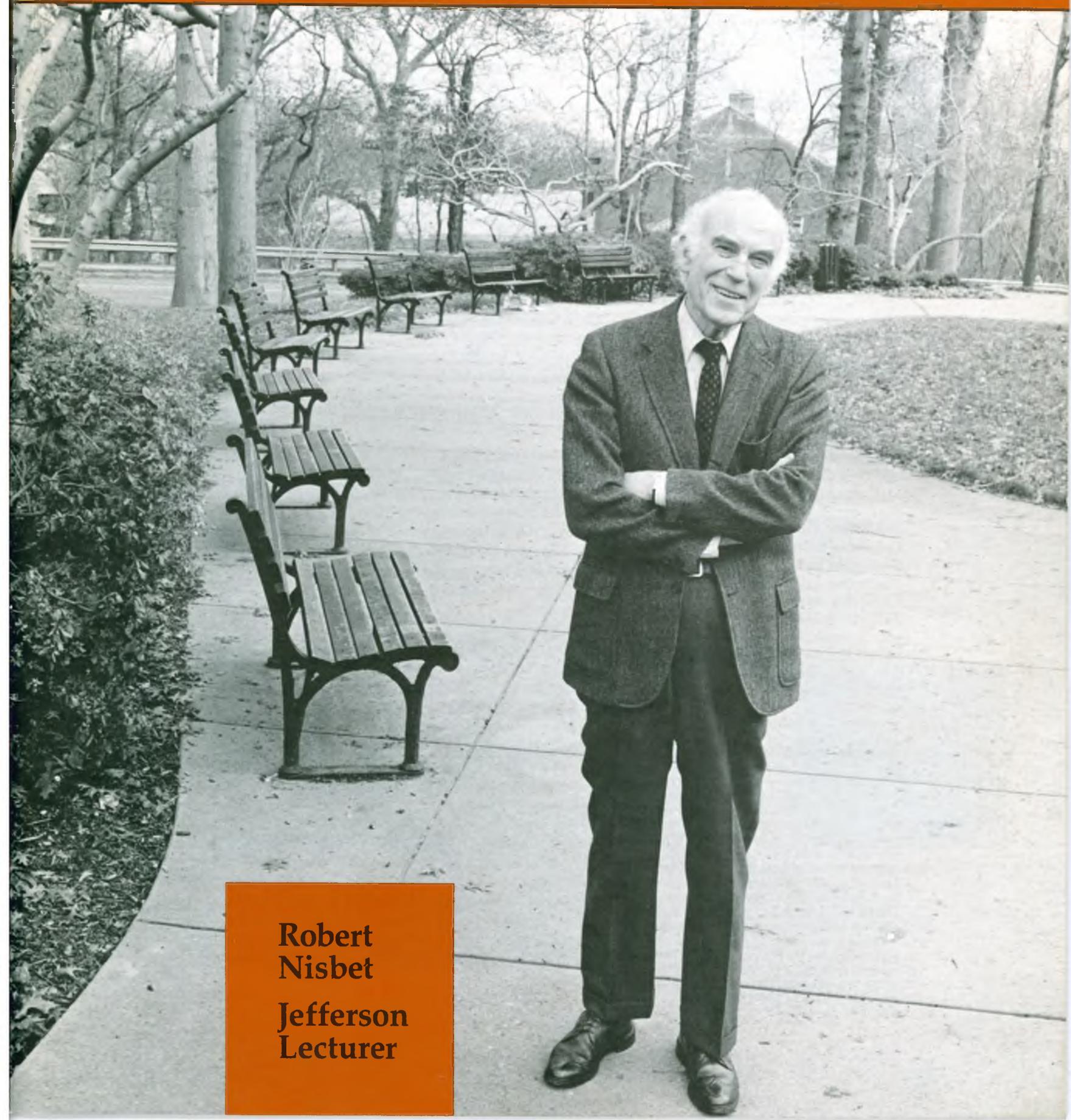


# Humanities

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES · VOLUME 9 · NUMBER 2 · MARCH/APRIL 1988



**Robert  
Nisbet  
Jefferson  
Lecturer**



Robert A. Nisbet in Bryce Park, near his home in Washington, D.C. The park is named for Viscount James Bryce (1838–1922), British historian, diplomat, statesman, and professor. In Bryce's best-known book, *The American Commonwealth*, he disagreed with Tocqueville's assertion that majority opinion in the United States terrorized individual opinion more than did the Spanish Inquisition. Bryce was British ambassador to the United States from 1907 to 1913 and one of the founders of the League of Nations. (Photo by Nora Stewart)

## Humanities

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## Editor's Note

### Kicking the Giant

The achievements of sociologist and historian Robert A. Nisbet can be measured both concretely—more than twenty books published over a forty-year career of teaching and writing—and abstractly through a lifetime's examination of the history and philosophy of social thought. On May 11, 1988, Nisbet will present the seventeenth Jefferson Lecture in the Humanities. The lecture is the highest honor conferred by the U.S. government for outstanding achievement in the humanities. Nisbet's work, like that of many scholars through the ages, is based on the premise, personified by the thirteenth-century allegorical figure of a dwarf standing on the shoulders of a giant, that one cannot understand the present without knowing about the past.

Through articles about Nisbet and the ideas prominent in his work, *Humanities* considers how the traditions of the past affect the present and influence the future. In "History and the Idea of Progress," Gertrude Himmel-farb discusses the idea of progress and why its disappearance from twentieth-century social thought does not bode well for the West. William Schambra, in "Tocqueville and the Dangers of Democracy," explains why Alexis de Tocqueville believed the move toward democracy represented a dangerous break with the authority and traditions of the aristocratic age and examines what Tocqueville found in American democracy that protected it from the kind of "soft tyranny" he feared would be democracy's ultimate stage.

Also included in this issue are several articles about NEH-supported projects aimed at exploring how traditions of the past are understood and observed in present-day life. "Religious Resurgence in East and Southeast Asia," by Susan Burnam, describes a conference that will be held in 1989 to explore a religious renaissance in Asia. "Poland's Informal Economy," by Joseph Brown, sheds light on the examination by Polish scholars of the informal economic system that has meant daily survival to the Poles for more than forty years. And "Buying and Selling Contemporary Art" by Nancy Becker discusses a French sociologist's study of the interaction between aesthetic appreciation and financial value in the French art market.

Speaking of financial value, we are pleased to announce that the annual subscription price for *Humanities* has been decreased from \$14 to only \$9 per year as the result of a change in the Superintendent of Documents' pricing formula for periodicals. The price change will in no way diminish our coverage. *Humanities* will continue to offer subscribers thoughtful essays by distinguished writers and scholars on a wide range of subjects, as well as regular features on NEH-supported projects and the Humanities Guide, which in this issue features "Right Tool, Wrong Job: What a Challenge Grant Is Not," by Harold Cannon.

There could be no more appropriate metaphor for the tradition of the humanities than the dwarf standing on the shoulders of a giant. An old idea, it is one that has been challenged and even disowned recently. As Robert Nisbet has said, "In our art and literature and philosophy, the dwarf has gotten down from the giant to stand on the ground and kick the giant's ankles." There is a price to be paid, he warns, for because we are incapable of perceiving the future, we find again and again that only through knowledge of the past can we effectively handle the problems of the present.

—Caroline Taylor

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# THE ASCENDANCY OF IDEAS

BY CAROLINE TAYLOR

**R**OBERT NISBET is outrageous. A scholar who has lectured and written extensively on the history and philosophy of political and social thought, Nisbet finds virtue in prejudice, decadence in democracy, injustice in equality. Some might suggest that his is the work of a male-centered, Euro-centered scholar—a man whose entire notion of the decline of Western culture is ethnocentric. To that charge, he replies with vigor: “You’re right!”

A native of California, Robert Nisbet earned both his undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of California at Berkeley. “A man named Frederick J. Teggart got me interested in the history of institutions and ideas,” he says. “Teggart had once been in the history department, but he clashed with its chairman. The university let him open a department of his own,

rather than lose him altogether. His department was small and built largely around his own scholarly interests—comparative civilizations, major ideas in Western history, change and progress. He was a fascinating mind; I was his final Ph.D. before his retirement in 1940.”

Nisbet stayed on at Berkeley as a faculty member until 1953 when he transferred to the university’s new Riverside campus as its first dean of liberal arts. 1953 also saw the publication of his first book, *The Quest for Community*.

All told, Nisbet spent forty years at the University of California, except for three years in the army during World War II where he served in the Pacific theater, and occasional visiting professorships at,

among others, the University of Bologna in Italy, Princeton University, Smith College, and the University of Arizona.

In 1974 Nisbet was appointed Albert Schweitzer Professor of the Humanities at Columbia University where he stayed until he retired from teaching after forty-two years. He and his wife moved to Washington, D.C., where he joined the American Enterprise Institute as first a resident, then an adjunct scholar.

## THE VIRTUE OF PREJUDICE

Robert Nisbet has devoted a lifetime to thinking about the ideas embodied in words. In 1982 he wrote a philosophical dictionary that ranged, alphabetically, from *abortion* to *wit*. He called the book *Prejudices*—“more in Burke’s than in Mencken’s sense.” Burke’s idea of prejudice, wrote Nisbet, extends beyond the commonly understood meaning to encompass the totality of knowing, understanding, and feeling experienced by human beings. Burke believed that reasoning based on logic alone



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Caroline Taylor is assistant director of public affairs for publications and editor of Humanities.

was of little use in human affairs because people require the complete range of knowing that, in addition to pure logic, includes feelings, emotions, and long experience. "Prejudice," said Burke, "is of ready application in the emergency; it previously engages the mind in a steady course of wisdom and virtue, and does not leave the man hesitating in the moment of decision, skeptical, puzzled, and unresolved."

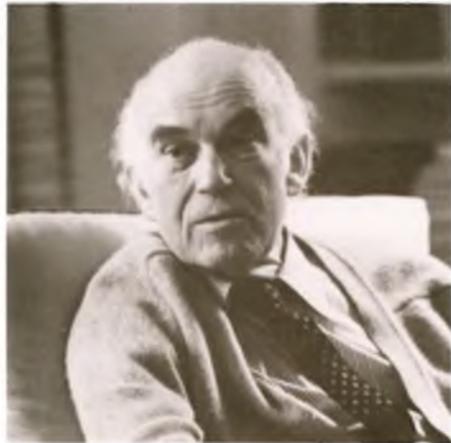
It is in this spirit that Nisbet made his pronouncements on topics ranging from *bureaucracy*—"Children of the bureaucratic welfare state, the countless recipients of bureaucratic aid, have come, in true Freudian fashion, to hate their father. How that love-hate relation will be resolved is one of the more interesting prospects of the next half-century."—to *isms*—"The language is by this time so decimated of the rich abundance of the concrete and individual which it had through the eighteenth century and so clogged by isms, all so much alike as to be more and more difficult to identify, that only those who become masters of ism—ismasters—can be relied upon to lead the language into the next century."—to *tyranny*—"The institutional buttresses [against tyranny] of genuine democracy either have never existed, do not now exist, or are in process of erosion and disintegration. The result is a failure of nerve on the part of majorities that makes the advent of the tyrant welcome."

Out of the twenty or more books written by Nisbet in almost as many years, there are five or six that he believes have had some influence on the study of social thought: *The Quest for Community* (Oxford University Press, 1953), *The Sociological Tradition* (Basic Books, 1966), *Social Change and History* (Oxford University Press, 1969), *Twilight of Authority* (Oxford University Press, 1975), *History of the Idea of Progress* (Basic Books, 1980), and *Prejudices: A Philosophical Dictionary* (Harvard University Press, 1982). "The last is the one I most enjoyed writing," he says, "although by its nature it was hard

work all the way, and it left me feeling drained for a couple of years."

## THE DECLINE OF CULTURE

Our civilization has entered a "twilight age," says Nisbet, an age characterized by the decline of social institutions and the growth of centralized political power. In *The Quest for Community*, Nisbet argues that the centralization of political power and the widespread bureaucratization of function and authority that accompany it have created an age of spiritual insecurity, alienation, and preoccupation with human identity. He examines the forces that have made the problem of community paramount in literature, sociology, philosophy, and human behavior. Only



decentralization and pluralism, he writes, can create an atmosphere in which forms of community can be invented that are characterized by the diversity and multiplicity necessary to guarantee their members' freedom from absolute power.

"It occurred to me some years ago," he says, "that we make a mistake in thinking only of the mechanical and physical when the word *invention* comes up. Epics, ballads,

novels, and poems are all cultural inventions. The guild, village community, cooperative, and labor union are all social inventions. Civilization is built of inventions, and its great epochs are the ages in which cultural, social, and mechanical inventions are especially rife. The concept of political, social, and cultural *inventions* by individuals and groups helps relieve the murkiness (and its metaphoric character) of most of our ideas of change and development."

In *Twilight of Authority*, Nisbet claims that the Western political community, after more than two hundred years of ascendancy, has begun to break down. In his view, our sense of patriotism has eroded, our political ideology is in decline, and our political parties are on their last legs. All of these have set the stage for the uncontrolled growth of executive power.

"There are lots of signs of cultural decline around us," he says. "Any culture that puts a premium on minimalism and deconstruction, on narcissism and solipsism, and on the occult as our culture does right now is assuredly not on the upswing."

Warning that "in twilight ages, action is king," Nisbet recommends the adoption of a policy of *laissez-faire* with the primary objective of stimulating social inventions. "They are taking place right now," he claims. "Social inventions range from car pools to book clubs to mutual funds. But social inventions, like all forms of individual initiative, need open spaces. Our political bureaucracy has become so large, monopolistic, and enveloping that these open spaces are harder and harder to find."

Open spaces cannot exist without respect for tradition. And yet, because our democratic society arose through the overthrow of tradition, Americans tend to be antitraditional. The point at which this becomes dangerous, says Nisbet, is when, having lost respect for the past, we find ourselves unable to understand the present or to imagine the future.

## THE IDEA OF PROGRESS

One of Nisbet's major works is his *History of the Idea of Progress* in which he warned that the idea of progress—that human beings have advanced in the past, are now advancing, and will continue to advance through the future—is in danger of disappearing from Western consciousness:

If the idea of progress finally expires in the United States, leaving it to the Soviet Union's Marxist catechism, we'll find ourselves, for awhile no doubt, even more in drift than we are now. That idea and the ethic of hard, conscientious work have gone together in Western, especially American, civilization. But Clio abhors a vacuum, and I imagine that the



extraordinary mixture of peoples and idea systems taking place right now in this country would in due time energize America again.

We still spin our wheels and adopt every possible means, from lack of savings to wanton takeovers, to keep economic growth and productivity down. Maybe with all the immigration from the Orient we'll acquire something of the Confucian ethic to replace the belief in progress. We could do a lot worse.

Nisbet believes that the idea of progress has suffered in the twentieth century from a loss of belief in the premises on which it is based. We have lost a sense of the sacred; we no longer respect the past; the West has been displaced as a dominant culture in the minds of many of what Nisbet refers to as "guilt-ridden, apologetic liberals"; and there is a growing hostility toward further economic growth, which stems from ideas that some of the results of that growth have not been good for the middle class. Yet the idea of progress can be revived if belief in those premises is revived.

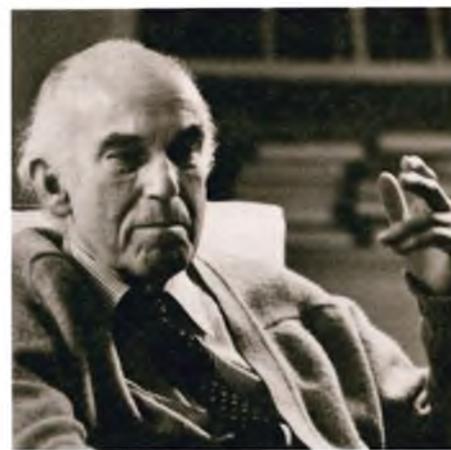
"I don't know whether a genuine religious revival would help turn the decadent into the progressive," he says. "The idea of progress can't be supported on the grounds of sheer reason and history. The *idea*, or *belief* in progress, has required a pre-rational foundation. If I am right, this suggests a religious underpinning such as the idea of progress had from Hesiod through St. Augustine down through history to the Founding Fathers. The Western idea of progress through most of its long history depended on two things: a belief in Providence (or some surrogate like the Dialectic or Manifest Destiny) and also, just as important, a belief in the rewards of hard work and unending individual initiative.

"The glitzy, bogus millennialism and egocentric born-again fervor of current evangelicalism have nothing to offer of any long-run worth. I just don't know whether there is anything in the offing to suggest a revival of the once-powerful ethic of work and advancement. Arthur Guiterman, back in the 1920s, I think it was, offered up a prayer to Providence, 'that looks out for children, fools, drunkards, and the United States of America.'" (See also "History and the Idea of Progress," at page 8.)

## THE INJUSTICE IN EQUALITY

Throughout his writing, Nisbet has elucidated the fundamental themes of conservatism: tradition, property, religion, authority, history, and liberty. In his most recent book, *Conservatism: Dream and Reality* (University

of Minnesota Press, 1986), Nisbet examined the sources, dogmatics, and consequences of conservatism. Here he asserted his belief in the "inherent and absolute incompatibility between liberty and equality." Pointing out that the two values are incompatible because their objectives are contrary, Nisbet wrote, "The abiding purpose of liberty is its protection of individual and family property—a word used in its widest sense to include the immaterial as well as the material in life. The inherent objective of equality, on the other hand, is that of some kind of redistribution or leveling of the unequally shared material and immaterial values of a community."



It is not legal equality that Nisbet criticizes. In fact, he finds no incompatibility between individual freedom and equality before the law—that is, justice. "Where incompatibility begins to rear its head," he warns, "is when the rage to equality begins to envelop what are called life-opportunities, conditions of life, and amounts of wealth. But, as Burke said, legislatures can level a population, but they can't equalize it."

Nisbet worries that we have turned our fascination with equality

into a type of crusade that regards with suspicion every kind of social differentiation, every talent, every privilege. "Equality has such a hold on the American mind that every major achiever seems to feel he has to take on an 'aw shucks' manner and actually be apologetic," he complains. "Tocqueville, following Pascal, said it's a very good thing to be born with a mind of *quality*. It's a clear gain of twenty years in life. Why neutralize it? When equality of condition is a dogma, as it is in our country today, it can—and does—work against diversity, pluralism, heterogeneity, and individual effort."

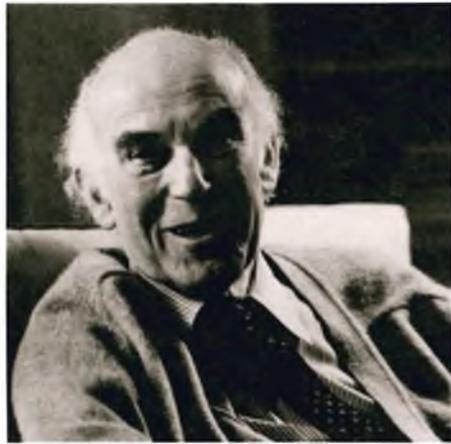
## THE UNIT IDEAS OF SOCIOLOGY

Much of what has been written on the history of thought approaches the subject either through the thinkers themselves or through the schools or systems associated with those individuals. Nisbet has taken a third approach, following the model of Arthur Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being*. This approach begins not with the thinker or the system but with the ideas that form the elements of the system. Rather than examining Bentham and Mill or studying utilitarianism, for example, one looks at the unit-ideas that constitute the system of utilitarianism. By unearthing the fundamental unit-ideas, says Nisbet, "we see not only the component elements but also new groupings and relationships of men and ideas; we see affinities, but also oppositions, that we should not have supposed to exist."

Nisbet applied this approach in *The Sociological Tradition* (Basic Books, 1966), a comprehensive examination of the conceptual framework of modern sociology. For his examination,

Nisbet selected five ideas—community, authority, status, the sacred, and alienation—that form the nucleus of the sociological tradition. Drawing from the writings of Tocqueville, Simmel, Weber, Durkheim, Marx, Rousseau, and other major social scientists of the nineteenth century, Nisbet attempted to set forth what is conceptually fundamental and historically distinctive in the tradition.

"Community-society, authority-power, status-class, and sacred-secular all have vitality so long as the substantive equivalents have reality and relevance," he concludes. Yet the movements that have given these ideas their meaning may have



All photos by Nora Stewart

reached a stage where only expansion—not further development—is possible. What matters, says Nisbet, is the continuing viability of the concepts that form the sociological tradition. These must remain viable until a new idea system emerges:

If such a new idea system does appear, to give new life and impetus to the realities of contemporary Western society, it will not be the consequence of methodology, much less of computers, of mass data gathering and retrieval, or of problem definition however rigorous, or research design however aseptic. It will be the consequence, rather, of intellectual processes which the scientist shares with the artist: iconic imagination, aggressive intuition, each given discipline by reason and root by reality.

Nisbet does not find this iconic imagination on the American university campus. In the aftermath of World War II, the universities neglected teaching, and dubious substitutes for the curriculum appeared. "The hard things got thrown out in favor of the soft things," says Nisbet. "Under the Great Ooze of general education plus the advent of encounter sessions miscalled seminars and built around 'Great Books,' the sole requirement being to read and tell, the authority of the university, particularly its faculty, began to disappear."

This was succeeded by the "antinomian bust of the sixties" which reached its height—or depth—with the Berkeley Free Speech Movement. Both the humanities and the social sciences became victims of this antinomianism, says Nisbet. To smash symbols of authority and tradition was the epidemic aspiration. "Side by side with antinomian nihilism was the liberal panacea of Big Government," says Nisbet. "They complemented each other nicely."

Nisbet acknowledges that there are, of course, exceptions: "Today, there are tall trees to be seen in academe, but also great expanses of dwarfed shrubs, porous soil, poison ivy, and pure weeds."

In all of Nisbet's writing, the biting commentary, the incisive wit, and the outrageousness are vehicles for a message that there is danger—danger in losing respect for the past, in failing to examine the premises on which our society is based, and in abandoning the idea of individual work and progress—especially in twilight ages where action is king. ♪

# H I S T O R Y

## and the Idea of Progress

BY GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB



Photos Library of Congress

### AUGUSTINE

"He likens the growth and development of mankind to a 'river' or 'torrent' that has carried man's virtues as well as his vices down through time."—R.N.

*Ed. note: The following excerpts are reprinted from a chapter of the same title in The New History and the Old, by Gertrude Himmelfarb (Harvard University Press, 1987). In this essay Himmelfarb discusses the ideas expressed by Robert Nisbet in his History of the Idea of Progress (Basic Books, 1980). The photo captions are also taken from his book.*

**T**HE IDEA OF Progress—Progress with a capital P—has been in disrepute for a long time now. And with good reason, one would think. The experiences of this century hardly dispose us to any complacency about the present, still less about the future. A pessimistic, even apocalyptic, view comes more naturally to a generation which has learned at great pain that the most impressive scientific discoveries may be put to the most grotesque use; that material prosperity sometimes has an inverse relationship to the "quality of life"; that a generous social policy may create as many problems as it solves; that even the most benign governments succumb to the dead weight of bureaucracy while the least benign ones are ingenious in devising new and horrendous means of tyranny; . . . that our most cherished principles—liberty, equality, fraternity, justice, even peace—have been perverted and degraded in ways our forefathers never

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*Gertrude Himmelfarb is distinguished professor of history at the City University of New York, Graduate School and University Center, and a member of the National Council on the Humanities.*

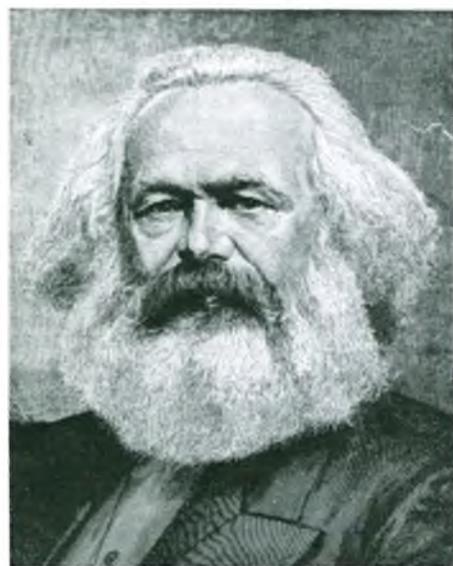
dreamed of. At every point we are confronted with shattered promises, blighted hopes, irreconcilable dilemmas, good intentions gone astray, a choice between evils, a world perched on the brink of disaster—all the familiar clichés, which are all too true and which seem to give the lie to the idea of progress.

Yet it is just this idea that we are invited to contemplate and to embrace. And we are being urged to do so by one of our major social philosophers, a man who has not only shared these dismal experiences but taught us how to think about them. William James made much of the distinction between the "once-born" and the "twice-born": the once-born, simple, innocent, healthy-minded, having faith in a beneficent God and a harmonious universe; the twice-born, self-conscious and self-critical, experiencing life as a tragic mystery, acutely aware of the potentiality for evil and of the heroic effort required to overcome it. Robert Nisbet is pre-eminently the twice-born man. He knows all that can be known about the treacherous simplicities of grand ideas. His work has taken him into three distinct disciplines, and from each he has learned the critical lesson: the sociologist's respect for the complexities of society, the historian's for the uniqueness of historical events, the philosopher's for the irreducibility of ideas to easy formulas. Each has made him wary of generalizations. Yet it is the largest, most ambitious of all generalizations, a single idea encompassing all of society through all of history, that he now asks us to entertain: "The idea of progress holds that mankind has advanced in the past—from some aboriginal condition of primitive-



## DESCARTES

"Descartes could not bring himself to admire even the ancient Greeks and Romans, and such admiration, as we have seen, is close to the core of the Renaissance. But even closer . . . is that belief in the superiority of the subjective imagination over anything that has been inherited from, or that has developed and unfolded from, the past."—R.N.



## MARX

"Different though the outcome in Tocqueville's and Marx's predictions, they are the result of precisely the same method: seizing upon some seemingly dominant aspect of the present and then projecting it into the future."—R.N.

ness, barbarism, or even nullity—is now advancing, and will continue to advance, through the foreseeable future."

FOR NISBET, the idea [of progress] existed in a complete and mature form in antiquity as well as in the Middle Ages; and far from seeing the earlier idea as a weak approximation of the later, he interprets the later, Enlightenment idea in terms of the earlier one.

The longest and most provocative section [of Nisbet's book] is on Augustine. Aware of just how provocative it is, Nisbet discusses those ideas in *The City of God* that would seem to belie the theory of progress: the stages of history corresponding to the ages of man and concluding with decay and death, and the universal conflagration that would precede universal redemption. In spite of this eschatology, Nisbet finds in Augustine the "vital, essential elements of the Western idea of progress":

Mankind or the human race; the unfolding, cumulative advancement of mankind, materially and spiritually through time; a single time frame into which all the civilizations, cultures, and peoples which have ever existed on earth, or now exist, can be compressed; the idea of time as a unilinear flow; the conception of stages and epochs, each reflected by some historic civilization or group of civilizations or a level of cultural development; the conception of social reform rooted in historical awareness; the belief in the necessary character of history and in the inevitability of some future end or objective; the idea of conflict of cities, nations, and classes as the motor spring of the historical process; and finally, the raptured picture of the future, set by Augustine in the psychological, cultural, and economic terms which would remain the essential terms of nearly all utopias in later centuries: affluence, security, equity, freedom, and tranquility. And justice!

This is no pallid progressivism. It is the full-blooded variety we have come to associate with the Enlightenment. . . . The shadow of Augustine hovers behind the entire book, throwing into relief a variety of later figures, and in the process fleshing out Augustine himself. It is his ghostly presence that helps explain some of the other revisionist highlights of the book—most notably

the reversal of the conventional interpretation of the Renaissance and the Reformation.

Recalling Samuel Johnson's paraphrase of a chapter of *The Natural History of Iceland*—"There are no snakes to be met with throughout the whole of Iceland"—Nisbet pronounces a similar unequivocal judgment on the Renaissance: "Nor are there any ideas of progress to be met with throughout the whole Renaissance." After a brief discussion of some "crosscurrents" of the Renaissance, represented by Machiavelli, Erasmus, More, Bacon, and Descartes, Nisbet turns with obvious relief to the Reformation—"The Great Renewal," as he is pleased to call it, a renewal of the idea of progress and with it, not by accident, of religion.

It is at this point that one can begin to appreciate the larger revisionist enterprise in which Nisbet is engaged—the revision not only of the received wisdom about individual thinkers and movements of thought but of the idea of progress itself. His initial definition of progress sounds innocent enough: "Mankind has advanced in the past, . . . is now advancing, and will continue to advance through the foreseeable future." Nor is there anything startling in his description of the two lines of advance: the gradual, cumulative improvement in knowledge; and the realization on earth of man's spiritual, moral, and material aspirations. But as soon as he enters the classical and Christian worlds, the conventional picture fades and the lineaments of Nisbet's distinctive idea of progress begin to emerge.

Knowledge, we are told, had an important practical, even technological, dimension from the beginning. This-worldly concerns were prominent even when the ultimate goal was other-worldly. The spirit of social reform inspired even the attempts to reform the church. And Christian millenarianism, combined with the ancient idea of development, made for a unilinear idea of progress in which past, present, and future were inextricably connected. The Renaissance, in denying its own immediate past and demeaning it as the Dark Ages, broke the chain of progress. Without the commitment to the past there was no warrant for progress in the future; all that remained were cycles of rise and de-



## M I L L

"So devoted was Mill to the general laws of historical progress, the kind that Comte had outlined in detail, that he declared geniuses must be considered secondary to nonindividual, social, or collective processes operating toward the progress of society."—R.N.



## E R A S M U S

"Erasmus's emphasis upon inner individual grace, upon individual thought as alone productive of good, is as antagonistic to a theory of the progress of mankind as Machiavellian stress upon chance and fortune."—R.N.

cline. The rejection of tradition, authority, and doctrine led to a subjectivism that could find reality and redemption only in the inner consciousness of man, and to varieties of irrationality manifested in a fascination with the occult, witchcraft, magic, and the devil. "Fate or fortune" thus replaced "reason and probity" as the forces determining man's lot on earth.

If the early history of the idea of progress is much altered by this reading, the later history is no less so. There is a deceptive familiarity in Nisbet's pronouncement that the Enlightenment witnessed the triumph of the idea of progress in its secularized form, a progress liberated from any reliance upon providence. But he includes among the leaders of the Enlightenment and the proponents of the idea of progress those who did in fact believe in providence, even those who believed in it in its most orthodox forms. And, more significantly, he insists that even the more secular, scientific creeds were imbued with a religious spirit, an idea of the sacred, that belies the conventional image of rationalism and secularism.

It is a perilous path Nisbet treads in this modern period. He has no difficulty in establishing the idea of progress as the common denominator among a wide variety of thinkers: materialists and idealists, romantics and positivists, evolutionists and revolutionists, reformers and millenarians, individualists and socialists, economists and anthropologists, poets and scientists. The challenge lies in respecting their differences, differences that vitally affected their ideas of progress, while preserving the identity of the idea itself.

Nisbet copes with this problem by distinguishing between two major groups: those who saw progress as the means for the achievement of freedom, and those who saw it as the means for the attainment of power. The "progress-as-freedom" school includes Turgot, Condorcet, Smith, Malthus, the Founding Fathers, Godwin, Kant, Mill, Spencer. The "progress-as-power" group includes Rousseau, Fichte, Hegel, Saint-Simon, Comte, Marx, Gobineau. Nisbet makes no secret of his preference for the first group and his wariness, in some cases abhorrence, of the second. Yet in both he

finds much to praise as well as to criticize, so that the two categories do not correspond to an honor roll and a blacklist.

ONE DOES not have to be an admirer of Burke or Tocqueville—although it helps—to appreciate the fact that liberty depends on the vitality and multiplicity of institutions which mediate between the individual and the state. Nisbet himself once proposed as the crucial test of a social philosophy its attitude toward the family; if there were only one criterion by which to distinguish between liberal and authoritarian philosophies, it would be the degree to which they supported or subverted the family. By that test, the progress-as-freedom utopias are as noxious as the progress-as-power ones. For it is utopianism itself that, finally, militates against the pluralism required for freedom. The ideal of a utopia not only belittles any kind of progress that can be achieved short of utopia, making anything less than perfection seem radically evil, but the pursuit of that idea—whether in the form of absolute reason, absolute liberty, absolute virtue, or any combination of these—makes it all too easy to justify the use of absolute power.

The only kind of utopia that escapes this fatal perversion is a religious one that is avowedly otherworldly. This suggests that it is not utopianism itself that is dangerous; what is dangerous is a utopianism that locates its ultimate ideal, its dream of perfection, in this world. The religious imagination at its best is able to retain the spark of divinity, the transcendent vision of perfection, without seeking to realize it on earth. Those utopians who deplore the lack of absolute ideals in the modern world, who find it spiritually debilitating not to have such ideals, are testifying to an important truth about human nature. But in belittling those ideals that are located in the realm of spirit, in insisting that the ideals are not real unless they infuse and transform the temporal world, utopians belie the reality of the spiritual aspect of human nature that they professedly value. And by trying to make them a reality in the here and now, they lend themselves to a grotesque perversion



## THE REFORMATION

Theologians of the Protestant Reformation (left to right): Philipp Melancthon, John Calvin, Johann Bugenhagen, Martin Luther, Ulrich von Hutten, Ulrich Zwingli, and John Huss surround the Swedish monarch Gustavus Adolphus, a Lutheran. "As the religiously intoxicated minds of the seventeenth century were further intoxicated by faith in arts and sciences, so were they still further intoxicated by a confidence in progress as a universal law in mankind's history. . . ."

—R.N.



## MADISON

"The greatest of the Founding Fathers were emphatic in their conviction of past progress over vast lengths of time for humanity, and of progress, with America in the vanguard, through a long future."—R.N.

of the ideals themselves. It takes a subtle religious imagination to encompass both the idea of progress in this world and the idea of the millennium in the other.

IN HIS introduction Nisbet explains why the idea of progress is so important: "The history of all that is greatest in the West—religion, science, reason, freedom, equality, justice, philosophy, the arts, and so on—is grounded deeply in the belief that what one does in one's own time is at once tribute to the greatness and indispensability of the past, and confidence in an ever more golden future." It might be argued, he continues, that all that is required for progress lies in the individual alone, in his will, aspirations, and actions. But this view he rejects: "The springs of human action, will, and ambition, lie for the most part in beliefs about universe, world, society, and man which defy rational expectations"—in "dogmas" in short. The idea of progress is such a dogma. It is this dogma that has permitted the West to attain the heights it has, and the waning of this dogma that is one of the most ominous facts of the present and a tragic portent of the future.

*History of the Idea of Progress* is a pure, classic exercise in metahistory. At no point is the idea of progress used to explain any particular historical event or even any complex or sequence of events. Nor does it pretend to be empirically demonstrable or verifiable. It is as he had earlier described it: an idea, a dogma. It is not, however, a metaphor. And here lies the difference between *Social Change and History* and *History of the Idea of Progress*. They are entirely consistent, although quite dissimilar in intent and "affect." In the earlier book, the idea of progress was something to be wary of, to use, if at all, with circumspection, to keep at a safe distance, as history itself had to be distanced from it—hence, "metaphor," a literary term to emphasize its divorce from reality (and also, perhaps, to belittle and trivialize it). In the later book, the idea has been restored to its status as an idea and invested with the power of

a dogma—a dogma essential to the well-being of society.

IT IS NOT so much Nisbet who has changed his views as history that has given them an ironic twist. In *The Sociological Tradition* he explained how the ideals of the Enlightenment had become perverted—how democracy had resulted in a "tyranny imposed by the mass," liberty in a "morbid isolation" of the individual, reason in a "rationalization of spirit," secularism in "sterile disenchantment." It was this perversion that had so distressed Burke, Tocqueville, Burckhardt, Weber, Durkheim, and the others in the great "sociological tradition," and that had made them so skeptical of any theory of progress.

What we see, beginning with the conservatives in their general distrust of modernism, is the tragic view of life set in time perspective. It is a view that draws its melancholy forecast of the future, not from extraneous or fortuitous factors, but from the very substance of history, from the very forces that the rationalists had hailed as promising liberation and the new empire of reason. In this view history is conceived as being periodically seized by deep moral crises which do not—as the thinkers of inexorable progress argued—automatically resolve themselves but remain instead to haunt and mock man's hopes of secular salvation.

We are now witnessing one of those "deep moral crises" that has periodically assailed us, a crisis so deep that it may signal the end of Western civilization. In this situation of "disbelief, doubt, disillusionment, and despair" (one can go on with those negatives—a distrust of ourselves, a discontent with what we have achieved, a disrespect for our principles and institutions, a debasement of our culture), Nisbet calls for a return to the idea of progress, perhaps not so much to signify our faith in the future as to reaffirm our faith in ourselves—which is to say, in our own past and present. Only by reestablishing that continuity can we prevent ourselves from being engulfed by a new "wave of the future" that is not our future at all. ✍

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# TOCQUEVILLE

## and the Dangers of Democracy

BY WILLIAM A. SCHAMBRA

**T**HE CURE FOR the ills of democracy is more democracy." This familiar slogan from the Progressive Era of U.S. politics continues to reflect the sentiment of most Americans today: Democracy, we believe, is good, and more is better. Throughout the rest of the world, as well, this form of government is held in high esteem. Even the most oppressive totalitarian regimes do it honor by calling themselves democracies or people's republics.

We tend, of course, to dismiss such self-descriptions as cynical expropriations of an otherwise noble title. It might, therefore, come as an unpleasant surprise to learn that Alexis de Tocqueville, one of the foremost students of modern democracy, believed that it could, in fact, assume a totalitarian form. Indeed, he believed that democratic social conditions were more likely to produce totalitarian regimes than free ones. Historians, sociologists, philosophers, and political theorists have written extensively on the democratic/egalitarian and totalitarian tendencies of populism and fascism in the twentieth century. However, it is well worth our efforts to understand why Tocqueville believed this and how, in his view, America had managed to blunt democracy's potential for totalitarianism and enhance its potential for freedom.

According to Tocqueville's analysis in *Democracy in America*, democracy was, in the 1830s, well on its way to the universal acceptance and esteem it enjoys today. By democracy, however, he meant far more than the rule of the majority or equality of

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political rights; for him, "the particular and predominating fact of [democratic] ages" was, above all, equality of conditions. Such equality is perhaps most readily understood by contrast to the inequality of conditions that had prevailed in the previous, and rapidly disappearing, aristocratic age. In that earlier period, people had been distributed along a finely articulated hierarchy of superiors and inferiors by hereditary and seemingly permanent distinctions of status and rank. Society itself was characterized by a great multiplicity of classes, castes, guilds, great families, and other independent centers of authority.

In the new democratic age, however, all such distinctions and inequalities were to disappear. Individuals were to become more and more equal in all important respects—not only in political and legal rights, but in education, wealth, and social standing as well. The fixed, aristocratic hierarchy would be shattered, to be replaced by a vast, level plain of fundamentally equal individuals.

Tocqueville believed that much good would come of the new democratic age. Laws would inevitably "tend toward the good of the greatest number" and so be more beneficial to humanity. Such laws would be obeyed more readily, thus making society more stable. More important, however, democratic conditions would unleash tremendous quantities of human energy, thereby vivifying and improving society in general. Emancipated from the fixed stations of the prior age, individuals would seek to acquire especially the tangible, material goods unavailable to them before. Prodigious industrial expansion would be the consequence. "Restless activity, superabundant force, and energy" were,



ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE  
(1805-1859)





The first edition of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* appeared a few years before the "log cabin and hard cider" campaign of 1840 between William Henry Harrison and Martin Van Buren. That election was notable for its use of campaign songs, slogans, and party insignia.

Tocqueville maintained, the true advantages of democracy.

Democracy would, he believed, exact a price for these advantages. For example, literature, the fine arts, and non-utilitarian intellectual endeavors in general would suffer dramatically. The aristocratic classes that had appreciated and sustained such endeavors in the past were now gone. Furthermore, the generally materialistic tenor of the new society would actively discourage cultivation of the arts and humanities. "A breathless cupidity perpetually distracts the mind of man from the pleasures of the imagination and the labors of the intellect and urges it on to nothing but the pursuit of wealth," Tocqueville observed. Democratic peoples would cultivate only "those arts which help make life comfortable rather than those which adorn it." In a society characterized by the endless pursuit of wealth, Tocqueville asked, "where is one to find the calm for the profound researches of the intellect?"

The most serious problem posed by democracy and equality of conditions lay not in the intellectual but rather in the political realm, wrote Tocqueville. Although democracy

and equality may seem to us to be synonymous with freedom, the ominous fact, according to Tocqueville, was that they could as readily lead to tyranny—and, in fact, a tyranny far worse than any to be found in the old aristocratic age. In that earlier age, the great families, walled cities, guilds, and the church necessarily had restricted the amount of power wielded by the central governing authority. The king's writ ran only as far as the nobleman's moat. Thus, in "an aristocracy the people are always defended from the excesses of despotism, for there are always organized forces ready to resist a despot."

In the new age of equality, the independent sources of resistance to despotism disappeared. Nothing stood between the central government, "which has inherited all the prerogatives snatched from families, corporations, and individuals" and the level plain of equal—hence equally powerless—individuals. Tocqueville predicted that, without the political breakwaters of aristocracy, centralized tyranny would become more likely and more pervasive.

It is no accident that the first act of modern totalitarian regimes is the

systematic eradication of all independent sources of social authority. Sadly enough, Tocqueville suggested, such efforts are likely to be applauded, rather than resisted, by a democratic people. Democracy breeds among its subjects a particularly virulent form of envy that leads people to resent—and to seek to eliminate—any distinctions or inequalities, no matter how minor, within society. Therefore, "the ever fiercer fires of endless hatred felt by democracies against the slightest privileges singularly favors the gradual concentration of all political rights in those hands which alone represent the state."

Although Tocqueville maintained that such a harsh and violent form of democratic despotism is possible in the new age (indeed, one is tempted to see a version of it prevailing within our foremost international adversary), he nevertheless suggested that another, subtler form of tyranny is more likely. This form is so subtle that the old words *despotism* and *tyranny* do not adequately define it, and so he set about to describe it.

To understand this altogether new form of what others have come to call *soft tyranny*, it is necessary to return to a consideration of the human condition in the new age, as contrasted to the old. In the aristocratic age, the social hierarchy provided strong links among individuals; thus, "people living in an aristocratic age are almost always deeply involved with something outside themselves." In the age of equality, those social bonds are destroyed, and what Tocqueville described as individualism comes to prevail instead. Individualism "disposes each citizen to isolate himself from the mass of his fellows and withdraw into the circle of family and friends." This tendency to turn inward is reinforced by the materialistic pursuits in which individuals are engaged; they are "petty aims, but the soul clings to them . . . [and] in the end, they shut out the rest of the world." Individualistic, materialistic democratic citizens find it "an effort . . . to tear themselves away from their private affairs and pay attention to those of the community; the natural inclination is to leave the only visible and permanent representative of collective interests . . . the state, to look after them."

This the state is only too happy to do. It absorbs more and more functions from society and soon "covers the whole of social life with a network of petty, complicated rules" that does not "break men's will, but softens, bends, and guides it." As opposed to the violent form of tyranny described earlier, this form "is not at all tyrannical, but it hinders, restrains, enervates, and stultifies so much that in the end each nation is no more than a flock of timid and hardworking animals with the government as its shepherd."

This mild, bureaucratic despotism is perfectly compatible with free democratic elections, Tocqueville insisted. Citizens simply "quit their state of dependence just long enough to choose their masters and then fall back into it." Indeed, elections make the despotism that much more secure: "Each individual lets them put the collar on, for he sees that it is not a person, or a class of persons, but society itself which holds the end of the chain." Unlike the previous tyrannies of one over many, this might be described as a tyranny of all over all.

It must be emphasized that this soft despotism is utterly benevolent; "its power is orderly, provident, and mild." In the course of supplying popular needs, the government makes it unnecessary for the people to band together in mutual endeavor to supply those needs for themselves. However, it is precisely through such mutual endeavor, or the "reciprocal action of men one upon another," that "feelings and ideas are renewed, the heart enlarged, and the understanding developed"—that is, that human beings become human. The ultimate horror of the "orderly, gentle, peaceful slavery" that Tocqueville described is that, acting purely in the interests of the people, government nonetheless denatures them, gradually reducing them to sub-human, asocial atoms who are content to glut their lives with petty materialistic pursuits.

Gloomy prospects are therefore opened for us by democracy and equality in the new age. It is difficult, as we read Tocqueville's account, not to glance about ourselves at contemporary circumstances with a new understanding and no little apprehension. Nevertheless,



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URGES IT ON TO  
NOTHING BUT  
THE PURSUIT OF  
WEALTH."



Tocqueville insisted that his was a book of hope, not of impending doom: "I am certainly not the one to say that such [despotic] inclinations are inevitable, for my chief aim in writing this book is to combat them." It remained an open question, he argued, whether "equality is to lead to servitude or freedom!"; it was precisely that question that had led him to write a study of democracy in America, and not of democracy as such. For America had advanced quite far along the road to democracy without succumbing altogether to the atomistic individualism, materialism, mediocrity, and despotism usually accompanying equality. America had lessons to teach a world that would soon be inundated by the democratic tide.

The key to America's achievement, according to Tocqueville, was its ability to create democratic substitutes for the diverse, independent centers of allegiance and authority that had seemingly vanished forever, along with the aristocracy. Foremost among those substitutes were strong local government and communities and small public and private associations. The presence in America of a vast multiplicity of local communities and associations means two things, he noted: First, those independent centers of power form a layer of authority *between* the individual and the central government and therefore serve as a democratic breakwater against the power of that government.

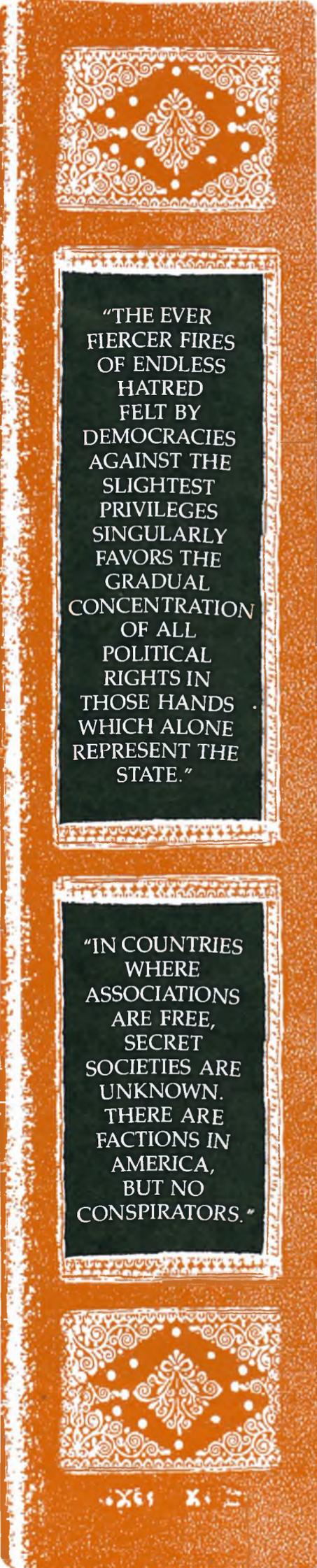
Second, and perhaps more important, local governments and associations draw people out of themselves, persuading them to set aside at least momentarily their private, materialistic pursuits to become involved in public affairs. There are in America "an infinite number of occasions for the citizens to act together," Tocqueville wrote. When otherwise isolated individuals are thus compelled to deal with common problems in common, they learn to become free, public-spirited citizens. America's intermediate associations are therefore essential devices for counteracting the individualism, materialism, and loss of humanity that are at once the cause and consequence of the soft form of democratic tyranny.

If Tocqueville maintained that it was possible to cultivate freedom

and avoid tyranny in the new age of equality, he nevertheless cautioned that it would be a profoundly difficult enterprise. The idea of intermediate associations or of "secondary powers between the sovereign and his subjects," is utterly foreign "to the minds of men in ages of equality." Democratic peoples are put off by such complicated systems and prefer to "picture a great nation in which every citizen resembles one set type and is controlled by one single power." All currents of thought, feeling, and behavior in this age, he believed, would flow toward government centralization, always raising the specter of despotism. The idea of intermediate associations would remain a fragile conceptual flower in such times, and so freedom itself would enjoy but a precarious existence.

The difficulty of sustaining the idea of intermediate associations against the centralizing tendencies of democracy surely is evident in today's climate of political opinion. Many contemporary American intellectuals—while they tend to share Tocqueville's dim view of individualism and materialism—nonetheless do not join in his admiration of "secondary bodies," or in his fear of central government. In fact, in their view, a powerful central government, led by a dynamic articulate president, becomes the surest means to overcome that individualism and materialism. Such a president, speaking from his bully pulpit, would summon the people to put aside private interests in the name of a greater national interest. Public spiritedness and citizenliness would be cultivated through a devotion to nation and submersion in national unity, rather than within the local associations that Tocqueville had considered essential for the task. Indeed, the whole nation would come to possess the sense of mutuality or community hitherto found only in the small, intimate association. One of the dominant political concepts of our time, this vision of a great national community, is a potent intellectual rationale for a centralized state.

A few voices have been raised against this notion of national community over the past several decades, but none more forceful or effective than that of Robert Nisbet. As he noted in the 1970 preface to *The*



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OF ALL  
POLITICAL  
RIGHTS IN  
THOSE HANDS  
WHICH ALONE  
REPRESENT THE  
STATE."

"IN COUNTRIES  
WHERE  
ASSOCIATIONS  
ARE FREE,  
SECRET  
SOCIETIES ARE  
UNKNOWN.  
THERE ARE  
FACTIONS IN  
AMERICA,  
BUT NO  
CONSPIRATORS."

*Quest for Community*, "The single most impressive fact in the twentieth century . . . is the fateful combination of widespread quest for community . . . and the apparatus of political power that has become so vast in contemporary democratic states."

Although the centralized political community may succeed in overcoming the individualism and atomism of modern egalitarian conditions, Nisbet argued, it does so only by swallowing individuals—by taking into its grasp and regimenting in minute detail every aspect of their social, political, and even moral and emotional existence. The result is a tyranny worse even than the one Tocqueville feared most—a tyranny that would not be content to let its citizens idle away their lives in petty pursuits but that would insist on active devotion to and absorption within an omniscient political community.

According to Nisbet, freedom in the modern era depends on a re-focusing of the quest for community away from the central state back toward intermediate associations. "It is the continued existence of this array of intermediate powers in society, of this plurality of 'private sovereignties,' that constitutes, above anything else, the greatest single barrier to the conversion of democracy from its liberal form to its totalitarian form," he wrote in *Quest*.

Nisbet believes that the problem of despotism in modern times is very much as Tocqueville described it—although now perhaps intensified by a new belief that the mutuality of local community can and must be nurtured at the level of the nation as a whole. The antidote, however, is the same: the intermediate associations that had averted the possibility of democratic tyranny in America.

We are fortunate as a nation to have voices that speak against the powerful vision of national community and on behalf of intermediate associations, thereby defying the intellectual currents that, as Tocqueville foresaw, flow so powerfully toward centralized government. Those voices remind us of the ways America has managed to secure the blessings of freedom that the new age of equality makes possible while avoiding the servitude that, Tocqueville suggests, the new age makes more likely and more terrible. ♡

# Poland's Informal Economy

BY JOSEPH H. BROWN



All photos by Gaele Wimmer

In Nowy Targ, gateway to the Tatra Mountains, a woman sells garlic.

WESTERN ACCOUNTS of Poland, usually caught up in the Solidarity movement and the imposition of martial law, occasionally describe an economy that seems to function despite its inefficiency. In many Eastern-bloc countries, as well as in the Soviet Union, an informal economy, underlaid by social networks, works in conjunction with the formal or state-sponsored economy. Problem-solving networks that connect the community to the formal economy and bureaucracy are the mechanisms of the informal economy. Among other things, the informal economy stimulates the formal one, making scarce goods available to those who can afford them, providing jobs to an unemployed and underemployed population, and putting additional hard currency into circulation.

For an illustration of how the informal economy operates, first consider Mr. Jones, who lives in Beaver Falls outside of Pittsburgh, and owns a small business that manufactures soap. Whenever his stock of rosin runs low, Mr. Jones gets on the telephone, takes price quotations from several suppliers, places an order for the best buy, and, in what seems like no time at all, receives a shipment of rosin.

Mr. Dzwonczyk, who lives in Karczew outside of Warsaw, also owns a small soap-manufacturing company. He has recently replenished his dwindling supplies of rosin according to a scenario that, to a Western observer, is unbelievably complex. To his neighbors in Karczew, it is business as usual.

The transaction begins one Sunday when Jan, a bank cashier who doesn't even know Mr. Dzwonczyk, is having tea at his Aunt Jozefa's. Here he meets Tadeusz, another guest, who mentions that he has an excess consignment of rosin. Tadeusz, however, doesn't actually have extra rosin; he simply knows a man named Marcin who does.

Enter Leszek, a customer at Jan's bank. One day at the cashier's desk, he casually mentions to Jan that he is looking for rosin. Jan, in turn, informs Leszek that he has the rosin and asks Leszek to call him tomorrow.

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row, when he will be able to quote a price for the material.

Leszek, it turns out, doesn't really need the rosin; he has merely learned about the shortage from his friend Piotr, who, in turn, heard it from Mr. Dzwonczyk. So Leszek goes immediately to Piotr with the news that he can have rosin available in two days. While Piotr looks for Mr. Dzwonczyk, Jan finds Tadeusz through Aunt Jozefa, and Tadeusz, in turn, looks for Marcin.

Eventually a chain is established that links Marcin to Mr. Dzwonczyk through Tadeusz, Aunt Jozefa, Leszek, and Piotr. Mr. Dzwonczyk can now place an order for rosin. Of course, he pays more than if he had ordered the rosin through official channels because everyone involved gets a cut. For Mr. Dzwonczyk, however, the results are well worth the extra cost. He does not lose a day of production waiting out interminable delays in delivery, nor does he have to confront the possibility that an order placed through government channels may never get filled at all.

Until recently, these informal networks attracted no serious scholarly attention in the West. Interest in the subject is growing among younger Polish social scientists in particular, and their research results will soon be available outside Poland for the first time. With NEH support, social anthropologist Janine Wedel is editing and translating a collection of ten essays for a forthcoming book.

By introducing Western readers to the social and economic system that allows the Poles to survive on a daily basis, the essays will provide a key to understanding socialism's underside. "Informal economies not only permeate economic systems but are of prime importance to political and social aspects of society," says Wedel. "Knowledge of how informal social networks and structures relate and respond to external constraints is of major consequence to the determination of a country's internal stability."

The informal economy in Poland is not a new phenomenon. Extralegal networks were prevalent during the partitions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, more recently, during the German occupation of Poland in World War II. "Even the most totalitarian of systems cannot control everything,"



Produce for sale in the Polna Market in Warsaw comes from small, privately held plots of land. There are few collective farms in Poland.

Wedel says. "Thus the laws and policies implemented by the Nazi *Generalgouvernement*, including the rationing system and the prohibition of buying and selling agricultural products, were in reality no more than a social fiction. Faced with the fact that following the rules meant starving, Poles revived extralegal means of surviving in spite of the regulations."

These distribution networks continued to play a vital role in postwar Polish social and economic life, says Wedel. "After the war, Soviet-style political and economic institutions—state planning, centralization, and the one-party system—were imposed on a country with vastly different cultural institutions. This situation encouraged continued development of extralegal networking and a system in which individuals deal with official constraints and public chaos through private means."

Wedel has found that the development and fine-tuning of that system continue to this day. Long-established patterns of behavior continue to allow people to survive, even in the face of resources that have become increasingly scarce during the last decade.

Wedel spent the years 1982–86 at the Warsaw University Institute of Sociology, conducting research on informal social networks in Poland. She worked independently at first because at the time she arrived, martial law had only recently been im-

posed, and it was difficult even for Polish social scientists to ascertain the circumstances under which research could be conducted. After about a year and a half, she began to make contact with other scholars through the same kinds of informal networks she had come to Poland to investigate. Without these networks, she explains, her research could never have progressed as far as it did, and she certainly would never have been able to put together the anthology.

Everyone in Poland is involved in informal networks to some extent, notes Wedel. "Of course, some people are better placed because of particular employment or family connections, and some are much more skilled at operating within the system." And, she points out, *informal* is not a synonym for *illegal*. Many transactions that take place outside Poland's formal economy are as straightforward as exchanging surplus ration cards for babysitting services. "Many others," she points out, "fall into a gray area, and no one, not even lawyers, can tell you whether they're legal or illegal. What's especially interesting about the system is that the Poles do not think of it in terms of legal or illegal."

Wedel cites special terms that are used every day for dealing in the informal economy that, almost intentionally it seems, obscure the dis-

inction. The terms are remnants of a traditional society that persists despite fifty years of Nazi and then Soviet totalitarianism. Wojciech Pawlik, a contributor to Wedel's book and a sociologist at the Warsaw University Institute of Social Prevention and Re-socialization, confirmed Wedel's observations. He found, she reports, that "the informal exchange of goods and services has become so prevalent that an elaborate etiquette and an entire language have evolved around the system. Euphemisms help people rationalize activity that may be illegal or semilegal. The proper etiquette protects parties to a transaction by letting people know whom they can trust."

For example, to make an arrangement with someone, it is necessary to be considered *swój* (one of us), not

*obcy* (stranger). "Becoming *swój* is the first step in the privatization that takes place at every level of the economy," says Wedel. Likewise, *zalatwić* (to "arrange" matters), roughly equivalent to our *finagling*, is an art.

"It's a very personal thing," Wedel explains. "You've got to show that you are human. You can't just go into a store and say, 'I want that leather bag. I can arrange such and such for you.' No! Not only can business not be transacted that way; it can't even be alluded to until you have established some personal relationship. And that may involve coming back five or six times before you can begin to talk about it. That's if you have no connection to the clerk. If the clerk happens to be your best friend's cousin, the process is usually easier."

The articles to be included in Wedel's anthology are both descriptive and analytic. Among the contributors are sociologists, anthropologists, economists, writers, journalists, and church and government representatives. Several articles trace the roots of Poland's informal economic and social system and describe how various aspects of the informal economy work. Others are concerned with the value system connected with the informal society, the ways in which that value system has changed over time, and the obligations of reciprocity and mutual aid among family, friends, neighbors, colleagues, and acquaintances. Still others analyze the factors that brought Poland's informal social and economic system into existence and contribute to its continued growth and development.

"While interest in the subject is growing," cautions Wedel, "it must be understood that, in Poland, extensive exploration of the informal economy is not officially encouraged. It is not possible to go to a library and find a bibliography on this topic. There are interesting works to choose from but no systematic way to locate them. Much of what has been published has appeared in small-circulation scholarly journals or in books with very limited print runs—sometimes as few as 100 copies. "While almost anything can be published in Poland, the rule is, essentially, the smaller the circulation, the more you can say," says Wedel.

By plumbing these relatively obscure sources, Wedel will be transmitting to readers of English, through firsthand experiences of Polish social scientists, writers, and journalists, some of the ways in which society shapes the economy in a socialist system. It is not official suppression but simple lack of attention that accounts for the long scholarly silence on Poland's informal system thus far. "When I asked a noted Polish sociologist why the Poles had conducted so little research on the informal social and economic system," says Wedel, "he replied, 'For us, this is just everyday life.'"

*In 1987 Janine Wedel received \$16,000 in outright funds from the Translations category of the Division of Research Programs for "The Unplanned Economy: Poland's Second Society."*



*This goat seller in Nowy Targ is an example of private entrepreneurship in Polish agriculture.*

# Religious Resurgence in Asia and Southeast Asia

BY SUSAN BURNAM

A MONK IN LAY clothing governs the capital city of Thailand. In Japan the spirits of the dead are honored by a newly simplified ritual. And on a visit to the People's Republic of China last year, Charles F. Keyes, a professor and chairman of anthropology at the University of Washington, was startled to see mosques being restored.

A religious revival seems to be taking place across east and southeast Asia, its vitality apparently belying the notion that as societies become more modern, they also grow more secular. Not only are new religions appearing, but religious growth is also taking place within the traditional religions—among them Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam—that have been in the area for centuries.

Exploring the sources and appeal of such religious movements will be a major topic for scholars of history, anthropology, and religion from the United States, Canada, Europe, and Asia when they gather next year at an interdisciplinary conference exploring the relationship between religion and social change in Asia. Tentatively scheduled for spring 1989 at a site as yet undetermined, the conference will be sponsored by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) with support from NEH and the Ford Foundation. Conference participants will examine the power of contemporary religious movements in relation to the processes of urbanization, migration, secularization, and change in conceptions of gender and family.

According to SSRC staff associate Stefan Tanaka, "The importance of



Japan Information and Culture Center

The Kara-mon Gate of the Toshogu Shrine in Nikko. The Shinto shrine, built in 1636, is dedicated to Ieyasu Tokugawa (1542–1616), one of Japan's greatest generals and statesmen.

religion in all societies—especially its role in helping us understand political and social trends—is a topic that is really only beginning to be addressed. International scholars benefit from the opportunity to share ideas in a conference setting. Although they read each other's work, it becomes easier to bridge the cultural differences when they are face to face."

Certainly, religions both old and new are thriving in many parts of the world today, including the United States, observes Tanaka. "Of

particular interest to Americans and their idealized view of church-state separation, will be the way some governments use traditional religious ideas for political ends while, in other instances, religion is used by particular groups to separate themselves from the state."

According to Helen Hardacre, associate professor of religion at Princeton University and one of the conference organizers, participants hope to develop some new theoretical paradigms for the religious renaissance that might be applicable

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not only to Asia, but beyond, thus stimulating research on related topics. In addition to publishing the conference results in the SSRC annual report and quarterly newsletter, the SSRC will publish a book of edited conference papers.

Many of the new religions slated to come under study at the conference have arisen during a time roughly coinciding with the emergence of the modern nation-state in Asia, says Laurel Kendall, a member of the curatorial staff in charge of the Asian ethnographic collections at the American Museum of Natural History and one of the conference organizers. This modern state, self-consciously reclaiming and maintaining its history, has an agenda not only for development but also for creating a national consciousness—in other words, for establishing an image of itself as a nation in a commu-

nity of nations. In the process, religion, nation, and state have become intertwined, with religion frequently emerging as a tool for helping people forge a national identity.

In Korea, for example, the *minjung* (the masses) movement, which began when a group of theologians combined Christian humanism with parts of Korean religious tradition, is being tied to the rediscovery of indigenous culture. Thus the term *minjung* is being extended to aspects of their culture that Koreans consider to be uniquely Korean; even mainstream politicians invoke the rhetoric of the movement.

Kendall points out, however, that although religious movements like *minjung* are nationalistic in one sense, they "aren't necessarily creatures of the state." This is because Asian religious movements have a

varied and complicated relationship with government policies and national authorities.

For example, says Keyes, while the government of the People's Republic of China is providing some financial assistance for the rebuilding of mosques, the official position links the assistance not to Islamization but to a national effort undoing the destruction wrought during the Cultural Revolution.

Using three examples from Thailand, Keyes further illustrates the complexity of the church-state relationship in the region. In that country the forest monks, who withdraw from society and assign no relevance to the concept of nationhood, receive patronage from the royal family. In contrast, the current governor of Bangkok, while a strict ascetic Buddhist, has strong involvements in the world; not only is he governor, but he is a military general as well. Meanwhile, a popular spirit-medium cult, although based on an indigenous religious tradition, has been suppressed by the Thai government because its leader claims he is possessed by historical Thai figures who speak through him.

Distinctive local traditions may also merge with religious aspects to validate an ethnic group's special identity within a nation. In Indonesia, where the law requires each citizen to choose from among five faiths, the government has sanctioned Aluk, the animist tradition of the Toraja region, as a sect of one of the five official religions. Aluk has grown stronger as the Toraja people engage in a process of defining themselves as an important culture within a national context. "The whole idea that there is a Toraja group, culture, identity, and religion, is relatively new," says Toby Alice Volkman, staff associate at SSRC.

At the same time, a seemingly disparate and even more widespread religious movement is taking place among the Toraja people as hundreds of Toraja migrate to other parts of Indonesia and convert to Christianity. The thread common to both Toraja movements, according to Volkman, is the importance assigned to ritual. To the adherents, whether Aluk or Christian, the rituals tend to define the uniqueness of their religion, not only for themselves, but also in the eyes of observers, includ-



Japan Information and Culture Center

A Shinto wedding ceremony. Shinto, literally "the way of the gods," is a body of ancient Japanese religious beliefs. State Shinto, which inculcated loyalty to the imperial family, originated in the mid-nineteenth century and was disestablished in 1945. Shinto customs are often incorporated into Buddhist or other religious ceremonies.



A Christian funeral in the Toraja highlands of Indonesia. The corpse is carried in a red and gold cylinder on a bamboo bier across fields to the grave.



A modern Korean bride and groom perform the final rite of matrimony. In the Confucian world, the proper performance of ritual exemplifies moral and social worth.



An effigy of a deceased Aluk woman in the Toraja highlands. Recently some Christians have begun to fashion effigies as artistic representations rather than spirit receptacles.

ing foreigners, who see the rituals as tourists or visitors.

Some of the popular religious movements now flourishing in east and southeast Asia seem to fulfill yet

another need: an alternative view of gender roles that provides for more active participation by women than do many of the mainstream religions in the area. Hardacre cites as an example the religions arising in Japan over the past 150 years. Many of the founders were women, and women have a greater role in their ritual performance.

In the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan, some popular cults allow or encourage practices, such as spirit possession or healing rituals, that mainstream religions may regard as unorthodox and that secular society may consider ineffective. Kendall suggests that these movements may be popular in part because they "deal with problems in an idiom that people can understand and that is emotionally satisfying." Cutting down on the formality and expense of a ritual for the dead in Japan, for example, is an approach to honoring the departed that many people find easier to handle.

An interest in ritual and the proper religious observance for modern society is common in many of the Asian religious movements. Active public debate on religion often focuses on the nuances of practice. In Korea, according to Kendall, "there is a need to have open discourse about things once taken for granted." In Indonesia, elaborates Volkman, "people are really concerned about what you *do*—that is,

what church or ritual you attend. In all the time I was there I never heard a debate about morality and God in abstract terms."

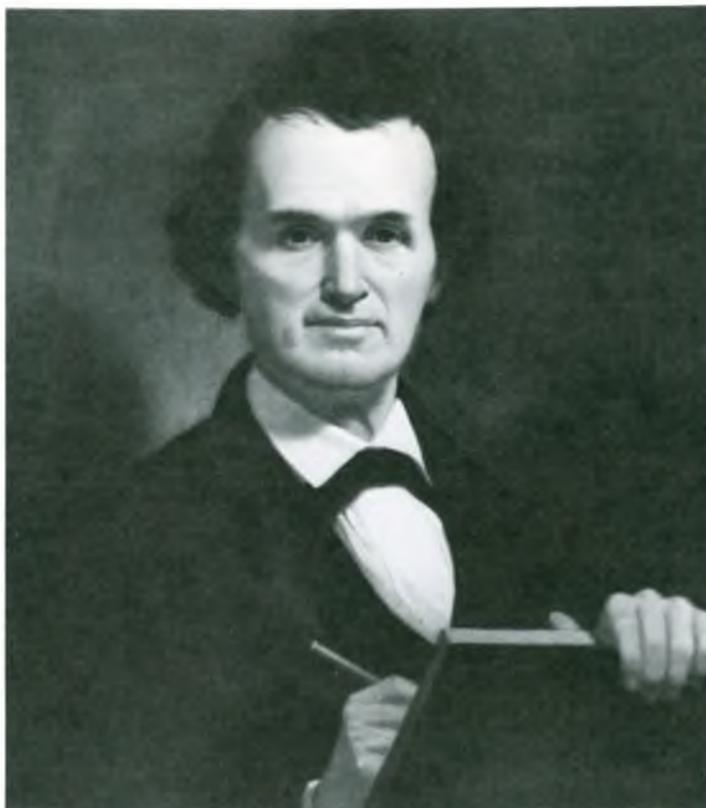
All this new activity in the religious realm is a challenge to existing ideas of social evolution and a fertile field for scholars. Hardacre suggests that the case of state Shinto in Japan, which contributed heavily to the emergence of the nation during the period of expansionist warfare from the 1890s to the end of World War II, may provide a model with some "rough predictive value" for similar events. Some scholars speculate that such movements may occur cyclically.

Stefan Tanaka points out that while the conference will undoubtedly shed light on reasons for the current religious renaissance in Asia, the discussions "may also disabuse many of the cherished notions that such phenomena are always impelled by a return to the divine." Indeed, it may be impossible to make predictions about religious movements. "Different cultures and different times," he says, "require different assumptions." ☞

*In 1986 the Social Science Research Council received \$300,000 in outright funds and \$2,565,775 in matching funds from the Re-grants for International Research category of the Division of Research Programs for the "ACLS/SSRC International Research Program."*

# George Caleb Bingham: Missouri Painter

BY SUSAN R. GOODMAN



Kansas City Public Library

*Bingham executed this self-portrait ca. 1877.*

**A**S A CHILD OF the frontier, it was natural for George Caleb Bingham (1811–79), the “Missouri painter,” to paint the fur trappers, flatboatmen, country politicians, and squatters he knew so well. He portrayed them as rugged and self-reliant Americans, emblems of the frontier spirit.

Bingham came of age in the Golden Age of American painting (1830–60), when the work of American artists was, for the first time, appreciated and purchased not only by the wealthy—whose taste tended toward European works and artists—but also by an emerging and increasingly affluent middle class with an appetite for art that reflected the American spirit.

Today, Bingham ranks among the best of the nineteenth-century American narrative painters. “He was a powerful figure who broke new ground in illustrating the simple joys of American life and who prepared the way for the giants—Winslow Homer and Thomas Eakins—to follow,” says E. Maurice Bloch, emeritus professor of art history at the University of California at Los Angeles. Bloch is author of *The Paintings of George Caleb Bingham: A Catalogue Raisonné* published by the University of Missouri Press and funded in part by a grant from NEH.

Bloch’s catalogue raisonné places Bingham’s life and work in the context of the social, artistic, and political climate of nineteenth-century America. The catalogue also reflects on Bingham’s philosophy of art and examines the issue of patronage and national support for artists.

A photograph of Bingham shows a man with strong features and unruly hair (actually a wig to cover his baldness after a severe case of smallpox). “He was a small man, but his dynamic qualities set him apart,” says Bloch, who adds that the cool, formal, and highly refined style of his work disguised an inner turbulence. To his foes, Bingham

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was volatile, irascible, and pugnacious—with a colorful vocabulary to match. To his close friends, he was fiercely loyal, often charming, witty, and even affectionate. “He never attempted to mitigate the combative part of his personality,” says Bloch.

## Painter and Politician

Unlike other American artists, Bingham became a statesman and a legend in political circles. He served as Missouri’s treasurer and adjutant general and twice entered congressional races. He was an articulate speaker and writer with strong opinions, which he expressed in “vivid language and acid prose” according to Bloch.

When Bingham presented his portraits of Jackson and Clay to the Missouri State Legislature, he used the occasion to speak out against the secessionists. In his painting *Martial Law*, he recorded his outrage at the suffering of innocent people under the infamous Order 11, a general eviction imposed by the military in an attempt to stop guerilla raids from Missouri into Kansas during the Civil War.

Like many American artists, Bingham was largely self-taught and “he was proud of it,” according to Bloch. Inspired by an itinerant painter, Bingham started out as a journeyman portraitist, traveling from town to town through Missouri and Mississippi. The stiffness of his early work began to soften after he studied for several months at the Philadelphia Academy of Art. He was also exposed to other artists while he worked as a portraitist for several years in Washington, D.C.

Nevertheless, Bloch finds it “astonishing” that Bingham could have produced such refined and sophisticated paintings as *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri*. “Without direct access to the European masterworks, Bingham began using classical and Renaissance compositions and techniques to paint American subjects,” says Bloch. “He borrowed figures and poses from the works of Raphael and Masaccio, used religious iconography to portray secular subjects—*The Emigration of Daniel Boone* is presented like *The Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt*—and used red underpainting and multiple glazes, a technique which gives his works their characteristic rosy glow. This ‘true crimson’ underpainting is almost a signature of Bingham’s work.”



Brooklyn Museum

Above: *Shooting for the Beef* (1850) is a genre scene of the American West. The prize in the contest, a bull, is chained to a stump next to the post office and grocery store. Bingham would receive \$350.00 for a ten-figure subject such as this one. Right: In *Boatmen on the Missouri*, 1846, Bingham’s classical triangular composition gives grandeur to a humble subject.



The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, gift of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller III



Jolly Flatboatmen in Port (1857), one of several versions of scenes of flatboatmen, was painted in Düsseldorf, Germany, where Bingham lived for a



State Historical Society of Missouri

Major James Sidney Rollins, 1871. Bingham painted this portrait in Columbia, Missouri, probably as a study for the head of a life-size, full-length portrait of the major.

## Patronage Problems

Bloch notes that patronage was painters. America, unlike Europe, had few galleries, and artists had to chase their work. For a long time, American artists considered inferior to European artists and made themselves by painting portraits more than 500 portraits through "boiling."

By 1830, though, a market for art emerged along with a growing sense of middle class acquainted with art through the work produced by Currier and Ives.

Bingham gained a national reputation through the Union, an important corporate work appealing to patriotic feelings. He made works and distributed them by the thousands. He bought nineteen of Bingham's



long a flourishing community of artists.

hibited them for long periods, promoted his work in its magazine, and engraved *The Jolly Flatboatman* in an edition of 10,000.

Despite national recognition, Bingham never achieved federal patronage. He sought, but did not win, a commission "to paint a western subject by a western artist" for a new extension to the Capitol in Washington, D.C. Although he has always been well-known in Missouri, his national reputation began to fade even before his death in 1879. Not until 1935, after an exhibition of American realists at the Museum of Modern Art, did contemporary scholars become interested in Bingham's work.

### An Educated Eye

Having studied Bingham's life and work for more than forty years, Bloch notes, "It would have been possible to write an excellent book on Bingham by noting only a narrow circle of authentic works. But the much greater mass of questionable works and copies acted as a magnet and a challenge." The catalogue raisonné, which supersedes an earlier version written by Bloch, includes 100 works discovered in recent years. In addition, the attribution of twenty works previously thought to be by Bingham has been changed.

Because few paintings have unassailable documentary evidence that authenticates their authorship, a scholar must separate the "sheep" (authentic works by an artist) from the "goats" (works similar in style by others) and from the "wolves in sheep's clothing" (copies of the artist's work by others). An attribution, which is an expert's educated opinion about whose hand made a particular painting, requires the eye of a connoisseur. "After forty years, you become one whether you want to or not," says Bloch. He did not make attributions based on photographs, secondary sources, family tradition, or other scholars' opinions, but only on firsthand examination of works.

Because most of Bingham's paintings are held in private collections, this catalogue raisonné with its 370 black-and-white and 34 color illustrations may become indispensable to students and scholars. Like the independent and self-reliant subjects of his paintings, "Bingham is an elusive and complex figure who developed completely on his own," Bloch concludes. "Even after forty years, he still refreshes my mind." 

*In 1984 the University of Missouri Press received \$9,080 in outright funds from the Publication Subvention category of the Division of Research Programs for "The Paintings of George Caleb Bingham: A Catalogue Raisonné."*

# Buying and Selling



Nature morte à la Bouteille, Pablo Picasso, 1962. Linocut.

**B**ECAUSE ART IS often spoken of as a bearer of highly personal, intangible values, it is not unusual for discussions of art to invoke the sacred and mystical. But art is also a tangible commodity that is bought and sold. The process through which art—especially contemporary painting—enters the marketplace and acquires objective, monetary value is the subject of an

## C O N T E M P O R A R Y A R T

BY NANCY BECKER



Deux Hommes, Fernand Leger, 1920. Ink wash on paper.

Photos courtesy of Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution. Gift of Joseph H. Hirshhorn

NEH-supported translation by Arthur Goldhammer of sociologist Raymonde Moulin's book, *Le Marché de la Peinture en France, 1945-1967*.

Although there has been a great deal of research in France on the sociology of art, very little of it has been translated. The English version, shortened and retitled *The French Art Market: A Sociological View* by the author, was published by Rutgers University Press in 1987. An acknowledged classic in the history of art, Moulin's study was until recently the only written account of the interaction between aesthetic appreciation and financial value. The extensive data on which she based the study have made the work a useful contribution to research and teaching in the fields of sociology and art history.

According to Howard Becker, professor of sociology at Northwestern

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Nancy Becker is a freelance writer and editor in Cleveland.

University and a major figure in the field of the sociology of art, *The French Art Market* is the first thorough attempt by a sociologist to interview substantial numbers of the key participants—painters, dealers, collectors, critics, curators, and academics—in one country's art market. The study covers the period when art prices first began escalating to unprecedented levels. In Becker's opinion, Moulin's empirical approach sets her work apart from the theoretical studies of most of her European colleagues and is more consonant with research typically conducted by Americans. Although Moulin's research was delineated by geography and time, she believes her observations hold true at least for the current French art market.

### Pricing Contemporary Art

The economic value of a painting cannot be discussed in the same way as a factory-produced object. The artist's materials are a minimal expense, and the value of the finished product cannot be determined by the cost of the artist's labor. Inevitably, an obscure and difficult-to-discern process determines the market price of a contemporary art work.

Moulin differentiated the market for contemporary art, the focus of her book, from two other art markets. The market for traditional art, Moulin said, is one whose aesthetic and financial value has been established over time and includes old masters as well as modern masters such as the Impressionists. The market for what she referred to as "non-art" is one whose purchasers "expect nothing of painting except that it reproduce reality and reflect the interests of the buyer."

In the field of contemporary art, Moulin discovered that a painting first gained the attention of the artist's peers and a small but influential group likely to include critics as well as potential buyers and dealers who keep abreast of developments in contemporary art through a carefully honed network. The attention of a critic or the interest of a potential buyer might then influence a dealer to purchase the work.

To protect this investment, the dealer might agree to purchase the artist's work only if a contractual arrangement, restricting the right of

the painter to sell to others, were signed. Many of these agreements were not strictly monopolies, but rather oligopolies, observed Moulin—i.e., several dealers acquired the exclusive right to purchase an artist's output for a specified period of time.

In this circumstance, each dealer might have a monopoly within a specific country or region of the world, or a worldwide or regional monopoly of one type of the artist's production, e.g., watercolors or gouaches or oils. Payment to the artist was usually based on the size of each canvas. Collectors, in turn, might also try to buy a considerable portion of an artist's output from dealers so that they could control the market price of their investment.

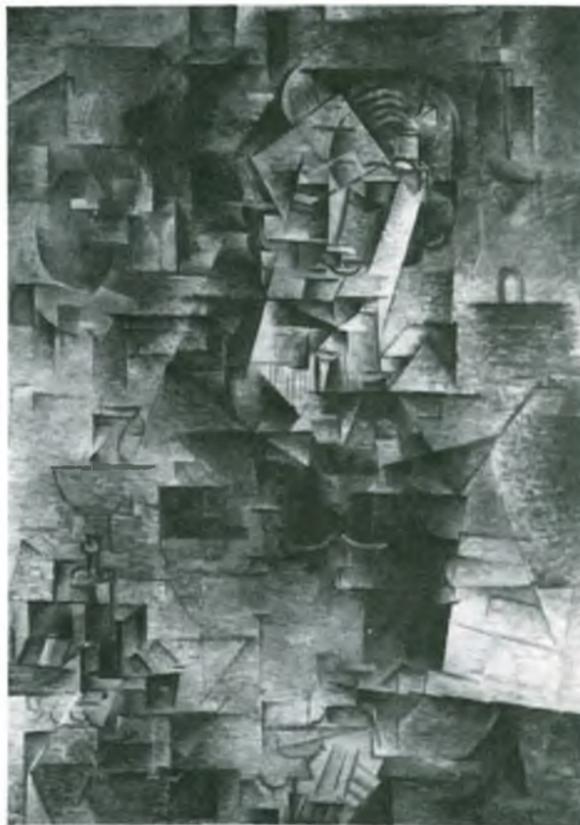
Although this was the way dealers in contemporary art and collectors attempted to control the market for a specific artist's work, Moulin found that their efforts were inevitably diminished by their limited ability to influence demand for a particular artist's work. Noting that aesthetic judgment about a new work is never unanimous, and also subject to changing times, Moulin pointed out that high prices do, however, tend to influence judgment. This is because purchasers and even critics are likely to attribute positive aesthetic values to the work of an artist whose previous output has earned high prices.

Articles about art dealers, collectors, and art prices appear fairly often in today's press, especially when a particularly high price is paid at auction for a painting or when a museum receives a major collection. Few contemporary works are sold at auction, however, and "prices paid for works sold privately are difficult to pin down and vary widely," says Moulin. "At any given time a work may be up for sale at several different prices: one for anonymous buyers, one for museums and a select group of collectors [because a painter's presence in an important collection is good for advertising, dealers are willing to sacrifice financially to obtain it], one for brokers or resellers (the so-called dealer price), and one leaked to journalists for publicity purposes (the tendency here being to overprice, because a painter's status is associated with his [or her] place in the economic hierarchy)." Thus, Moulin

discovered, reliable financial data were hard to come by.

### Risk Takers and Art Lovers

Moulin was particularly interested in the relationship between the stated ideologies and motivations of the participants in the art market, on the one hand, and their actual behavior, on the other. "Market actors," she states, "are not abstract economic

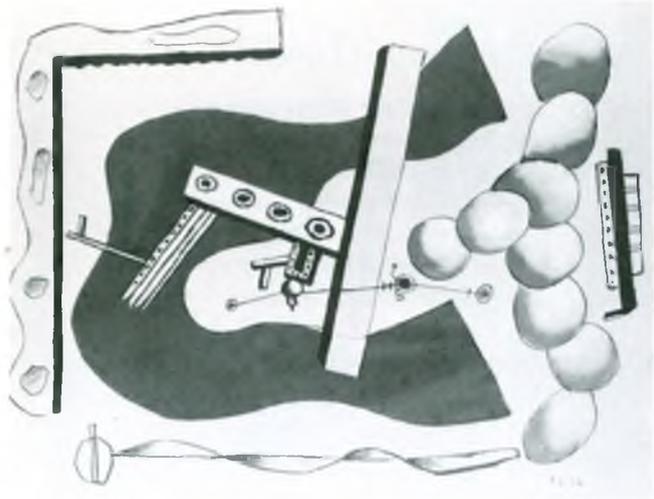


The Art Institute of Chicago

*Portrait of Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler by Picasso (1910). A prominent Paris art dealer and collector, Kahnweiler (1884–1979) handled the work of Picasso, Braque, and many other twentieth-century artists.*

agents but concrete social subjects whose values dictate their judgments and shape their decisions." Her central research problem was gaining access to the major actors in the market and overcoming their distrust. Dealers typically refused to reveal information about their buying and selling prices. Collectors, for the most part, did not allow Moulin to see all of their holdings, thereby limiting her view of the development and range of their taste.

Painters, if successful, did not want to waste their time talking with a sociologist. Those who were unsuccessful were likely to devote most of the conversation to venting their anger against a system that had not



Composition, Fernand Leger, 1932.  
Pen and ink and gouache on paper.



Little Horse, Georges Braque, 1939  
(cast 1955). Bronze.

Photos courtesy of Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution. Gift of Joseph H. Hirshhorn

rewarded them. Almost all artists interviewed saw their involvement with art as expressive of their unique personalities and were highly skeptical about the enterprise of sociology. In their view, Moulin's professional calling, with its focus on group behavior, could only be used to rob them of individuality.

Dealers in the traditional art market sell a commodity with a widely acknowledged value. Those in the business of selling contemporary art, however, are handling work whose value, by definition, has not yet been established. This latter group was classified by Moulin as entrepreneurial risk-takers. Although the business role of a dealer in traditional art was relatively secure, dealers in contemporary art often described themselves as adventurous pioneers fulfilling unsatisfied creative urges.

According to Moulin, ideally these risk-takers were "connoisseurs and art lovers as well as champions of a cause and good businessmen." Like other participants in the art market, many dealers in the study tried to conceal the mercantile aspects of their profession. One dealer said, "I do this work as a priest. I am not an involved party."

Collectors interviewed by Moulin were typically apologetic and loath to admit collecting for profit. Owners of particularly large collections, she found, frequently did not like being identified as collectors, preferring instead to be known as lovers of art. One said, "Collectors? They are enthusiasts, snobs, or speculators. I am simply a lover of art." Another extended the idea of love even further: "With painting I experience the lasting pleasure of absolute possession that so long eluded me with people." For others, the pleasure of collecting derived from the risk and competition, whereby those who win are the ones with culture and taste.

### Defining Culture and Taste

Moulin found that critics of contemporary art typically used different vocabularies than did those writing about traditional art. Because traditional art, almost by definition, makes reference to reality, critics could compare it to that aspect of reality it seeks to represent. In addition, traditional painting was typ-

ically praised for the skill and hard work required for its creation, with evidence of such labor seen as an indication of the artist's virtue. Furthermore, if the critic saw a traditional painting as "good," the critic was likely to infer that the work was a tangible representation of the artist's good intention.

Critics of contemporary painting, on the other hand, often used the vocabulary associated with more abstract concepts, choosing terms from philosophy or science and words indicating "initiation into powerful mysteries." Much contemporary art criticism, Moulin noted, employs references to existentialism, Oriental philosophy, and psychoanalysis. However, she observed, while invoking the terminology of the wide range of philosophic thought, criticism of contemporary art was characterized by neither rigor nor logic.

Moulin's study confirmed some commonly held assumptions about artists, for example, that they typically see themselves as practicing not a profession, but a vocation. Adhering to an ideology of freedom and independence, they believe that good art can be realized only by those who do not yield to market pressures. Some artists studied by Moulin took this to its logical limit by refusing to submit their work to the judgment of the marketplace. Others played to win, keeping away from influential players and devising strategies to gain their approval. In these artists achieved their goals, they rationalized their success by pointing out that their financial gain allowed them to pursue their work uncompromisingly. At the same time they were generally cynical about the system that they were able to manipulate.

The potential exists, of course, for an artist to sell out, that is, to paint in a style that suits a particular market. Although shrewd artists and dealers could influence the market in the short term, says Moulin, eventually the artist's status was likely to be determined by the originality and quality of the work produced and not by the market players. ♪

*For "Le Marche de la Peinture en France," Rutgers University Press awarded \$2,810 in matching funds 1986 from the Translations category of the Division of Research Programs.*

# lato's Political Philosophy

BY CHARLES L. GRISWOLD, JR.

The central theme of Plato's political philosophy—namely, establishing the elements of a just social order—is the central theme of Western political philosophy. For that reason Plato is usually credited with being the first major figure in that venerable tradition. A study of several of Plato's explicitly political dialogues is of genuine interest to anyone contemplating the relationship between the city and man.

In the summer of 1985 I conducted an NEH summer seminar on "Plato's Political Philosophy." The aim of these NEH-supported summer seminars is to give high school teachers an opportunity for intensive, uninterrupted study of the world's great literature so that they can enrich their own knowledge of the subject and share what they have gained with their students.

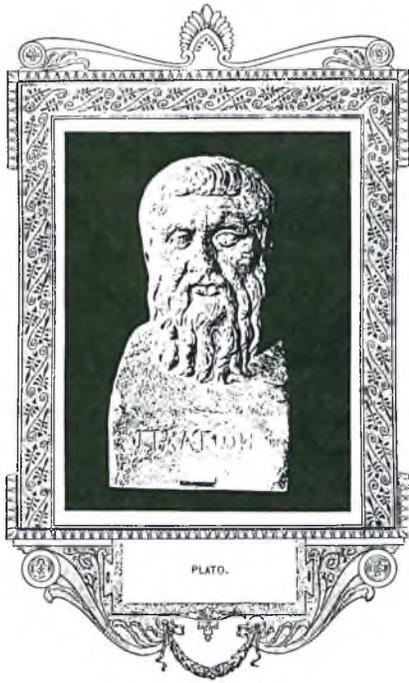
The fifteen participants in the Plato seminar were teachers of science, English, mathematics, history, social studies, the fine arts, and the humanities. For them, the academic

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give-and-take on the campus of Howard University in Washington, D.C., provided an opportunity to confront some of the fundamental problems of determining when political power is legitimate. In discussing the political philosophy of Plato, the participants also became privy to the intellectual vigor and masterful literary style that this philosopher brought to complicated and still-difficult issues.

The major issue pursued throughout the seminar concerned the nature of "justice." For four weeks, we immersed ourselves in reading and discussing the *Apology* (which portrays Socrates' defense before the Athenian court) and the *Crito* (which takes place in an Athenian prison), along with the *Statesman* and portions of the *Republic*. And because the *Phaedrus* supplies an explicit discussion of the virtues and vices of the spoken and written word, the seminar participants also discussed relevant sections of this work as a way of coming to grips with the problem of interpreting Plato. Indeed, study of *The Phaedrus* made it evident that interpreting Plato poses deeply philosophical questions. Such problems of textual interpretation, of course, extend well beyond Plato; the Scripture and the U.S. Constitution, to name only two examples, present a similar challenge.



Plato is unique in Western thought in writing solely in dialogue form. (I put aside the vexed question of *The Letters*, which are not dialogues and may not be authentic.) He used the dramatic form inherent in dialogue to capture the tension between philosopher and *polis* beautifully. In their resemblance to plays or dramas, however, the dialogues present a particular challenge to the reader. Because Plato did not speak in his own voice, for example, the dialogue form makes it difficult to ascertain Plato's own philosophy. In addition, all the Platonic dialogues take place between a philosopher (such as Socrates, the Eleatic Stranger, the Athenian Stranger) and one or more non-philosophers (among whom are several potential philosophers).

Seminar participants wondered why a philosopher would write in a way that makes it difficult to know precisely what he means. And why is there never a Platonic dialogue between two mature philosophers or

between two nonphilosophers? As the participants pursued these questions through reading and discussion, they concluded that Plato's writing style embodied his concept of the just relationship between the philosopher and the *polis*.

The starting point for discussion was the *Apology*. Here in the "Defense of Socrates" the seminar participants found a piece of writing so extraordinarily subtle that, like generations of readers before them, they labored to answer its most straightforward questions: Was Socrates in fact guilty as charged? Was his defense as persuasive as it ought to have been? Was he being unjustly persecuted, or did Athens have a legitimate complaint against this meddlesome philosopher charged with corrupting the youth of Athens and not believing in the Athenian religion?

Some were quickly persuaded that Socrates was gloriously innocent, a Greek Christ-figure who was unjustly persecuted. A closer reading of the dialogue, however, led to a re-examination of this initial assumption. Several people questioned whether there are natural rights to which we are all entitled by virtue of our common humanity. Others wondered whether a political community can flourish when its fundamental assumptions are being undermined by Socratic philosophers.

A still deeper problem implicit in Socrates' defense—and one that garnered much debate—was whether the philosophic logic that Socrates advocated is livable. Many participants thought that Socrates' statement at the end of the *Apology*—that an unexamined life is not worth living for a man—represented an extraordinarily harsh judgment of one's fellow human beings. Many people do not lead examined lives. Does that mean that their lives are not worth living? Because the statement was essential to Socrates' defense, our discussion soon focused

on whether Socrates really had something to defend.

Participants turned their attention to *Crito*, the second text discussed. In this dialogue between the imprisoned Socrates and his non-philosophical friend Crito, the latter offered to spring Socrates from prison; but Socrates refused the invitation to betray the law. Participants pondered the question of why Socrates offered a spirited defense, put in the mouth of the "Laws," that his flight from prison would, in and of itself, be unjust.

Working through such dialogues as the *Apology* and *Crito* inevitably raised questions of Socrates' sincerity. A key assumption of the *Crito* is that the *just* is equivalent to what is conventionally lawful—the very assumption that Socrates called into question in the *Apology*. This led us to question whether Plato was posing a puzzle to the reader, over the head of Crito, as to whether the *just* and the *legal* are synonyms.

Indeed, toward the beginning of the *Republic*, participants were presented with the thesis that the *just* and the *legal* are the same. Both are the instruments of power, and the view that justice is intrinsically good is merely a useful pretense. If an individual could get away with being unjust, that person would be thoroughly unjust. One seminar participant, who had been deeply involved in the civil rights movement in Alabama and identified strongly with Socrates, asserted that viewing the *just* and *legal* as identical is drastically wrong. Just because something is written into law, she maintained, does not make it right. There are just occasions for civil disobedience.

When we came to the *Statesman*, seminar participants immediately detected differences between this work and the *Republic* (although the ultimate results of the two dialogues may be reconcilable). A striking change was Socrates' uncharacteristic

## ESTABLISHING THE ELEMENT



Library of Congress

This engraving of Socrates (ca. 470–399 B.C.) by L.P. Boitard appears in Cooper's *The Life of Socrates* (London, 1750).

silence during the interrogation of another character. In the *Statesman*, the discussion was conducted, not by Socrates, but by a philosopher identified only as the Eleatic Stranger. The Stranger's initial analysis of statesmanship yielded the puzzling definition that an accomplished statesman is one who possesses the perfect knowledge for ruling over "featherless bipeds."

There were fifteen different voices at this point, each with a strong opinion about the kind of knowledge a perfect statesman must possess. Indeed, because the seminar participants brought such an extraordinary diversity of opinions to the common table, we had a fine "feast of discourses," to borrow a Platonic phrase. One participant, a Hungarian immigrant who had fled to this country from the communists in 1956, held strong views about the value of liberty. Initially, he identified Platonic communism with Soviet communism, but a close reading

and discussion of the seminar texts eventually showed him otherwise. The Soviet system, after all, is not based on rule by philosophers!

As we got deeper into the texts, the seminar participants began to see the relationship between the substance of Plato's work and its form. The dialogues, for example, helped bridge the gap between philosopher and *polis* without overtly attacking the foundations of popular morality. In addition, the dialogue form deeply reflected the view that philosophy is not so much a doctrine as it is a search whose nature and value can only be demonstrated dialogically. Finally, participants concluded that a reason Plato did not write a dialogue between two mature philosophers is that Plato intended to draw the reader into the dialogue personally in such a way as to make the reader the second philosopher.

At several junctures, our reading of Plato focused on modernity. The

Platonic principle that justice is founded on the rule of knowledge rather than on the rule of individual liberties or rights became particularly clear to us when we contrasted it to the view of modern philosophers such as Hobbes, Locke, and America's Founding Fathers. We decided that the real issue here concerns the tension between the rule of liberty and the rule of knowledge. These modern figures believed that those who govern should do so in the name of preserving the liberties of the governed. But they viewed the overt teaching of Plato's *Republic* and *Statesman* as paternalistic.

In reflecting on the American founding, however, participants also pondered what the responses of the Founding Fathers might be to a Platonic charge that they were providing for a community in which the blind choose their leaders blindly, all for the purpose of maximizing the liberty of the blind to pursue subjective values. Certainly, Jefferson—



OF A JUST SOCIAL ORDER...



Metropolitan Museum of Art

In 399 Socrates was accused of impiety and corrupting youth and was condemned to death. Jacques Louis David's neoclassic masterpiece, *The Death of Socrates*, shows Socrates, surrounded by his disciples, being handed the cup of hemlock.

who along with Madison disliked the *Republic* intensely—maintained that while the people may not have the capacity to rule, they do have the capacity to choose their rulers.

Although many in the seminar thought that the gap between Plato and the Founding Fathers is not as large as it might seem at first glance, they believed that some doctrine of individual liberty is indispensable to a just social order. At the same time, they reached a consensus that the Platonic thesis that just rule must rest on knowledge, and not only on consent, is sound. Education was proposed as the key to resolving the tension between these two principles.

One of the glories of Plato is that his thought, even in its complexity, both draws us into philosophical speculation and remains grounded in ordinary life. Several of the seminar participants have since reported that they found their teaching influenced by the model of the Socratic method.

One seminar participant, Cheryl Hughes of Alta High School in Sandy, Utah, teaches a humanities course with a significant section on Greek civilization. At one point during a discussion of Plato's *Republic*, she turns her classroom into the cave described allegorically in that dia-

logue. Students draw the sashes on the windows and place a projector in the back of the room. A prisoner is suddenly released into the temporarily blinding light of the day, and then returned to compete in an image-naming contest with the unliberated. At the conclusion of the reenactment, the discussion returns to a careful analysis of *The Republic*. The final assignment for the course is written out in the form of a Socratic dialogue, modeled after the Platonic dialogues read in class.

The seminar benefited teachers of nonhumanities subjects as well. Math teacher Barbara Christensen of Sturgis, South Dakota, has incorporated the questioning nature of the dialectic into her teaching approach at Brown High School. "Now my algebra students are memorizing less and probably learning more," she explains. "Once the students work through a time-tested mathematical procedure on their own, it's as though they've been hit by a bolt of lightning. They no longer have to believe me; and they don't have to remember the rule." 🐾

In 1984 Charles L. Griswold, Jr., received \$43,116 in outright funds for a Summer Seminar for Secondary School Teachers on "Plato's Political Philosophy."



# The Novels of Charles Brockden Brown

BY JENNIFER NEWTON

THE FOLLOWING WORK is delivered to the world as the first of a series of performances, which the favorable reception of this will induce the Writer to publish. . . . Whether this tale will be classed with the ordinary or frivolous sources of amusement, or be ranked with the few productions whose usefulness secures to them a lasting reputation, the reader must be permitted to decide."

This is how a young, enthusiastic, and fevered writer introduced his first novel to the American reading public. The year was 1798, the novel was *Wieland, or The Transformation: An American Tale*, and the writer was Charles Brockden Brown, this country's first professional novelist. Long considered the obligatory first stop in an American literature survey course, Brown's work has begun to be read and enjoyed for its own sake. A six-volume edition of the definitive texts of Brown's novels, spurred by the bicentennial of Brown's birth and funded in part by NEH, will contribute significantly to the "lasting reputation" Brown so fervently hoped for.

Brown was born into a Philadelphia Quaker family whose founder, Brown's great-great grandfather, had preceded William Penn to America. His father and older brothers were prosperous merchants, but Brown realized at an early age that he did not have the temperament for business. Sensitive, moody, bookish, and prone to pulmonary weakness, Brown quickly became oppressed by studying "the rubbish of the law," the profession urged on him by his family. His first published prose work, a series of essays titled "The Rhapsodist" and written when he was eighteen, reflected his reading of Goethe and Rousseau as well as his own melancholy, and featured a character who seeks "the friendly gloom of his favorite grotto."

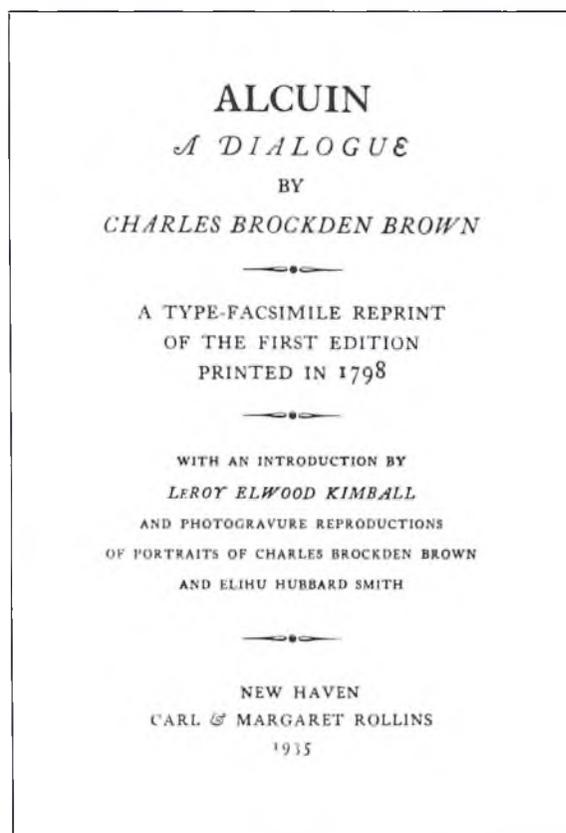
Brown eventually fell in with the preeminent literary group of his time, the "Connecticut Wits," and thereby found a milieu where his heretofore thwarted literary ambitions were recognized and encouraged. Nonetheless, Brown found it difficult to escape the notion that the pursuit of literature was, as Sydney J. Krause, general editor of the bicentennial edition puts it, "an alien life in his own home country." During the 1790s, when he was finding his feet as a writer, Brown's notebooks were full of fragmentary tales about orphans, reflecting both his estrangement from his family and his feeling of being cut off from the mainstream of American life.

Brown was determined to make his living from his pen, and during an extraordinary four-year period from 1798 to 1801 he produced six novels. His publisher, Hocquet Caritat, attempted to peddle the nov-

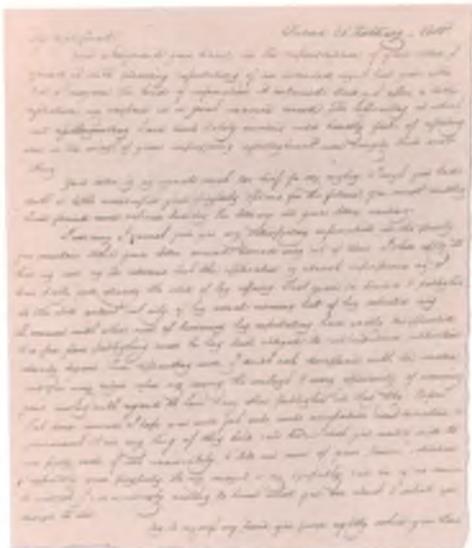


All photos courtesy of the Kent State Charles Brockden Brown Collection

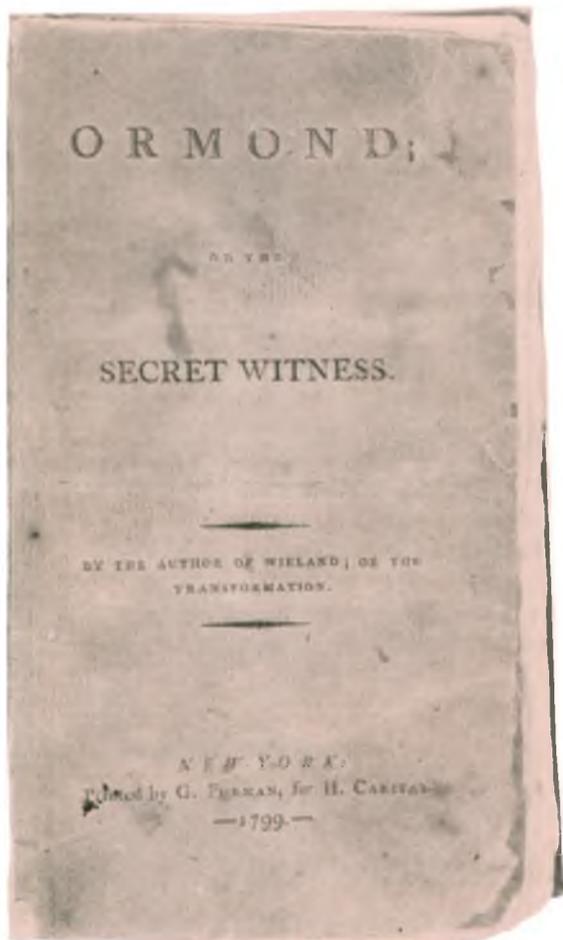
Above: Charles Brockden Brown (1771-1810), by British portraitist James Sharples. Below: *Alcuin*, Brown's first published pamphlet, makes a strong case for women's rights.



Jennifer Newton is a freelance writer in Washington, D.C.



Above: An 1805 letter from Brown to one of his closest friends, William Dunlap. Dunlap was an artist, playwright, author, and theatrical director. Below: In Brown's second novel, *Ormond; or The Secret Witness*, the heroine Constantia remains virtuous despite the oppression of the aristocratic Ormond.



els in England as well as the United States, this being the usual road to financial success, but eventually Brown was forced to turn his hand to editing journals and engaging in miscellaneous journalistic ventures. According to dramatist William Dunlap, his friend and biographer, Brown's ambition to be "exclusively an author" was a considerable novelty in a land where "no one had relied solely upon the support of his talents as a writer." In 1810, Brown died of tuberculosis at the age of thirty-nine.

Establishing definitive texts of Brown's six novels, one of which was written in a hasty six weeks, has proved a challenge for the editors, both of whom are based at Kent State University, where the preeminent collection of Brown's work is housed. As textual editor S.W. Reich notes, Brown seems to have been a careless corrector of printers' proofs, preferring the excitement of creation to the task of amending what he called "slighter inaccuracies of grammar, orthography, and punctuation." Complicating matters is the fact that very little of Brown's literary work survives in manuscript. The closest we have to a manuscript for any of Brown's books are two handwritten copies of his first major production, a treatise on the rights of women, copied by Brown's father.

For the bicentennial edition of the novels, the editors gathered as many first editions as possible, since these are most likely to have been supervised by the author. The texts were then collated—first editions by a machine collator and subsequent editions by two readers—to discover variants within a given edition. For the early bicentennial volumes, it took nearly five years to establish the text, produce the historical and textual essays that are included in the volumes, and see the edition through the press. The bicentennial edition bears the seal of the Center for Editions of American Authors, granted by a committee of the Modern Language Association whose function is to encourage production of authentic editions that are free of editors' "corrections" and printers' errors, but that occasionally incorporate revisions by the authors themselves.

A nineteenth-century critic, not at all favorable toward Brown's work, once commented: "Nobody ever remembered the words of Charles Brockden Brown; nobody ever thought of the arrangement; yet nobody ever forgot what they conveyed." This quality of inellegant immediacy makes description of his novels difficult. Yet Brown is not necessarily completely sui generis. The editors describe his work as a bridge between the Richardsonian novel of morality, the Gothic novel of romance and terror, and the Godwinian novel of social purpose—all contemporary forms with which he was familiar.

The connection with the Gothic novel is most readily apparent, particularly in Brown's first novel, *Wieland*, which is pervaded by an atmosphere of horror and the supernatural. Yet Sydney Krause points out that unlike his English contemporaries Walpole, Lewis, and

C. B. Brown

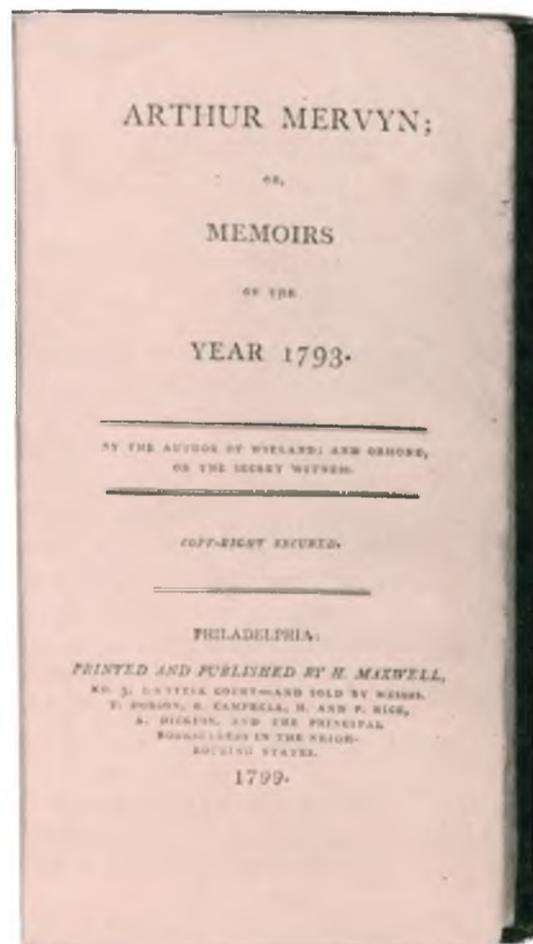
Radcliffe, Brown was interested less in the sensational aspects of mystery than in the psychological motivations behind it. When Wieland's father becomes a victim of spontaneous combustion—the author cites in a footnote several documented cases—the emphasis is on the character's pent-up religious passions. The later ruin of Wieland's own family, seemingly brought on by supernatural powers of ventriloquism, lies in Wieland's religious passion and hubris.

Brown believed that moral truth must be the central purpose of a novel. In this, we see the connections between his work and that of Samuel Richardson. As in the latter's *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, Brown's novels often feature virtuous but oppressed heroines who ultimately triumph through strength of character. This is most notable in *Ormond* (1799), where the aptly named Constantia manages to retain her virtue under assault from the aristocratic, unscrupulous Ormond. Moreover, by facing a variety of troubles more honorably than the men around her, Constantia demonstrates a natural moral superiority. Brown was steeped in the Quaker tradition of concern for women's rights; he never published the last part of his treatise on the subject presumably because his views on divorce—namely, that women should be able to divorce their husbands and retain their own property—were too inflammatory.

William Godwin, an English philosopher who advocated rationalism, social reform, and the natural perfectability of man, was the writer Sydney Krause believes had "the most pervasive influence on the intellectual content of [Brown's] writing over all." Brown's novel *Arthur Mervyn* (1799–1800) was based directly on Godwin's *Caleb Williams*; in both novels, a young man of good character prevails over troubles in a big city. Krause further believes that Brown in his last two novels, the little-read *Jane Howard* and *Clara Talbot*, had come to the point of testing out Godwinian moral theory through the actions of his characters. Although influenced by Godwin's theories, Brown recognized their limitations. In fact, Brown's questioning of Godwinian moral theory in the last two novels rescues them from accusations of superficiality hurled at them over the years. Brown's place in American letters is assured, perhaps more strongly now than in the decades after his death, when Poe and Hawthorne both recognized him as a literary forebear.

Brown's reputation today is buoyed by a crest of new interest in early American literature, but modern readers can find intrinsic value in his novels. As Alexander Cowie notes in an essay in the bicentennial volume of *Wieland*, Brown is truly "the one early American novelist that the twentieth century seems eager to recover and retain." 🐾

For the "Bicentennial Edition of the Writings of Charles Brockden Brown," Sydney Krause received \$32,732 in outright funds in 1982 from the Editions category of the Division of Research Programs.



Arthur Mervyn, or, Memoirs of the Year 1793, Brown's third novel, was published in two parts in 1799 and 1800. The theme is the yellow fever plague in Philadelphia.

# Searching for Universals at Home

BY THOMAS D'EVELYN

The publication of this fine, annotated edition of the poems of William Carlos Williams should prompt a reevaluation of the poet often said to be the most "American" of the twentieth century.

There's a constant need to re-discover, and evaluate, his influence. Judiciously edited by A. Walton Litz of Princeton University and Christopher MacGowan of the College of William and Mary, this collection provides an opportunity to consider Williams's early work.

By 1939, when this first volume ends, the poet from Rutherford, New Jersey, had written many of his best short poems and was recognized by a small but growing number of readers as the presiding *genius loci* of American modernism.

Like Ezra Pound, whom he first met as a student at the University of Pennsylvania, Williams was an iconoclast; unlike Pound, he believed the artist had to begin his search for the universal at home; "all art begins in the local," he wrote.

Like another stay-at-home, insurance executive Wallace Stevens (they shared some friends and a keen interest in modern art), Williams had a professional career. He was a pediatrician, and his local practice was a fruitful source of observation of human nature in joy and in pain and of a deep compassion for the poor.

Williams had a vision. Read in

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The Collected Poems of William Carlos Williams: Vol. 1. 1909-1939. Edited by A. Walton Litz and Christopher MacGowan. New York: New Directions. This book review is reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Monitor © 1987, The Christian Science Publishing Society. All rights reserved. Thomas D'Evelyn is the Monitor's book editor.

context, his books of verse reveal integrity, as well as the tensions that gave it life. In the radical 1920s, Williams sometimes mixed in prose with the verse. The prose passages in "Spring and All" (1923) give voice to the surrealist anarchism of the time: "The imagination, freed from the handcuffs of 'art,' takes the lead. Her feet are bare and not too delicate. In fact those who come behind her have much to think of. Hm. Let it pass."

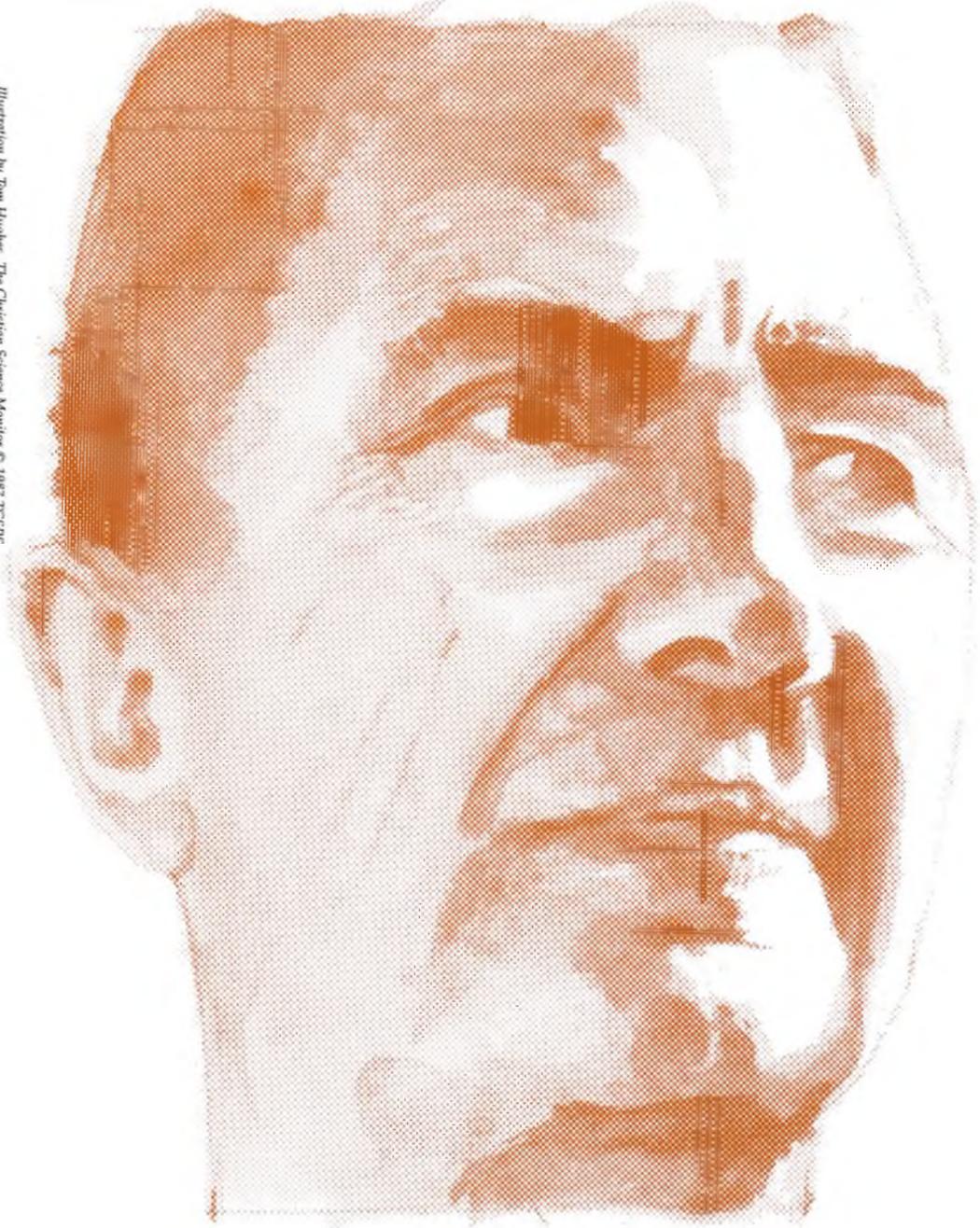
In the midst of this, it's startling to come upon a poem in Williams's most objective manner. Imagination now renders only "the reddish/purplish, forked, upstanding, twiggy stuff of bushes and small trees. . . . And yet: "Lifeless in appearance, sluggish/dazed spring approaches—and we rejoice.

The shrill humor of the prose and the stoic vigor of the verse are two sides of the same coin. Williams worked long and hard to displace the influence of expatriate modernists Ezra Pound and T.S. Eliot. He felt they had betrayed the promise of America: her hope and her language. His success can be measured by his influence on Robert Lowell, who dominates American poetry after the modern generation. He helped Lowell give up rhyme and meter.

Today some critics associate Williams with the cultural triad of "democratic culture, modern art, and the New World"!

In the spirit of William's own iconoclasm, then, a reevaluation is in order. Litz and MacGowan's edition will be a primary tool in this, for they restore the poems, rearranged by Williams himself according to a now-abandoned plan, in their chronological order, and help us see Williams the iconoclast at work.

If Williams has stood for the



## The Great Figure

Among the rain  
and lights  
I saw the figure 5  
in gold  
on a red  
firetruck  
moving  
tense  
unheeded  
to gong clangs  
siren howls  
and wheels rumbling  
through the dark city.

—William Carlos Williams

dream of a uniquely American poetry, rereading Williams should be therapeutic, if not exactly comfortable, at a time when the notion of "genius of America" must be placed in quotation marks.

Williams did enjoy destroying the old, but he also sought something new in its place. He wrote in 1938: "It's not a matter of destroying forms so much as it is a matter of observation, of resensuing the problem, of seeing, of comprehending that of which the form consists as a form, of rescuing that essence and re-forming it."

But as Litz and MacGowan help us see, Williams was also after the form of experience—*local* experience. "The Great Figure," the last poem in "Sour Grapes" (1921) is a good example of this.

The neat match of Populism and the artist (or, as we now say, popular culture); the act of "catching" some-

thing on the fly; spare, economical language; a sense of spontaneous composition; fullness of sensuous presentation; quiet qualification of feeling: This is all essential Williams.

"The Great Figure" does seem to reveal the inner form of an experience: an event and a response to the event. The event is a public one, and not too complicated for all that, though the editors do quote a note dated 1955 in which Williams points out the contempt he felt for all "great figures" in the 1920s—which makes us reread the poem.

What poets, critics, and readers have come to appreciate since Williams's revolution is that inner and outer are not so neatly separable as his iconoclasm assumes. Traditional forms—meter, rhyme—are themselves experiences as well as techniques; used intelligently, they make possible highly complex poetic per-

ceptions. Williams's quest for inner form springs from his perhaps provincial rejection of the old ones.

In one of those prose passages in "Spring and All," Williams declares, "In the composition, the artist does exactly what every eye must do with life, fix the particular with the universality of his own personality. . . ." Litz and MacGowan help us separate the art from the personality, the true universals from Williams's more transient feelings of artistic enthusiasm.

Williams is more than another American myth, and it's a good thing to see him as he truly was.

*In 1986 Christopher J. MacGowan received \$3,000 in outright funds from the Summer Stipends Program of the Division of Fellowships and Seminars for "The Collected Later Poems of William Carlos Williams: An Edition." ♪*

# Revamping the Humanities at Community Colleges

BY ELLEN MARSH

**B**Y THE LATE 1970s, the morale of our humanities faculty was pretty low," recalls Thomas Sears, history professor at Kirkwood Community College in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Enrollment had been dropping for years. Minimal graduation requirements in the humanities, coupled with a proliferation of humanities courses, meant that students could avoid the basic survey courses. It was possible to graduate with an associate of arts degree without tak-

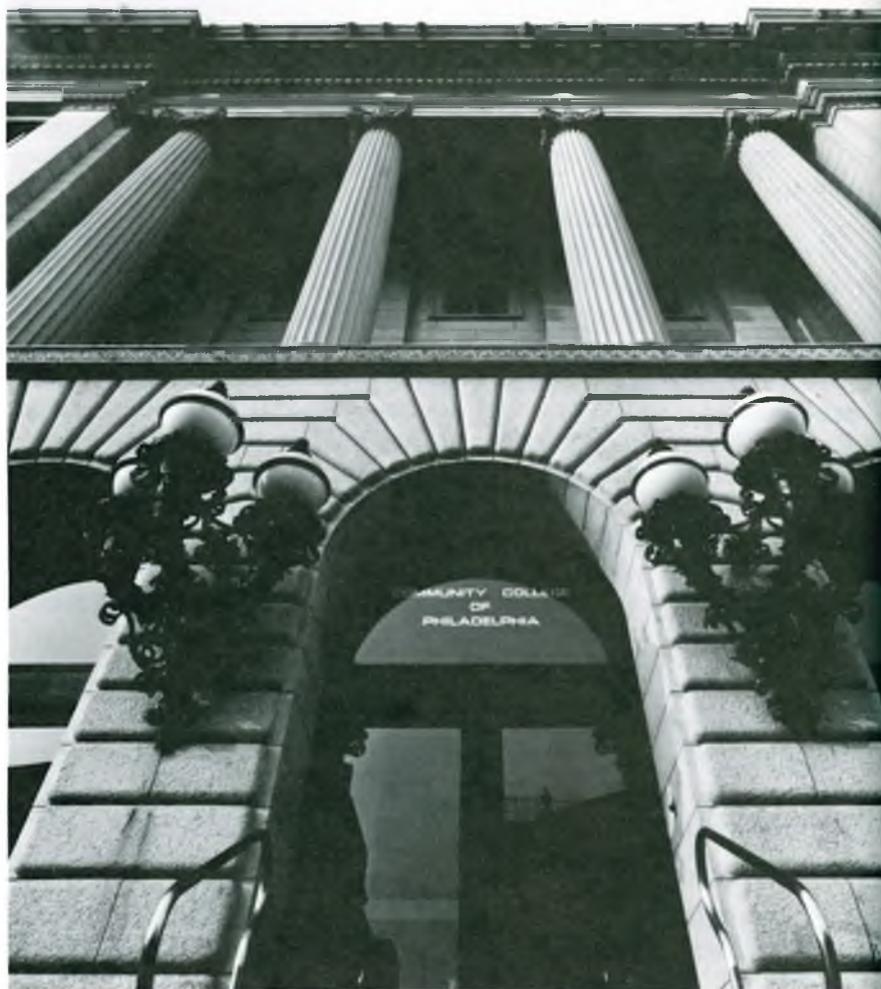
ing a single course in literature or knowing very much about history. Teachers found that students had little idea what was meant by the humanities, much less why it was important to study them.

Kirkwood was not the only community college in which the humanities were in difficulty. In 1980, with NEH support, the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges published a report that began, "Humanities in the communi-



Richland College

*Richland College (above) is a member of the seven-campus Dallas County Community College District. The student body numbers more than 13,000. Right: The historic Mint Building (1898–1901), part of the Community College of Philadelphia, once housed the third U.S. Mint in Philadelphia.*



college need help." Pointing out that although the humanities were in trouble in universities, the report, *Strengthening Humanities in Community Colleges*, stated that the plight in community colleges was even worse. In the 1960s many of these colleges had been directed toward remedial and occupational education. Even through a good part of the seventies, it seemed as if the humanities had few friends at community colleges.

Today, however, there is a reexamination of the role of the humanities on these campuses. And with help from NEH, three community colleges serving somewhat different student populations have reformed and strengthened their humanities offerings.

Kirkwood Community College is in an area affected by a depressed farm economy. Richland College in suburban Dallas, Texas, draws its student body from a middle-class community with an excellent public school system. The inner-city Community College of Philadelphia has many educationally disadvantaged students. At each of these colleges, the humanities programs that NEH has supported are quite different. Nevertheless on all three campuses the emphasis is not so much on adding new courses as it is on tightening requirements, strengthening existing courses, and creating opportunities for faculty development.

### KIRKWOOD COMMUNITY COLLEGE

About three-quarters of Kirkwood's graduates intend to continue their education eventually. Realizing these students need a better preparation for life after Kirkwood than what had been offered, twelve faculty and three administrators began to meet in a quiet corner of the library in 1979 to discuss the future of humanities education at their college. After hammering out their differences, the committee decided on a set of values: The college's humanities program, they declared, "should foster an educated responsiveness to humanities literature and artifacts; it should develop clear thinking

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*Ellen Marsh is a freelance writer in the Washington, D.C., area.*

through inquiry and verbal expression; it should help students understand the role of values in human life; and it should enable students to understand their culture in relation to cultures, past and present."

After vigorous debate, research, and visits to other institutions, the faculty decided to adapt a model humanities course from Macalester College in St. Paul as part of Kirkwood's revitalized humanities curriculum. They called the course "Encounters in Humanities."

Thomas Sears, who was one of the first teachers of Encounters in the fall of 1981, says it emphasizes a systematic approach to the works studied. "Encounters achieves its goals by asking a set of questions about a variety of artifacts and genres related to the humanities: (1) What are the elements or the parts that comprise the artifact? (2) What is the unifying element? (3) Who is the creator or author, and what is the historical context of the work? (4) What was the creator's purpose? and (5) What was the effect for the original audience, and what is its effect on you?" Sears is amazed at the amount of information Encounters students have retained when he meets them later in his history courses.

Teaching this course entails much preparation, because the professors often work outside their field of expertise. However, as Sears says, "We expect our humanities students to be knowledgeable about many different subjects, so their professors should be well-rounded too." In one Encounters course, Sears, whose specialty is European history, taught rhetoric as exemplified in speeches by Lincoln and several others; *Antigone* (drama); poetry; Plato and Sartre (philosophy); a sampling of music from Scott Joplin to Tchaikovsky; Chartres cathedral and Cedar Rapids architecture; writings by Wollstonecraft and Marx, to show that contemporary problems have a history; art history; and satire.

Special events—plays, ballets, lectures, symphony concerts, visits to art galleries—are interspersed at appropriate times during the course. These cultural activities are new experiences for most Kirkwood students, who often are the first in their families to attend college.

Encounters courses introduce students to a range of disciplines, at



Kirkwood Community College

Kirkwood Community College, founded in 1965, has 7,000 full-time students.



The Richland College theater department presented *Lysistrata* by Aristophanes as part of the Classics Cluster series.

least one of which the faculty hopes they will pursue in subsequent classes. Sears tells the story of one student, "a big, husky guy, who used to sit in the back of the room, scowling. Then we got to the introduction to poetry, not one of my strong suits. The class divided into groups, and lo and behold, this chap was leading his group." A year later, the student told Sears that he had taken every poetry course another teacher offered and that one of his poems had been published.

Rhonda Kekke, the director of Kirkwood's humanities project, says the college has refined its humanities program by culling approximately sixty humanities courses down to sixteen core courses; the others remain as electives. Humanities requirements for all students have been increased from eight to twenty quarter hours—in other words, Kirkwood students must now take five humanities courses, instead of two, to graduate.

Kekke stresses that faculty development, primarily focused on those teaching core humanities courses, is an important part of the program. The college has held three summer seminars led by visiting university professors. In addition, humanities faculty can apply for released time

for individual study. These opportunities for scholarship are especially important for Kirkwood professors because the college has no sabbaticals. Kekke says, "It is extremely satisfying to be building not a program but a college faculty." Sears expands on this: "Through the Encounters project and the professional development opportunities, we have become a faculty. We know each other and work together. It has made all the difference in the world."

### RICHLAND COLLEGE

Approximately two-thirds of the 13,000 students at Richland College transfer to a four-year institution immediately following graduation. To help meet the needs of these students, four years ago the college hired Nanette Pascal as the school's first Latin teacher and director of a new classics program.

Pascal, faculty members from three different departments, and several administrators began meeting to discuss ways to expand the liberal arts program. They eventually decided on a Classics Cluster program, which was first offered in the 1986 fall semester. An asset of the program, according to Pascal, is that

except for Latin, no new courses have been created and no new faculty hired. Rather, some professors agreed to expand the courses they were already teaching to include the classics. This approach, in Pascal's view, became "a glue to hold together all the courses. . . . The concept of the Classics Cluster is not to wait for the students to come to us, but to go where they are. All students have to take these courses, no matter what their majors."

Helen Molanphy has incorporated classical materials in her introductory American government course at Richland. Unable to find material in print that would suit her needs, Molanphy developed her own class manual meshing classical literature and culture with information on the American system of government. Her students read parts of Plato's *Republic* and the plays *Antigone* and *Iphigenia*. They study the Greek idea of the *polis*, or civic virtue; the classical foundation of the American republic; and classical influences on American art and architecture. Although she currently stresses the contribution of the ancient Greeks to American government and culture, Molanphy plans to include additional material on the Romans, especially the Roman emphasis on family.

At the end of the course, each student must write a paper connecting a contemporary issue with ancient Greece or Rome. Sample questions posed by Molanphy are, "What do Greek tragedies have to say about war? What were Plato's and Aristotle's ideas about extremes of wealth and poverty?" Says Molanphy, "The students learn, perhaps to their surprise, that there is nothing new under the sun."

In Pascal's view, Richland professors have to expand their knowledge in order to teach the interdisciplinary courses in the Classics Cluster. "The NEH-supported summer seminars, which offer four intensive weeks of study with university classicists, are a vital part of the faculty development process," she states. Molanphy, for instance, attended the 1987 summer seminar at Richland that included lectures on the *Iliad*, art history, Greek plays, and the social history of ancient Greece. A second seminar for faculty and local secondary school teachers this time focusing on ancient Rome

will be offered in 1988. The college also sponsors a lecture series during the school year, to which the general public is also invited.

## COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA

The Community College of Philadelphia is meeting the challenge of educating students ill-prepared for higher education. Beginning in the fall of 1988, the college will be incorporating a project for cultural literacy into its required freshman composition course. Karen Bojar, codirector of the project, says she was concerned with the problem of cultural illiteracy among her students long before E.D. Hirsch, Jr., wrote *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*. (Houghton Mifflin, 1987). (Hirsch, by the way, served as an NEH consultant for the college project.) She explains that her students "would read a newspaper article in class about Solidarity, and wouldn't know the history of Poland, the importance of the Catholic church there, or even where Poland was on the map."

The project's other director, Grace Flisser, along with Bojar and several colleagues, realized that the freshman composition course was not as substantive as it might be. "Many professors taught it in a random way, with no specific sequence or texts," Flisser explains. "Often the teachers used a personal experience approach—the 'what I did on my summer vacation' sort of thing—rather than teaching from an acknowledged work of literature."

"The idea of cultural literacy is not new," Bojar says. What is new in the Philadelphia project is the setting in which it will function. "We want to reach part-time students who are taught by part-time professors on off-campus locations at off-hours (weekends and evenings)." It is very difficult for students and teachers in this situation to take advantage of the support system in place for daytime, on-campus students.

To help solve this problem, Bojar and Flisser are planning a faculty institute this summer featuring eight or nine visiting scholars. Bojar is especially interested in enrolling as summer students the part-time college faculty who are also public

school teachers. In addition, she and Flisser are organizing a 1989 regional conference on cultural literacy for the Delaware Valley that will include public school teachers as well as community college professors.

## STUDENT RESPONSE POSITIVE

At Kirkwood and Richland, where the new humanities programs are now in place, student response has been heartening. The four sections of Encounters in Humanities that are offered each quarter at Kirkwood are filled immediately and are considered the cornerstone of the humanities program. Nanette Pascal is encouraged by the growing enrollment in the classics program at Richland. "The courses are so appealing that not only are freshmen and sophomores signing up for them, but people with four-year degrees are enrolling to enrich their lives with a study that is not vocational."

At the Community College of Philadelphia, Karen Bojar says, "I know this one course will not compensate for twelve years of miseducation, but it is a start. Without certain kinds of

knowledge that middle-class people take for granted, disadvantaged people are mostly limited to low-level, low-paying jobs. Emphasizing the subject-matter content of freshman composition will help to enlarge our students' horizons."

Thomas Sears likes to tell about one of his students at Kirkwood, "not one of my best students, one who really struggled through the Encounters in Humanities course." In his critique of the course, the young man wrote: "We thought about things that I thought that I could never think about."

*The Division of Education Programs funds community colleges through a variety of programs. In 1984 Kirkwood Community College received \$300,630 in outright funds and \$2,200 in matching funds from the division's program for Fostering Coherence Throughout an Institution. The Community College of Philadelphia received \$252,214 in outright funds in 1987 from the Exemplary Projects in Undergraduate and Graduate Education Program. From the Promoting Excellence in a Field Program, Richland Community College was awarded \$107,258 in outright funds in 1986.*



Students in the library of the Community College of Philadelphia, founded in 1964.

Community College of Philadelphia

# HUMANITIES AFTER SCHOOL

The number of college students majoring in the humanities has fallen sharply in recent years. Between 1975 and 1985, the number of philosophy majors was down by 37 percent; foreign language majors, down by 45 percent; history majors, down by 49 percent; English literature majors, down by 59 percent.

This decline has many causes, among them the notion that study in the humanities is of little practical benefit. Today's students ask: What does history have to do with earning a living? What does philosophy have to do with getting a job?

While it would be an error to suggest that the benefit of studying the humanities is primarily practical, there are important—and useful—habits of mind that grow out of studying these disciplines. History, for example, encourages enlarged perspective by requiring consideration of the longer term. Literature, by confronting us with human dilemmas, fosters understanding of the moral dimension of the choices we make.

Noting how often people prominent in various fields recall with gratitude their time spent studying such subjects as philosophy and literature, I asked Humanities to contact leaders in media, the arts, politics, and industry for comments on how the humanities have contributed to their lives. Here are some of their responses.

Lynne V. Cheney  
Chairman



W. BRADFORD  
WILEY

Chairman, John Wiley & Sons, Inc.,  
Publishers

Colgate University  
Economics and English, B.A.

Although I first chose economics as a major, soon thereafter, prompted by a friendly English professor who encouraged me to read eclectically, I chose English literature as a second major. At Colgate, I was exposed to a broad cultural experience, which laid the foundation for a growing intellectual curiosity. As a result, throughout my career as an international book publisher, I have felt at ease.



ALICE  
STONE  
ILCHMAN

President

Sarah Lawrence College  
Mount Holyoke College  
Religion and Philosophy, B.A.

Literature gives us vivid glimpses into other people's lives, helps us to develop a sense of their choices and values, and can provide insights into how an institution, a law, or a program affects people. A personal and professional life without the guidance and comfort, the exhortation and accountability, of the Old Testament prophets, Dickens and Shakespeare, the Greeks and Tolstoy, would be impoverished indeed.



WILLIAM S.  
COHEN

U.S. Senator (R-Maine)

Bowdoin College, Latin, A.B.

Homer gave as much insight into the human character as one would find prior to Shakespeare. A study of *The Odyssey* and *The Iliad* yields great knowledge about the courage, nobility, and folly that man is capable of.



MARIAN  
WRIGHT  
EDELMAN

Founder and President  
Children's Defense Fund

Spelman College, Sociology, B.A.

Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* and *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, Albert Camus's *The Fall*, and Ralph Ellison's *The Invisible Man* made indelible impressions on my youthful mind and helped bolster my life's values and goals. The individual's responsibility—and my responsibility—to work for peace and justice and to see and care for other human beings is a lesson I hope never to forget.



ROSS REID

Senior Vice President and General  
Counsel, Squibb, Inc.

Whitman College  
English, A.B.

In 1930, Bertrand Russell wrote *The Conquest of Happiness*. This book had a profound impact on the rest of my life. It is a remarkable book, written with that eloquent simplicity that later won Lord Russell the Nobel Prize for literature. It tells how he went from the brink of suicide in his teens to a full active life into his nineties. It should be read as a guide to happiness. It did wonders for me.

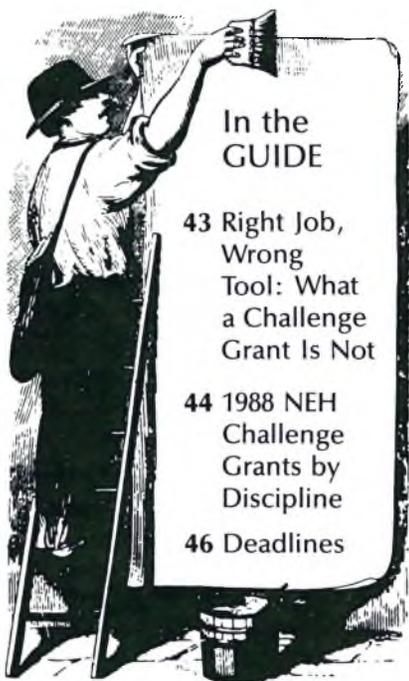
# THE Humanities GUIDE

for those who are thinking  
of applying for an NEH grant

## Right Job, Wrong Tool: What a Challenge Grant

# Is NOT

BY HAROLD CANNON



Many people know that an NEH challenge grant will give an institution a dollar if it can raise three or four non-federal dollars, but few people can tell you what you may or may not do with the four or five dollars thus produced. Even those who choose to read the challenge grant guidelines discover only what programs or activities are eligible for support; the guidelines still leave a great variety of purposes unmentioned.

This situation may lead some applicants to suppose that, if a purpose they have in mind for a challenge grant is not explicitly denied, it must be permitted. Others, who do not read the guidelines at all, may allow their fertile imaginations unbridled license in citing proposed expenditures. Because panelists are quick to reject proposals that do not meet the requirements of the challenge grant program, let me list here what a challenge grant is **not**.

It is **not** a means of gathering support for short-term projects or activities. The Endowment offers short-term support in other funding categories.

It is **not** a way of raising funds for an institution. Instead, a challenge grant helps raise funds for the long-term support of a humanities *program* at a particular institution. (After all, few institutions are devoted exclusively to the humanities.)

It is **not** a way of supporting humanities programs so that funds can be liberated to meet other institutional priorities, that is, it is not internal relief for the problems of the operating budget. Instead, a challenge grant is a way to help an institution develop new or additional sources of support for a humanities program.

It is **not** a way of raising the salaries of existing staff. A challenge grant must

enhance humanities programs. Improving the material lot of the existing staff does not necessarily improve such programs.

It is **not** a vehicle for raising funds for speculative enterprises that are still at the planning stage. Rather, like all Endowment funds, a challenge grant is awarded only to proposals that demonstrate excellence in conception.

It is **not** a way to achieve long-term financial stability in the absence of long-range planning. Instead, it is a way to achieve long-range purposes that have been carefully planned.

It is **not** a way of adding to gifts already pledged or received. An NEH challenge grant serves as a lever, not a bonus.

It is **not** a launching pad for an institution that has no history in the humanities. A proposal to introduce the humanities may be laudable, but it is not the basis for an application for a challenge grant. The award of a challenge grant is, in itself, an expression of confidence in the quality of the grantee's existing programs in the humanities.

And, finally, it is **not** a way of supporting activities outside the disciplines of history, literature, and philosophy, because it is these three areas of study that make up the great bulk of the territory described by the term *humanities*.

Additional information is available in the challenge grants guidelines, available from the NEH Office of Publications and Public Affairs. Doubts and questions about any of these matters should be taken up directly with staff in the Endowment's Office of Challenge Grants. The address is National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W., Room 429, Washington, D.C. 20506, and the telephone number is 202/786-0361.

*Harold Cannon is the director of the NEH Office of Challenge Grants.*

PROPOSALS

DEADLINES

GRANTS

GUIDE

**Archaeology and Anthropology**

**American Numismatic Society**, NYC; Leslie A. Elam: \$300,000. To support the endowment of graduate seminars, new curatorial and library staff, and computerization and maintenance costs. **CO**

**Arts—History and Criticism**

**William Benton Museum of Art**, Storrs, CT; John T. Kish: \$250,000. To construct an addition that will house seven galleries for permanent collections and a 250-seat auditorium. **CA**

**History—Non-U.S.**

**Society for Japanese Studies**, Seattle, WA; Susan B. Hanley: \$50,000. To provide long-term subsidy for the publication of the *Journal of Japanese Studies*. **CX**

**History—U.S.**

**Buffalo Bill Historical Center**, Cody, WY; Herbert G. Houze: \$500,000. To construct a new wing to house the Winchester Arms Museum. **CH**

**Concord Museum**, MA; Dennis A. Fiori: \$500,000. To endow professional salaries for new positions, additional curatorial positions, historical research and publications, library acquisitions, renovation, construction, and increased operating costs. **CA**

**Hiddenite Center, Inc.**, NC; Dwaine C. Coley: \$70,000. To support humanities consultants and developing programs. **CH**

**Historic Hudson Valley**, Tarrytown, NY; Richard F. Halverson: \$750,000. To endow new staff positions, training, publications, and honoraria for humanities consultants. **CA**

**Montana Historical Society**, Helena; Robert H. Archibald: \$316,000. To support endowment of educational, cataloguing, and preservation programs. **CH**

**Museum of the Confederacy**, Richmond, VA; Elizabeth S. Lux: \$500,000. To support endowment of salaries, publications, seminars, and the ongoing preservation of collections at the White House of the Confederacy. **CA**

**Penobscot Marine Museum**, Searsport, ME; Robert D. Farwell: \$99,000. To support endowment of new positions of librarian and education assistant, and to cover some construction and fund-raising costs. **CA**

**Please Touch Museum**, Philadelphia, PA; Portia H. Sperr: \$125,000. To endow honoraria for humanities scholars, supplements to new curatorial salaries, and renovation, archival, and curatorial work. **CA**

**Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation, Inc.**, Staunton, VA; Katharine L. Brown: \$100,000. To renovate an adjacent building to house a permanent exhibition on Wilson and to provide an endowment of additional operating costs. **CA**

**Yakima Valley Museum & Historical Assn.**, WA; Versa C. K'ang: \$350,000. To renovate and expand the museum to provide greater storage space, meeting rooms, permanent exhibition galleries, and archival areas. **CA**

**Interdisciplinary**

**Dartmouth College**, Hanover, NH; Richard R. Sheldon: \$275,000. To endow three annual humanities institutes to encourage cross-disciplinary research by Dartmouth faculty and visiting scholars. **CC**

**Johns Hopkins U.**, Baltimore, MD; Susan K. Martin: \$1,000,000. To endow the selection, acquisition, and preservation of library materials in the humanities. **CU**

**Knox College**, Galesburg, IL; John P. McCall: \$300,000. To endow library acquisitions in the humanities and part of the cost of renovating the library building. **CC**

**Lewis and Clark College**, Portland, OR; Jacquelyn A. Mattfeld: \$240,000. To support endowment of a visiting professorship in cross-cultural humanities and to provide library acquisitions in the pertinent disciplines. **CC**

**Newberry Library**, Chicago, IL; Charles T. Cullen: \$1,000,000. To support endowment of acquisitions, cataloguing, and new positions in reader services, preservation, and technical services. **CK**

**Peabody Museum of Salem**, MA; Peter Fetchko: \$450,000. To provide an operating endowment, climate control, exhibition casework, security, fire suppression, and lighting components for the new Asian Export Art Wing. **CA**

**Penobscot Indian Nation**, Old Town, ME; James G. Sappier: \$135,027. To renovate a former school as a repository for archaeological artifacts and historical documents, and to equip the repository and endow a curatorial position. **CA**

**San Antonio Public Library Foundation**, TX; Irwin Sexton: \$250,000. To improve humanities collections and endow further acquisitions in the humanities. **CQ**

**U. of Hawaii at Manoa**, Honolulu; Robert W. McHenry, Jr.: \$750,000. To support endowment of faculty development, visiting professorships, scholarly conferences, and library acquisitions in Asian and Pacific Studies. **CU**

**U. of Illinois**, Urbana; David F. Bishop: \$1,000,000. To support endowment of new library staff in cataloguing and preservation, supplies, materials, services, and library acquisitions in the humanities. **CU**

**U. of New Hampshire**, Durham; Richard H. Hersh: \$500,000. To endow faculty development, scholarly conferences, lecture series for the general public, and a series of summer seminars for humanities teachers in New Hampshire high schools. **CU**

**U. of Southern California**, Los Angeles; Marshall Cohen: \$1,000,000. To support an endowment to strengthen seventeen areas of humanities collections that have been targeted for intensive development in the university library. **CU**

**Virginia Commonwealth U.**, Richmond; Elske V. P. Smith: \$150,410. To endow visits by distinguished humanities scholars, visiting lecturers, and summer stipends for faculty development. **CU**

**Language and Linguistics**

**College of the Holy Cross**, Worcester, MA; Frank Vellacio: \$600,000. To support the endowment of two new chairs in English and classics and faculty research in the humanities. **CC**

**Mount Holyoke College**, South Hadley, MA; Elizabeth T. Kennan: \$400,000. To renovate the Language Learning Center and purchase special equipment for language teaching. **CC**

**Literature**

**Haverford College**, PA; Harry C. Payne: \$250,000. To endow a professorship and library acquisitions in comparative literature. **CC**

Capital letters following each grant description show the type of organization to which the award was made.

- CA** Museums
- CC** Four-year colleges
- CH** Historical societies and houses
- CK** Research libraries and archives
- CO** Professional organizations and societies
- CU** Universities
- CX** Other nonprofit organizations and societies

**Correction**

In "Scholarship in the Museum: Making the World Understandable," by William J. Tramosch (Vol. 8, No. 6), the director of the NEH-supported slide-lecture project, "The Material Culture of American Homes," is Kenneth L. Ames and not, as stated on page 5, Ian Quimby. The quotation attributed to Mr. Quimby should have been attributed to Dr. Ames. *Humanities* regrets the error.

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# DEADLINES

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.

	Deadline	For project beginning
<b>Division of Education Programs</b> — <i>Jerry L. Martin, Director 786-0373</i>		
Higher Education in the Humanities— <i>Lyn Maxwell White, Barbara Ashbrook, Elizabeth Welles, Thomas Adams, Frank Frankfort 786-0380</i>	<b>October 1, 1988</b>	April 1989
Elementary and Secondary Education in the Humanities— <i>Linda Spoerl, Stephanie Quinn Katz, Jayme A. Sokolow, Thomas Gregory Ward 786-0377</i>	<b>May 16, 1988</b>	January 1989
NEH/Reader's Digest Teacher-Scholar Program— <i>Linda Spoerl, Stephanie Quinn Katz, Jayme A. Sokolow, Thomas Gregory Ward, Lillian Bisson</i>	<b>May 2, 1988</b>	September 1989
High School Humanities Institutes at Historically Black Colleges and Universities— <i>Jayme A. Sokolow 786-0377</i>	<b>March 15, 1988</b>	September 1988
Faculty Humanities Institutes at Historically Black Colleges and Universities— <i>Lyn Maxwell White 786-0380</i>	<b>March 15, 1989</b>	September 1989
<b>Division of Fellowships and Seminars</b> — <i>Guinevere L. Griest, Director 786-0458</i>		
Fellowships for University Teachers— <i>Maben D. Herring 786-0466</i>	<b>June 1, 1988</b>	January 1, 1989
Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars— <i>Karen Fuglie 786-0466</i>	<b>June 1, 1988</b>	January 1, 1989
Fellowships on the Foundations of American Society— <i>Maben D. Herring, Karen Fuglie 786-0466</i>	<b>June 1, 1988</b>	January 1, 1989
Summer Stipends— <i>Joseph B. Neville 786-0466</i>	<b>October 1, 1988</b>	May 1, 1989
Travel to Collections— <i>Kathleen Mitchell 786-0463</i>	<b>July 15, 1988</b>	December 1, 1988
Faculty Graduate Study Program for Historically Black Colleges and Universities— <i>Beatrice Stith Clark, Maben D. Herring 786-0466</i>	<b>March 15, 1989</b>	September 1, 1990
Younger Scholars— <i>Leon Bramson 786-0463</i>	<b>November 1, 1988</b>	May 1, 1989
Summer Seminars for College Teachers— <i>Kenneth Kolson 786-0463</i>		
Participants	<b>March 1, 1989</b>	Summer 1989
Directors	<b>March 1, 1989</b>	Summer 1990
Summer Seminars for School Teachers— <i>Michael Hall 786-0463</i>		
Participants	<b>March 1, 1989</b>	Summer 1989
Directors	<b>April 1, 1989</b>	Summer 1989

Guidelines are available from the Office of Publications and Public Affairs two months in advance of the application deadlines.

Telecommunications device for the deaf: 786-0282.

# DEADLINES

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.

	Deadline	For project beginning
<b>Division of General Programs</b> —Donald Gibson, Director 786-0267		
Humanities Projects in Media—James Dougherty 786-0278	September 16, 1988	April 1, 1989
Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations—Marsha Semmel 786-0284	June 10, 1988	January 1, 1989
Public Humanities Projects—Wilsonia Cherry 786-0271	September 16, 1988	April 1, 1989
Humanities Projects in Libraries—Thomas Phelps 786-0271	September 16, 1988	April 1, 1989
<b>Division of Research Programs</b> —Richard Ekman, Director 786-0200		
<b>Texts</b> —Margot Backas 786-0207		
Editions—David Nichols 786-0207	June 1, 1988	April 1, 1989
Translations—Martha Chomiak 786-0207	June 1, 1988	April 1, 1989
Publication Subvention—Margot Backas 786-0207	April 1, 1989	October 1, 1990
<b>Reference Materials</b> —Charles Meyers 786-0358		
Tools—Helen Aguera 786-0358	November 1, 1988	July 1, 1989
Access—Jane Rosenberg 786-0358	November 1, 1988	July 1, 1989
<b>Interpretive Research</b> —Dorothy Wartenberg 786-0210		
Projects—David Wise 786-0210	October 1, 1988	July 1, 1989
Humanities, Science and Technology—Daniel Jones 786-0210	October 1, 1988	July 1, 1989
<b>Regrants</b> —Crale Hopkins 786-0204		
Conferences—Crale Hopkins 786-0204	July 1, 1988	April 1, 1989
Centers for Advanced Study—David Coder 786-0204	December 1, 1988	July 1, 1989
Regrants for International Research—David Coder 786-0204	March 15, 1989	January 1, 1990
Regrants in Selected Areas—David Coder 786-0204	March 15, 1989	January 1, 1990
<b>Division of State Programs</b> —Marjorie A. Berlincourt, Director 786-0254		
Each state humanities council establishes its own grant guidelines and application deadlines. Addresses and telephone numbers of these state programs may be obtained from the division.		
<b>Office of Challenge Grants</b> —Harold Cannon, Director 786-0361		
	May 1, 1988	December 1, 1988
<b>Office of Preservation</b> —George F. Farr, Jr., Senior Preservation Officer 786-0570		
Preservation—George F. Farr, Jr. 786-0570	December 1, 1988	July 1, 1989
U.S. Newspaper Program—Jeffrey Field 786-0570	June 1, 1988	January 1, 1989

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