know whether those at the bottom of the Colonial ladder supported the lofty concepts written into the Declaration of Independence, let alone understood them. Did they stand with our Founding Fathers? If so, what did *they* think they were fighting for?

How many Supported the Rebellion?

Lemisch has found a considerable amount of testimony indicating that they did not support the cause. "Nine out of ten of the people of America," Lemisch quotes Maryland clergyman Jonathan Boucher, Loyalist author of an autobiography covering the years 1738-1789, "were adverse to the revolt." Another Loyalist, Massachusetts judge Peter Oliver, speaking to the rebellious people of his own state, concluded that "Many, if not most of you, were insensible of the ambitious views of your leaders. "Even John Adams, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, later estimated that "nearly one third" of Americans sided with the British, and contemporary American historians still do not agree that the Revolution was a majority movement.

The only way to find out, Lemisch concluded, work-



Library of Congress

Captain Paul Jones shooting a sailor who had attempted to strike his colors in an engagement

ing under a research grant from NEH, was to try to determine how those who bore the brunt of the War felt about it—and this brought him to a major difficulty in historiography: the difficulty of finding reliable testimony by the "inarticulate" themselves. Historical records usually focus on those at the top of society, those whom Lemisch calls "the dominant elites"; those of the bottom of society, on the other hand, are either uncollected or are scattered in bits and pieces among the papers of the famous, and have to be reconstructed from scratch. Most historians, Lemisch contends, have been insensitive to the limitations of generalizations about past societies based solely on the words of those at the top. Were the people at the bottom of Colonial society as patriotic as those at the top? Or were they, as many Loyalist and Revolutionary leaders thought, "dupes", "perfect Machines" which could be "wound up by any Hand who might first take the Winch"?

Collecting information to answer this question about all the Colonial "inarticulate" would be the work of many lifetimes; Lemisch has concentrated on seamen, at first for his dissertation. He gathered his facts from a great number of sources on both sides of the Atlantic: from diaries and letters of the Colonial period, from British prison records, ships' logs, and other naval sources. Since then, however, he has broadened his inquiry to include merchant and naval seamen of all the Colonies, and from the pre-Revolutionary days to the Revolution itself and its aftermath. And he has moved from the study of the seamen's politics to the study of their culture, their values, their underlying beliefs.

No Better than Slaves

Seamen are good witnesses to the political feelings of the "inarticulate," for they stood at the very bottom of Colonial society. They were regarded as drunks, "rabble" subject to the manipulation of propagandists, as men "of vile and mean condition" no better than slaves and considerably less docile. Even the *Magna Carta* exempted them from its protection: "no free man may be taken" (*nullus homo liber capiatur*) did not apply to seamen. Their transgressions were harshly punished. In 1647, when two Colonial sailors ripped from a mast a new edict stating that "every free white person" could capture a runaway seaman, they were chained to wheelbarrows and sentenced to three months at hard labor on a diet of bread and water. "Our jolly Jack Tars", they were called, because of their reputation for drinking, their supposed readiness to engage in a fight on any pretext, and their habit of tarring their trousers to make them waterproof . . . but Frederick Law Olmsted, a 19th century historian, surveyed the condition of the "jolly tars" and found that they "are more wretched, and are governed more by threats of force than any other civilized laborers of the world." Various colonies had laws prohibiting seamen from leaving their ships after sundown or from travelling on land without certificates of discharge from their last job; other laws forbade anyone from extending them credit, or entertaining them in a tavern for

(Continued on page 9)



Humanities as Shock

Utah's cities, its 12 colleges and universities, and its communications media are concentrated in a 10-by-100-mile strip known as the Wasatch Front. The only cultural opportunities available in the rest of the state—in scattered towns of 1,000 to 5,000 population—are provided by church, school, and television . . . and even TV reception is often poor or nonexistent.

"Extension" services to rural areas are a tradition with land-grant institutions, and Utah State University has a solid reputation for sponsoring far-flung, degree-credit courses in the humanities as well as in agriculture and homemaking. Even so, the humanities faculty at USU felt that residents of small communities might value a series of informal programs that would apply the insights of philosophy, literature, history, and political science to a significant contemporary problem. The program was first under the direction of T. Y. Booth, Professor of English, and later Gordon E. Porter, Professor of Languages.

The problem chosen was "Freedom and Responsibility"—the "precarious balance" that every democratic society must strike between total absence of governmental restraint on the one hand, and stifling control in the name of self-preservation on the other.

A heavy prospectus, to be sure, but the USU series of nine evening programs in ten locations, ranging from little Huntsville (pop. 553) to proud Price (6,218), infused this issue with life and urgency.

The United States stands for freedom of expression, right? Of course . . . but then, in the 1830s, there was that Governor of Missouri, Lilburn Boggs, who said that the Mormons "must be exterminated or driven from the state if necessary for the public peace." And after World War I, General Leonard Wood, Army Chief of Staff, approved the deportation of Bolsheviks in terms outlined by a minister: "in ships of stone with sails of lead, with the wrath of God for a breeze and hell for their first port." And after Pearl Harbor, there was the columnist who urged that "the Japanese in California should be under armed guard to the last man and woman now, and to hell with the habeas

corpus until the danger is over."

Is the danger over? By no means; using the trial of Socrates as a philosophical jumping-off point, the USU team reminded audiences of current problems in "protecting the individual from society and society from the individual: the *Miranda* decision, "shield" laws to protect newsmen from having to divulge their sources, the use of phone-taps in criminal investigations, and the limits, if any, on the Constitution's guarantee of free speech.

Through an imaginative blend of lecture, drama, tapes, films, slides, even a game, the USU travellers, representing a broad range of experience in the humanities and social sciences, woke new interest in the ancient question of freedom and responsibility. Comments from participants were overwhelmingly enthusiastic: as one participant put it, "I gained some further knowledge of the world outside Gunnison Valley, and I must say it was a bit shocking." Porter is hoping to find a way for USU to extend more shock to its rural constituents. □

Tracking Down Douglass

One August night in 1841, a 24-year-old black laborer rose from the audience at an abolitionist meeting in Nantucket, Mass., and, speaking extemporaneously, denounced slavery with the passion of one born into it. Tall, handsome, and extraordinarily articulate, the young man impressed all who heard him as an unusually forceful advocate of abolition. Soon after, he was appointed an agent—a roving speaker—for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Thus began the public career of Frederick Douglass, editor, publisher, world traveller, correspondent of Presidents, poets, and runaway slaves, probably the most influential black American of the 19th century. Apart from his labors for the abolitionist cause as editor of several newspapers, fund-raiser, and head of the Rochester, N.Y. station of the underground railroad, Douglass recruited black troops for the Union Army during the Civil War, campaigned for Republican (pro-franchisement) candidates, served as U.S. minister

to Haiti, and agitated ceaselessly for human freedom regardless of sexual lines: at the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, N.Y., in 1848, Douglass was the sole male participant. When he died in 1895, five state legislatures adopted official resolutions of mourning.

Despite his undoubted importance, historians have found it difficult to evaluate Douglass because this frustratingly prolific writer scattered his correspondence and writings in so many places. Unlike W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington, Douglass had no long affiliation with an institution that might have preserved his writings, and many of his pre-Civil War papers were destroyed when Douglass' Washington home burned in 1872. In consequence, there is no complete, published collection of his work and of letters to him as well as from him.

Now, almost 90 years after Douglass died, a team of researchers headed by Dr. John W. Blassingame of Yale is trying to track down the unknown Douglass papers. During their first year of NEH-aided effort, Blassingame & Co. contacted 1,250 U.S. and Canadian repositories holding 2,100 manuscript collections, and searched 60 American and English newspapers and magazines published between 1846 and 1884.

It has been tiresome, often tedious work—but it has paid off. So far, the Yale team has discovered about 1,500 previously unknown letters to and from Douglass, including some from his former owner, and others from prominent personages ranging alphabetically from Susan B. Anthony to John Greenleaf Whittier, philosophically from Ralph Waldo Emerson to Ulysses S. Grant, and geographically from Nicaragua to Den-



Portrait of the young Frederick Douglass—Museum of African Art



Desk from Anacostia, D. C. home of Frederick Douglass—Museum of African Art

mark.

Dr. Blassingame and his associates estimate that their final edition will include 15,000 items—autobiography, essays, speeches, diaries, and letters—and will require about 16 volumes. From this will be excluded (though annotated) a great deal of trivial or repetitive material, such as his standard acceptances or rejections of invitations to appear at social events.

But the remainder will be solid stuff . . . an important contribution to history and an impressive legacy from the son of a white father and a slave mother who—only three years before he gave that impromptu speech in Nantucket—escaped from a plantation in Maryland disguised as a sailor. □

Music to Revolt by

Come two years from now, a lot of patriotic organizations—having bullied one of their members into marching down Main Street while tootling a flute—will wonder what he ought to tootle. "Yankee Doodle" will carry any municipality's *Spirit of '76* parade maybe 100, 150 yards; what will all the Bicentennial combos blow, drum, sing, or whistle for the other two miles that separate the reviewing stand from the potato salad, the Revolutionettes' baton-twirling competition, and the Eat-Your-Heart-Out-George-III elocution contest?

Gillian B. Anderson knows. She knows, for example, that "Yankee Doodle" may date from the French-and-Indian War, that what it says about Captain George Washington is uncomplimentary ("a bit of a dandy," she reports), and that it originally ridiculed Colonial soldiers. But she also knows that this was just one of about 1,000 songs that our Rebel and Loyalist forebears used to comment on political events and to psych themselves up for a go at each other.

Ms. Anderson, a free-lance consulting musicologist, has been collecting American music of the 1773-1783

(Continued on page 7 inside foldout)

period with the help of the NEH "Youthgrants in the Humanities" program (the program which supports projects originated by students and other young people who are not yet established professionals). During that period, lyrics for songs were frequently published in Colonial newspapers—occasionally with a note indicating that they should be sung to a well-known tune. Ms. Anderson hopes to match lyrics to tunes, track down the original source of each, and prepare performing editions of major pieces for modern performance.

Her patient search of material from the Library of Congress, the British Museum, and a number of other private and public repositories has already borne considerable fruit: she has produced several performing editions, and has retrieved about 3,000 tunes and 1,500 lyrics from near or total obscurity. In "perhaps the most exciting discovery to date," she found the music to *Temple of Minerva*, America's first attempt at grand opera, written by Francis Hopkinson, a signer of

the Declaration of Independence. Though the libretto has been extant since its publication in 1781, the music had been lost until Ms. Anderson rediscovered it.

Her findings taken together document a surprisingly rich tradition of Colonial music composition and performance. Though the best American composers could not match the best Italian, French and German composers at the fine-art level, they matched the musical production of the Continent in amount, variety, and interest. "Here you had Moravians, French Huguenots, Germans, and English-stock Americans writing from distinctive cultural as well as musical traditions—all at the same time, and without overlapping."

Ms. Anderson's young career was hard-won: though her businessman father was first violinist in the Harvard Symphony and her psychologist mother was a pianist, both parents urged her away from music because there was "no future in it." But now her expertise has begun paying dividends of both a professional and monetary sort. The Colonial Singers and Players, a group Ms. Anderson organized in Washington, D.C., performed last year at the Kennedy Center—quite a feather in the cap of a young woman who was clerking in a music store only four years ago.

In addition, as the Bicentennial approaches, Ms. Anderson is being sought as a consultant by TV and motion-picture producers. As Yankee Doodle might point out, *that* kind of feather ain't macaroni. □

NEH Notes

Over \$6 Million in Gifts Received

Marking a steady increase in the number and amount donated over previous years, gifts to the Endowment in Fiscal 1974 totaled over \$6 million. The contributions—which came from diverse groups of individuals, large and small business firms and corporations, as well as private foundations—were in response to matching offers by NEH and have released equal amounts of Federal funds from the United States Treasury under a special appropriation made by the Congress for this purpose.

Several of the larger projects supported in this joint partnership are for film series presented on or being prepared for educational television—the Adams Chronicles, a Classic Theatre Series, showings of "War and Peace." Continuing financial assistance has been given with grants to develop new humanities curricula at colleges and universities, with smaller gifts awarded for more modest educational programs, for specialized fellowships and institutes, for archaeological expeditions, for research tools such as atlases and bibliographies, for studies of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Latrobe and other eminent historical figures, as well as ethnic studies, assistance to libraries, and to conferences and congresses, such as this spring's tribute to Petrarch, attracting to this country scholars from around the world.

A Song Performed in Chester, Pennsylvania, July 1774 (to the tune of Hearts of Oak)

Come join hand in hand all ye true, loyal souls,
'Tis Liberty calls, let's fill up our bowls,
We'll toast all the lovers of Freedom's good cause;
America's Sons will support all our laws:

Our firelocks are good; let fair Freedom ne'er
yield;

We're always ready,

Steady, boys, steady,

By Jove we'll be free, or we'll die in the field.

★★★

The Volunteers of Augusta (to the tune of The Lilies of France and the Fair English Rose)

They've plunder'd our houses, attempted our lives,
Drove off from their homes our children and wives;
Such plundering miscreants no mercy can crave,
Such murdering villains no mercy shall have.

Then all draw your swords, and constantly
sing,

Success to our Troop, our Country and
King.

★★★

The Halycon Days of Old England; or, The Wisdom of Administration demonstrated (to the tune of Ye Medley of Mortals, or the Masquerade Song)

Let us laugh at the cavils of weak, silly elves!
Our Statesmen are wise men! they say so themselves!

And tho' little mortals may hear it with wonder,
'Tis consummate WISDOM that causes each
blunder!

Sing tantarrarara wise all, wise all,

Sing tantarrarara wise all!

Lyrics printed in newspapers of the Colonial period being researched by Gillian B. Anderson, Youthgrant recipient.



American Issues Forum



Last May the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration (ARBA) announced the American Issues Forum, which will consist of a national calendar of topics, comprising the major issues that bear directly on the future of the country, for discussion during the Bicentennial year. Originally suggested by Walter Cronkite, the purpose of the AIF is to identify those issues which have been of fundamental importance to our national life, and to set them out so that every citizen and every organization can address them, each from his own point of view and in his own way, week by week or month by month through the Bicentennial year—and thus bring about a national dialogue deeply rooted in a better understanding of our history. All sectors of the population will be involved in voluntary and direct participation.

In order to lay the specific plans for the American Issues Forum, a National Planning Group of ten distinguished citizens was created which, aided by a panel of scholars in American studies convened by the Endowment, developed the national calendar. Members of the National Planning Group were:

- Walter Cronkite, CBS News
- Joan Ganz Cooney, President, Children's Television Workshop
- James F. Hoge, Editor, the *Chicago Sun-Times*
- Charles Frankel, Old Dominion Professor of Philosophy and Public Affairs, Columbia University
- Daniel Aaron, Professor of English and American Civilization, Harvard University
- David Kennedy, Professor of History, Stanford University
- Samuel Gould, President, Institute for Educational Development
- Gus Tyler, Assistant President, International Ladies Garment Workers Union

Vito Perrone, Dean, Center for Teaching and Learning, University of North Dakota

Paul Foley, Chairman and President, Interpublic Group of Companies, Inc.

The calendar developed by the planning group extends through the school year and television season of September 1975 to May 1976, with a major topic set for each month, and divided into four sub-topics. The first topic, in September, will be the peoples of America; in October, the land and its resources; in November the topic will be the basic freedoms of the citizens; in December, the American form of government. The new year will start off with the subject of work—the changing nature of work and the use of leisure; the February program will be devoted to problems concerning business, advertising and the economy; in March we will explore the relationship of America to other nations and cultures; the April agenda will consider the institutions that shape us—family, school, community, and church; and the final topic, in May, will consider the way we live and the myths by which our lives are directed.

Television networks, national service and civic organizations, labor unions and schools and colleges will develop specific programs for their own or national use. Thus, while the topics and calendar are common to all, activities of the broadest variety can be taking place across the land.

As for its part, the Endowment will support already established programs, such as the Courses by News paper, which by then will be in its third year, and the Bicentennial Youth Debate for both high school and college students now being developed to reach young people in schools throughout the nation, and these will be related directly to the American Issues Forum.

Further details on the Forum will be forthcoming in the next issue of *Humanities*. □

NEH APPLICATION DEADLINES

	<i>For projects beginning after</i>	<i>Final postmark date</i>
DIVISION OF PUBLIC PROGRAMS		
Media grants	July 15, 1975	January 24, 1975
Museums and historical societies grants	July 15, 1975	January 24, 1975
Program development (special projects)	July 15, 1975	January 24, 1975
DIVISION OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS		
Development grants	August 1, 1975	January 1, 1975
Program grants	August 1, 1975	January 1, 1975
Project grants	April 1975	November 1, 1974
Planning grants	April 1975	November 1, 1974
Humanities Institute grants	June 1975	December 1, 1974
DIVISION OF RESEARCH GRANTS	August 1, 1975	November 18, 1974
DIVISION OF FELLOWSHIPS AND STIPENDS		
Fellowship for independent study and research	March 1975	October 15, 1974
Fellowships in residence for college faculty	for 1975-76	November 18, 1974
Summer stipends	for Summer 1975	October 15, 1974
YOUTHGRANTS IN THE HUMANITIES	April 1, 1975	November 15, 1974

(OUR FIRST POW's, Continued from page 4)

more than one hour a day. Sometimes, to prevent them from jumping ship, their wages were withheld, transferred from one captain to another; the crew of one ship was not paid for 15 years.

Beyond these social credentials (or lack of them) which qualify them for a study of the "inarticulate," however, American seamen met one other criterion which makes them particularly interesting as a case-history in patriotism. Their love of country and their political consciousness were put to a severe test. They were our first prisoners of war.

Captured American seamen were imprisoned in three principal locations during the Revolution: a fleet of about 20 ships around the prison ship *Jersey*, in New York harbor; and Mill and Forton prisons at Plymouth and Portsmouth, in England. Mill's records indicate that it held 1,296 prisoners, Forton's about 1,200; *Jersey's* logs list 7,773, but there are gaps in her logs, she did not receive her first naval prisoners until June 1779, and records from the other ships based around her are lacking. It is likely that these three prison complexes held between 20,000 and 30,000 American seamen during the War.

Rebels, Traitors, Candidates for Hanging

Presuming that many of these Jack Tars, in accord with the stereotype, joined the Revolution in a moment of hasty fervor or a drunken willingness to engage in a good scrap, prison gave them time to sleep off their ill-considered patriotism and to test the hardiness of its roots. Chances for repatriation through exchange were virtually nil: not until 1782 did the British recognize them as POW's; until then they were regarded as rebels, traitors, candidates for hanging. Moreover, Washington—preoccupied with land-battles and dubious of the value of the infant American Navy—was flatly opposed to trading trained British soldiers for American seamen.

Finally, the British offered these prisoners a ready way out: they could take service with His Majesty's forces.

Two hundred years into our nationhood, such an alternative may seem no alternative at all. It would have been treason, pure and simple. In those days, however, our nationhood was not only new, but of doubtful duration.

Atrocious Prison Conditions

Consider: you, a prisoner, have for most of your life thought of yourself as a subject of the British Crown, an Englishman. You are crammed into a filthy, stinking prison subject to brutal guards, under conditions so atrocious that, in 1959, Samuel Eliot Morison exhorted his colleagues not to "stir up" the "unpleasant subject of the treatment of American naval prisoners" lest it provide "fuel for American Anglo-phobes." You can gauge your life-expectancy with considerable precision because you can watch the dead being carried out or dropped over the side every day.

You have no news of the progress of the war except when a new batch of prisoners is brought in,

and they—having been at sea for anywhere between two weeks and three months—have limited information. Not only are you segregated from your officers, who might supply some leadership or morale, but when you are not segregated, those officers themselves, fellow Americans, complain to the British. As a seaman, the notion of serving in a British ship is not entirely strange: you may have done so either voluntarily or through impressment in the past, and the Englishmen you would serve with speak your language, are products of the same cultural stock, may, indeed, even have come from the same city or town as your father.

Finally, your own leaders and countrymen seem to be making no efforts to secure your release. The English residents of Portsmouth and Plymouth did more to help American prisoners—bringing them food, buying their prison-made wares, even organizing a kind of "underground railroad" to harbor escapees—than did the Americans living within sight of the *Jersey*. British officers come around regularly to state (sometimes with proof) that your own government has no interest in exchanging you, and to offer you immediate release if you will serve in the English army or navy.

How did our first POW's—these "dumb masses," these "dupes," these supposedly illiterate drunks incapable of higher feelings or abstract loyalties—measure up to this test of their patriotism?

Approximately seven of every hundred delivered to
(Continued on page 10)



Library of Congress

British Prison Ship *Jersey* on which over 7,000 American seamen were held captive during the Revolution

"Of kings and gentlemen, we have the record ad nauseam and in stupid detail . . . (But of) the common run of human beings, and particularly of the half or wholly submerged working group, the world has saved all too little of authentic record and tried to forget or even ignore even the little saved."

W.E.B. DuBois



(From preface to Herbert Aptheker, editor, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* (New York, 1951), p.v. Quoted in Lemisch, "Listening to the 'Inarticulate': William Widger's Dream and the Loyalties of American Revolutionary Seamen in British Prisons.")

(OUR FIRST POW's, Continued from page 9)

the British prisons defected. The percentages, derived from British figures, are amazingly uniform for Jersey, Mill, and Forton, and are given added credence by British complaints about the low rate of prisoner recruitment. And of these seven percent, Lemisch guesses that as many as half were "Old Countrymen," first-generation Americans born in the British Isles.

By contrast, for every one who defected, between three and four escaped—not just *tried* to escape (those retaken are not included in the figures), but actually succeeded, even though failure meant possible death from shooting by sentries, probable flogging upon recapture, forty days in solitary confinement on half-rations (Mill and Forton), and a drop to the bottom of the exchange list.

Nevertheless, they did it, bashing out portholes, breaking locks, overpowering guards, digging tunnels, and conspiring with remarkable organization: in one mass break-out of 109 men from Mill prison in December 1778, following a month's digging by the prisoners, two seamen sat by the entrance to the tunnel, checking off the names of the escapees to enforce their chosen-by-lot sequence of exit.

And of the rest?

About 11,000 of them died. Lemisch mistrusts the figure, but points out that the usual number of deaths given for the British prison ships in New York alone is 11,664, and that British prison officials "who were in New York after the War had ample opportunity to deny it and never did." Moreover, conservative projections from known daily death-rates entered into ships' logs by British captains (one was so shocked after six weeks that he stopped keeping count, and others never began) support a figure of more than 11,000, as do actual skeletons uncovered alongside New York harbor since the Revolution.

The numbers must remain inexact, but the best evidence is that between 30 and 50 percent of the American seamen taken prisoner during the Revolution died—and they did so, moreover, out of choice, accepting harsh imprisonment and death with a clear

conception of themselves as citizens of a new country to whom defection meant (in their own words) to "desert their country's cause," "the banners of our country," "fighting against the liberties of their country." "Do you not know," asked a prison commander of a recaptured escapee, "that it is a great crime to break one of His Majesty's locks?" "I told him that I did not regard His Majesty nor his locks. What I was after was my liberty."

Beyond their refusal to defect—a strong but negative measure of patriotism—they gave positive proof of their loyalties at great risk to themselves, sticking homemade cockades ("INDEPENDENCE" and "LIBERTY OR DEATH") in their caps, taunted their guards and damned the King of England, broke out American flags and gave thirteen cheers for the birthday of the King of France and the defeat of Burgoyne, and on the Fourth of July sent up crude fireworks, and paraded so belligerently in honor of their infant Republic that some of them gave up all hope of ever seeing home again then and there, meeting their deaths at the bayonets of understandably nervous British guards.

In reverse-fairness to Dr. Lemisch, it must be stressed that he is not in the patriotism business. His politics are frankly radical and anti-authoritarian. He is known as a "New Left" historian, and he has been active in "The Movement" as well as in radical caucuses within the historians' professional organizations. His avowed leftist leanings have made his work suspect among some more politically moderate historians, and for good reason: history, like biology and physics, has been put to highly partisan uses, and American radical historians have been accused of trying to rewrite history to suit their current political views.

But this criticism cuts both ways, Lemisch argues: some American historians of the 1950s, he says, inspired by Cold War tensions, rewrote the American past in accord with their contemporary political commitments; they superimposed on the past a set of celebratory values which sometimes tell us more about their view of America in the world of the 1950s than about past reality. Lemisch opposes rationales for the writing of history which focus on immediate social

"Men of literary taste . . . are always apt to overlook the working-classes, and to confine the records they make of their own times, in a great degree, to the habits and fortunes of their own associates, or to those of people of superior rank to themselves, of whose sayings and doings their vanity, as well as their curiosity, leads them to most carefully inform themselves. The dumb masses have often been so lost in this shadow of egotism, that, in later days, it has been impossible to discern the very real influence their character and condition has had on the fortune and fate of nations." (From *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, with Remarks on Their Economy*, New York, 1861, pp. 214-215)

utility; his position is reflected in the title of one of his articles: "What's Your Evidence? Radical Scholarship as Scientific Method and Anti-Authoritarianism, Not 'Relevance' ". Thus, while challenging "mainstream" historians for their instrumentalism, Lemisch has also taken his leftist colleagues to task for appraising history in terms of its political usefulness rather than for its intrinsic merit as a rigorous, disciplined attempt to discover what happened and why: "The movement seems to admire craftsmanship in the pursuit of beauty—e.g., playing the guitar or making something pretty with one's hands—but it does not similarly admire the pursuit of truth. It will be a strange utopia indeed which will groove on useless but beautiful art while disdain-ing useless but truthful history."

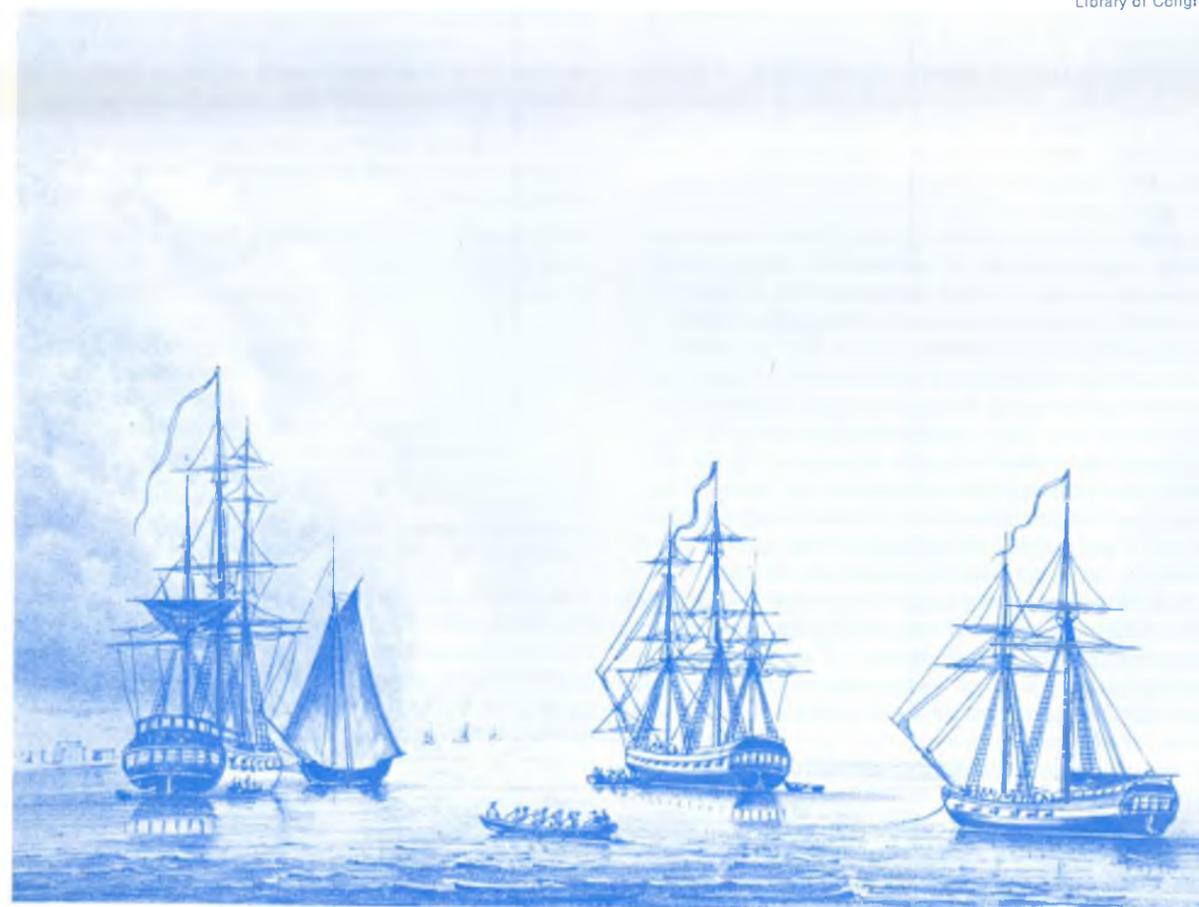
Whatever his political beliefs, Lemisch recognizes that they can color a historian's way of selecting and interpreting data; he assumes he will make mistakes, regards correction by other scholars as both inevitable and helpful, but asks historians of moderate and conservative belief to recognize that their political views can influence their vision, too.

Lemisch's work-in-progress, *Jack Tar vs. John Bull*, was originally intended as a study of the politics of the "inarticulate." He has since broadened it to include the seamen's culture and world-view. Having earlier examined seamen's culture in prison, he has looked at some of the same first-person sources again to get

at their culture more broadly: on shore and below decks. Trying to get at some central themes in the history of American popular consciousness, he has asked such questions as: why did men go to sea? Were they seeking upward mobility, fame, wealth, fulfillment of The American Dream—or were they running away from a harsh American reality? Some of both, Lemisch suspects, and he thinks his completed manuscript will indicate that—as Frederick Jackson Turner wrote of the frontier to the west—the sea may have been another frontier to the east that acted as a "safety valve" for early America, offering illusions of "making it" and providing an outlet for grievances that might otherwise have found expression in radical politics.

But whatever *Jack Tar vs. John Bull* indicates about the "inarticulate" who helped make the Revolution, it will show that history from the bottom up can be written if the historian is willing to dig for his sources, and that one important segment of the American underclass—though supposedly insensitive to ideology or lofty political credos—had their own Revolutionary politics, and paid the heavy dues of patriotism when it would have been much easier not to. Thousands of American seamen, all but unmentioned by history, faced a more severe test than any of our Founding Fathers—but they, too, signed the Declaration of Independence with their own Lives, their Fortunes, and their sacred Honor. □

Library of Congress



The Phoenix and the Rose engaged by the Enemy's Fire Ships and Galleys on August 16, 1776



Reading List on the American Revolution

This reading list on the American Revolution represents a substantial revision of a similar list prepared by the Institute of Early American History and Culture for the Winter 1970-71 issue of *Humanities*. Staff members, fellows, and visiting scholars of the Institute who participated in the preparation of the new list include: Norman S. Fiering, Rhys L. Isaac, Kevin P. Kelly, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate.

The Subject

Both the rapid approach of the Bicentennial of the nation and the sense that we may in our own day be experiencing an era of equivalent social and political change have given a new immediacy to the American Revolution. Like every fundamental event in human history the Revolution was a complex affair. It possessed a rich intellectual and ideological context, originating in a deep-seated mistrust of governments and the powers they exercised, but extending to a commitment to republican and representative government based upon the consent of the people and limited by written constitutions and bills of rights. The effort to preserve and establish these ideas and assumptions involved a wide range of actions, from legislative protest and orderly constitutional change to economic boycott and the violence of mob action and war. At every step Americans faced difficult choices to which they responded in a variety of ways, though, ultimately, enough of them agreed on the necessity of resistance, independence, and a new political order to make the Revolution a reality.

It is all but impossible to select a brief reading list that will illuminate all these important developments, but this list has been chosen to open up to a wide audience as many important questions about the American Revolution as possible. Each book is the work of a recognized scholar, but each has the virtues of clarity and relative brevity appropriate to a list prepared for the general reader rather than for specialists in the period. Most have a point of view or analyze some important phase of the Revolution rather than simply narrating a flow of events. All are available in paperback. The work of many other historians who have had equal or greater impact on the scholarship of the Revolution has been omitted because it is more difficult or not readily available to the reader.

Good Reading

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: A GENERAL HISTORY, 1763-1790. E. James Ferguson. *Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1974. 255 pp. Paperback.*

A compact, complete, well written overview of the American experience from the end of the French and Indian War to the inauguration of Alexander Hamilton's economic program. The author skillfully weaves into his narrative the most recent conclusions of social historians on such questions as class structure, urbanization, social mobility, and racism. Explanations of the imperial economic system and of Revolutionary finances are exceptionally lucid. The book provides a firm foundation from which to turn to more specialized studies.

THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Bernard Bailyn. Cambridge, Mass.: *Harvard University Press, 1967. 334 pp. Paperback edition, Harvard HP 4.*

Based upon a close reading of scores of political pamphlets written by Americans in the 1760s and 1770s, this ground-breaking study uncovers the beliefs and motives, the fears and hopes, of the revolutionary generation. It establishes convincingly that the Revolution was above all else a moral-political struggle, but one that took place within a fascinating structure of assumptions and preconceptions unique to eighteenth-century America. Once the patriots were free to exercise their own deepest inclinations they transformed the political ideas and practices of the eighteenth century.

THE STAMP ACT CRISIS: PROLOGUE TO REVOLUTION. Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan. *Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953. 310 pp. Paperback edition, Collier Books 03528.*

In perhaps the most readable scholarly book yet written on the American Revolution, the authors achieve far more than a lively recounting of the opening crisis. Rather they present a broad interpretation of the whole revolutionary movement that stresses constitutional conflict between Americans and the British government. The biographical sketches of some of the principal actors in the Stamp Act episode illustrate a variety of individual responses to the imperial crisis.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN ITS POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS, 1763-1783. Eric Robson. *New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. 254 pp. Paperback, Norton Library, N382.*

Despite its forbidding title, this is a brief, lively, and exceptionally readable collection of closely related essays by an English historian who died at the age of thirty-six. Robson takes up the toughest questions—Why could not the war be prevented? Why the demand for independence? Why British defeat?—and answers them with remarkable insight. The viewpoint is essentially from the side of British rather than American experience.

GEORGE WASHINGTON: MAN AND MONUMENT. Marcus Cunliffe. *Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1958, 178 pp. Paperback edition, Mentor Books MQ-903.*

Witty and yet serious, this is a very readable study of the leader who was regarded in his own lifetime as the "Father of his People." The challenge issued to the biographer by the monumental imagery that envelops George Washington is taken up by the author and turned into an opportunity to arrive at an answer to the perplexing question about what manner of man the nation's greatest hero really was.

THE AMERICAN TORY. William H. Nelson. *New York: Oxford University Press, 1961. 194 pp. Paperback edition, Beacon Press BP-187.*

A good brief discussion of why some colonists remained loyal to the Crown, their efforts to resolve the revolutionary crisis, and the reasons why they failed. While many Loyalists were aristocratic in outlook, others were not. Some feared for their jobs or their religion; others feared that as members of minority groups they would be overwhelmed by the Anglo-Saxon majority. Most were as devoted to liberty and to America as were the patriots but concluded that independence would serve neither.

THE NEGRO IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Benjamin Quarles. *Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961. 231 pp. Paperback edition, Norton Library, N-674.*

If Loyalists were one influential and too often neglected minority in the Revolution, then certainly American blacks were another. This study provides the most complete account of the involvement of blacks in the Revolution. The author treats all phases of their participation, including both the impact of the Revolution on the status of black people and the service of blacks on both sides.

THE ANTIFEDERALISTS: CRITICS OF THE CONSTITUTION, 1781-1788. Jackson Turner Main. *Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961. 308 pp. Paperback edition, Chapel Hill Books, chb-49.*

Concentrating on the period following the War, the author focuses on the social and economic basis of the debates over the form the national government should take. The issues between supporters and opponents of the Constitution of 1787 had many undertones: creditors versus debtors, rising capitalists with national interests versus more provincial farmers and smaller merchants, veterans seeking benefits opposed to persons fearful of the military, men with imperial vision against those dubious of entrusting power to a central government. Antifederalists probably constituted a slight majority of the white male population in the country, but social prestige, superior organization, a near monopoly of the press, and the necessity of voting by states secured final victory for the Federalists.

1787, THE GRAND CONVENTION. Clinton Rossiter. *Boston: The Macmillan Company, 1966. 444 pp. Paperback edition, Mentor Books, MW-1089.*

Both the awesome magnitude and the frail humanity of the achievement at Philadelphia in 1787 are covered in this vigorous, arresting book. The fifty-five

framers of the Federal Constitution are seen here not as instruments of divine intent, or as selfish agents of economic interest, but as "superlative politicians—in the best sense of that word," working within the limits of possibility in both procedure and ends.

CLASS CONFLICT, SLAVERY, AND THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION. Staughton Lynd. *New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1967, 288 pp. Paperback edition.*

Although not a comprehensive treatment of the period and certainly a controversial one, the essays in this volume provide the most readily obtainable discussion of the American Revolution from a radical perspective. The author, who is himself active in present-day radical politics, focuses on the internal politics of New York during the Revolution as his example of class conflict and on the issue of slavery in the Federal Constitution as in his opinion an example of conflict within the ruling class.

THE AGE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION: A POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE AND AMERICA, 1760-1800. Vol. I. THE CHALLENGE. Robert R. Palmer. *Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1959. 502 pp. Paperback edition, Princeton Paperbacks, 171.*

This is an outstanding book for its combination of a very broad view with fascinating detail. It places the American Revolution in the context of the social institutions and ideas of the eighteenth century "Atlantic World" of which the colonies formed the westernmost extremity. The author is thereby able to offer an exciting interpretation of the nature of the Revolution and to give an assessment of its contribution to the world's political heritage. (A second volume carries the story from 1792 to 1800, but in more exclusively European terms.)

Suggestions for Discussion

1. By early 1776 Americans denounced King George III as a tyrant and demanded independence from Great Britain, yet scarcely a decade earlier they had expressed loyalty to the Empire and allegiance to the king. How can one explain such a dramatic reversal?
2. How can we account for the success of the colonies in winning independence against the greatest military and naval power in Europe?
3. To what extent was the American Revolution a genuine social upheaval? Did social issues determine who was a loyalist? Were there sharp divisions among the supporters of the American cause?
4. How can we explain the fact that American revolutionaries proclaimed the natural rights of the individual and yet allowed 650,000 black Americans to remain in permanent slavery? Did the Revolution nevertheless have important consequences for black Americans? Were others in society also excluded from these promised rights?
5. The American Revolution has some of the characteristics of a modern "war of national liberation," and the United States has been called the first "new nation." How far does the analogy to the twentieth century carry? Are the differences between the two eras more striking than the similarities?

HUMANITIES is the Newsletter of the National Endowment for the Humanities, a Federal agency established by Act of Congress in 1965 "for the encouragement and support of national progress and scholarship in the humanities."

Any material appearing in HUMANITIES may be reproduced without charge. The Endowment would appreciate receiving notice or copies of such use for its own information.

Sara D. Toney, Editor, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C. 20506

Official Business

National Endowment for the Humanities
Washington, D. C. 20506



Postage and Fees Paid
National Endowment for the Humanities

NEH Notes

Fiscal 1975 Appropriation

Recent Congressional action has provided the Endowment, for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1974, an appropriation level of \$67,250,000 in regular program funds plus \$6.5 million to match private gifts on behalf of NEH projects. This level compares with the previous fiscal year's appropriation of \$44.5 million in regular funds and \$6.5 million in matching funds. The number of grants awarded during fiscal year 1974 was 1,294 for a total of \$60.2 million out of a total number of 6,165 applications requesting \$206 million. (Note: The \$60.2 million awarded included carryover funds from the previous fiscal year, gifts and matching funds, as well as new appropriations.)



Annual Report Available

The Eighth Annual Report of NEH, a richly illustrated overview of Endowment programs covering fiscal year 1973, has recently been published and may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402 for \$1.60 domestic postpaid or at the GPO Bookstore in Washington.

Reader Writes . . .

The article on Cataloging in Publication (CIP) in the December 1973 issue described CIP as "the most revolutionary invention in the identification of books since the title-page, an event which occurred in 1500." A reader of *Humanities*, L. Carrington Goodrich, Editor, The Ming Biographical History Project, has pointed out that Chinese works, printed both by means of woodblock and movable type of several hundred years earlier, have title-pages. It seemed natural enough to take an Occidental viewpoint but it was a mistake to ignore the long history of printing in the Orient.

NEH Council Meets

The National Council on the Humanities, consisting of 26 members appointed by the President from private life in addition to the Chairman of NEH, who also serves as Chairman of this body, held its quarterly meeting on August 15 and 16 at the Del Coronado Hotel in San Diego, California. The first day's meeting was open to the public and attracted visitors from the area. The second day's purpose was to review applications submitted to the Endowment during previous months and make recommendations on them to the Chairman for his decision.