Humanities

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The Civil War: 125 Years After Appomattox

Civil War pickets around a fire. The photograph has been attributed to Mathew Brady. In volume 9 of The Photographic History of the Civil War (1911), *the photograph is used to illustrate a poem titled "Christmas Night of '62" by William Gordon McCabe, a Confederate soldier. (National Archives)*

Humanities
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Editor's Note

The Civil War

To understand the American character in the twentieth century, says historian Shelby Foote, one must understand the Civil War. "Before the war, people had a theoretical notion of having a country, but when the war was over, on both sides they knew they had a country. They'd been there. They had walked its hills and tramped its roads. . . . And they knew the effort that they had expended and their dead friends had expended to preserve it. It did that. The war made their country an actuality."

This April marks the 125th anniversary of the Confederate surrender at Appomattox. And this fall, filmmaker Ken Burns will present an eleven-hour television series that retraces the course of the war, using original photographs and archival material. In this issue, Endowment Chairman Lynne V. Cheney talks with the Mississippi-born Foote, who spent twenty years writing a definitive three-volume history of the conflict and who served as an adviser on the NEH-supported Burns documentary.

As we look back, the bloodiness of the Civil War still astonishes. Of 100,000 men at the battle of Shiloh in April of 1862, more than 20,000 were killed, wounded, captured, or missing. "Shiloh had the same number of casualties as Waterloo," Foote reminds us. "And yet, when it was fought, there were another twenty Waterloos to follow."

For those in the North who had thought victory was near, Shiloh made clear the struggle would be cataclysmic. By 1864, a central issue of the election was whether the tenacity of the Southern troops would make voters war-weary enough to reject Abraham Lincoln for a second term. Pulitzer prize-winning historian James McPherson, author of *Battle Cry of Freedom*, examines the entwined political and military strategies of that year. And a new NEH-supported exhibition at the Chicago Historical Society portrays what America as a whole was like in the age of Lincoln.

In other articles on the Civil War, the magazine looks at photographers less well known than Mathew Brady who have provided significant parts of the pictorial history of the war. *The Papers of Jefferson Davis* discloses a Confederate president dealing diplomatically with his generals; and a Freedmen and Southern Society project unearths the letters of a black Union soldier who writes home to his daughters still in slavery, promising to free them.

Last, we look at a reclusive figure of that period, poet Emily Dickinson. The war touched even the isolation of Amherst, where Emily Dickinson was quietly writing her poetry. When essayist Thomas Wentworth Higginson resigned his Unitarian ministry to lead a black regiment in the Union Army, Emily Dickinson wrote to him: "I trust you may pass the limit of War, and though not reared to prayer—when service is had in Church, for Our Arms, I include yourself. . . . " The correspondence was to continue until the end of her life; after her death Higginson and Mabel Todd Loomis became joint editors of her *Poems*, published posthumously one hundred years ago.

—Mary Lou Beatty

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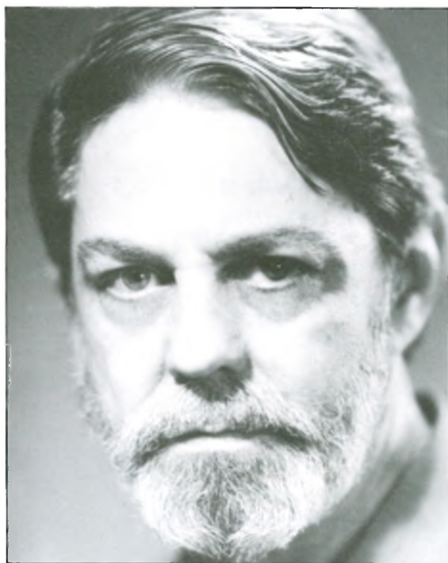
Photo by Teresa Zabala

A Conversation with...
Civil War Historian Shelby Foote


Courtesy of Shelby Foote

The writing of history was the topic when Endowment Chairman Lynne V. Cheney talked recently with Shelby Foote, author of the three-volume classic, The Civil War. *Foote has also written six novels, among them* Follow Me Down *and* Shiloh.

Lynne V. Cheney: One recent reviewer observed that your Civil War history was out of academic fashion. It was a very favorable review, but it made the point that you write old-fashioned narrative history.

Shelby Foote: I'm very proud of my amateur standing, and I don't like to be called Dr. Foote.

Cheney: In what ways do you think that being a nonprofessional is an advantage?

Foote: I think it's an advantage because I know better than a professional does that the truth doesn't lie in simply the facts—it's in the way the facts are presented. There's a quote from a Keats letter that I think sums it up better than anything I've ever heard. Keats said, "A fact is not a truth until you love it." Isn't that a wonderful thing to say?

Cheney: That is marvelous. You once suggested that, in fact, it was your good fortune not to have become part of the academy.

Foote: Right. I must not be understood to be running down professional historians. Without their meticulous and extensive research, I couldn't have done anything. So I'm not saying what they do is not of enormous value, because it is. I'm talking about the treatment of the material after you've got the facts assembled.

Cheney: You say in an explanatory note in one of your Civil War volumes that the novelist and the historian, in a sense, have the same goal.

Foote: Right—the truth. Both are looking for the truth, but one is looking for one kind of truth, some say, and another for another kind of truth. I claim that's false. There is a bedrock truth that both of them are trying to discover.

Cheney: Do you have any preference for writing fiction over nonfiction or vice versa?

Foote: I really don't. I suppose if I were put at gunpoint, I would probably pick as my favorite one of my novels because the whole thing came out of my head. But I don't know, not really. I certainly enjoyed the writing of the history as much as I enjoyed writing novels. Asked to choose his favorite book, a writer usually decides in accordance with how he felt while he was writing a particular work. He looks back on something as a happy time or a bad time. That's what he usually means.

Cheney: You, I think, are one of the masters of prose style in our century. You seem to create an effortless prose, maybe the hardest kind to create. How many words do you typically write a day?

Foote: I'm a slow writer. Five or six hundred words is a good day for me. What I do—if it does have the effect you're kind enough to say it does—is, I write for possible reading aloud. I read it over to myself, and if it hasn't got the right flow to it, I do something about it.

Cheney: When young writers come to you and ask for advice, what do you tell them?

Foote: I tell them to work hard and read a lot. Charles Dickens can teach you more about writing than any teacher of creative writing I ever knew. Reading good writers with the kind of understanding that makes you absorb some of their craft, some of their methods, some of their ways, is the best of all possible schools for a young writer. Good writing is a cumulative thing; we learn from what came before us, and anybody who neglects that is neglecting an extremely valuable thing.

Cheney: Hemingway once was asked by a young person what three things

he could do to become a good writer, and Hemingway said, "Oh, that's easy. Read *Anna Karenina*, read *Anna Karenina*, and read *Anna Karenina*."

Foote: That's a good answer. He'd have given another answer on Thursday, I guess, but that's a good one.

Cheney: Who do you think has been most important in shaping the kind of work that you do? What novelists or historians?

Foote: I did have a funny experience with William Faulkner one time. We were riding together and I said, "Mr. Faulkner, I have every reason to be a much better writer than you are. Your models were Joseph Conrad and Sherwood Anderson. My models are Marcel Proust and you. My writers are better than your writers." He laughed.

Cheney: When you write about the past do you rely at all on stories from your family? I read somewhere that your great-grandfather fought at Shiloh.

Foote: He did. He got the tail shot off his horse there. He was fifty-some-odd years old by then, a lowly captain, and that was his one great action. He went back to Macon, Mississippi, after that and was a colonel in the home guard. One Shiloh was enough.

Cheney: But surely growing up, there were tales from the war. . .

Foote: Yes. There was some of that. I never really talked with any veterans. By the time I came along there was nothing left but a few ex-drummer boys, so I never talked to any real veterans. But I'll tell you who were really around—the widows and old, old ladies who had never married because their sweethearts were killed in the war. There were a lot of them.

Cheney: You were in the army—in the Marines—yourself in World War II. Did your experience there cast any light upon what military experience must have been like during the Civil War?

Foote: A great deal. It made me understand the workings of the military from the inside, how the old army game is played; professionals versus amateurs, all that kind of thing. It was a great help to me.

Cheney: Was the Civil War a war of professionals or amateurs?

Foote: It was really a war of professionals fought by amateurs. The professionals were the ones who lined the troops up shoulder to shoulder and sent them against entrenchments and got them blown away. It was the amateurs who devised some way to avoid that kind of thing. Bedford Forrest, for instance, you could call an amateur. He knew better than to make frontal assaults like that. "Hit 'em on the end," he used to say, and "keep up the skeer."

Cheney: He's one of those characters from the Civil War that people don't know much about, and I know he's a favorite of yours, someone who particularly fascinates you. What is there about him?

Foote: It's a quality of acute insight and high intelligence. Someone, some Southern writer, said that Forrest was born to be a soldier the way John Keats was born to be a poet. He could look at a piece of land and see the geographical solution, how best to fight on it. He could study the makeup of an opponent, too, and know what would be most apt to upset and unstring him. It's sheer genius.

Cheney: The characters that loom over the war in most minds have become almost mythic, people like Lee. It's hard, in a way, to focus on him as a human being.

Foote: Right. They have almost got him removed from our comprehension. George Washington, for example; we can't see Washington as a man; he's sort of a monument. And they've been doing that to Lee for a hundred years. I had to work very hard to humanize Lee, to bring him within reach. I did what I could, but it's very hard, very hard to keep him from being just a marble figure, more a statue than a man.

Cheney: Well, can you think of incidents in his life that show the human side, perhaps the side that has some flaw? His character seems so noble.

Foote: One is a very minor thing and yet it was valuable to me. Lee was about six feet tall, but most of his height was in his body, his long trunk. He had rather short legs. Now, that doesn't sound like it's of any importance at all, but it helps to humanize him—for me, at any rate. Another thing happened after the

National Archives

The Keystone Independent Battery Light Artillery, a photograph from the Brady Collection, 1862–63.

war that helps to explain his life and character. He was traveling somewhere on a train, and everywhere he went, of course, there were crowds waiting just to get a look at him. He stopped one place and there was a woman with a baby there. She went up to him and said, "General Lee, would you hold my child for a minute so I can tell him when he grows up that you held him?" and Lee said, "I'd be glad to," and he took the baby and held him. She said, "Is there anything you can tell me that will help in raising him?" and Lee said, "Yes," as he handed the baby back. "Teach him to deny himself."

Cheney: Interesting.

Foote: Lee had been denying himself all his life. He came from a family that had been badly scarred by scandal—his half-brother, who was caught up in a sexual scandal; his father, Light Horse Harry, who was involved in financial scandals. You get the strong notion that he was holding down all kinds of impulses that he believed were bad, and he succeeded in doing it, too.

Cheney: I once spent some time writing about what's now called Arlington House, the mansion that sits in Arlington National Cemetery. It used to be called the Custis-Lee mansion and was once Lee's home. After he left it to head the Army of Northern Virginia, the Union turned the land around it into a graveyard.

Foote: It was an act of revenge on the part of the man who did it. His son had been killed—

Cheney: Was it Montgomery Meigs?

Foote: I believe it was Meigs. Arlington's grounds became a cemetery and they buried men there so that it could never be restored; they could never move those men again and the house could never go back to the Custis family.

Cheney: When you think about Lee, is there any aspect of him that particularly strikes you? What made him a leader that men would die for? That's an amazing thing when people will die for a leader.

Foote: It was partly presence, which comes at you off the photographs, but it was also something else. His concern for the private soldier was a thing well-known in the army. If any man was offended by anything and he saw Lee, he could go up to him and say, "General, they did this to me," and Lee would say, "It'll be looked into." And it was looked into. There was once a Northern prisoner who was being marched to the rear and General Lee was there, and the prisoner said, pointing to a guard, "That man took my hat," and Lee said, "Give him his hat back. Shame on you." Nothing was too small for him to pay attention to.

But of course the big thing about Lee, Lee at his very best, was his humanity, his willingness to admit mistakes. His character shows best at his worst defeat, that is, Pickett's charge at Gettysburg. He walked out on that field and met those men stumbling back from slaughter and said, "It is all my fault. I asked more of you than any man should ask of another man. It is my fault. You must help me now. We must rally and stop these people if they counterattack. It's all my fault." I don't know of another general in the whole world who ever spoke such words.

Cheney: I think it was his fault, wasn't it?

Foote: It was indeed. There was a lot of fault, more than enough to go round, but very few men have admitted it, except Lee himself.

Cheney: And Lincoln. If you compare Lincoln to Lee, what are the distinguishing characteristics, the characteristics that set these two leaders apart?

Foote: The thing about Lincoln is that he is almost beyond our comprehension—his uncanny political abilities, his marvelous depth of understanding of other people and himself, his extreme cunning. He once said, "Government is an attempt to get the best out of people who seem determined to give their

worst," and I suppose you've run into some of that in Washington. But he knew how to do it. He had another quality that still amazes me. Lincoln, in conversation with another man, would perceive that that man saw him as some sort of bumpkin or fool, and Lincoln (unlike me, for instance—I'd be very anxious to disabuse him of this terrible notion and show what a bright fellow I really am)—Lincoln would sit back and let this man think he was a fool and it didn't bother Lincoln at all. And then some critical juncture would come when the man would treat Lincoln as a fool; the next thing you know, the man was in Siberia or something like that. He really knew how to take advantage of somebody's underestimating him.

Cheney: Your story reminds me of an old Washington saying: "Don't get mad, get even."

Foote: Lincoln would take to that kind of thinking, not in the way of revenge but as a way of solving a problem. He didn't have the vanity that most of us have to carry around with us.

Cheney: Was Lee vain?

Foote: He had a certain vanity; he did. But it was by no means a coarse vanity; he wasn't preening himself or posing or anything, but he had a very strong sense of his position and his worth.

He was a gentle, outgoing man. But he had a bad temper on occasion. The staff knew it and used to stay away from him at such times.

Cheney: Now, here we've fallen into —and it's my fault—we've fallen into comparing the military leader of the South and the political leader of the North, and I've left out Jefferson Davis. I think I'm probably not the first to do that.

Foote: No. In point of fact, it's the general practice. I sometimes think that there's a gigantic conspiracy to hide Davis from the world. He's so misrepresented in almost every history you read; he's looked on as a bloodless pedant, a man who paid attention to little things while big things were sliding past him. None of that is true. After the war, someone asked Lee whether Davis had been a good president. Lee said, "I don't know of any man who could have done better, and when it comes down to it, I don't know of any man who could have done as well." Lee had a high opinion of Davis. But what happened was, in the South, having lost the war, we had to blame someone, and we didn't want to blame our gallant generals, so we blamed Jefferson Davis. Of course in the North he was widely hated, even more, perhaps, than Lincoln was in the South.

Cheney: That quotation from Lee, that detail is what makes your history spring to life. Where do you find the quotations and the stories? What are your best sources?

Foote: It comes from wide reading. Some things you cannot use for factual matters—regimental histories or old men's memoirs—are splendid for providing anecdotes that you can tell really did happen.

Cheney: Having done a little historical writing myself, I know that there's that feeling of discovery when you come across one of these stories and you know it's going to make the narrative come alive. Are there a couple of stories like that that you remember particularly?

Foote: There's a book I admire by a man named Sam Watkins. It's called *Company Aitch: A Side Show of the Big Show.* He wrote it as a long-time veteran looking back on his experiences. He fought in the western theater; he was in the Army of Tennessee—Bragg's army, Hood's army, Joe Johnston's army. In the Confederate army the noncommissioned officers and commissioned officers up through the rank of colonel were elected by their men, and Watkins describes one of these elections, somebody running for second corporal, for example. It's very funny. In the army there's always a company

The Fifth Vermont Regiment in 1861 in Virginia, near Washington, D.C. The Fifth Vermont fought in major battles throughout the war, including Gettysburg and the Wilderness campaign. (Library of Congress)

clown, and he was describing some of the company clowns, all those little things. It's the small things added up that make the big thing ring true. Without them you just get this overview of facts piling up on one another—where these troops were at this time, what they were doing at that time, and so forth. Often the breath of life is the result of the inclusion of incidentals.

Cheney: There's a story I remember from your Civil War history. It's an interchange between two soldiers who are yelling across the lines and one talks about what's the South fighting for—honor—and the other says the North's fighting for money. How does it go?

Foote: The Southern soldier shouted across to the Northern soldiers, "Why do you fellows keep on fighting? You're fighting for money and we're fighting for honor." And the Northern soldier shouted back, "I guess we each of us is fighting for the thing he needs the most."

Cheney: That's really good.

Foote: That's one of the best answers anybody ever gave.

Cheney: Your books have been so enormously successful because they're so beautifully written. But they also tap into this fascination we have with the Civil War.

Foote: Well, that fascination is well founded. I believe strongly that an understanding of us as we are today in the world and in our own notions of ourselves, is founded on what happened in the American Civil War. The Revolution made us free, but the Civil War is what made us what we are. It was that war that decided which way this country was going, not only in the abolition of slavery, but in a lot of different aspects, good and bad. The Civil War defined us.

Cheney: You once said that the Civil War is our *Iliad*. What did you mean by that?

Foote: I meant that we draw on it for our notion of ourselves, and our artists draw on it for the depiction of us in the same way that Homer and later the dramatists—Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides—drew on the Trojan War for their plays. We draw on the Civil War for our notion of ourselves and often for historical novels, bad and good. It's a great source of material, just as the *Iliad* was for later Greek writers.

Cheney: Well, Mr. Foote, you're as good a talker as you are a writer. I understand you've been very involved in film consulting lately, too.

Foote: I might say I'm highly pleased about the Civil War television series Ken Burns is making for release on public television this coming fall. So much of what he's doing has the kind of validity I admire. For instance, he's going back to the originals for his photographs. He's not just copying them out of magazines and books; they're real prints from the original negatives, so that you get a clarity you couldn't get the other way. And because the series is chronological, the photographs show you the war in a way that is wonderfully comprehensible. You see Lincoln age, you see the lines of worry deepen in his face, you see the circles under his eyes. You watch Lee turn from a grizzled to an almost white-haired man. There's another thing you get from this series-in-progress—an orderly unfolding through the whole four years. You're going north, you're coming south, going east, coming west, following the progress of the war chronologically. And that very act helps you to understand what was going on and the predicament the men were in, all the way from Lincoln and Davis down to the private soldier. That way you learn what their problems were, and you only know what they knew at that moment of the war, so that you really judge them in accordance with what they knew rather than what they theoretically should have done.

Cheney: That's a useful insight.

Foote: If you really lay the groundwork and show what led up to an event, you don't have to explain things. The narration will do that. A good example is that a lot of people, including, I'm sorry to say, large numbers of historians, seem to think that the Gettysburg campaign was something that occurred to Lee perhaps in the middle of the night. He snapped his fingers and said, "I know what I'll do. I'll go up to Pennsylvania and fight a great big battle and take Washington, and the war will be over." It was nothing like that. You have to understand that Grant had Vicksburg under siege,

Dead soldiers at Gettysburg.

that the Richmond authorities knew they had to do something about it or the South would be split in two. They called on Lee with the possibility of detaching at least a third of his army, sending it to Mississippi to help break the siege, or they gave him the choice of doing something in the eastern theater, such as making an invasion of the North, which might cause Lincoln to recall Grant from in front of Vicksburg. Lee did

Library of Congress

not want to make that invasion, though after he got into it, he got caught up and excited. He simply chose that course, rather than send part of his army to Mississippi. And when you tell the story correctly, you understand this is not something he snapped his fingers and said, "Ah-hah, I'll win the war in one stroke." He was responding to pressures from various directions. And the chronology of the thing—the way I hope I did in my book, and the way I know Ken Burns does in this series—makes that clear without explanations. If you really tell a story with psychological insight, and I hope with some humor mixed up in it too, if you really tell a story so it's lifelike, you don't have to do a lot of explaining. This is pretty far afield, but when Flaubert wrote *Bovary* and she's finally eating that arsenic, he doesn't have to say, "Oh, you wicked woman. You're getting what you deserve." The reader knows that's what is happening. It's simply described in the way she ate the arsenic and how she felt. He doesn't have to say, "Shame on you, shame on you," or anything like that. And I hope a dedicated historian can do the same thing, depending on how close he comes to matching Flaubert's skill and talent—though God knows that's an awful lot to ask. □

WAR AND POLITICS

BY JAMES M. McPHERSON

THE MOST FAMOUS maxim of the nineteenth-century military theorist Karl von Clausewitz defined war as the continuation of politics by other means. In 1864, in America, politics was the continuation of war by other means.

A presidential election in the midst of war has not been a unique event in American history. On four of these occasions (1812, 1864, 1944, and 1972) the war policies of an incumbent President seeking reelection have been important campaign issues; in each case the incumbent won. In the other two elections (1952 and 1968), voters overturned the party in power partly because of the unpopularity of its war policies—and, indeed, of the war itself. But despite the centrality of war issues during these elections, in only one of them did voters perceive the survival of the United States to be at stake: in 1864. That election was seen as a referendum on whether the Union should continue fighting the Civil War to unconditional victory. The result of this political campaign did as much to determine the outcome of the war as did events on the battlefield. But military campaigns, in turn, decisively influenced the election.

Optimism prevailed in the North in the spring of 1864. The victories at Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga the previous year had sent the Confederacy reeling. President Lincoln had brought the hero of Vicksburg and Chattanooga, Ulysses S. Grant, to Washington as general in chief of all the Union armies. Grant planned coordinated campaigns to give rebellion its *coup de grâce*. Southern leaders vowed defiantly to "die in the last ditch" before surrendering to Yankees. But these same leaders were quarreling among themselves over responsibility for past defeats, the Southern economy was in shambles, civilians were hungry and disaffected, Confederate armies lacked supplies, and peace movements had sprung up in North Carolina and elsewhere. Powerful Union forces in Virginia under Grant's overall command and in Georgia under Sherman stood poised for invasions that they confidently expected to crush Confederate resistance well before the presidential election in November.

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

Abraham Lincoln, Brady studio, 1863

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

George B. McClellan, Brady studio, 1863

Grant and Sherman intended by a series of flanking movements to threaten Confederate communications and force the Southern commanders Lee and Johnston into open-field combat, where superior Union numbers and firepower could be used to greatest advantage. The Southern strategy, by contrast, was to block the Union's flanking movements and force Northern armies instead to assault defenses entrenched on high ground or behind rivers, where fortifications and natural obstacles would more than neutralize superior numbers.

In part the South's smaller population and resources dictated this strategy, but it resulted also from the contrasting war aims of the two sides. To win the war, Union armies had to conquer and occupy Southern territory, overwhelm or break up Confederate armies, destroy the economic and political infrastructure that supported the war effort, and suppress the Southern will to resist. But in order to "win" on their terms,

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THE ELECTION OF 1864

the Confederates—like Americans in the Revolution or North Vietnam in the 1960s—needed only to hold out long enough and inflict sufficient punishment on the enemy to force him to give up his effort to annihilate resistance. This was a strategy of political and psychological attrition —of wearing down the other side's will to continue fighting. Many historians have mistakenly argued that Grant pursued a military strategy of attrition in 1864—of using the North's greater numbers and resources to bring down the South's ability to resist. It turned out that way, but not because Grant initially intended it. Rather, the near success of the Southern strategy of psychological attrition forced the North into a campaign of military attrition. The crucial turning point of both strategies was the Union presidential election of 1864.

Confederate strategy sought to influence the outcome of that election. On previous occasions when the war had gone badly for the North, the Copperhead peace faction of the Democratic party had grown in strength with demands for an armistice and peace negotiations—which would have amounted to Southern victory. Confederates had cultivated this antiwar faction in the North with some success. In 1864 they sought ways to promote a Democratic victory in the Union election. Southern military leaders planned their operations around the objective of holding out until November. "If we can only subsist" until the Northern election, wrote a War Department official in Richmond, "giving an opportunity for the Democrats to elect a President . . . we may have peace." Militarily, because of "the importance of this campaign to the administration of Mr. Lincoln," Robert E. Lee meant to "resist manfully" in the hope of weakening the Northern war party. "If we can break up the enemy's arrangements early, and throw him back," explained General James Longstreet, "he will not be able to recover his position or his morale until the Presidential election is over, and then we shall have a new President to treat with."

The Confederate secret service mounted a simultaneous effort to sway Northern opinion. Operating from Canada, Southern agents plotted a variety of raids to harass the Union war effort and sabotage the Northern economy—including an attempt to liberate Confederate prisoners of war from Camp Douglas near Chicago and Johnson's Island near Sandusky, Ohio; the burning of factories and warehouses; and the subsidization of antiwar Democratic candidates for office in Northern states. A few of these schemes resulted in action—a bank robbery in St. Albans, Vermont; the burning of a half-dozen military steamboats at St. Louis; subsidies to several Northern newspapers and to the Democratic candidate for governor in Illinois; and fires in several large New York hotels that were quickly extinguished with little damage.

Efforts to encourage peace sentiment in the North by the offer of an armistice and negotiations to end the war were more serious. Canadian-based Confederate commissioners met with Horace Greeley, the editor of the New York *Tribune*, and Lin-

A pro-Lincoln political cartoon shows Lincoln on a firm platform while McClellan flounders atop a wheel of cheese.

Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library

GRAND RALLY

McCLELLAN

THE UNION & THE CONSTITUTION!

FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN

A GRAND MASS MEETING

IN THE PARK!

SATURDAY EV'G, SEPT. 3, at 8 o'clock.

HON. A. C. DAVIS, HON. GEO. W. STEVENS,

Per order of Committee of Arrangements.

National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution

Campaign posters and political souvenirs from the election of 1864. Union military victories after the Democratic convention in August 1864 cheered a war-weary North and transformed Lincoln's reelection prospects from almost certain defeat to a landslide victory.

Union Nominations

For Electors of President and Vice President of the United States.

HORACE GREELEY, PRESTON KING.

FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

FOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

FOR GOVERNOR,

REUBEN E. FENTON

FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR,

THOMAS G. ALVORD.

For Canal Commissioner, FRANKLIN A. ALBERGER. | For Inspector of State Prisons, DAVID P. FORREST

FOR SHERIFF OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK

JOHN W. FARMER.

FOR DISTRICT ATTORNEY WM. T. B. MILLIKEN. | For Clerk of the City and County of New-York. JAMES M. THOMPSON.

FOR CORONERS.

LOUIS NAUMANN. EDWARD COLLIN. JAMES W. RANNEY. ALEXANDER WILDER

FOR CITY JUDGE Orlando L.Stewart | FOR SUPERVISOR Andreas Willman.

SIMEON DRAPER, HARVEY H. WOODS, R. C. HAWKINS,

Library of Congress

Museum of American Political Life, University of Hartford

coln's private secretary, John Hay, at Niagara Falls, Canada, in July 1864. This meeting elicited from Lincoln a declaration of willingness to negotiate on the basis of reunion and emancipation. Cleverly obfuscating the South's insistence on recognition of Confederate independence as a precondition of negotiations, the Southern commissioners released a statement blaming Lincoln's inflexible terms for the failure of these peace feelers. Picking up on this theme, Northern Democrats broadcast the notion that if Lincoln would just drop his insistence on emancipation the war would end. But since he would not, the only way to get peace was to repudiate Lincoln at the polls. At the end of August, when the Democrats held their convention in Chicago, their prospects for electoral victory in November appeared bright.

How had this happened? How had the Northern optimism of spring turned into such deep despair by late summer that all observers, Lincoln included, expected the President and his platform of "war to victory" to be rejected by the voters? The answer lies in the success of the Confederate strategy of attrition. In six weeks of the war's bloodiest fighting, from the Wilderness to Petersburg, the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia had crippled each other so badly that static trench warfare would characterize this theater for the next nine months. Fighting mainly on the defensive, Lee's army imposed almost a two-to-one ratio of casualties on the attacking Union forces. By July the Army of the Potomac alone had suffered 65,000 casualties; losses of other Northern armies brought the Union casualty total since the first of the year to 100,000. Prisoners of war were crammed into inadequate camps in both North and South, where thousands died from disease and exposure. The prisoner exchange system had broken down, largely because of the South's refusal to exchange black soldiers.

What had the North to show for this staggering carnage? Stalemate at Petersburg; stalemate in the West; a small Confederate army under Jubal Early rampaging through Maryland to the very outskirts of Washington; even in Georgia, Sherman's war of maneuver seemed to have bogged down in the steamy trenches before Atlanta. "Who shall revive the withered hopes that bloomed at the opening of Grant's campaign?" asked the leading Democratic newspaper, the New York *World*. "Stop the War!" shouted Democratic headlines. "All are tired of this damnable tragedy. . . . If nothing else would impress upon the people the absolute necessity of stopping this war, its utter failure to accomplish any results would be sufficient." Republicans joined this chorus of despair. "Our bleeding, bankrupt, almost dying country . . . longs for peace," Horace Greeley told Lincoln, "shudders at the prospect of . . . further wholesale devastations, of new rivers of human blood." The veteran Republican leader Thurlow Weed observed in August that "the people are wild for peace. . . . Lincoln's reelection is an impossibility."

"I should be damned in time & in eternity," said Lincoln, if I were "to return to slavery the black warriors" who had fought for the Union. "The world shall know that I will keep my faith to friends & enemies, come what will."

As usual, the buck stopped at the President's desk. As commander in chief, Lincoln knew that he must bear the responsibility for failure. His hold on the leadership of his party was less than solid. Though the Republican convention in June had renominated him almost unanimously, radical Republicans expressed reservations about the President. They had considered him slow in embracing emancipation as a war aim, and had quarreled with him over the policy of reconstructing the South. When Lincoln killed a congressional reconstruction act (the Wade-Davis Bill) with a pocket veto, in order to preserve his own more-moderate executive approach, the Republican rift widened.

By August, though, the crucial question was not what policy to pursue toward the South once the war was won, but whether it could be won at all. Some desperate Republicans began muttering about dumping Lincoln in favor of some other candidate less identified with failure. The President came under enormous pressure to drop emancipation as a condition of peace negotiations. Lincoln bent but did not break under this pressure. His Emancipation Proclamation had promised freedom, "and the promise being made, must be kept."

"I should be damned in time & in eternity," said Lincoln, if I were "to return to slavery the black warriors" who had fought for the Union. "The world shall know that I will keep my faith to friends & enemies, come what will."

Lincoln was well aware of his probable fate in November. "I am going to be beaten," he told a friend in August, "and unless some great change takes place *badly* beaten." On August 23 the President wrote his famous "blind memorandum" and asked his cabinet members to endorse it sight unseen: "This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to so cooperate with the President elect, as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such ground that he can not possibly save it afterwards."

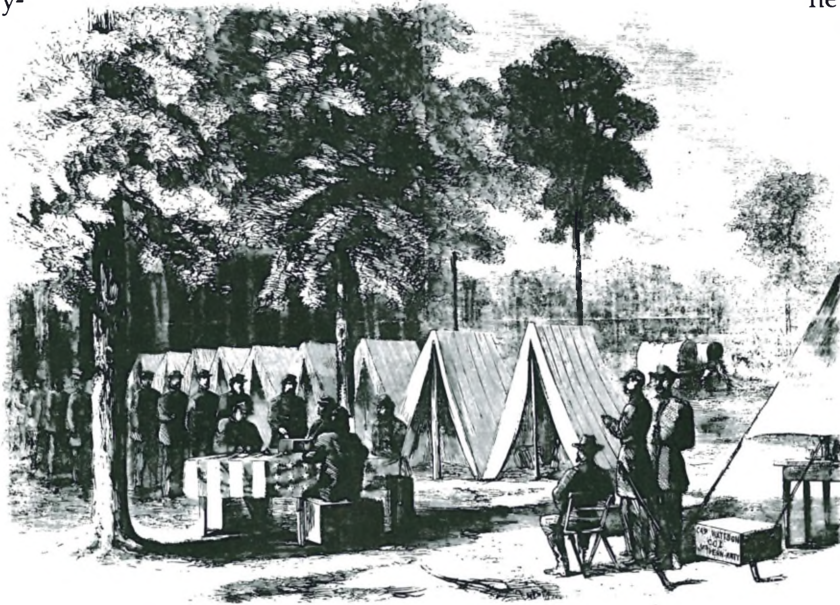
Meeting in Chicago at the end of August, the Democratic convention adopted a peace platform. "After four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war," it declared, we "demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the states, or other peaceable means . . . [that] peace may be restored on the basis of the federal Union." But with their presidential nomination the Democrats revealed their own party rift. The nominee was George B. McClellan, removed by Lincoln from command of the Army of the Potomac two years earlier and now seeking vin-

dication via politics. But McClellan was a War Democrat. He recognized that an armistice and negotiations without prior conditions would constitute a Confederate victory, making restoration of the Union impossible. Therefore, in his letter accepting the nomination, McClellan constructed his own platform specifying reunion (but not emancipation) "as the one condition of peace."

Though the Democrats seemed to be sending a muddled message—a war candidate on a peace platform—jubilant Southerners celebrated McClellan's nomination. The Democratic nominee's election on this platform "must lead to peace and our independence," declared the Charleston *Mercury,* if "for the next two months *we hold our own and prevent military success by our foes.*"

It didn't go that way. Three days after the Democrats adjourned, telegraph wires bringing news of Sherman's capture of Atlanta electrified the North. "Victory!" blazoned Republican headlines. "IS THE WAR A FAILURE? OLD ABE'S REPLY TO THE CHICAGO CONVENTION." Hard on the heels of Atlanta's fall came Phil Sheridan's spectacular series of victories over Jubal Early in the Shenandoah Valley and minor successes of Northern arms on the Richmond-Petersburg front. For Lincoln and the Republicans, these military triumphs transformed electoral prospects from darkest midnight to bright noonday. A gray, ominous twilight settled over the South. The "disaster at Atlanta," lamented the Richmond *Examiner,* came "in the very nick of time" to "save the party of Lincoln from irretrievable ruin. . . . It will obscure the prospect of peace, late so bright. It will also diffuse gloom over the South."

By October, the political signs pointed to a Republican landslide. The most remarkable part of this phenomenon was the soldier vote. Having won the military victories that turned the war around, these citizens in uniform prepared to give "Old Abe," as they affectionately called their commander in chief, a thumping endorsement at the polls. Absentee voting by soldiers was a bold experiment in democracy, pioneered by both sides in the Civil War. By 1864, nineteen Northern states allowed soldiers to vote in the field. Just three state legislatures had refused to do so—those of Illinois, Indiana, and New Jersey—all controlled by Democrats who knew which way most soldiers would vote. Although 40 to 45 percent of the soldiers had been Democrats when they joined the army, only 20 to 25 percent of them voted Democratic in 1864. In the twelve states that tabulated the army vote separately, 78 percent of the soldiers voted for Lincoln—despite the lingering admiration of some men in the Army of the Potomac for their old commander McClellan. The civilian vote, by way of comparison, went 54 percent for Lincoln.


Library of Congress

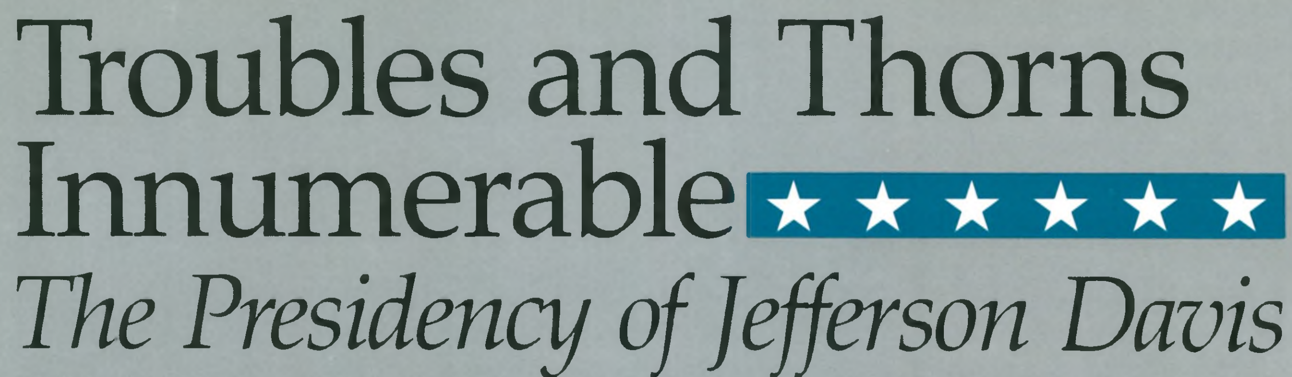
Pennsylvania soldiers in the Army of the James voting in the 1864 election.

Why this large difference between the civilian and soldier vote? For most soldiers, their honor as fighting men was at stake. They had gone to war for flag and country, and they meant to bring home the flag of a united country with *all* of its thirty-five stars in place. To vote Democratic, to admit that the war was a failure and their sacrifices had been in vain, to march home with a flag shorn of eleven stars, would plunge their country and its manhood to the depths of shame. "We want peace too," wrote an Ohio officer, a former Democrat turned Republican, "*honorable* peace, won in the full light of day at the bayonet's point, with our grand old flag flying over us as we negotiate it, instead of a cowardly peace purchased at the price of national dishonor." A New York private spoke for most Union soldiers; he intended, he wrote, to "give the rebellion another thump this fall by voting for old Abe. I cannot afford to give three years of my life to maintaining this nation and then give the Rebels all they want."

These were the convictions that reelected Lincoln by a margin of 212 to 21 in the electoral college (the President lost only New Jersey and the border slave states of Kentucky and Delaware). Republicans increased their majority in both houses of Congress to more than three-fourths. It was a powerful endorsement of Lincoln's iron-willed determination to fight on to unconditional victory. The election demonstrated to a British war correspondent that the North was "silently, calmly, but desperately in earnest . . . in a way the like of which the world never saw before. . . . I am astonished the more I see and hear of the extent and depth of [this] determination . . . to fight to the last." □

This article is adapted from the forthcoming book, The Civil War: An Illustrated History, *(© 1990, American Documentaries, Inc.) being published in conjunction with the documentary film,* The Civil War. *To produce the eleven-hour documentary series, which will air on public television this fall, Florentine Films under the direction of filmmaker Ken Burns has received $1,349,100 from the Humanities Projects in Media program of the Division of General Programs.*

In other Civil War-related NEH projects, David Donald of Harvard University has received a research grant to support work on a biography of Abraham Lincoln and Joanna Cowden of California State University has a fellowship to study political ideologies of the period 1861 to 1865.



Troubles and Thorns Innumerable

The Presidency of Jefferson Davis

BY MARY SEATON DIX AND LYNDA L. CRIST

TWO DAYS AFTER his inauguration as president of the Confederate states, Jefferson Davis found a moment to write his wife about the stirring events that had taken place at Montgomery, Alabama, the capital of the fledgling nation. "The audience was large and brilliant," Davis told his wife Varina, "upon my weary heart [were] showered smiles plaudits and flowers, but beyond them I saw troubles and thorns innumerable. We are without machinery without means and threatened by powerful opposition but I do not mean to despond and will not shrink from the task imposed upon me." Although one reporter observed that the occasion "had nothing of mishap to mar it, everything of rejoicing to gladden it," the New York *Herald* recorded that on taking the oath of office "the stern President himself bowed his head in tears."

More than most of his fellow Southerners, Davis had seen secession as a last resort, and he entered that course reluctantly. He had no illusions about a peaceful separation from the Union, nor did he believe that, for all the fire-eaters' bravura, the South was prepared to defend itself. So it was with deep regret that he had joined Southern senators and representatives on December 14, 1860, in a public letter informing constituents that "the argument is exhausted. All hope of relief in the Union through the agency of committees, congressional legislation or constitutional amendments, is extinguished."

On January 20, Davis wrote Franklin Pierce, the President whom he had devotedly served as secretary of war for four years: "I come to the hard task of announcing to you that the hour is at hand which closes my connection with the United States." The following day he rose to bid his Senate colleagues an emotional farewell, telling them "I hope . . . for peaceful relations with you, though we must part," adding that good relations "may be mutually beneficial to us in the future, as they have been in the past, if you so will it. The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of the country."

On his return to Mississippi, Davis was appointed major general of the Mississippi state forces, a command he held only from January 23 to February 12, but a position that he said then and later was his preference. He was, after all, a graduate of West Point and had served for seven years in the United States Army. He had been a colonel of the First Mississippi Regiment in the Mexican War, where he won laurels at the battle of Buena Vista. And yet when queried about whether he wished to serve the Confederacy in a military or political capacity, Davis equivocated. If the border states joined the Confederacy, the separation might be peaceful and the civil career the more useful; otherwise, war was probable and the military of paramount importance.

"If the provisional government gives to the chief executive such

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Mary Seaton Dix is associate editor and Lynda L. Crist, editor, of The Papers of Jefferson Davis *at Rice University. The project will result in a complete edition of Davis's works and papers, including important correspondence to him.*

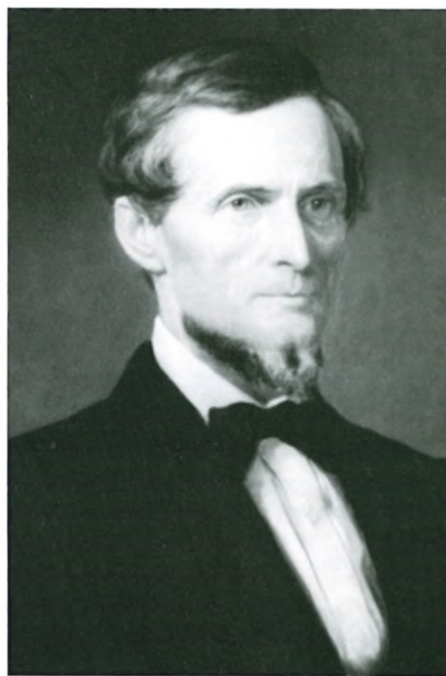


Photo by Katherine Wetzel, Museum of the Confederacy

The Papers of Jefferson Davis

Six volumes of a projected fourteen are in print, all published by the LSU Press, Baton Rouge.

Volume 1 (1808–40), 1971.
Volume 2 (1841–46), 1974.
Volume 3 (1846–48), 1981.
Volume 4 (1849–52), 1983.
Volume 5 (1853–55), 1985.
Volume 6 (1856–60), 1989.

Forthcoming

Volume 7 (1861), 1991.
Volume 8 (1862).
Volume 9 (1863).
Volume 10 (1864).
Volume 11 (1864–69).
Volume 12–14 (1870–89).

3.

Montgomery Ala.
Feb. 20. 1861.
My dear Wife,
I have been so crowded and pressed that the first wish to write to you has been thus long deferred.
I was inaugurated on Monday having reached here on Saturday night. The audience was large and brilliant. Upon my weary heart was showered smiles plaudits and flowers, but beyond them I saw troubles and thorns innumerable. We are without machinery without means and threatened by powerful opposition but I do not despond and will not shrink from the

Photo by Katherine Wetzel. Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library, Museum of the Confederacy

Library of Congress

Davis's letter to his wife two days after his inauguration describes joyous spectators at the event, "but beyond them I saw troubles and thorns innumerable." The lithograph depicts the inauguration.

power as the Constitution gives to the President of the U.S.," Davis wrote in a revealing letter only recently discovered, "then he will be the source of military authority and may in emergency command the army in person. . . . The post of Prsdt. of the provisional government is one of great responsibility and difficulty, I have no confidence in my capacity to meet its requirements. I think I could perform the functions of genl. if the Executive did not cripple me in my operations by acts of commission or omission. . . . I would prefer not to have either place, but in this hour of my country's severest trial will accept any place to which my fellow citizens may assign me."

The idea of combining the roles of president and general was not Davis's alone. During May 1861, Davis received letters urging him to take the field. Newspapers North and South predicted that he would assume general command, and, in fact, the first reports of the battle of Manassas (Bull Run) in July stated that the president had led the Confederate forces to victory. A New Orleans paper asserted that Davis went to Manassas with the intention of taking command. Davis did indeed go to Manassas, but, as he wrote years later, an obligation to address Congress prevented him from reaching the battlefield before the fighting had ended. What he would have done had he arrived earlier he did not say.

In August, Joseph E. Johnston, one of the top-ranking Confederate generals, exhorted Davis to leave the drudgery of civil duties for two months: "Command the army. . . . Occupy yourself merely with the Campaign itself—& win the high glory of achieving the independence of our country."

By this time, however, the enormous task of forging a new nation and organizing its defense was consuming Davis's time and energy, and the notion of the president's actually assuming field command faded. That he ever considered it is one of the most surprising revelations found thus far among the documents of the Civil War period. If Davis never actually took the field, he did actively involve himself in military matters. Indeed, his critics faulted him for being too engaged. But the same was said of Lincoln.

Critics point to Davis's copious correspondence with his generals and the succession of secretaries of war—there were six—as evidence of Davis's penchant to control, or at least to interfere with, military matters. Close scrutiny of the correspondence during Davis's first year as president finds the generals regularly bypassing the secretary of war. In contrast, for the same period there is almost no exchange of letters between Lincoln and his generals; the

War Department was used as the channel for such communications. But Lincoln conferred regularly with General Winfield Scott and called on George B. McClellan daily after he replaced Scott as general in chief. The Confederacy had no general in chief, and Davis was unable to make regular visits to his far-flung armies. In May 1861, he made his only visit to General Braxton Bragg at Pensacola, and in July and October he conferred with Generals P. G. T. Beauregard and Johnston in Virginia. But for the most part, Davis, whose war quickly involved such distant points as Florida, Missouri, and Texas, was more dependent on letters, telegrams, and messengers than was the President of the United States.

Only someone who has not read the Confederate president's 1861 correspondence could fail to sympathize with him as he dealt with his generals. Often described as imperious and impatient, Davis showed more restraint and diplomatic skill than is usually recognized. Despite Beauregard's use of allies in the Confederate Congress to incite dissatisfaction with the administration, Davis was able to respond calmly to the general's request to be transferred to New Orleans: "I cannot anticipate the time when it would seem to be proper to withdraw you from the position with which you are so intimately acquainted and for which you have shown yourself so eminently qualified. Nor have I felt that to another could be transferred the moral power you have over the troops you have commanded." Soon after, Davis entreated Beauregard to end his quarrels with the secretary of war: "The country needs all of your mind and your heart; you have given cause to expect all which man can do, and your fame and her interests require that your energies should have a single object." Davis also buried his distrust of Missouri's General Sterling Price for the good of the Confederacy, reassuring him that the general's letter "was not needed to make me appreciate the difficulties and embarrassments under which you have labored, nor the sacrifices and devotion displayed in the cause of Missouri and the South. For all this, you have not only my thanks and those of the good people of your own State; but, also, those of the whole South."

If Davis sometimes found relations with his generals difficult and time-consuming, sorting out disputes among the generals themselves could be even more trying. A notable case was the feud that raged between two former Virginia governors who became generals in 1861. General Henry A. Wise complained that while he was "treading on the snakes of treason," General John B. Floyd not only failed to cooperate with him but treated him in a manner "offensive" and "stinging." "All I ask," pleaded Wise, "is a supply of 1500 percussion muskets & rifles & a separation from Genl. Floyd."

Officers protested their ranks and assignments. Others, joined by many civilians, charged that Davis favored his friends from the "old army," from West Point, or from the Mexican War, charges for which there is considerable substantiation. Critics overlooked Davis's wisdom in selecting men whose measure he had taken, but Davis overlooked the validity of complaints when old colleagues proved incompetent yet remained in command.

Equally trying were several governors of the Confederate states who regularly resisted calls for troops and arms, insisted on controlling military and civil appointments, complained that their states were being abandoned to the enemy, and protested the central government's

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

Jefferson Davis stands amidst his generals, in a composite portrait lithograph, ca. 1861.

policies. Georgia's governor, Joseph E. Brown, was continually at odds with Davis, but he was not alone; at one time or another the governor or legislature of every state stymied the administration's policies and caused Davis grief. Although Lincoln experienced occasional problems of this sort, the South's very existence was predicated on states' rights, which fenced the narrow path Davis was forced to tread.

Thus, to Governor John Letcher: "Permit me to express my regret that . . . there should have been any interference with your unquestionable authority and commendable efforts to increase the military power of Virginia." And to Governor Francis W. Pickens: "Your recommendations [are] regarded with the respect given to everything you propose in relation to the defense of S. Carolina."

Examples of Davis's tact cannot obscure the instances of his irascibility and insensitivity. His impatience, even testiness on occasion, sprang from overwhelming responsibilities, a deep sense of duty, and, most of all, his fragile constitution. Frequently ill and occasionally unable to leave home for days at a time, Davis was actually reported to have died in September 1861, a story that received national attention and persisted for weeks.

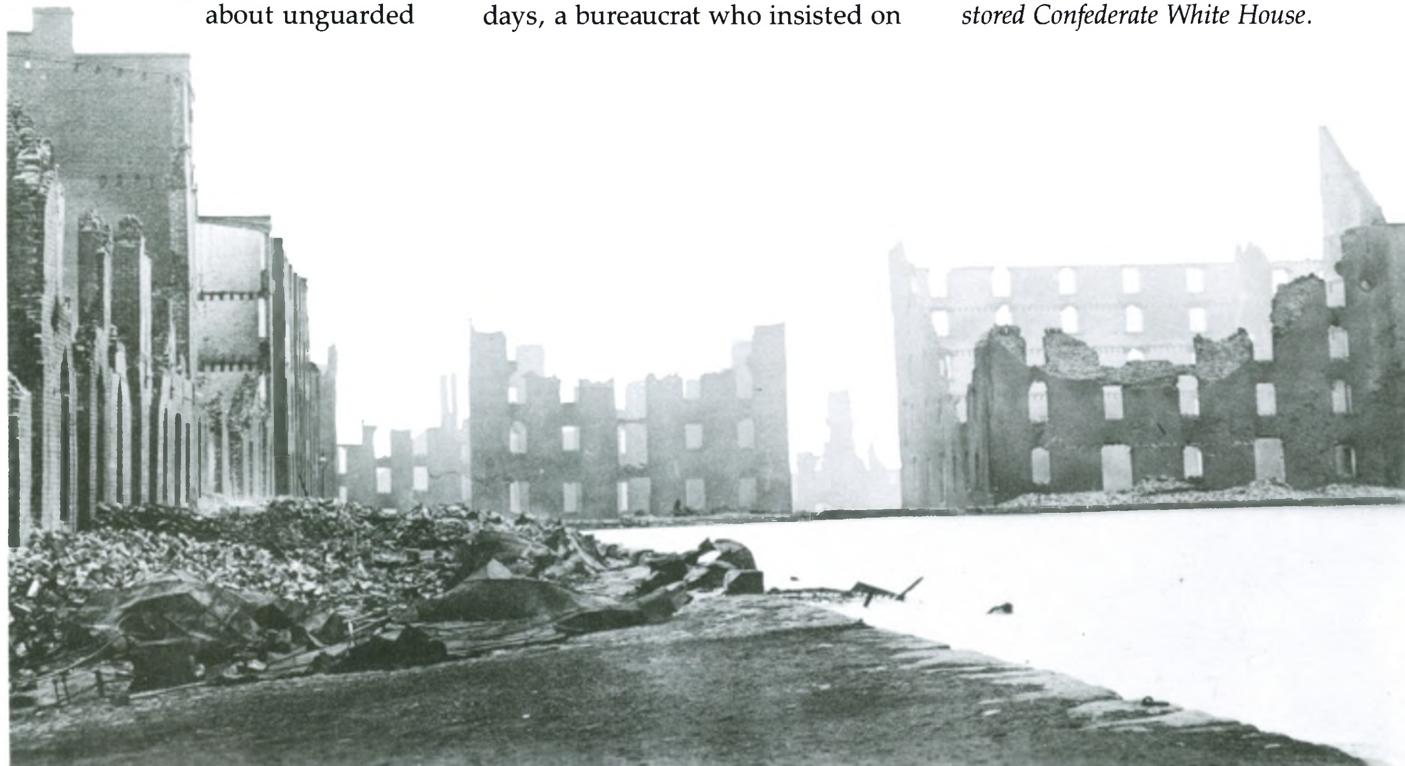
Despite his cares, however, observers noted that the president lived plainly and moved about unguarded (assassination and kidnapping plots notwithstanding), walking from Richmond's White House to his office, dressed in gray homespun, accessible to passersby. Letters came to Davis from every corner of the Confederacy addressing every imaginable topic: diplomatic strategies, rumored invasions and plans for defense, offers to raise thousands of men at home or to recruit abroad, reports of spies and schemes for covert activities in the North, inventions of fearful and often fanciful instruments of war, calls for days of prayer and fasting, plans for organizing sewing societies and establishing hospitals. Sometimes amusing, more often poignant, letters from the "plain folk" poured out their grief and cares as the war consumed their sons, brothers, husbands, and destroyed the fabric of their lives.

The parallel with the early presidency of George Washington is unmistakable. Just as hundreds of Washington's countrymen wrote to him with their hopes, fears, and plans for the new republic, so did Davis's fellow Southerners. And, as happens with all United States presidents, the volume of incoming mail far exceeds the outgoing. Thus the correspondence reveals as much or more about the new nation than about its leader.

People felt that Davis was approachable, and he was. Far from the stiff martinet of War Department days, a bureaucrat who insisted on correct procedure and the chain of command, Davis read his mail, as his endorsements show. Apparently he believed it was addressed to *him* and not just to the office of president and commander in chief. He apologized to old friends whom he was too busy to answer, regretting that he had "no time for friendly correspondence" but requesting that they keep in touch.

Because he left a long paper trail, including interviews and speeches as well as letters and telegrams, and because that trail is gradually being made available in published form, with support from the National Endowment from the Humanities, researchers for the first time can evaluate a massive volume of material and view Davis and his presidency in a fresh light. Several biographers and other scholars are currently weighing the evidence; new insights and interpretations of Jefferson Davis's presidency are sure to follow. □

Since 1981, Rice University has received $178,840 in matching funds from the Texts program of the Division of Research Programs to support The Papers of Jefferson Davis. *NEH's Division of Fellowships and Seminars is also supporting Louisiana State University professor William Cooper's biography of Jefferson Davis, and the Office of Challenge Grants is supporting humanities programs at the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, located in the restored Confederate White House.*


National Archives

Richmond in 1865, showing the devastation wrought by the war.

A HOUSE DIVIDED:

BY KATHI ANN BROWN

America in The Age of Lincoln

IN 1858, the fledgling Illinois Republican party pinned its hopes of winning a key U.S. Senate seat on a soft-spoken former congressman from Springfield. The young politician had lost a similar race just three years earlier. Despite the party's vote of confidence, his second try for a berth in the Senate was no more successful than the first. The campaign might easily have been forgotten—one of hundreds of such political disappointments—save for the hauntingly prophetic words of the loser.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand," warned Abraham Lincoln in accepting his party's senatorial nomination. "I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free.*"

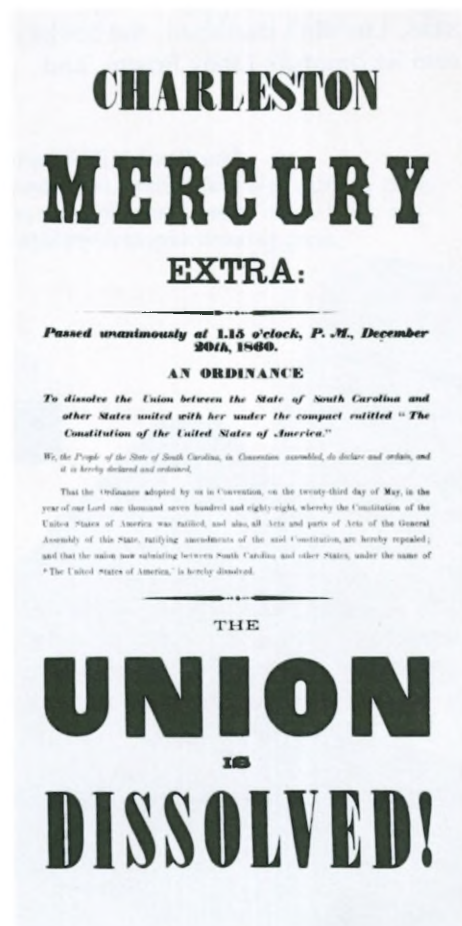
Two years later, in the bitterly contested 1860 presidential election, Lincoln and the Republicans reversed their fortunes by winning the White House. Within weeks, the South seceded from the Union, and the nation was plunged into the bloodiest conflict in its history.

Today the Civil War and the two opposing cultures that took up arms to fight it are revisited in a new exhibition, supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities, at the Chicago Historical Society. "A House Divided: America in the Age of Lincoln" opened in February. It offers visitors a panorama of the complex social, cultural, and political matrix of the period from 1820 to 1877.

Competing Visions

At the heart of the exhibition is an examination of how slavery drove an irreconcilable ideological wedge between the North and the South. A portrait of the North's rapid industrialization and nascent free labor philosophy in the early nineteenth century is juxtaposed against a corresponding picture of the South's agrarian tradition and slave-labor system.

By elucidating the regions' antithetical ideals of labor and proper social order, the curators hope to deepen public understanding of the ideological chasm that separated these competing visions of American life. Visitors are reminded that the Civil War was not a simple good-and-evil showdown between a "civilized" North and its "backward" neighbor to the south, but a complex drama in which actors black and white, North and South, put the Constitution's principles of equality and self-determination to the supreme test.


CHARLESTON

MERCURY

EXTRA:

Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M., December 20th, 1860.

AN ORDINANCE

To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,

That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

THE

UNION

IS

DISSOLVED!

Photos courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

Current Scholarship

The exhibition's focus on slavery reflects the influence of two decades of scholarship that have effectively restored the "peculiar institution" to center stage in interpretations of the causes of the Civil War. Although contemporaries of the conflict pointed readily to slavery as the primary agent, other schools of thought about its causes gained ascendancy as the war receded into the past. By the 1920s and 1930s, a primarily economic theory of the war, advanced by Charles A. Beard and Arthur C. Cole, all but dismissed slavery as a significant factor. Later schools tended to focus on the crisis of national political leadership of the 1850s. Not until the 1970s was slavery itself reappraised as a major force in the social processes of the antebellum period and the primary cause of the war.

One of the earliest of his generation of historians to call for a reassessment of slavery, Eric Foner, DeWitt Clinton Professor of History at Columbia University, was a natural choice to collaborate with the Chicago Historical Society on "A House Divided." As cocurator, Foner has been instrumental in incorporat-

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Kathi Ann Brown is a freelance writer in the Washington, D.C., area.

ing slavery into the exhibition as a main interpretive theme.

"The African-American story is really central to the exhibition," says Susan Page Tillett, the museum's director of curatorial affairs. "That's one of the things that makes this show unique. Traditionally, museums have focused on the battles of the Civil War, with little or no examination of the institution of slavery, the lives of the slaves themselves, or the contributions and experiences of black abolitionists and soldiers. But in the past twenty years, Civil War historians like Eric Foner have shifted the emphasis toward a multicultural approach to interpreting the past. Museums for the most part have not yet taken into account this change in scholarship.

"As far as I know," continues Tillett, "we're the first major Civil War show to incorporate pluralistic perspectives into our interpretive framework. To give just two examples in 'A House Divided,' blacks are portrayed as actors, as soldiers and abolitionists, not just as victims or beneficiaries of whites. And visitors are reminded that Northerners could be every bit as racist as their Southern counterparts."

"Neither side had a monopoly on virtue," says Foner. "We've tried to show the weaknesses and strengths of both. Not everyone is going to agree with all of our interpretations. We want to challenge people to think about slavery, about the war, and about the long-term consequences of the conflict."

A Rare Collection

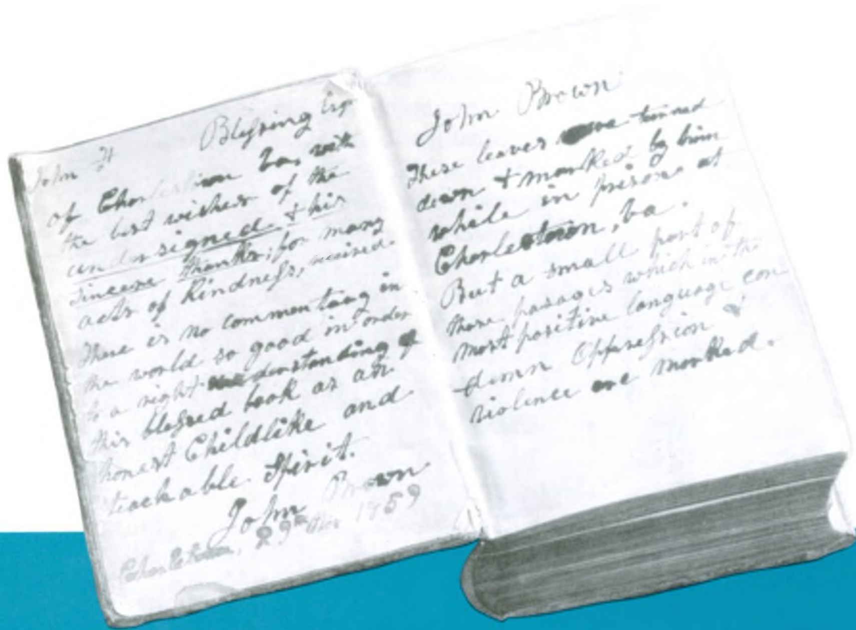
With that goal, cocurators Foner and Olivia Mahoney, the museum's associate curator of decorative and industrial arts, culled the Chicago Historical Society's massive holdings for dramatic artifacts to illustrate the exhibition's seven major sections.

In addition to items given by more than 100 donors, many of the the exhibition's artifacts come from the Gunther collection, a dazzling array of antebellum and Civil War relics assembled by a successful Chicago candy manufacturer at the turn of the century. A student of the Civil War, Charles Gunther turned a personal interest in American history into a museum filled with a vast collection of nineteenth-century memorabilia. The Gunther holdings, acquired by the museum in 1920, include John Brown's Bible, abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy's printing press, Lincoln's deathbed, the bricks from Richmond's Libby Prison, and the table from Appomattox on which Grant and Lee signed the terms of surrender. The acquisition was critical in replacing the museum's original Civil War manuscript collection, which was destroyed in the Great Chicago Fire of 1871, including one of Lincoln's handwritten copies of the Emancipation Proclamation.

A Novel Approach

"A House Divided" opens with an overview of the country's evolution after the American Revolution. Rare Indian materials from the Black Hawk war, color lithographs depicting the transportation revolution, and early machine-made objects highlight the period's commercial development in the North and growing western expansionism.

The first section also introduces visitors to the exhibition's novel treatment of the era's central character: Abraham Lincoln. The traditional Lincoln-as-icon approach has been supplanted by an attempt to integrate the sixteenth President into the context of his times. Beginning with a depiction of Lincoln's young adulthood in New Salem, Illinois, and ending with his deathbed in the final section, the exhibition chronologically examines the themes of



John Brown's Bible, with passages marked by him while he was imprisoned in Charleston, Virginia (now West Virginia); and the table on which Lee's surrender at Appomattox was signed.

westward expansion, the rise of popular politics, the debate over slavery, and the bitterness of war as reflected in the course of Lincoln's life.

The second section profiles the "peculiar institution," exploring slavery's centrality to Southern life and its crucial contribution to the national economy. Visitors encounter compelling images and evidence of slavery: shackles, slave tags, slave-sale broadsides, reward posters for fugitive slaves, and materials expounding the proslavery argument.

The rise of the abolition movement in concert with Jacksonian democracy and the religious revivals of the 1830s are the themes of the third section. As the debate over the extension of slavery into western territories became central in national politics, supporters and detractors employed the marketing tactics of commercialism to sell their ideas and candidates to the masses. Biographical sketches of prominent black and white abolitionists, a first edition of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and the printing press of murdered abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy are among the featured objects.

Audio recreations of the great debates between Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in 1858 dominate the fourth section's examination of the political crisis of the 1850s. Artifacts include campaign items from the heated presidential race of 1860, the abolitionist martyr John Brown's Bible, and materials depicting the Confederate assault on Fort Sumter and the secession of the Southern states after Lincoln's election.

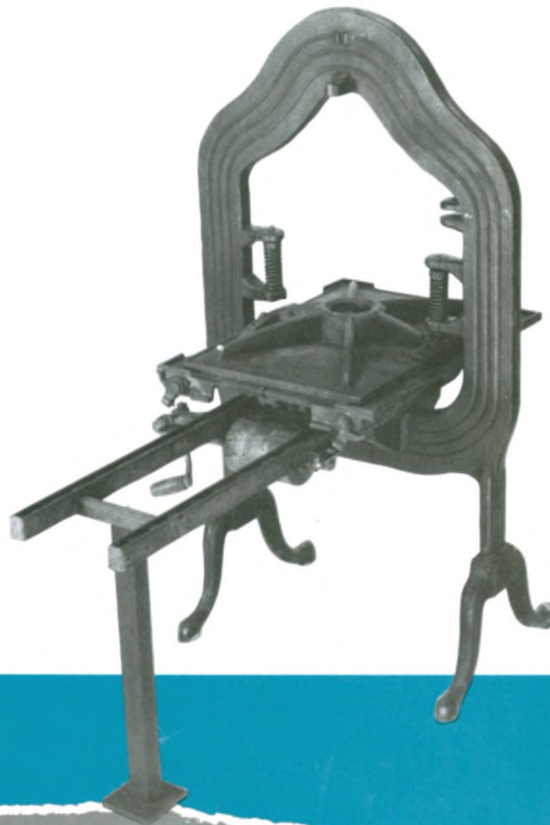
The next and largest section draws visitors into the thick of the period's military drama. The colorful optimism of gigantic recruitment posters and flags quickly gives way to brutal evidence of the devastation of the country's first modern war. Visitors behold representations of the crude hospital facilities, unsanitary camp life, and harsh prison conditions endured by common soldiers. Weapons and uniforms are complemented by photographs and tintypes of army camp life and letters by enlisted men. Life on the home front and the work of benevolent associations are also depicted.

The end of the war, the emancipation of the slaves, and the racial legacy of the conflict are the focus in the last section and in the epilogue. Lincoln's presidency and assassination are vividly represented by the table on which he reportedly drafted the Emancipation Proclamation and the bed in which he died after receiving a gunshot wound to the head.

The exhibition ends by identifying the many questions about race and politics that the war left unsettled: Who should control the South? What should be the status of former slaves? What labor system should replace slavery? The epilogue looks at the Reconstruction period and the fundamental changes wrought in the nation's constitutional system in the war's aftermath—the establishment of the principles of emancipation and civil and political equality without regard to race, and the federal government's empowerment to enforce the rights of American citizens against violations by the states—while pointing to the war's legacy of racism and inequality.

"The exhibition is intentionally open-ended," says Tillett. "We felt our responsibility was to offer the public a more complex and inclusive history than museums have traditionally presented. To do so meant raising lots of interesting, troubling, and perhaps unanswerable questions about the Civil War, its legacy, and our ability as a nation to live up to the ideals of the Constitution." □

The Chicago Historical Society has received $439,512 from the Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations program of the Division of General Programs to support "A House Divided: America in the Age of Lincoln."



Owner-identification tags worn by slaves when they were rented out to work; and Elijah Lovejoy's printing press.

By the time Confederates opened fire on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, photography, though only twenty-two years old, had already come a long way in America. Gone were the days of the daguerreotype with its elusive image obtained only after minutes of tedious exposure. A host of successor processes had come and gone, several of which were still practiced by some of the more than 3,000 photographers, ambrotypists, daguerreotypists, calotypists, melainotypists, and others who made their living with cameras when the Civil War broke out. Yet most of them, North and South, relied mainly on two methods of image making: the collodion, or so-called "wet-plate," process, in which a gelled film on a glass plate produced a negative; and the ambrotype, or so-called "tin-type," which was a one-of-a kind print made on a sensitized iron plate. Both required only a few seconds' exposure and produced sharp, detailed images, often of startling clarity. Though each required some cumbersome developing equipment, neither was so clumsy or complex that it could not be taken out of the studio and onto the field where the armies were to be found.

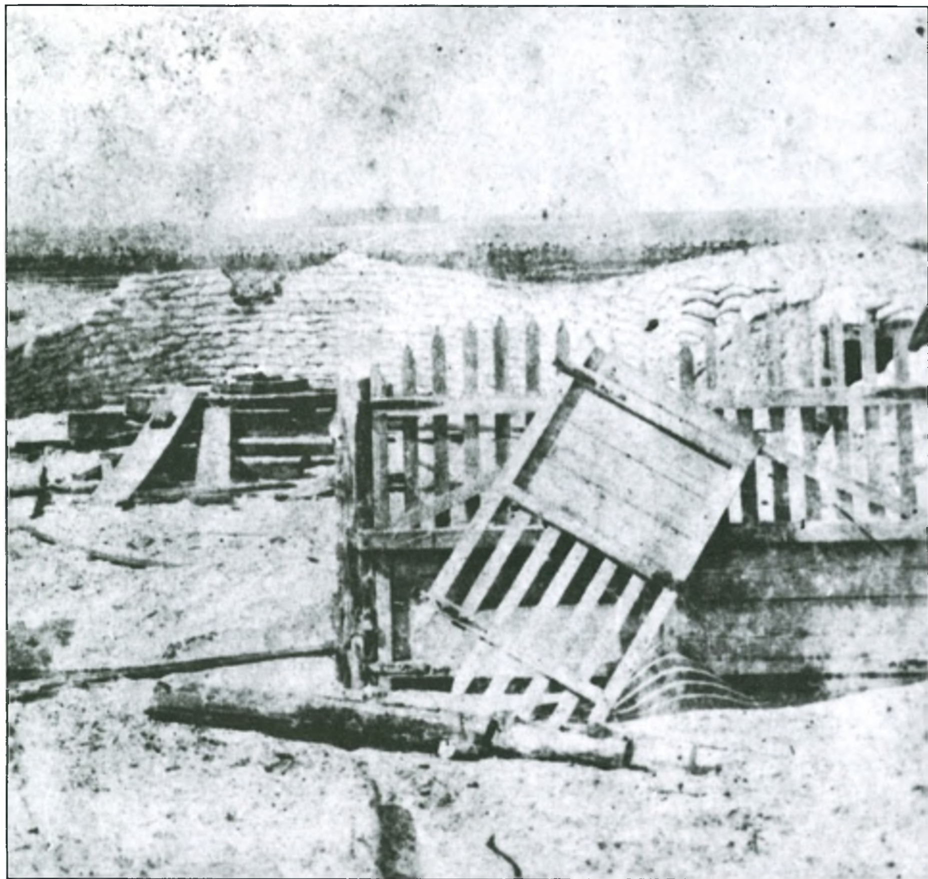
In the four years of the conflict, probably more than one million exposures were made by cameramen North and South, the overwhelming majority of them being soldier portraits taken in studios in the larger towns and cities, or made by itinerant photographers who followed the armies and set up darkroom tents. Most were ambrotypes or the calling-card-sized *cartes-de-visite* produced from wet-plate negatives. Quite simply, for the photographers, who were after all businessmen,

IMAGES OF WAR

BY WILLIAM C. DAVIS

National Archives

Jay D. Edwards, pioneering Confederate photographer, captured this scene of newly enlisted Rebels manning a battery at Pensacola, Florida, in April 1861, before the onset of military confrontation at Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina.



Louisiana Historical Association Collection, Tulane University Library

Osborn and Durbec, who photographed Fort Sumter and Charleston immediately after the outbreak of war, made this image of Sullivan's Island defense, with Fort Sumter in the distance. Below: Soldiers of the Second Rhode Island Infantry perform the ages-old camp duty of the soldier, cooking and cleaning.

U.S. Army Military History Institute

portrait photography was where the money was to be made. Every soldier wanted to have his portrait in uniform to send to family and friends back home, and because some three million men served at one time or another, an estimate of one million portraits taken is not unduly liberal.

Far less numerous, perhaps fewer than 10,000, were the outdoor scenes and "war views" that very few photographers produced. These images required larger cameras as a rule, a field wagon to take the darkroom and developing materials to the scene, more time to set up a shot, and consequently a good deal of exposure and risk to cameraman and equipment. Moreover, the marketability of the images was uncertain. While soldier and officer portraits provided sure income for the photographer because he made the image and was paid at once, war views, scenes of camps and battlefields, landmarks associated with the armies, and images of the armies themselves were a speculative venture. The photographer who made them took it on faith that he could mass-produce such images, selling them to the public as *cartes-de-visite*, larger cabinet photos, dual-image stereo views, or even as huge imperial prints suitable for framing or exhibition. In fact, few entrepreneurs earned more than enough to cover their expenses. Of the 3,000 or so photographers who practiced their craft during the war, no more than a few dozen made any serious attempt to take their cameras out of their portrait studios.

The first true "war" photographers were Southerners. Well before all of

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William C. Davis is author of more than twenty-five books on the Civil War period, most recently Rebels & Yankees: The Fighting Men of the Civil War *(1989). He received Pulitzer nominations for* Breckinridge: Statesman, Soldier, Symbol *(1974) and* Battle at Bull Run *(1977), and received the 1978 Fletcher Pratt Award for Continuing Contributions to Civil War History.*

the future Confederate states had seceded, New Orleans artist Jay D. Edwards took his camera to Pensacola, Florida, where he recorded some seventy images of the Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi volunteers training there. He did attempt to manufacture and sell large-format reproductions of his photographs, though most were subsequently lost and only a few survive. Edwards might be called the "photographer of the Confederacy," for he left behind more views of the common soldiers in camp and field than any other Southern artist. But after his April 1861, foray to Pensacola, he would not be heard from again in the war.

A few months earlier, South Carolina photographer George S. Cook took his camera out to Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, and there photographed some of the Yankee officers who would later defend it when Rebel guns opened fire. As soon as Fort Sumter fell, however, photographers flooded in from everywhere. Again, the Confederates were the first. The partnership of James Osborn and F. E. Durbec went into Fort Sumter three days after its surrender and made an epic—and long-forgotten—series of more than thirty images of the fort and the surrounding Confederate installations.

In New Orleans, J. W. Petty began photographing new Confederate recruits on their way to war, and in small towns and cities all across the South local photographers took their instruments outside to capture scenes of volunteers parading in the streets and squares. After this brief flurry of activity, the scarcity of chemicals and raw materials became such in the South that Confederate photographers never again emerged from their studios. Only Cook made a brief sortie to Fort Sumter again in 1863 to make a few images. For him and for the rest, the balance of the war was spent struggling to survive, and that meant indoor portrait work.

Infinitely more fortunate were those cameramen north of Mason and Dixon's line. For them, almost limitless opportunity afforded itself, with no restrictions on raw materials, a huge market in the large ar-

U.S. Army Military History Institute

An unidentified photographer captured General U. S. Grant and a council of war at Massaponax Church on May 21, 1864.

Below: Symbolic of the iron monsters plying the rivers and seas in this first "modern" war, the USS Mahopac stands before the camera on the James River.

mies to support their craft, and few limitations on their movement when they chose to follow the armies. Most made the bulk of their living from soldier portraits, but a few came to be recognized not just in their own time but as fabled pioneers in the world of photography. Samuel Cooley, G. W. Houghton, David Woodbury, and a host of others helped turn their passion into an industry; a few of the truly great, like Alexander Gardner and Timothy O'Sullivan, turned that industry into an art.

Ironically, towering above them all in the public mind then and for posterity was a man who was probably too nearsighted to have posed a single one of the thousands of images attributed to him, Mathew Brady. The nation's leading portrait photographer before the war, he became its leading photographic entrepreneur in 1861 and later. Always a bit careless with the truth, he would later claim that when war broke out "a spirit in my feet said 'go,' and I went." In fact, he rarely left Washington. Those who "went" were his assistants—Gardner, O'Sullivan, and a dozen more. They took the battlefield and campside images that showed the people at home what the war looked like. Yet the images simply said "Brady & Co.," not crediting the individual artists themselves. Craving recognition, many of Brady's most talented photographers left him during the war to go it alone.

Apart from the great quantity of portraits of common soldiers, intended solely for friends and family, the financial success of all photography intended for public consumption depended chiefly on public tastes. Safest of all were the mass-produced portraits of leading generals and politicians. Collectors' albums designed to hold *carte-de-visite*-sized images proved popular throughout the North, and thousands of generals' portraits were kept in them by civilians who thrilled to the battle reports in the newspapers that made national heroes out of these men.

Nearly as popular was the stereoscope, the hand-held viewer that held a card containing two almost identical images made simultaneously by the same camera. The result was a three-dimensional effect that could put some life into scenes of the battlefields of Antietam or Gettysburg, the piles of dead at Petersburg, or the tranquility of soldiers bathing in a Virginia or Tennessee stream. Many photographers, unwilling or unable to assume the risk of manufacturing and marketing themselves, sold their images to major distributors such as E. & H. T. Anthony of New York; they, in turn, sold them through stores, photo studios, and even the mail.

The public itself was anxious to see almost everything connected with the war. Groups of generals and their staffs posing outdoors at their quarters, mountains of supplies at a commissary wharf, warships plying Southern rivers, soldiers relaxing over rations during a dusty march—all were the sort of images that found their way into Northern homes. Unfortunately, circumstances dictated that in most cases the cameras could record events only after the fact. In a few happy cases, such as a council of war at Massaponax Church in 1864, a cameraman was able to record a historic occasion as it happened. Most often, however, the photographer got his equipment to the scene of great happenings afterwards.

Thus it was that the pinnacle of warfare, the battle, was recorded only in artists' sketches during the Civil War. Battles erupted too quickly and shifted about the landscape too fast for a photographer to keep up with them. Because photographic chemicals required that the photographer develop an exposed plate within less than a minute, camera and portable darkroom could never be more than a few yards apart. This meant that photographer, instrument, and wagon/darkroom had to be right on the battle line to capture a battle scene as it occurred. Not only was the risk too great, but the rapid movement of men and animals would likely have blurred most images anyway. Consequently, no battle images are known to have sur-

The photographer at work. Here, at the end of the war, in the rubble of Fort Sumter, Samuel Cooley completes his coverage of the Civil War.

vived. Considering their potential commercial popularity, it seems certain that if any were taken, they would have been mass-produced immediately. The conclusion is inescapable, therefore, that none was taken successfully.

The photographers did capture, however, endless heart-rending images of the wounded and the dead once the armies had fought and moved on. Gardner's photographs of the dead at Gettysburg are among the most moving images of the war. They were also the most graphic, which perhaps explains their failure to be commercially successful. The photographers saw them as historical and artistic documents; the people at home, as reminders of a tragedy that touched every family.

Besides the images intended for commercial consumption, the Civil War photographers pioneered in other areas. The "microdot" was invented, though little used, for intelligence purposes. Cameras were used to enlarge and make multiple prints of maps and plans. Aerial photography was attempted, apparently unsuccessfully. For the first time in America, mass-produced portraits were affixed to "wanted" posters and used to help run down Lincoln's assassins. It was a time of unbridled innovation.

Once the war ended, though, interest in its images faded as fast as the photographs themselves. The scenes of carnage and destruction aroused too many unhappy memories. Thousands of plates were destroyed through intent or neglect, some suffering the ignominy of having the film scraped from the glass for its silver content, while others became eyepieces in goggles or glass for gas meters. A century and a quarter after Appomattox, probably no more than 200,000 plates remain in existence, all but a few thousand of them portraits. Only in this century has interest revived in these old images. Resurrected from attics and archives, they have returned to us a picture of our nation and our ancestors in crisis. □

Letters of a Slave Turned Union Soldier

Library of Congress

Emblem on the regimental flag of the Third U.S. Colored Infantry.

AT THE START of the Civil War, the prospect of thousands of black men put into uniform and armed against white Americans was unthinkable in the North as well as in the South. But by 1865, the Union army's black soldiers, having won the grudging respect of their white comrades despite continuing discrimination, had become accepted and welcomed in the North, if deeply resented in the South.

After Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863, efforts to recruit black soldiers into the Union army accelerated rapidly. By the end of the war, nearly 179,000 blacks fought on the Union side, about 10 percent of the army's total strength. While many black soldiers enlisted from the free community in the North, the vast majority were former slaves who crossed into Union lines in pursuit of freedom.

One such soldier was Private Spotswood Rice of the 67th U.S. Colored Infantry, in the army's Department of the Missouri. A former slave, he had enlisted in February 1864, at Glasgow, Missouri.

Hospitalized in St. Louis with chronic rheumatism, he wrote in September of that year to his enslaved daughters, Mary and Caroline, who were held in Glasgow by two different owners. The letter assured his daughters that he would soon take part in an expedition that would set them free. Rice also wrote an angry letter to Mary's owner, Kitty Diggs, vowing vengeance against her. His letters reflect both a deep conviction of the fundamental wrong of slavery and a sense of strength and authority born of his new standing as a Union soldier.

When Kitty Diggs's brother, postmaster F. W. Diggs, who owned Rice's daughter Caroline, read the two letters, he dashed off an indignant protest to General William S. Rosecrans, the federal commander in Missouri, asserting his loyalty to the Union and his magnanimity toward his slaves, and demanding that Private Rice be deported from the state.

National Archives

Private Hubbard Pryor, Forty-fourth U.S. Colored Infantry, before and after his enlistment.

Library of Congress

Engraving of black soldiers and a white officer used on a popular recruiting poster of the period.

Letters reprinted from Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation 1861–1867, *Series II, The Black Military Experience, eds. Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Original source: National Archives of the United States. The volume is part of the multivolume Freedmen and Southern Society Project, which receives NEH support.*

Spotswood Rice to His Enslaved Daughters

[Benton Barracks Hospital, St. Louis, Mo., September 3, 1864]

My Children I take my pen in hand to rite you A few lines to let you know that I have not forgot you and that I want to see you as bad as ever now my Dear Children I want you to be contented with whatever may be your lots be assured that I will have you if it cost me my life on the 28th of the mounth. 8 hundred White and 8 hundred blacke solders expects to start up the rivore to Glasgow and above there thats to be jeneraled by a jeneral that will give me both of you when they come I expect to be with, them and expect to get you both in return. Dont be uneasy my children I expect to have you. If Diggs dont give you up this Government will and I feel confident that I will get you Your Miss Kaitty said that I tried to steal you But I'll let her know that god never intended for man to steal his own flesh and blood. If I had no cofidence in God I could have confidence in her But as it is If I ever had any Confidence in her I have none now and never expect to have And I want her to remember if she meets me with ten thousand soldiers she [will?] meet her enemy I once [thought] *that I had some respect for them but now my respects is worn out and have no sympathy for Slaveholders. And as for her cristianantty I expect the Devil has Such in hell You tell her from me that She is the frist Christian that I ever hard say that aman could Steal his own child especially out of human bondage*

You can tell her that She can hold to you as long as she can I never would expect to ask her again to let you come to me because I know that the devil has got her hot set againsts that that is write now my Dear children I am a going to close my letter to you Give my love to all enquiring friends tell them all that we are well and want to see them very much and Corra and Mary receive the greater part of it you sefves and dont think hard of us not sending you any thing I you father have a plenty for you when I see you Spott & Noah sends their love to both of you Oh! My Dear children how I do want to see you

[Spotswood Rice]

Rice to Kitty Diggs

[Benton Barracks Hospital, St. Louis, Mo., September 3, 1864]

I received a leteter from Cariline telling me that you say I tried to steal to plunder my child away from you now I want you to understand that mary is my Child and she is a God given rite of my own and you may hold on to hear as long as you can but I want you to remembor this one thing that the longor you keep my Child from me the longor you will have to burn in hell and the qwicer youll get their for we are now makeing up a bout one thoughsand blacke troops to Come up tharough and wont to come through Glasgow and when we come wo be to Copperhood rabbels and to the Slaveholding rebbels for we dont expect to leave them there root neor branch but we thinke how ever that we that have Children in the hands of you devels we will trie your [vertues?] the day that we enter Glasgow I want you to understand kittey diggs that where ever you and I meets we are enmays to each orthere I offered once to pay you forty dollers for my own Child but I am glad now that you did not accept it Just hold on now as long as you can and the worse it will be for you you never in you life befor I came down hear did you give Children any thing not eny thing whatever not even a dollers worth of expencs now you call my children your pro[per]*ty not so with me my Children is my own and I expect to get them and when I get ready to come after mary I will have bout a powrer and autherity to bring hear away and to exacute vengencens on them that holds my Child you will then know how to talke to me I will assure that and you will know how to talk rite too I want you now to just hold on to hear if you want to iff your conchosence tells thats the road go that road and what it will brig you to kittey diggs I have no fears about geting mary out of your hands this whole Government gives chear to me and you cannot help your self*

Spotswood Rice

F. W. Diggs to General Rosecrans

Glasgow Mo Sept. 10" 1864

Sir Enclosed I send you two Letters written one to my Sister the other to two colo girls one beloning to her & the other to myself. and I write this to ask the favour of you to send the scoundrel that wrote them down to the army I do not think that he should be allowd to remain in the state he wrote to my sister to let his child come down to see him and he would send her back she was hired out she went to see the person that hired her to let he go but they refused. The scoundrels wife & ten children were alowed to go to him and the other would have been sent whenevr I could be satisfied that her Mother had goton in situation to support her. I am and have been [loyal] *from the commencement of this wicked rebellion and I may say all I had was in slave property which I concnlud at the commencement was defunct never to be resusitated Six men are in the United States service and I have told the bal*[ance] *when they wished to go just say so and I would give them a pass and under all these circumstances my family all being of the same politics of myself and to be thus insulted by such a black scoundrel is more that I can stand for refference Mr John D Perry B.W. Lewis James T Bunch & William Spear of firm of Wm Spear & Co Tobaconists hopeing You will give this subject the attention it deservs I remain Your obt Servt*

F W Diggs

Since 1982, the University of Maryland, College Park, has received $494,262 in outright and matching funds from the Texts program of the Division of Research Programs to support the Freedmen and Southern Society Project. Other recent projects include a fellowship to study the Freedmen's Bureau and reconstruction in Georgia, and a research grant to support microfilm and print editions of black abolitionist papers.

CALENDAR

March • April

Tom Davenport

A classic Grimm folktale tells the story of "Soldier Jack" and the stranger who gives him power over death. Airs in April on PBS.

Library of Congress

"Byron and the Drama of Romanticism" is the topic of a conference at Yale University March 30–April 1.

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

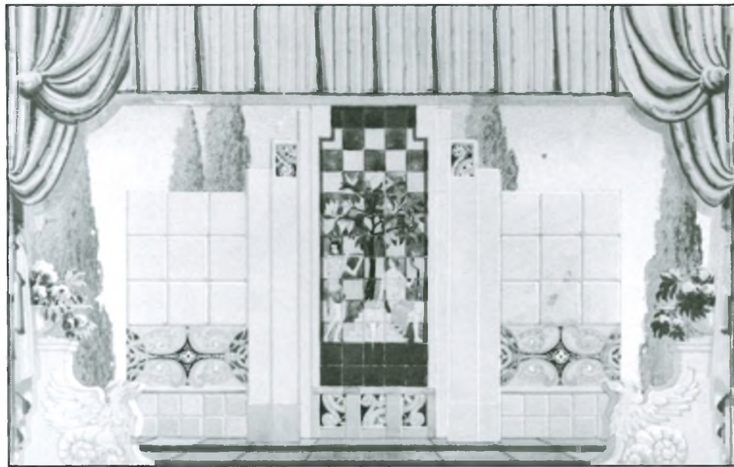
"Reappraising Benjamin Franklin: A Bicentennial Perspective" will be discussed April 17–19 in sessions at the University of Delaware and nearby sites.

McKissick Museum
University of
South Carolina

Alkaline-glazed stoneware and its influence on southern folk pottery are examined in "Crossroads of Clay," an exhibition opening March 17 at the McKissick Museum in Columbia, South Carolina.

Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College

Lacemakers from Denison House in Boston are included in "Folk Roots, New Roots," an exhibition at Strong Museum in Rochester, New York, coinciding with the 100th anniversary of the American Folklore Society.



Performing Art Archives, University of Minnesota

This 1929 miniature of a theatrical backdrop is part of a University of Minnesota historical collection on display through April at the McNay Art Museum in San Antonio.

—By Kristen Hall

TAMPERING WITH POETIC GENIUS

The Early Editing of Emily Dickinson

BY JUDITH FARR

Amherst College Library

ON MAY 19, 1886, the body of a delicate, fifty-five-year-old woman whom townsfolk called "The Myth" was lowered into a grave filled with flowers in Amherst, Massachusetts. Her simple funeral had provided for many guests the first opportunity in twenty years to see her face, for the spinster daughter of the Honorable Edward Dickinson had lived since the 1860s as a recluse in her lawyer-father's mansion on Main Street. She could be glimpsed at night, moving among her plants in the garden, dressed always in white. Children had seen her smile as she lowered gingerbread to them from a bedroom window. But only her brother Austin and sister Lavinia were familiar with the true lineaments of Emily Dickinson's face, said by her eulogist and "Preceptor" Thomas Wentworth Higginson to be tranquil and beautiful in the white coffin.

As a tribute to their long friendship, the celebrated Wentworth Higginson (to whom Dickinson had turned for literary advice in 1862) came from Boston to read Emily Brontë's immortality ode at the service. Although he had counseled Dickinson against publishing the remarkably original poems she kept sending him about love, death, sunrises, the solitary soul, and the sea, he respected her exceptional mind. He thought her rare spirit attuned to eternity rather than to this world. It was of her otherworldliness that he spoke on May 19, as did her sister-in-law in an obituary notice for the *Springfield Republican.* There, Emily Dickinson's reclusion was explained as the life pattern of a "sensitive nature" which "shrank from much personal contact with the world." Readers were reminded of the orchids, cakes, wine, notes, and letters the dead gentlewoman had sent to friends and neighbors despite her strange retirement. And, because everyone knew she composed what were assumed to be occasional verses, these, too, were recalled as "tantalizing fancies" "tossed" off between gardening and baking. As the sun set upon the West Cemetery that Wednesday evening, the minister's wife declared that Emily Dickinson would "never . . . be forgotten" because her hermetic life was somehow so "dramatic."

The drama was not ended, however. For a few days after Emily's funeral, Lavinia Dickinson was in the process of completing the protective New England ritual of destroying her sister's correspondence when she discovered a locked box. As she opened it, her astonishment was appropriate to one of the most startling stories in American literary history. For the box did not contain more letters but 700 poems. They had been carefully inscribed on sheets of stationery which were pricked on top and bottom and sewn with silk darning thread to make forty little booklets. Besides the booklets, there were loose poems in Emily's bureau. Some were scribbled on torn notebook pages. Others were crowded on the backs of recipes. Still more appeared on brown paper bags, used envelopes, bills, and advertisements. Altogether, there were almost 1,800 poems.

Lavinia realized that what she held in her hands was the work of her sister's lifetime. For Emily's handwriting had changed over the years: a running, spidery style in the late 1850s, rounder and bolder in the sixties, and at the end, like print—every letter separate and as isolated from the others as Emily herself. The poems in the booklets were in her hand of the 1860s; and the meticulousness with which they had been copied (sometimes six or seven variant word choices were included for one word in a poem) told Lavinia that Emily had been deeply earnest about her writing. The odd jumble of scraps with lines written everywhere, anyhow, in the later hand said something else. Emily had stopped cataloguing the poems systematically. Had she become discouraged? One of the poems described artistic inspiration, declaring that she was never "Alone": "For Hosts—do visit me—." Obviously she had noted her thoughts as soon as they came to her and then tucked them into the pocket her dressmaker always set in her white frocks. She had been writing all the while they lived together and to a much greater extent than Lavinia surmised.

Fiercely proud of the older sister she once called "the only one of us who had to think," Lavinia deter-

Jones Library, Amherst, Mass.

The Homestead, the Dickinson family home. The second-floor corner room in the right foreground is Emily Dickinson's bedroom, where she is said to have written her poems.

Judith Farr's book, Emily Dickinson: A Life in Art, *is to be published in the spring of 1991 by Harvard University Press. Farr is an associate professor of English at Georgetown University and the author of* The Life and Art of Elinor Wylie.

mined immediately that the poems must be published, but realized that she would need editorial help. She decided to appeal to Austin's cultivated wife Susan, whom Emily loved fervently in girlhood, and to whom she had sent (and dedicated) many poems. Once, Sue had been Emily's most receptive critic. Recently she constituted an often malicious presence in her house next door, for her marriage to their brother was unhappy. Nevertheless, Sue was "literary" and knew Ralph Waldo Emerson. Excitedly, Lavinia brought her the box. Then, more than a year went by. Sue read the poems at dinner parties but did nothing to have them published. She had taken to calling her dead sister-in-law "Poor Emily" and was far more interested in the poetic effusions of her twenty-one-year-old daughter Martha.

Her patience at an end, Lavinia retrieved the box and carried it to a woman whom Susan Dickinson detested. She was Mrs. Mabel Loomis Todd, the talented wife of an Amherst College astronomy professor—and Austin Dickinson's not-so-secret mistress. Well-educated, pretty Mabel Todd (who had played Bach and Scarlatti on the parlor piano while the frail recluse Emily listened above-stairs) had been engaged for several years in an ardent, ill-concealed, and (to most) scandalous *menage à trois* with her husband David and Emily's brother Austin, whom David admired and who, as college treasurer, paid David's salary. Although she wore a wedding ring from each man, Mabel regarded Austin Dickinson as her "King" and had come to revere the poems his enigmatic sister sent her. But Mabel professed literary ambitions of her own; Austin was reluctant to bring his shy sister "before the public"; and both were genuinely horrified by the state of the manuscripts with their difficult handwriting and interlinear corrections. Finally, there was the poetry itself. Mabel recalled fearing that its "unconventionality might repel publishers." To their objections Lavinia cried, "But they are Emily's poems!" Touched, Mabel at last agreed to become Emily Dickinson's first editor. And so work began.

By November 13, 1887, Mabel was devoting four hours each morning to a task that seemed to her endless. First, she transcribed by hand; next she copied tediously on two primitive typewriters. Ninety poems were thus transcribed. The first poem Mabel copied was "I live with Him—I see His face—," a lyric which, many thought, summarized Dickinson's whole life—one consecrated to art and perhaps also to God and a forbidden lover:

I go no more away
For Visitor—or Sundown—

. . .

I live with Him—I hear His voice—
I stand alive—Today—
To witness to the Certainty
Of Immortality—

Three hundred poems had been selected and transcribed by 1888. As she worked, Mabel "regularized" Emily Dickinson's punctuation and orthography. She substituted lowercase letters for the ubiquitous capitals Dickinson used in the manner of the Elizabethans. She omitted most of the liberal dashes which made poems look like telegraph messages or, as Emily said, "Bulletins from Immortality." The substituted commas, periods, and even semicolons gave the poems a more conventional, correct, and "smooth" aspect, destroying—Mabel hoped—the impression that Emily was uneducated. (For, after all, she knew some Latin and French; had studied botany, chemistry, and algebra in Mary Lyons's Seminary at Mount Holyoke; and had much of Shakespeare, the Bible, and Keats by heart.) Mabel also attempted to effect rhymes where Emily Dickinson had made off-rhymes. Probably no publisher would approve of the oddly indeterminate, minor tones of off-rhymes like "friend" and "word" or "still" and "Goal" when everyone's ear was accustomed to Tennyson's roundly sonorous exact rhymes like "glow" and "know."

In doing so, however, Mabel often had to reconstruct whole quatrains. For example, in order to replace the last word "estimate" in "I had a daily Bliss" with "right" so as to rhyme with "sight" in a preceding line, she was forced to recast the stanza. "Creative editing," she called it. Thus, Emily had written

I had a daily Bliss
I half indifferent viewed
Till sudden I perceived it stir—
It grew as I pursued

Till when around a Hight
It wasted from my sight—
Increased beyond my utmost scope
I learned to estimate—

Mabel kept, and repunctuated, the first stanza, although it included in the word "sudden" an example of Emily's perplexing recourse to what rhetorical textbooks called "Antimeria," using one figure of speech for another, in this case, an adjective for an adverb. But she altered the second quatrain to read

Till when, around a crag,
It wasted from my sight
Enlarged beyond my utmost scope
I learned its sweetness right.

Like all the changes Mabel made to achieve a conventional prosody, her emendations of the lines revealed a basic but insufficiently subtle comprehension of Dickinson's poetic vision and method. "I had a daily Bliss" is one of hundreds of Emily Dickinson's lyrics on the theme of understanding through loss. The speaker has insufficiently valued an experience (or person). She watches it abandon her, growing in size or importance as she regrets and pursues it; then "sees" it go out of sight, "wast[ing]" from view. As the poem ends, the chastened speaker realizes that her lost bliss was so great that it transcends her ability to appreciate it. But the lesson she has "learned" is reported in metaphors of size: the bliss grows, wastes, and—paradoxically—in wasting, becomes "increased" so that, were she herself to become of "utmost scope" or size, she could not approximate or define it.

Dickinson's last words are often telling. Here, the word "estimate" with its overtones of the conditional and contingent indicates the inconclusiveness of her experience. Her "daily Bliss" was incompletely acknowledged; now she can only "estimate" it. Furthermore, as she seems to do in other poems, Emily Dickinson probably intended her last lines to have two meanings. On one hand, characteristically employing elision, she says "I learned [that it was] increased beyond my utmost scope to estimate"; as well as "I [was] increased beyond my utmost scope I learned." That is, the experience of loss enlarges Dickinson—as she says again and again.

By sacrificing "estimate" and substituting the idea "I learned its sweetness right," Mabel sacrificed the mournful message of unfulfillment which Dickinson's language establishes so early with "half indifferent" in line two. "Estimate" was a provisional verb. With her off-rhyme that accomplished an imperfect union of sounds, Dickinson had made the music of her poem serve its meaning. Mabel's intentions, however, were always good. She wanted to ensure that some publisher—perhaps Thomas Niles of Roberts Brothers, Boston, a correspondent of Emily Dickinson?—would be willing to print the tough, powerful but (she thought) eccentric and "rough" poems of her lover's sister.

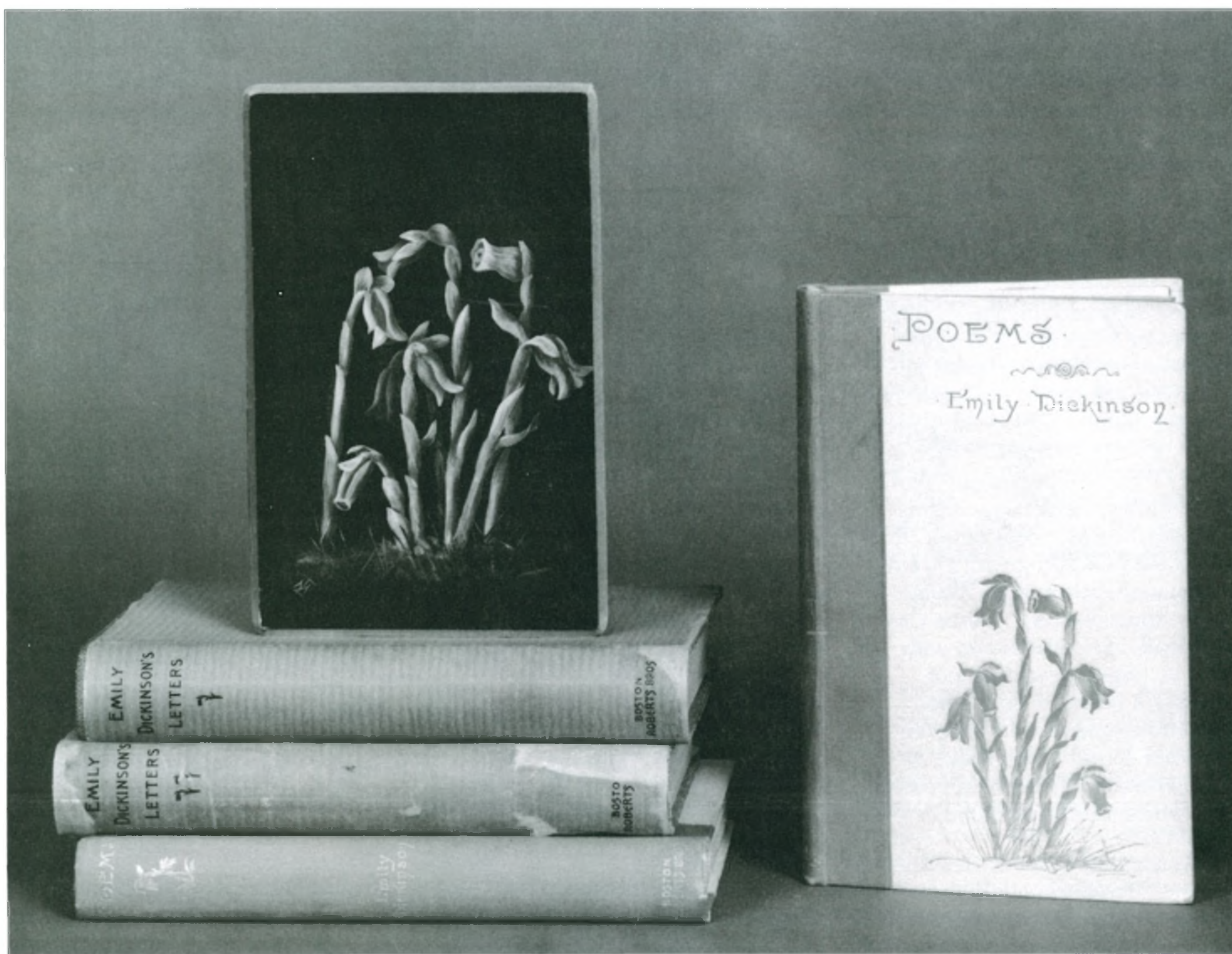
In winter 1889, Mabel undertook to solicit Thomas Wentworth Higginson's sponsorship of her project. Novelist, poet, critic, and public figure, Higginson had once proffered literary advice "to a Young Contributor" in the *Atlantic Monthly.* It had so impressed Emily Dickinson that she sent him a query on April 15, 1862:

Mr. Higginson,
Are you too deeply occupied to say if
my Verse is alive?
The Mind is so near itself—
it cannot see distinctly—
and I have none to ask—

She enclosed four poems, including one now often anthologized, "I'll tell you how the Sun rose—." They gave him, he said later, "the impression of a wholly new and original poetic genius." But he was baffled by her terse and elusive perceptions and annoyed by her disobedience to traditional poetic rules. Higginson's own verse was decorative, leisurely, fulsome, and mild. (Eventually his "pupil" Dickinson would send him, as an apparent tribute, one quatrain that redacted the thin substance of his seven-stanza "Decoration.") Good-natured, however, he accepted the role of mentor, only counseling that Dickinson not publish until what he called her "spasmodic gait" was corrected.

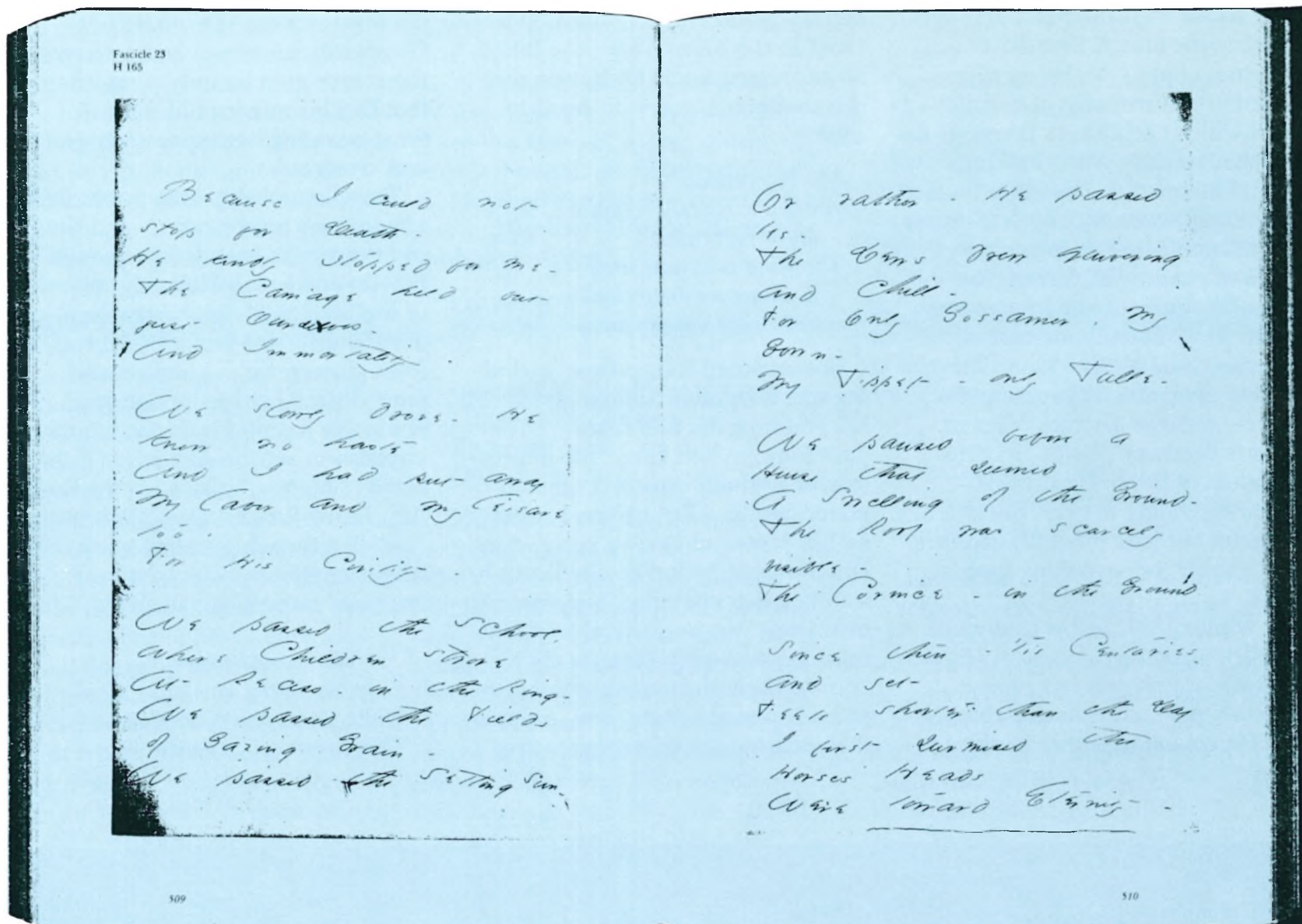
There is probably little doubt that Higginson's reservations—and the indifference of friends like Samuel Bowles and Josiah Holland, editors of the *Springfield Republican*—kept an already diffident Emily Dickinson from striving for publication and fame during her lifetime. Indeed, she wrote a proud lyric condemning publication as "the Auction / Of the Mind of Man—," a sale of "the Royal Air / In the Parcel." Using the royal "we" like the white-robed queen of language which she sometimes imagined herself, she declared,

We—would rather
From our Garret go
White—unto the White Creator
Than Invest—Our Snow—



Amherst College Library

The painting of indian pipes by Mabel Loomis Todd was used on the cover of first editions of Dickinson's poems, published in 1890.


Fascicle 23
H 165

Because I could not
stop for Death -
He kindly stopped for me -
The Carriage held but
just - Ourselves -
And Immortality.

We slowly drove - He
knew no haste
And I had put away
My labor and my leisure
too,
For His Civility -

We passed the School,
Where Children strove
At Recess - in the Ring -
We passed the Fields
of Gazing Grain -
We passed the Setting Sun -

509

Or rather - He passed
Us -
The Dews drew quivering
and Chill -
For only Gossamer, my
Gown -
My Tippet - only Tulle -

We paused before a
House that seemed
A Swelling of the Ground -
The Roof was scarcely
visible -
The Cornice - in the Ground -

Since then - 'tis Centuries -
and yet
Feels shorter than the Day
I first surmised the
Horses' Heads
Were toward Eternity -

510

Houghton Library, Harvard University

"Because I could not stop for Death—" in Dickinson's own hand. Well-meant efforts of early editors Higginson and Todd diluted the beauty of this and other Dickinson poems.

She had not destroyed her poems, however. Surely that was evidence that, though dissuaded from publication, she believed in them.

Surprisingly receptive to the idea of a volume by Emily Dickinson, Higginson eventually selected 115 from about 200 Mabel gave him. He arranged them in subject categories: "Life," "Love," "Nature," "Time and Eternity." He also provided elaborate or fancy titles, fashionable during the Aesthetic movement of the 1890s though out of keeping with Dickinson's austere diction: e.g., "Rouge et Noir," "Rouge Gagne," "Astra Castra." Finally, he collaborated with Mabel in "regularizing" fifty of Dickinson's poems even further. Now whole stanzas were stricken from some lyrics. When *Poems by Emily Dickinson* ultimately appeared, they really should have listed as the author "Todd-Higginson-Dickinson." Nevertheless, Higginson had used his influence in persuading the reluctant Thomas Niles to agree to a first—and, he thought, last—printing (provided Lavinia paid fifty dollars for the plates). And Higginson wrote a clever, promotional "Preface," citing the "freedom" and "daring thoughts" that characterized Emily's poetry despite its "unconventional utterance." The little five-by-seven-inch volume, bound in white and stamped in gold and silver with a cover featuring Mabel's drawing of white Indian pipes (Emily's favorite flower), appeared on November 12, 1890, to Lavinia's delight, Sue Dickinson's surprised chagrin, and Mabel's satisfaction.

What would the critics say? Despite her editors' surgery, the Boston *Herald* cried "Madder rhymes one has seldom seen." The English scholar-translator Andrew Lang fulminated in a brutal review that Dickinson's "muse was *super grammaticum.*" The popular American poet Thomas Bailey Aldrich predicted, "Oblivion lingers in the immediate neighborhood." But the important critic William Dean Howells came stoutly to Dickinson's defense in *Harper's.* He praised her art as "of the loftiest," and announced with remarkable insight, "If nothing else had come out of our life but this strange poetry we should feel that in the work of Emily Dickinson America . . . had made a distinctive addition to the literature of the world."

Most unexpected of all, however, was the public reception of the poems. As if uninterested in reviews good or bad—overall, they were good—people bought up the first

The poem, "Because I could not stop for Death—," as originally written by Emily Dickinson, is reprinted by permission of the publishers and the Trustees of Amherst College from The Poems of Emily Dickinson, *Thomas H. Johnson, editor, Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Copyright 1951, @ 1955, 1979, 1983, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.*

printing of two thousand books in six weeks and were clamoring for more. Thomas Niles marveled to Mabel at Dickinson's "emphatic" popular success. He hastened to repay the cost of the plates and extended to Lavinia a royalty of 10 percent on the next two thousand volumes. As Emily's legal heir, Lavinia—always dependent before on her father and then her brother—was now earning the first income of her life. She sent Mabel in search of a new mahogany lowboy for her parlor. Meanwhile, regretting her own lost opportunity, Susan Dickinson began sending poems in her possession to magazines like the *Century* and made fifteen dollars here and there as Emily's earliest intimate friend.

During the 1890s, Mabel Todd brought out three separate volumes (1890, 1891, 1896) of Emily Dickinson's poems. Long after Austin and Lavinia were dead and before and after Mabel and Susan died, Susan's daughter Martha Dickinson Bianchi published her own collections: *The Single Hound* (1914), *Further Poems* (1929), and *Unpublished Poems* (1935). Mabel's daughter Millicent Bingham countered by printing *Bolts of Melody* (1945). Thus the hatred and rivalry between Austin Dickinson's wife and his mistress continued into a second generation, preventing the publication in one volume of the works of a woman recognized by 1920 as among the greatest American poets; one who is perhaps the greatest woman poet since Sappho.

After her death, the manuscripts held by Mrs. Bianchi went to Harvard University while Mrs. Bingham's collection was given to Amherst College. In 1955, Thomas H. Johnson—a teacher and Dickinson scholar—brought out an annotated edition of 1,775 poems, drawn from both sources. At last the world was able to read the words Emily Dickinson had written, as she herself had written them.

The effect for an appreciation of Dickinson's genius may be judged by contrasting two versions of one famous poem, "Because I could not stop for Death—." The poet Allen Tate had called it among the greatest in the English language; but he had seen only the Todd-Higginson-Dickinson version. This was the original:

Because I could not stop for Death—
He kindly stopped for me—
The Carriage held but just Ourselves—
And Immortality.

We slowly drove—He knew no haste
And I had put away
My labor and my leisure too,
For His Civility—

We passed the School,
where Children strove
At Recess—in the Ring—
We passed the Fields of Gazing Grain—
We passed the Setting Sun—

Or rather—He passed Us—
The Dews drew quivering and chill—
For only Gossamer, my Gown—
My Tippet—only Tulle—

We paused before a House that seemed
A Swelling of the Ground—
The Roof was scarcely visible—
The Cornice—in the Ground—

Since then—'tis Centuries—and yet
Feels shorter than the Day
I first surmised the Horses' Heads
Were toward Eternity—

Dickinson's lyric depicts the event central to her poetry: a passage into eternity. She imagines it as a buggy ride taken by a courting couple. Death is "Civil," and, seeing that she is busy, waits for her with Immortality, the mute and shadowy third traveler. The poem compresses time and space in order to dramatize the difference between life and death. Dickinson's third stanza, for instance, surveys three stages of existence: childhood (when ring games are played), maturity (fields of grain), and old age (setting sun). Time's periods, however, are irrelevant to a passenger in Death's carriage; so the sun, arbiter of earthly time, "passe[s]" them and she is in no place and out of time. Cold as a corpse, being dressed (with weird inappropriateness) in the silk mesh suitable for a wedding or a ball, she feels the "Dews" of what could be morning or also evening. The "House" to which Death drives her is a new-made grave: a "Swelling of the Ground." Yet she perceives that its "Roof," the earth, is covered over (with grass?) and the "Cornice," or upper edge of the tombstone, is sunken. Therefore, arriving at her grave, Dickinson's speaker sees like Scrooge in *A Christmas Carol* that she has been buried for many years. And she concludes, further canceling the power of time, that it is "Centuries" since she entered into "Eternity."

Wentworth Higginson and Mrs. Todd made a number of changes in publishing what they called "The Chariot." By their title they dispensed with Dickinson's homely courtship buggy and the suggestion that Death was not ceremonial but just a "kindly" gentleman. They dropped the dashes, expressive in this poem of a kind of breathless, astonished comprehension. They deleted stanza four, with its annihilation of earthly time and allusion to deathly chill. Their stanza three began, effetely,

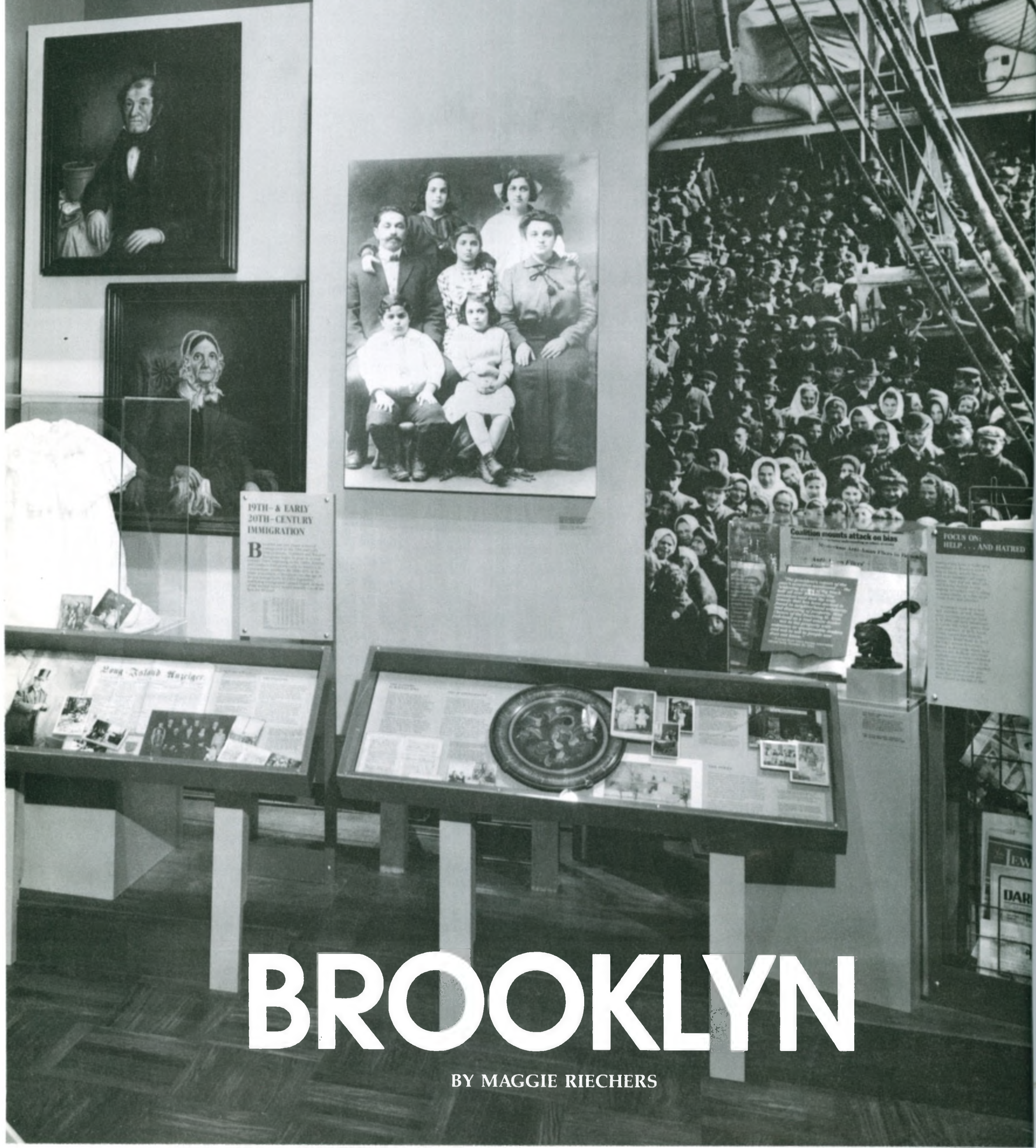
We passed the school
where children played,
Their lessons scarcely done;

(thus Dickinson's acknowledgment that in this hard life even children were forced to strive at what ought to have been "Recess" was excised). The penultimate quatrain, with its perfect rhyme of "Ground/Ground," seems to have offended them; so they made the last line read "The cornice but a mound." In that way they defeated the figure of the sunken headstone which completed Dickinson's surreal image of a grave unkempt after many centuries and yet made that very day. "Because I could not stop for Death—" proves how superior Dickinson's poetry is in its original form.

For all this, however, those who love Emily Dickinson's poems owe Mabel Todd and Thomas Wentworth Higginson a great debt. For they took great pains over many years to —as Higginson said—"open the public's ear." And they would have rejoiced on the centennial anniversary of the publication of the poems to know how entirely successful they have been. □

In its twenty-five year history, NEH has supported more than twenty projects on the life and works of Emily Dickinson. This year NEH is supporting a summer institute in Amherst, Massachusetts, for secondary school teachers; a fellowship for individual study by University of Maryland professor Martha Smith; and a summer seminar for college teachers at Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter, Minnesota.

DEFINITIVE BROOKLYN



BY MAGGIE RIECHERS

IN 1898 BROOKLYN was the third largest city in the United States, with thriving industries and a professional baseball team. That was the year Brooklyn joined New York City. The physical connection to Manhattan had taken place five years earlier with the completion of the Brooklyn Bridge; the political annexation made the connection complete.

But to many, Brooklyn will always remain separate in spirit and identity. Its history reflects the history of many urban centers, with a period of flourishing culture, a slide into industrial decline, and an attempt at renewal.

In an effort to capture that history and its significance to the lives of Brooklynites today, the Brooklyn Historical Society, with assistance from an NEH grant, has created a permanent exhibition, "The History of Brooklyn from the Seventeenth Century to the Present."

It addresses broad issues such as urbanization, ethnicity, community identity, work, and leisure. It also charts the cycle of Brooklyn's rise, decline, and struggle for revival in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Brooklyn today, with a population of 2.2 million—greater than that of eighteen states—is New York's largest borough.

Maggie Riechers is a freelance writer living in the Washington, D.C., area.

The exhibition is housed in the restored Shellens Gallery on the first floor of the Brooklyn Historical Society in Brooklyn Heights. It is organized around five well-known icons of the borough: the Brooklyn Bridge, Brooklynites, the Dodgers, Coney Island, and the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

"These five symbols automatically and forcefully identify Brooklyn, just as cable cars identify San Francisco or the French Quarter, New Orleans," says project director Ellen Snyder-Grenier. "By putting each of the symbols in a historical context, the exhibition helps explain their significance to the community and helps to explore broad related issues in Brooklyn's history.

"Visitors are led from what they know—or in some cases what they think they know—to a consideration of other topics."

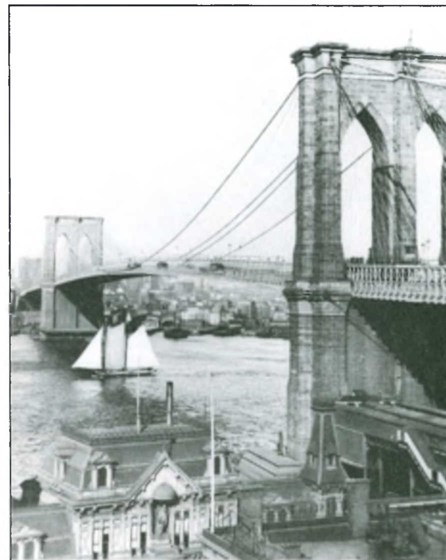
The section on the Brooklyn Bridge, for example, addresses the economic and political links between Brooklyn and New York, the development of an urban transportation network, and the borough's real estate boom and physical expansion.

The section on Brooklynites looks at the diversity of the population, past and present; the way in which residents have been stereotyped; and the adaptation of cultural traditions by different ethnic groups.

The part dealing with the Dodgers offers the opportunity not only to explore Brooklyn's love affair with baseball but also to examine the psychological impact of the team's departure in 1957 and the urban problems that led to their leaving in the first place.

The history of Coney Island leads to an exploration of leisure in Brooklyn, focusing on the activities of the middle and working classes and of women at the turn of the century. The part on the Navy Yard deals with industry, labor, and Brooklyn's changing economic picture.

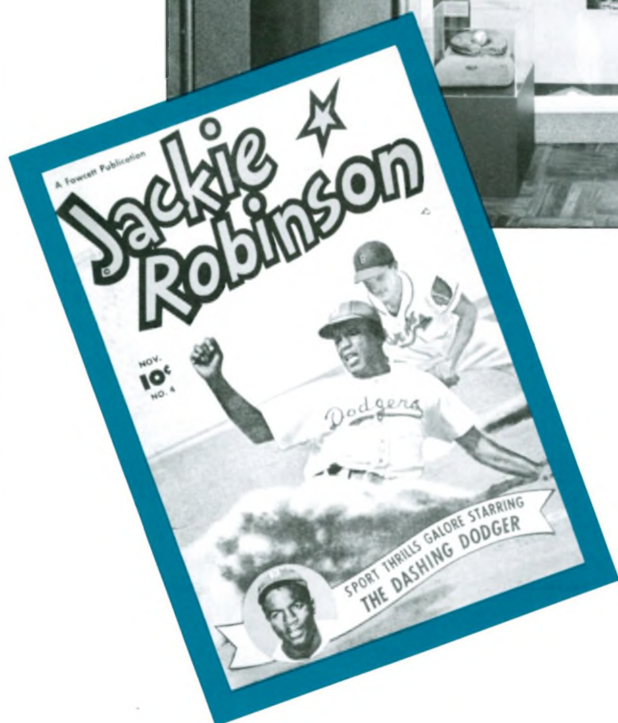
"Structuring the exhibition in this fashion gave us the opportunity to address broad issues such as urbanization, ethnicity, community identity, work, and leisure from a series of interesting perspectives," says Snyder-Grenier. "The structure also



Photos courtesy of Brooklyn Historical Society

The newly completed bridge from the Brooklyn side (ca. 1883).

Opposite: The people of Brooklyn. Above: The entrance to the "Brooklyn Bridge" section. Right: The Brooklyn Bridge display includes the wheel used to spin the bridge cables.



Above: Joe Medwick, Billy Herman, Pee Wee Reese, Pete Reiser, and Mickey Owen of the 1941 team. Left: Jackie Robinson slides into base on the cover of a 1950 comic book.

allows a wide array of other important topics to be raised again and again from a number of different vantage points."

The story of blacks in Brooklyn, for instance, runs through all five symbolic sections: In the Brooklynites portion there is a display on West Indians and black immigration in general, and an exhibit on slavery and the Dutch. In the Dodgers section of the exhibition, the career of Jackie Robinson is retold. In the Brooklyn Bridge and Brooklynites sections, housing issues are raised; and in the Navy Yard and Coney Island portions, employment.

One of the main goals in designing the project, according to Snyder-Grenier, was to emphasize the human element. Oral histories from workers in the Brooklyn Navy Yard during World War II are included in the wall text to give viewers a sense of working conditions and of the pride of Brooklyn's men and women shipbuilders.

The Navy Yard opened in 1801 along the East River shorefront. Some of the nation's most famous ships were built there, including the battleship Maine, blown up in Havana Harbor in 1898; the Arizona, sunk with the loss of more than 1,500 men at Pearl Harbor in 1941; and the Missouri, the ship on which the Japanese surrendered in 1945, ending the war in the Pacific. At its peak during World War II, the Navy Yard employed more than 70,000 men and women working in three shifts around the clock.

As symbols go, probably the most noted symbol of Brooklyn after the Brooklyn Bridge is the stereotype of the Brooklynite himself, embodied in Jackie Gleason's portrayal of Ralph Kramden in "The Honeymooners." The exhibition includes the set where "The Honeymooners" was filmed for television. But the stereotype is used as a means of introducing real Brooklynites—too diverse a population to be reduced to a single caricature—from Walt Whitman to Woody Allen. A mirror on the wall carries a label asking "Are you a Brooklynite?" to inspire visitors to see themselves as part of the Brooklyn that is being discussed.

Hard times in Brooklyn in the fifties and sixties are explored in terms of the Dodgers' departure. While many may have seen the fleeing of the Dodgers to Los Angeles in 1957 as the reason for Brooklyn's decline, the exhibition puts it in the context of general urban decline, with factories closing and people flocking to the suburbs. Brooklyn was not immune. Its famous newspaper, *The Eagle*, had stopped publishing two years before the Dodgers left. The exhibition uses the Dodgers' old war cry, "Wait Till Next Year," with a new meaning in Brooklyn's current struggle to renew itself.

Each section of the exhibition is designed to evoke a sense of the real place. In the Brooklyn Bridge section, viewers walk through arches like those on the bridge; in the Coney Island section they walk through the structure of a roller coaster.

Each section is filled with artifacts and memorabilia of Brooklyn. According to Snyder-Grenier, about 60 percent of the objects were already in the historical society's collection, but most had to be kept in storage for lack of gallery space. Creating a permanent exhibition took more than three years, beginning with the renovation of the society's first floor into museum space.

During the process, citizens brought in pieces they had been saving and offered them to the society.

"We did not have much of an acquisitions budget and relied on publicity in local papers to acquire objects," says Snyder-Grenier. "Someone walked in with a base from Ebbets Field. We got hard hats, overalls, and I.D. badges from the Navy Yard. The daughter of a ventriloquist who performed at Coney Island at the turn of the century gave us the dummy her father used in his act."

"Everyone thinks their own community is unique," says Snyder-Grenier. "Brooklynites are no exception. We hope through this exhibition we can help people understand what makes Brooklyn, Brooklyn." □

In 1987, the Brooklyn Historical Society received $100,000 in outright funds from the Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations program of the Division of General programs to support "The History of Brooklyn from the Seventeenth Century to the Present."

IN FOCUS

Carolynn Reid-Wallace

BY CAROLE ANNE PARISH

Charles Arrigo

"ACCESS AND excellence are not antithetical," says Carolynn Reid-Wallace. "I am absolutely determined that all students, no matter who they are, have a right to an education, but those same students must be challenged to perform—not minimally but exceptionally."

Reid-Wallace faces this challenge both in her position as vice chancellor for academic affairs for the City University of New York and in her position as the newly elected vice chairman of the National Council on the Humanities.

In these roles, Reid-Wallace makes known her views on some of education's most controversial topics. She strongly favors core curriculum, for instance. "A core curriculum allows one to be certain that the majority of students have had uniform exposure to the central ideas, topics, and texts which shape civilization," she says. "We need to develop a solid plan designed to produce students who will have the intellectual strengths that are necessary to strengthen the society at large."

A core curriculum can bring together diverse populations by providing a common knowledge, Reid-Wallace says. It should provide each student with access to the basics of Western civilization, but not exclude other cultures. She adds, "There's no excuse for putting in bad works by minority groups just to say you have representation.

CUNY has named her to head its Task Force on Cultural Pluralism and Diversity: An Examination of the Curriculum. This group will look at curricula across the university to determine whether they are balanced and representative.

Reid-Wallace also concerns herself with teacher accountability. She understands the need to recognize and support teachers, but her years as an administrator have shown her the other side of the story. "I do believe that there must be standards of accountability in teaching just as there must be in the corporate world or anywhere else."

These views on core, minority education, and teaching standards result from a long and varied career in education in both the public and the private sector, including five years with the National Endowment for the Humanities. Reid-Wallace, who has a Ph.D. from George Washington University in Washington, D.C., began at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. She credits teachers for her interest in the humanities. "Robert Hayden, a Library of Congress poet and a fine professor, taught me a great deal not only about poetry, but about the inextricable link between the issues and topics that are central to the everyday life of human beings," she says.

She first taught at Talladega College in Alabama, then moved to Bowie State College in Maryland. "I started off where I could find a job," she says. "It was not very easy for a female student, fresh out of graduate school in the 1960s, to get a job on a college faculty."

It was at Bowie State that Reid-Wallace moved into administration. "I made that move because I reached the point where as a faculty member I found myself complaining about the administration," she says. "I was complaining bitterly about the needs of the faculty, and at some point someone said, 'Why don't you put your money where your mouth is? Here is a job. Apply for it. See if you get it.' And I did."

In making the move to administration, Reid-Wallace promised herself and her colleagues she would not become co-opted by the system, but she acknowledges that it became a struggle. "I came to understand it really isn't as simple as saying my department needs five more faculty people," she says. "As an administrator you see the larger picture."

During these years, Reid-Wallace developed what she calls her "tough-nosed" attitude of administration. "If you have people that simply are not good at teaching, then you have to exercise the necessary decision-making authority to remove that teacher from the school," she says. "Likewise, if administrators are not good, they should be removed."

From her teaching and administrative positions, she says she has learned that "students, no matter who they are, whether they're from the upper income brackets or the lower income brackets, have the same kinds of aspirations and needs." She has found that "you cannot wait until a student gets to be a freshman in college to start addressing the problem." Finally, she recognizes the need for ties between the private and public worlds. "I understand much better how the government and the private sector, together with the academy, produce the strong citizens that we need. We can't do it without those three groups working almost hand in hand."

Reid-Wallace thinks she is in one of the best positions in the country to face these challenges and make necessary changes. "This is a grand time to be an educator. It's the right time because change is needed; and if we can just manage to keep our goals very clearly defined, I think that the contribution that we make to society will have long-lasting effects, well into the twenty-first century." □

Carole Parish is an editorial assistant in the NEH Office of Publications.

NOTEWORTHY

The April Selection

The Guide to Civil War Battlefields has been chosen as the April selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club and the History Book Club. The guide, produced by the Conservation Fund, includes both historic and present-day maps of the fifty-nine most significant battlefield sites. The modern maps, with overlays of battle action, allow the reader to guide themselves through the battle on existing roads and trails; historic maps provide primary source material.

Scholars and historians have written narrative essays of the battles as a supplement to the maps. Also included are six modern analyses of the war, photos, statistics, bibliographic material, and conservation status of the sites.

The guide, with the support of a publication subvention grant from the Division of Research Programs, is part of the Conservation Fund's effort to raise awareness about preserving historic battlegrounds. All but two acres of the Chantilly battlefield site in Virginia, for example, is now a housing development, while the fate of nearby Brandy Station battlefield is being negotiated between a developer and the National Park Service. Proceeds of the book will go towards protection of areas like these.

According to project director Frances Kennedy, the Fund hopes to introduce Civil War buffs to the conservation issue. "With this guide, we've had the opportunity of combining an activist role with significant scholarship."

'Names' and Raising Money

Prominent names are proving to be successful fund raisers for NEH challenge grants. In Minnesota, Jehan Sadat, widow of the slain Egyptian president, netted $136,000 for the manuscript library at Saint John's by reciting some of her writing set to music. Writer Eudora Welty's appearance at the University of California, San Diego, sold out three weeks in advance, and the sponsor intends to raise ticket prices next year.

Minnesotan composer Libby Larsen set the writings Sadat gave her to music for a collaborative performance in St. Paul. "Her messages—although quite candid and honest and sometimes horrifying—always culminate in peace and hope through understanding," Larsen was quoted as saying. The occasion was a fund raiser for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at Saint John's University. "It was really a glorious event," says Julian G. Plante, director of the library, "a big social affair of the Twin Cities, carried off with great elan and great class."

Saint John's University

Jehan Sadat at Saint John's University.

Sadat had expressed interest in reading a variety of writings that would spread a message of peace; the library's fund raiser provided an avenue. The evening drew 600 people with tickets costing $250. In one night, the library cleared $136,000—money then put towards a $400,000 challenge grant.

A variation of that effort, a Great Authors series, is currently being put on by the Friends of the University of California, San Diego, Library. Eudora Welty was the first speaker, five months ago. Wallace Stegner appears in April.

Under the series, authors attend a private luncheon and dinner, read their works at a large public event, and address university creative writing classes.

Lucie Clark, Friends of the Library coordinator, said the Friends were wonderfully surprised but frustrated when they sold out the theater three weeks in advance of Welty's reading. Tickets for general admission cost $15 and attendence to a reception afterwards, $50. "Nothing else we've ever done has been as successful as this," Clark says. The $14,000 it netted has gone toward an $875,000 challenge grant.

Friends of the UCSD Library

Eudora Welty on stage in San Diego.

New Newsletter for States

The Endowment has a new newsletter directed toward the governing boards of the fifty-three state humanities councils. *Update* will be published several times a year by the Division of State Programs at NEH. According to editor Kathryn Gibson, the publication will go to some 1,200 volunteers. It will cover the work of the state councils, report on the division's annual meetings, and provide information on NEH initiatives, deadlines, and grants.

—*Kristen Hall*

THE GUIDE

for those who are thinking of applying for an NEH grant

For Museums and Historical Organizations

BY MARSHA SEMMEL

THIS YEAR the Endowment begins supporting two-to-four-week seminars for museum professionals on subjects in the humanities. The new grant category, administered by the Division of General Programs through its program for Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations, is called "Seminars, Symposia, and Other Projects." It replaces the "Improving the Interpretation of Collections" category.

Designed to strengthen the abilities of museum professionals to present humanities programs to the public, the category offers support to museums, consortia of museums and universities, and museum-professional associations for projects that emphasize humanities content or promote critical dialogue about museum philosophy and practice regarding public programming.

The program encourages museums to organize seminars for museum professionals who participate in the interpretation of collections, including educators and designers. A proposal should describe the seminar's goals and rationale; its relevance to the collections; its content or curriculum, including proposed faculty; and the intended audience. Applicants should call to discuss their proposals.

The new category is part of the recently revised guidelines for Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations. Modifications in other categories are as follows:

Planning Grants. *Major change: Awards are limited to $50,000.*

These grants support planning of exhibitions, related interpretive materials and programming, and conservation surveys of exhibition material. They may also support planning for the interpretation of historic sites and living history programs.

Planning grants allow applicants to advance both the conceptual and logistical development of a project, but they do not support initial research on an exhibition topic. Applicants must present a conceptual framework for an exhibition by suggesting their approach and identifying exhibition themes.

In addition to sections on themes, resources, and potential formats for the finished project, a proposal must include a bibliography of the scholarship supporting the project and a detailed plan of work.

Institutional Self-Study Grants. *Major change: The award limit has been raised from $15,000 to $20,000.*

These grants allow an institution to evaluate its collections and other humanities resources, assess the effectiveness of its current programming in relationship to its mission, and develop long-range plans for interpretive humanities programs. Eligible activities include bringing consultants to the

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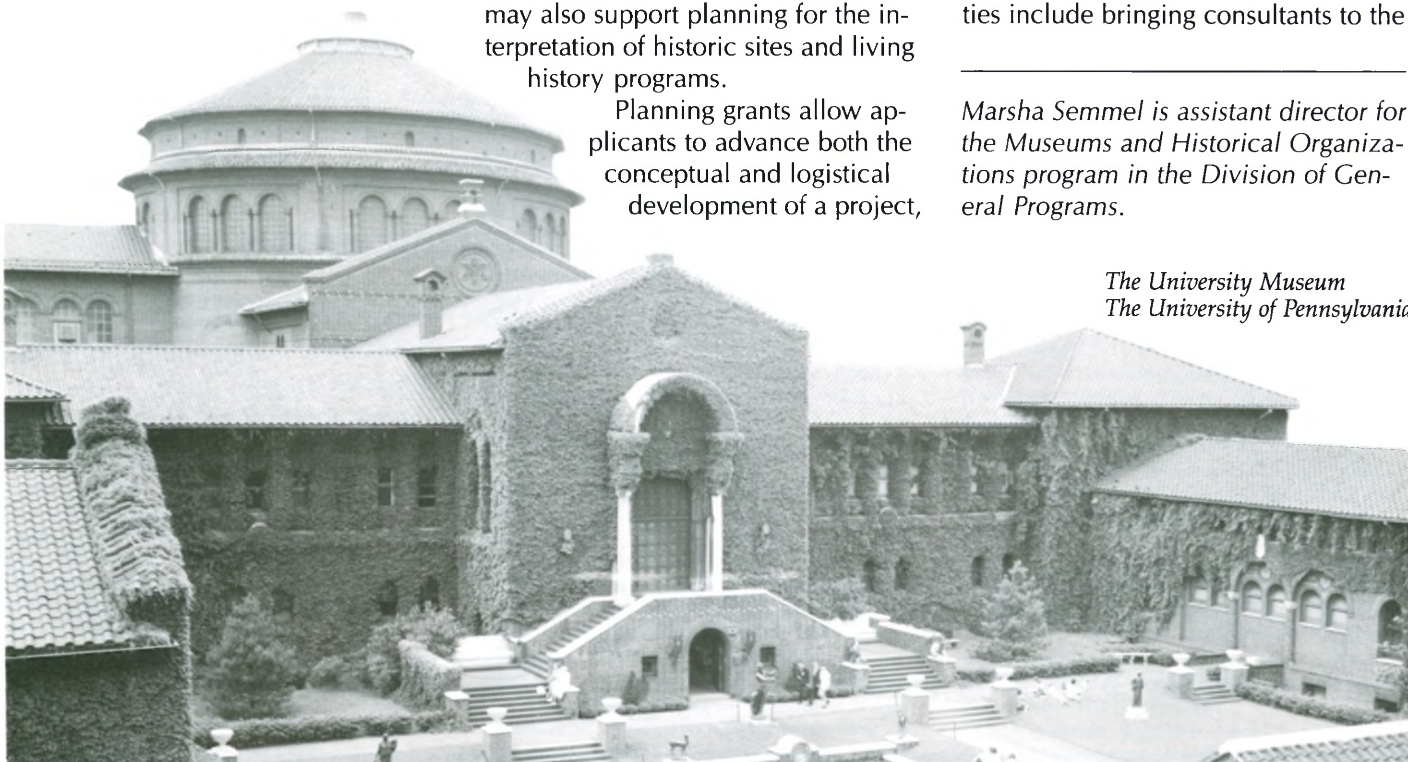


The University Museum
The University of Pennsylvania

Photo by W. T. Clough

GUIDE

grantee institution and staff visits to other sites with model programs. The proposal must articulate the rationale, goals, and activities of the self-study project.

Documentation Grants. *Major changes: The "Planning for Computerized Documentation" category has been eliminated, and the limit for documentation awards has been raised from $25,000 to $50,000.*

This category supports the documentation of collections of significance to the humanities when the applicant can demonstrate the potential use of the collections in public humanities programs. Awards enable an institution not only to improve its physical control over a collection but also to strengthen its understanding of and intellectual access to the collection—the necessary steps for developing interpretive exhibitions, publications, and educational programs.

Funds can support consultation by subject area specialists and technical experts, as well as costs of data entry personnel, photography, and software.

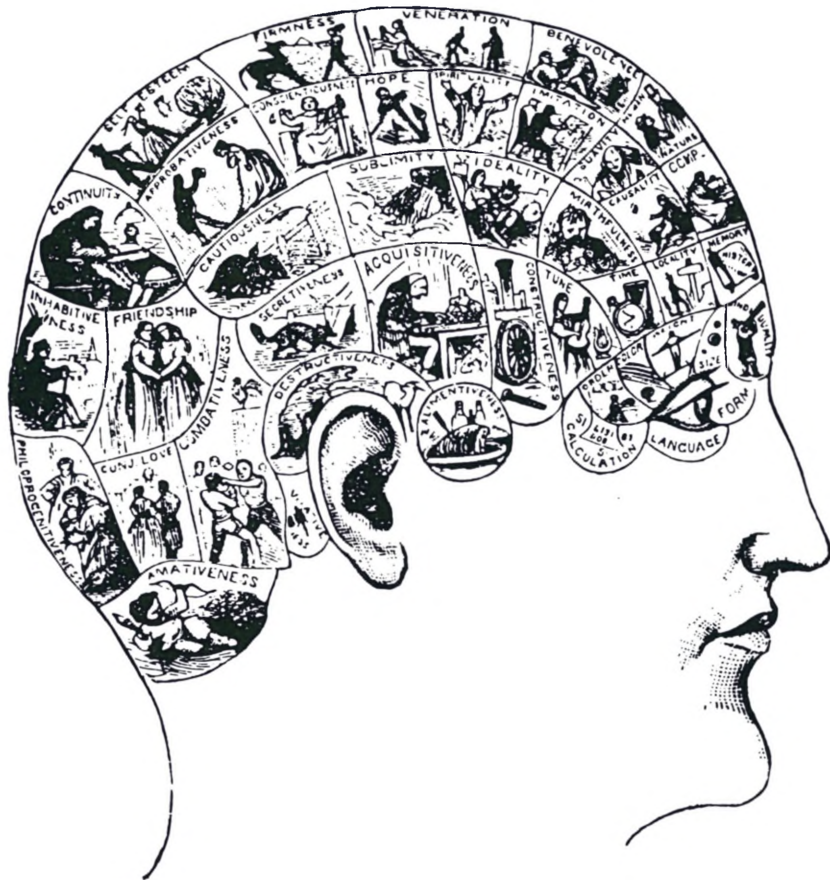
Implementation Grants. *No major changes in this category.*

These grants support the final development and production of exhibitions and related interpretive materials and programming, including catalogues, brochures, audiovisual presentations, lecture series, symposia, and educational programs. Funds are also available for conservation treatment of objects to be displayed and for formative and summative evaluation.

The exhibition "walk-through," a descriptive tour of the proposed exhibition that links the objects (or site) with the main themes and ideas, remains central to implementation applications. Applicants must integrate renderings of the exhibition design and sample gallery interpretation in the walk-through.

In general, the revised guidelines include more explicit application instructions for each grant category. They specify page limits for different portions of the grant application, require that applicants identify proposed audiences, and note that evaluation expenses are eligible for support as part of planning and implementation projects.

For guidelines and information, write or call:
Division of General Programs
Room 420
National Endowment for the Humanities
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20506
202/786-0284.



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RECENT NEH GRANTS BY DISCIPLINE

Some of the items in this list are offers, not final awards.

Grant amounts in each listing are designated as FM (Federal Match) and OR (Outright Funds). *Division and program* are designated by the two letter code at the end of each listing.

Division of Education Programs

EH	Higher Education in the Humanities
ES	Elementary and Secondary Education in the Humanities

Division of General Programs

GN	Humanities Projects in Media
GM	Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations
GP	Public Humanities Projects
GL	Humanities Programs in Libraries and Archives

Office of Preservation

PS	Preservation
PS	U.S. Newspaper Program

Division of Research Programs

RO	Interpretive Research Projects
RX	Conferences
RH	Humanities, Science and Technology
RP	Publication Subvention
RA	Centers for Advanced Study
RI	International Research
RT	Tools
RE	Editions
RL	Translations
RC	Access

Office of Challenge Grants

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

Archaeology and Anthropology

Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville; Thomas P. Bennett: $530,000. To construct an education and exhibition center where research project products can be disseminated to a wider public audience.**CA**

Institute of Nautical Archaeology, College Station, TX; George F. Bass: $225,000. To endow one staff position for New World excavation sites and another in Turkey for Old World sites and the renovation and maintenance of the headquarters in Turkey. **CK**

Oakland Museum/Museum of California Foundation; L. Thomas Frye: $25,000. To document the museum's North American ethnographic collections. **GM**

U. of Arkansas, Fayetteville; Allyn A. Lord: $3,318. To plan for computerized documentation of the anthropological collections at the University Museum. **GM**

U. of California, Los Angeles; Doran H. Ross: $59,377. To plan a traveling exhibition, catalogue, and programs that will explore gift exchange in five cultures. **GM**

U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Ruben E. Reina: $275,000 OR; $100,000 FM. To support an exhibition, catalogue, and programs that explore the social significance of adornment through featherwork in South America. **GM**

Wake Forest U., Winston-Salem, NC; Beverlye H. Hancock: $14,779. To conduct a self-study that will assess exhibition resources at the Museum of Anthropology. **GM**

Arts—History and Criticism

Asia Society, Inc., NYC; Andrew J. Pekarik: $275,000 OR; $75,000 FM. To support a traveling exhibition examining the concept of kingship in Indonesia and its effect on artistic patronage and production. **GM**

Center for African Art, NYC; Susan M. Vogel: $248,555. To support a traveling exhibition, catalogue, and educational programs on the relationships among traditional, popular, and modern art in 20th-century Africa. **GM**

Dallas Museum of Art, TX; Carolyn E. Tate: $60,000. To plan an exhibition, catalogue, and public programs on Olmec art. **GM**

Jewish Museum, NYC; James E. Young: $44,000. To plan an exhibition and public programs that will explore how memorials of the Holocaust reflect and shape memories of that event. **GM**

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA; Peter C. Sutton: $50,000. To plan an exhibition, publication, and programs on the art of the Flemish Baroque period that focuses on the work of Peter Paul Rubens, 1577-1640. **GM**

Oregon Art Institute, Portland; Donald Jenkins: $40,000. To plan an exhibition and catalogue on Japanese Ukiyo-e prints, paintings, and related works and the literary and social milieux of Edo Japan. **GM**

Seattle Art Museum, WA; Bonnie Pitman-Gelles: $400,000 OR; $125,000 FM. To support a permanent exhibition and related interpretative programs and materials on the arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas. **GM**

U. of Kansas, Lawrence; Stephen H. Goddard: $22,500. To plan an exhibition, catalogue, and interpretive programs on the graphic art of the Belgian avant-garde from 1880 to 1900. **GM**

Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, MN; Martin Friedman: $375,000 OR; $125,000 FM. To support a traveling exhibition, catalogue, and public programs that examine the constructivist art movement in Russia from 1914 to 1932. **GM**

Classics

Boston U., MA; Kevin Ryan: $294,050. To support a two-year project on ethics education for 200 New Hampshire elementary and secondary school teachers and administrators. **ES**

Coppin State College, Baltimore, MD; William J. Carroll: $122,036 OR; $60,000 FM. To support a two-year collaborative project on Dante's *Divine Comedy* for 120 Baltimore junior and senior high school teachers. **ES**

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State U., Blacksburg; Nicholas D. Smith: $133,150. To support a statewide institute on ancient Greek religion for 30 elementary and secondary school teachers of history, language, and literature. **ES**

History—Non U.S.

American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, Washington, DC; Robert G. Livingston: $180,000. To endow seminars, lectures, a biennial conference in the humanities, two staff positions, and library acquisitions; and to fund library acquisitions and fund-raising expenses. **CS**

Arts Foundation of New Jersey, New Brunswick; Carol F. Dickert: $218,717. To support a four-week summer institute for 40 New Jersey elementary and secondary school teachers and administrators on the life and times of Leonardo da Vinci. **ES**

Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, Brookline, MA; Margot Strom: $400,000. To expand teacher training and general education programs in the history of World War II in Europe that will emphasize the Holocaust and to provide development costs. **CX**

Five Colleges, Inc., Amherst, MA; Carolyn P. Collette: $33,184. To conduct a study on Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* and Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* for 14 area high school English teachers. **ES**

History Teaching Alliance, Gainesville, FL; Jane L. Landers: $225,000. To endow a cash reserve fund to expand community-based programs and to strengthen the teaching of history in schools through teacher training programs. **CX**

Kauffman Museum, Bethel College, North Newton, KS; John M. Janzen: $39,409. To plan an exhibition, catalogue, and educational programming on the furniture and domestic material culture of Mennonite immigrants to the central plains of the American West, 1870-1920. **GM**

Modern Language Association of America, NYC; John J. Morrison: $120,000 OR; $60,000 FM. To revise Volume 1 and partial compilation of indexes to Donald G. Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue*, a three-volume guide to works printed in English and to all works printed in lands under British rule, 1641-1700. **RC**

U. of California, Riverside; Henry L. Snyder: $600,000. To support the continued preparation

of the *Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue,* which records all publications produced in Great Britain and its dependencies during the years 1701-1800. **RC**

History — U.S.

Baltimore City Life Museums, MD; John W. Durel: $250,000 OR; $200,000 FM. To support an exhibition and public programs on the history of Baltimore. **GM**
Bisbee Council on the Arts and Humanities, AZ; Larry B. Tanner: $100,000 OR; $25,000 FM. To support an exhibition on the history of urban development in Bisbee, Arizona, from 1877 to 1917. **GM**
Brazilian Cultural Foundation, Inc., NYC; Iza C. Sessler: $75,000 OR; $75,000 FM. To support an exhibition with an interpretive catalogue, lectures, and a traveling exhibition about Portuguese contributions to the Age of Exploration, including the discovery of Brazil in 1500. **GL**
Cliveden, Philadelphia, PA; Jennifer Esler: $117,000. To endow humanities programming positions and an honorarium for a scholar in residence. **CA**
Cliveden, Philadelphia, PA; Jennifer Esler: $20,505. To conduct a self-study of Cliveden, a historic house in the Germantown area of Philadelphia, that will examine its potential for interpretive exhibitions and public programming. **GM**
Conservation Fund, Arlington, VA; Frances H. Kennedy: $7,000. To publish a guide to the remaining Civil War battlefields in the United States. **RP**
Edison Institute, Dearborn, MI; Donna R. Braden: $200,000. To support an exhibition, publication, and related public programs interpreting the changing role of vacations as an important leisure activity in America. **GM**
Germantown Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA; Ann M. Hermann: $202,500. To renovate a new headquarters for the society and the provision of an endowment for maintenance costs and a new staff position. **CH**
Historic Rugby, Inc., TN; Barbara J. Stagg: $200,000. To endow positions for a historian/archivist and an education director and the costs of three renovation and construction projects. **CH**
Historical Society of Princeton, NJ; Emily C. Wallace: $225,000. To renovate the 1766 Bainbridge House, enlargement of the exhibition galleries, and the creation of an endowment to support curatorial staff and programs. **CH**
Huntington Museum of Art, WV; Beth A. Hager: $39,515. To plan a traveling exhibition on the impact of the railroad on West Virginia. **GM**
Litchfield Historical Society, CT; Catherine A. Keene: $40,000. To plan an exhibition, catalogue, and symposium that will examine the growth and development of women's education in the early republic through a focus on Litchfield Female Academy, 1792-1835. **GM**
Manitowoc Maritime Museum, WI; Lox A. Logan: $51,583. To plan a traveling exhibition and public programs on the history of commercial fishing on the Great Lakes. **GM**
Mississippi State Historical Museum, Jackson; Patti C. Black: $27,962. To plan an exhibition on the history of Mississippi, 1500-1800. **GM**
Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, VA; Kym S. Rice: $250,000. To support a traveling exhibition and public programs on the history of African-Americans in the South between 1790 and 1865. **GM**
NYC Department of Records and Information Services, NYC; Kenneth R. Cobb: $109,646. To microfilm ll00 deteriorating volumes of minutes and docket books from the New York Criminal Courts, 1683–1930, and 188 volumes of the correspondence of the New York City District Attorney, 1898-1937. **PS**
National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, DC; Paul W. Ivory: $14,974. To conduct a self-study of the public programming at Chesterwood, home of sculptor Daniel Chester French. **GM**
National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, DC; Sarah S. Shaffer: $16,000. To conduct a self-study of the resources and interpretive programs at Decatur House and their relationship to American political and architectural history. **GM**
New York State Education Department, Albany; Christine W. Ward: $271,983 OR; $50,000 FM. To support a project that will microfilm 518 cubic feet of New York State documents on events in American political, social, and cultural history and will prepare a report on archival preservation for national distribution. **PS**
Old South Association in Boston, MA; Cynthia S. Stone: $15,085. To document Old South's collection of historic artifacts and the analysis of their use in exhibitions and educational programs. **GM**
Old Sturbridge Village, MA; John O. Curtis: $35,936. To plan an exhibition, publication, and related programs on the emergence of mass portraiture in early 19th-century New England. **GM**
Oregon Historical Society, Portland; Samuel E. Johnson: $125,000 OR; $100,000 FM. To support a traveling exhibition, publications, and programs on Spain's early explorations of the Northwest Coast of North America. **GM**
Pasadena Historical Society, CA; Bradley B. Williams: $225,000. To support the construction of a new history center for the interpretation of Pasadena history in the context of American urban history. **CH**
Rancho Los Alamitos Foundation, Long Beach, CA; Pamela L. Seager: $225,000. To support the costs of restoring the historic house museum and constructing an interpretive orientation center. **CH**
Reno County Historical Society, Hutchinson, KS; Michael S. Knecht: $45,000. To support a series of educational seminars for the personnel of seven historical societies in Kansas on the history of their communities and the nation during World War II. **GM**
Research Libraries Group, Inc., Mountain View, CA; Patricia McClung: $724,814. To preserve the intellectual content of 25 archival collections (at 13 institutions) important to research in American history, and to produce guidelines for future cooperative preservation projects. **PS**
Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence; Paul G. Bourcier: $55,218. To plan a temporary exhibition, catalogue, and lecture series on the Dorr Rebellion of 1892. **GM**
Rochester Museum and Science Center, NY; Richard C. Shultz: $52,005. To plan a permanent exhibition on the history of Rochester from its founding in 1812 to the 1970s. **GM**
State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; Carolyn J. Mattern: $140,926. To microfilm records from the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company and the Singer Sewing Company collections and of the 1880 Wisconsin manufacturing and agricultural census. **PS**
U. of Alabama, Tuscaloosa; Robert J. Norrell: $212,774. To support a collaborative project on Alabama history for 80 Alabama elementary and secondary school history teachers. **ES**
U. of Arkansas, Fayetteville; Stephen P. Foster: $273,146. To catalogue approximately 2,100 newspaper titles for the Arkansas Newspaper Project, part of the U.S. Newspaper Program. **PS**
U. of Georgia, Athens; Barry B. Baker: $80,283. To support the Georgia Newspaper Project. Part of the U.S. Newspaper Program, the project will catalogue 1,105 additional titles and microfilm 400,000 pages. **PS**
U. of Kentucky Research Foundation, Lexington; Paul A. Willis: $137,563. To complete the Kentucky Newspaper Project. Part of the U.S. Newspaper Program, the project has catalogued a total of 4,750 titles and microfilmed 800,000 pages. **PS**
U. of Wyoming, Laramie; Keith M. Cottam: $33,045. To plan Wyoming's participation in the U.S. Newspaper Program. **PS**
Valentine Museum, Richmond, VA; B. Frank Jewell: $38,358. To conduct a conference on the relationship of museums and historical societies to recent issues and scholarship in urban history. **GM**
Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma; David L. Nicandri: $300,000 OR; $65,000 FM. To support a traveling exhibition and catalogue on the history of Russian America, 1741-1867. **GM**
Worcester Historical Museum, MA; William D. Wallace: $360,000. To renovate the museum building for expanded gallery space and an endowment to sustain humanities programming. **CA**

Interdisciplinary

American Council of Learned Societies, NYC; Allen H. Kassof: $1,200,000 OR; $1,275,000 FM. To support activities of the International Research and Exchanges Board: advanced research exchanges with the USSR and eastern Europe and related activities in the humanities. **RI**
American Indian Archaeological Institute, Washington, CT; Lynne B. Williamson: $91,744. To support a permanent exhibition on the cultural history of the Algonkian Indians in southern New England. **GM**
Atlanta-Fulton Public Library, GA; Lauren K. Lee: $400,000. To support intensive collection development for a branch that will serve as a noncirculating research library with collections on the African-American experience. **CQ**
Bostonian Society, MA; Thomas W. Parker: $46,643. To plan an exhibition and public programs on the history of urban development and renewal through a case study of two Boston neighborhoods. **GM**
Brown U., Providence, RI; Merrily E. Taylor: $5,909. To plan an exhibition that will trace the effect of printing on the transmission of scientific knowledge as indicated in a major collection of 15th- and 16th-century scientific and technical books. **GL**
CUNY Research Foundation/Graduate School and U. Center, NYC; Grace M. Caporino: $23,597. To support a study project on the Holocaust in literature and film for 11 middle and secondary school teachers of social studies and English. **ES**
Carnegie Public Library/Delta Blues Museum, Clarksdale, MS; Sid F. Graves, Jr.: $250,000. To renovate the Delta Blues Museum and establish an endowment for the recruitment of a curator and appointment of scholarly advisers. **CA**
Center for American Studies, Concord, MA; Barbara Mossberg: $145,483. To support a five-week statewide institute for 30 elementary and secondary teachers on the romantic writers of Concord: Emerson, Thoreau, Fuller, and Alcott. **ES**
Children's Museum of Boston, MA; Leslie Bedford: $46,785. To plan a long-term exhibition, catalogue, and educational programs that will examine adolescence, modernization, cultural borrowing, and the educational system in contemporary Japan. **GM**
College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA; David J. Lutzer: $500,000. To endow four chairs in the humanities that will strengthen interdisciplinary programs in American and international studies. **CC**
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, VA; James M. Gaynor: $51,946. To plan an exhibition, publications, and educational programs of trade tools of 17th- and 18th-century British America. **GM**

Colorado School of Mines, Golden; Wilton E. Eckley: $270,000. To endow a visiting professorship, library acquisitions in the humanities, and curricular development activities, including summer grants, release time, guest speakers, instructional materials, and faculty meetings. **CC**
Colorado State U., Fort Collins; J. Edward Schamberger: $210,000. To support an institute on the history, literature, and art of 19th-century New England for 30 Colorado middle and secondary school teachers. **ES**
Computer Museum, Boston, MA; Oliver B. R. Strimpel: $50,000. To plan an exhibition on the history and social impact of the computer. **GM**
Dillard U., New Orleans, LA; Clifford V. Johnson: $462,000. To endow a chair in Asian studies, faculty development, and library acquisitions. **CT**
Exploratorium, San Francisco, CA; Thomas Humphrey: $45,000. To plan a long-term exhibition on the interaction of culture, technology, and ideas in the history of navigation. **GM**
Georgia State U., Atlanta; Ralph E. Russell: $400,000. To develop collections in the departments of English, foreign languages, history, and philosophy through immediate acquisitions and build an endowment. **CU**
Grout Museum of History and Science, Waterloo, IA; Margo E. Dundon: $270,000. To add gallery, educational, and storage space to the museum and establish an endowment for operating costs. **CA**
Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE; Michael H. Nash: $51,538. To microfilm the letter books of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, 1833 to 1900. **PS**
Herndon Home, Atlanta, GA; Carole E. Merritt: $55,000. To plan an exhibition on the history of late 19th- and early 20th-century Atlanta from the perspective of a prominent African-American family. **GM**
Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh; Donald L. Haggerty: $22,477. To plan for reading and discussion groups, publication of a booklet of readings, and bibliographies about the economic and social changes precipitated by the steel industry's decline since 1965. **GL**
Jackson State U., MS; Melvin Miller: $600,000. To renovate Ayer Hall and endow the center, which is devoted to humanities research. **CT**
Jewish Museum, NYC; Joan Rosenbaum: $800,000. To endow exhibitions, educational activities, and collections management. **CA**
Makah Cultural and Research Center, Neah Bay, WA; Ann M. Renker: $275,850. To construct a new storage-study space for 50,000 artifacts dating from 1000 to 1450, a conservation laboratory with archives and study spaces, and a classroom for public use. **CH**
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge; Jay K. Lucker: $125,220. To microfilm 39 journals, published between 1820 and 1930, that are necessary for the study of the history of technology. **PS**
Mid-Atlantic Preservation Service, Bethlehem, PA; C. Lee Jones: $500,000. To establish a fund for research and development, equipment purchases, and an endowment for the maintenance and operation of a new building. **CX**
Museum of the City of New York, NYC; Richard E. Beard: $42,025. To plan a temporary exhibition that will interpret the history of epidemic disease in New York City during the past 350 years. **GM**
New York Public Library, NYC; Paul J. Fasana: $800,000. To endow staff positions for cataloguing humanities materials that will reduce or prevent cataloguing backlogs in the collections. **CK**
Newark Museum, NJ; Valrae Reynolds: $135,200. To install an orientation gallery and educational programs for the permanent exhibition, "Tibet: The Living Tradition." **GM**
Nokomis Learning Center, Okemos, MI; George L. Cornell: $135,000. To construct a new American Indian cultural center on property donated by the Charter Township of Meridian. **CA**
North Dakota Deptartment of Public Instruction, Bismarck; Clarence A. Bina: $168,000. To support an institute on religion in modern America for 40 North Dakota secondary school teachers of history and English. **ES**
Northeast Document Conservation Center, Andover, MA; Ann E. Russell: $270,000. To endow operating costs, the Field Service Office, and educational and training programs. **CX**
Ohio Dominican College, Columbus; Ronald W. Carstens: $180,000. To endow a teaching award, a sabbatical leave, mentorships for new faculty, and small faculty grants to stimulate and reward outstanding humanities teaching in introductory undergraduate courses. **CC**
Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, OK; Edwin L. Wade: $270,000. To endow an assistant curator's position and the costs of expanding humanities programs. **CA**
Portland-Falmouth School District, ME; Sarah E. Foelsche: $152,104. To support a three-week institute on seminal humanities texts for 50 teachers and administrators in southern Maine. **ES**
Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence; Deborah B. Brennan: $28,626. To plan a two-year, statewide series of programs in a variety of formats that will examine the history and the influence of Narragansett Bay on Rhode Island. **GL**
Saint Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City; Edward T. Lewis: $420,000. To endow humanities library collections and a new professorship in classical civilization that will enrich a sequence of core humanities courses. **CC**
Saint Vincent College, Latrobe, PA; Sebastian A. Samay: $270,000. To endow faculty development, renovation of classrooms, equipment and materials, library acquisitions, and computer storage of the humanities collection. **CC**
Science Museum of Minnesota, St. Paul; Orrin C. Shane, III: $480,000. To endow conservators' salaries, refit a conservation lab, purchase equipment, and provide computer documentation of the anthropology collections. **CA**
Seattle Art Museum, WA; Bonnie Pitman-Gelles: $640,000. To establish an education endowment, the completion of a reference library, and the purchase of equipment. **CA**
Seton Hall U., South Orange, NJ; Robert A. Jones: $750,000. To develop library collections in the humanities and add funds for other library acquisitions. **CU**
Snow College, Ephraim, UT; Marilyn S. Larson: $258,157. To renovate a campus building as a humanities center with space for classrooms, offices, and public programming. **CJ**
Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, MA; Nancy C. Carlisle: $25,000. To document the society's collection of costumes and accessories. **GM**
Social Science Research Council, NYC; Thomas Lodge: $820,000 OR; $629,000 FM. To support the International Postdoctoral Grants Program of the Joint Area Studies Committees of ACLS and SSRC. **RI**
U. of Alabama, Tuscaloosa; Ralph Bogardus: $158,873. To conduct a four-week institute on 20th-century African-American literature for 48 Alabama high school English teachers. **ES**
U. of California, Berkeley; Cary I. Sneider: $250,000. To support a traveling exhibition, publication, and programs that examine Old World knowledge underlying Columbus's exploration, the technology that made the voyages possible, and the impact of the discoveries on the New World. **GM**
U. of California, Los Angeles; James B. Cuno: $25,000. To support the computerized documentation of the permanent collection of 35,000 prints, drawings, photographs, and artists' books from the 15th through the 20th centuries. **GM**
U. of Kentucky, Lexington; Paul A. Willis: $750,000. To develop library collections in history, the history of art and architecture, English, Spanish, Italian, French, German, Russian linguistics, classics, music, philosophy, and religion. **CU**
U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor; James A. Winn: $600,000. To endow the programs of the Institute for the Humanities, which was established in 1987 to fund research and promote interdisciplinary exchange among faculty and students in the humanities. **CU**
U. of Northern Colorado, Greeley; Tomas N. Santos: $225,000. To endow a visiting professorship in the humanities, faculty workshops, a lecture series, and library materials. **CU**
U. of Southern Maine, Portland; David Davis: $60,000. To publish papers from a symposium examining the European encounter with New England. **GM**
Vanderbilt U., Nashville, TN; V. Jacque Voegeli: $480,000. To endow a fellows' program, visiting scholars, research activities, seminars, and a program coordinator for the Center for the Humanities. **CU**
Wartburg College, Waverly, IA; Edwin H. Welch: $247,500. To endow a chair in ethics, a distinguished professorship in English, library acquisitions in the humanities, and provide furnishings and equipment for humanities classrooms. **CC**
Winterthur Museum, DE; Philip D. Zimmerman: $34,005. To plan a permanent exhibition on the formal and functional development of American decorative arts from 1640 to 1860. **GM**

Literature

Brooklyn College Foundation, NY; Robert J. Viscusi: $400,000. To support the college's Humanities Institute by endowing fellowships and other programs related to the core curriculum in the humanities. **CC**
Great Neck North High School, NY; Shela M. Pearl: $20,565. To support a project for ten local teachers on the recurrence of biblical and classical themes and motifs in later Western literary classics. **ES**
South Orange and Maplewood School District, NJ; Helen Poole: $57,600. To support a two-year collaborative project on contemporary poetry for 12 high school English teachers. **ES**

Philosophy

Cambridge Public Schools, MA; Sandra G. Spooner: $20,507. To conduct a study project on ancient Chinese culture for 15 Cambridge school teachers. **ES**
Stanford U., CA; Charles G. Palm: $63,719. To microfilm the papers of Sir Karl Popper. **PS**

Religion

American Academy of Religion, Syracuse, NY; James B. Wiggins: $191,250. To endow the society's programs and thus develop scholarly research, publication, and fund raising. **CO**

Social Science

George Washington U., Washington, DC; Maurice A. East: $146,399. To conduct a summer institute on America's role in post-1945 world affairs for 35 social studies teachers from the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. **ES**

DEADLINES

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.	Deadline	For projects beginning
Division of Education Programs—*James C. Herbert, Director 786-0373*		
Higher Education in the Humanities—*Lyn Maxwell White 786-0380*	**April 1, 1990**	October 1, 1990
Institutes for College and University Faculty—*Barbara A. Ashbrook, 786-0380*	**April 1, 1990**	October 1, 1990
Core Curriculum Projects—*Frank Frankfort 786-0380*	**April 1, 1990**	October 1, 1990
Two-Year Colleges—*Judith Jeffrey Howard 786-0380*	**April 1, 1990**	October 1, 1990
Elementary and Secondary Education in the Humanities—*Ralph Canevali 786-0377*	**March 15, 1990**	January 1991
Teacher-Scholar Program for Elementary and Secondary School Teachers—*Angela Iovino 786-0377*	**May 1, 1990**	September 1991
Division of Fellowships and Seminars—*Guinevere L. Griest, Director 786-0458*		
Fellowships for University Teachers—*Maben D. Herring 786-0466*	**June 1, 1990**	January 1, 1991
Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars—*Karen Fuglie 786-0466*	**June 1, 1990**	January 1, 1991
Fellowships on the Foundations of American Society—*Maben D. Herring, 786-0466*	**June 1, 1990**	January 1, 1991
Summer Stipends—*Joseph B. Neville 786-0466*	**October 1, 1990**	May 1, 1991
Travel to Collections—*Kathleen Mitchell 786-0463*	**July 15, 1990**	December 1, 1990
Faculty Graduate Study Program for Historically Black Colleges and Universities—*Maben D. Herring 786-0466*	**March 15, 1990**	September 1, 1991
Younger Scholars—*Leon Bramson 786-0463*	**November 1, 1990**	June 1, 1991
Summer Seminars for College Teachers—*Stephen Ross 786-0463*		
Participants	**March 1, 1991**	Summer 1991
Directors	**March 1, 1991**	Summer 1992
Summer Seminars for School Teachers—*Michael Hall 786-0463*		
Participants	**March 1, 1991**	Summer 1991
Directors	**April 1, 1990**	Summer 1991
Office of Challenge Grants—*Harold Cannon, Director 786-0361*	**May 1, 1990**	December 1, 1989
Office of Preservation—*George F. Farr, Jr., Director 786-0570*		
Preservation—*George F. Farr, Jr. 786-0570*	**June 1, 1990**	January 1, 1991
U.S. Newspaper Program—*Jeffrey Field 786-0570*	**June 1, 1990**	January 1, 1991

DEADLINES

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.	Deadline	For projects beginning
Division of General Programs—*Donald Gibson, Director 786-0267*		
Humanities Projects in Media—*James Dougherty 786-0278*	**March 16, 1990**	October 1,1990
Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations—*Marsha Semmel 786-0284*	**June 8, 1990**	January 1, 1991
Public Humanities Projects—*Wilsonia Cherry 786-0271*	**March 16, 1990**	October 1, 1990
Humanities Projects in Libraries—*Thomas Phelps 786-0271*		
Planning	**May 4, 1990**	October 1, 1990
Implementation	**March 16, 1990**	October 1, 1990
Division of Research Programs—*Richard Ekman, Director 786-0200*		
Texts—*Margot Backas 786-0207*		
Editions—*David Nichols 786-0207*	**June 1, 1990**	April 1, 1991
Translations—*Martha Chomiak 786-0207*	**June 1, 1990**	April 1, 1991
Publication Subvention—*Gordon McKinney 786-0207*	**April 1, 1990**	October 1, 1990
Reference Materials—*Jane Rosenberg 786-0358*		
Tools—*Helen Agüera 786-0358*	**September 1, 1990**	July 1, 1991
Access—*Jane Rosenberg 786-0358*	**September 1, 1990**	July 1, 1991
Interpretive Research—*Irving Buchen 786-0210*		
Projects—*David Wise 786-0210*	**October 15, 1990**	July 1, 1991
Humanities, Science, and Technology—*Daniel Jones 786-0210*	**October 15, 1990**	July 1, 1991
Conferences—*Christine Kalke 786-0204*	**January 15, 1991**	February 1, 1992
Centers for Advanced Study—*David Coder 786-0204*	**December 1, 1990**	July 1, 1991
International Research—*David Coder 786-0204*	**March 15, 1990**	January 1, 1991

Division of State Programs—*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.

Guidelines are available from the Office of Publications and Public Affairs by calling 202/786-0438 two months in advance of the application deadlines.

Telecommunications device for the deaf: 202/786-0282.

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