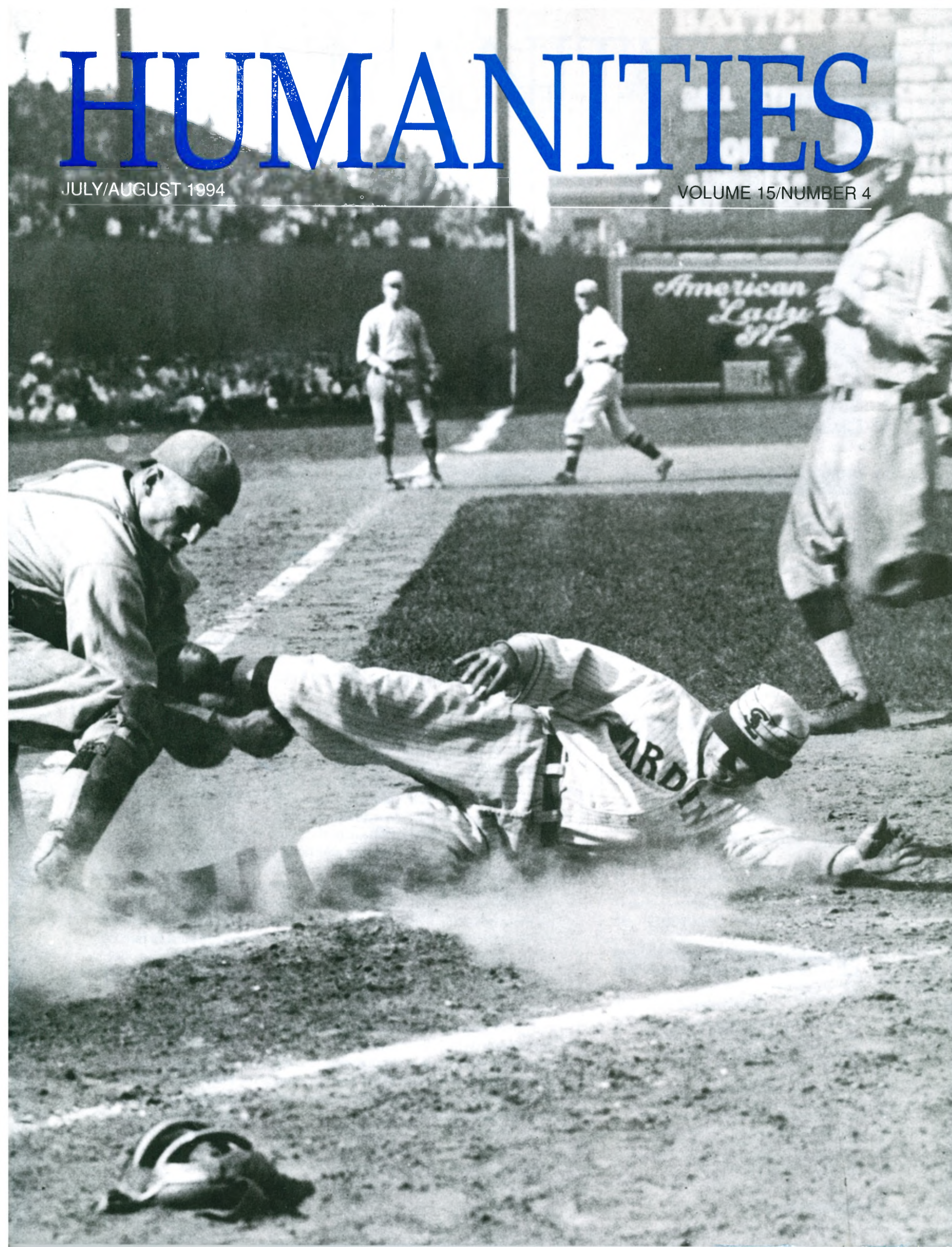
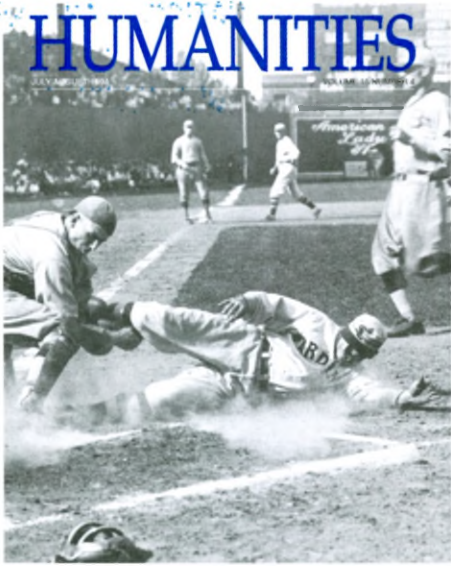


HUMANITIES

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Sliding into home plate. St. Louis Cardinals versus Brooklyn Dodgers, 1939.

—Courtesy of Dennis Goldstein Collection.

Humanities

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Baseball

The poet Walt Whitman tells us "it has the snap, go, fling of the American atmosphere; it belongs as much to our institutions, fits into them as significantly as our Constitution's laws; is just as important in the sum total of our historic life."

The "it" is baseball. If the rhetoric sounds extravagant to the modern ear, many find it nevertheless true. "Baseball is a thousand morality plays," filmmaker Ken Burns tells Endowment Chairman Sheldon Hackney in this issue. For Burns, whose nineteen-hour documentary on *Baseball* premieres this fall, the game is a mirror of American history, particularly of the long struggle over race. Seven years before *Brown v. Board of Education*, he points out, it was baseball that grappled with the issue of race with the arrival of Jackie Robinson. When St. Louis Cardinals players threatened to strike rather than take the field if Robinson were on it, Ford Frick rose majestically as National League president: "I do not care if half the league strikes. Those who do will encounter quick retribution. All will be suspended, and I don't care if it wrecks the National League for five years. This is the United States of America and one citizen has as much right to play as another."

Baseball has many such moments, Burns tells us. "You have the ever present tension between labor and management, between owners and players. You have the exclusion of women. You have the question of what a hero is, and also what a villain and a fool is. . . .we convince ourselves over and over again about who we are."

In this issue of *Humanities* we make a brief visit to the nine innings of Burns's series and to the world of Caribbean and Mexican baseball and of ballfields past and present.

The ballfield of my own childhood is one of those now gone. There is a park just across the street with the same name, but it is not the blue-trimmed pennants-flying wedding cake of a Comiskey Park that I grew up with.

When my brothers and I were young, baseball was a voice on the radio and Comiskey was Valhalla. For most of the season, the voice on the box took us to the park and filled our heads with breathstopping play-by-plays. Hating the Yankees, fiercely loyal even when our father told us about Shoeless Joe Jackson and the shame of the 1919 World Series, we waited for the one day a season when my mother would pack an empty cracker box with homemade sandwiches and my father would take us on the pilgrimage to the South Side to see the Sox play. We would spend the blazing hot afternoon pencilling in the putouts on our scorecards, cheering, chanting "Come on, L-u-u-ke" with the rest as Luke Appling fouled off ball after ball waiting for the right pitch, and my father would tell us how cheap the Comiskeys were and how losing all those baseballs would give them fits. In the twilight we would make the long trip home, noisy in jubilation, quieter in defeat, back to our radio and the rest of the season. I remember seeing Joe DiMaggio once, and Ted Williams, but the strongest memory is the heat and the haze and the hollering of a distant summer afternoon.

If baseball is what easily comes to mind on a sunny day, it is not the only institution of summer. We visit another, almost as old in American tradition, in which the focus has been spiritual and intellectual enrichment. The institution is chautauqua, and we look at its modern counterpart in the Midwest and West. The occasion is the beginning of a new section of the magazine devoted to state humanities council activities around the country.

— Mary Lou Beatty

HUMANITIES

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A Conversation With

KEN BURNS



—Photo by Amy Lifson

On BASEBALL

*How the sport of
baseball reflects the American character was the
topic when Chairman Sheldon Hackney met recently
with filmmaker Ken Burns, whose new Baseball
series premieres on public television this fall.*

Sheldon Hackney: Does the *Baseball* narrative provide the answer to the question of what holds us as Americans together?

Ken Burns: I don't think in the end that we ever answer that question. I think that we seek a kind of dialogue with ourselves which deepens the pursuit of that question; so that we are enriched by tilting towards it and never really, in fact, attaining it.

But I regard baseball as a bellwether of who we are. By studying its past, we have a model, a scientist would say, to pursue the larger sense of where we've been, where we are, and perhaps where we're going. That's what I like about baseball.

Hackney: It's really more than a metaphor. It's a prism through which you see various kinds of American social history. Race has its roots there.

Burns: Absolutely. The underlying theme of baseball would be the story of race, which in my opinion is the central American tension. Here is this extraordinary country founded on the highest ideals that man had yet put forward—that all men are created equal—and yet it would be four score and five years before we would even start a war to begin to correct the terrible consequences of tolerating slavery. And almost immediately the promise of the Civil War goes astray.

But what is the first large example of civil rights, of integration? It is not the military, it is not a lunch counter, it is not a city bus, it is not a school. It is the integration of our national pastime by one of the most heroic individuals I've ever gotten to know. Jackie Robinson. In my cinematic experience, he is second only to Lincoln in the kind of sacrifice he made for the good of his country.

Hackney: Is he the central hero then, in your view?

Burns: Yes. Too often we say Jackie Robinson sacrificed for the good of his race, his people. But I would also say for the good of his republic, for

the good of mankind. His example is the best kind, one of the most complete examples of heroism in the twentieth century. And the story baseball offers is a precise mirror of this country's struggle with the question of race throughout its long history. That is the primary central tension. But there are others: You have the ever present tension between labor and management, between owners and players. You have the exclusion of women. You have the



Sheldon Hackney

question of what a hero is, and also what a villain and a fool is. Baseball replays the complicated story of immigration and assimilation, as wave after wave of immigrant groups seek real citizenship in the mastering of professional baseball. Baseball is about the growth of cities and the restless migration that has characterized our ongoing settlement. You have in baseball a unique glimpse of popular culture and advertising and how we convince ourselves over and over again about who we are. These are the myths that we build up around ourselves, the myths that have attached themselves to baseball, beginning with the fraudulent notion that Abner Doubleday had anything to do with it. This one insecure, almost comic story speaks volumes about who we are as a people.

Hackney: Americans like—maybe all human beings like—morality plays. Baseball shows you morality plays.

Burns: Baseball is a thousand morality plays. You have ancient heroes coming back for one last quest. You have young and potentially limitless talent destroyed by greed or corruption or temptation. You have lives cut short by tragedy. You have those seemingly less fortunate blessed by longevity. You have almost every classic form of Aristotelian poetics play themselves out on the baseball field.

And they do so in a game which is not like any other game. I think we forget to say this, but this is why we are drawn to the game of baseball. This is a game without a clock. This is a game where the defense has the ball. This is a game with a rigid set of rules, but where every baseball field is different from every other. That cannot be said of a basketball court or a football field; they are all the same. This is a game—because it has no clock—which could go on forever. This is a game where its best players fail seven times out of ten—very much like life. And this is a game that begins in spring and ends in the fall, which has the rhythms of our daily life. And, most important, a game, unlike any other, which began with the birth of our republic and has accompanied it all the way through. Though we may tilt, in various eras, to another sport for whatever reason, baseball remains a repository of our most trusted values and traditions. And powerful emotions.

For example, we had to design a scene after Jackie Robinson's poignant death that is the cinematic equivalent of a highway attenuator—a pile of things you can crash into that break your fall because the emotion of the scene was so strong. There are two or three minutes after his funeral where we allow you to dry your tears. We put it in there because we realized we as filmmakers couldn't go on without a rest. I always wondered what it was that moved me so. As the editing progressed I realized simply that I missed Jackie Robinson, a

man I never knew. That's the mark of a hero, a real hero. I think our national dialogue has so few heroes.

Hackney: Increasingly, too, we live in an age of some cynicism, or sophistication, depending on your point of view. The heroes are very different now.

Burns: In my experience, I feel that a pervasive cynicism is one of the great threats to our republic. You see it particularly in our media where the traditional healthy adversarial relationship between the press and government has been replaced with something that is simplistic and lazy, as well as cynical. What used to be a celebration of heroes combined with a tolerance for their complexity, is now merely an exercise in bashing just to sell another story. It's very short-sighted. The media tend to say someone is either all good or all bad, and when we identify someone as good, then we devote a terrific amount of energy looking to find that, in fact, they're not so good.

Hackney: Right. Which turns people cynical.

Burns: Which turns everyone cynical, because we've forgotten to say everybody is complicated. We've forgotten to select for our heroes. We have to have some sort of spiritual evolution as a people, and heroes, or legitimate ones, are our pathfinders.

All of God's creatures are complicated and interesting, and I think the Greeks understood this. There is no hero without tragic flaws or some dark aspect. That's what makes them heroes, sets the heroic action in relief. I think we've become obsessed in an almost Puritan sense with painting the scarlet letter A on everyone that we can find who has the slightest flaw—which means all of us. Of course, no one is without sin.

Hackney: There's another aspect to heroism, I think, and that is that heroes are heroes because they exemplify transcendent values of some kind. They are honorable and they are loyal to a set of values that everybody

recognizes. They suffer or strive for those values. So it may be uncomfortable because you have a hard time believing in those.

Burns: We've forgotten to define what these shared values are. I think the movement towards multiculturalism and diversity is a much needed response to the tyranny of the "old history" of white heroes on white horses, but what has been put in its place, is a newer but equally devastating tyranny which permits a kind of cultural Bosnia to occur among the various groups of our diverse culture.

I remember I came across this statement by Henry Adams when I was working on *The Civil War* that said, "There are grave doubts at the hugeness of the land and whether one government can comprehend the whole." This was the great nineteenth-century anxiety: that this seaboard collection of former colonies could possibly expand continentally. Well, we could, albeit with some great difficulty and tensions. But I wonder now whether we can comprehend the whole culturally.

Hackney: Indeed, that's the way Lincoln saw the Civil War. It was about slavery, but it was also about whether a nation could succeed as a democracy, as the hope of the world.

After completing our series on the Civil War, it was an interesting process for us, thrashing about for a new model to explore and to celebrate and to pursue this powerful question

"I think that the American story is a complex coin that has dark and light sides. I think we see this in the arena of our centuries-old struggle towards racial justice and equality. Yet, we have a pernicious racism that persists despite decades of attempts by good people to eradicate it."

of Union. As a people, we look to wars and presidents and generals to tell our stories; they seem to do a fairly good job and represent for most people what history means. But it may be possible to look at American history, its progress, its narrative, its backwaters and eddies, from an entirely different perspective. It's my thought that a much more perfect model to explore this question of union is baseball.

Hackney: How do you explain the fact that in this very individualistic culture that is America, the national sport is a team sport?

Burns: That's one of its essential strengths. We celebrate Joe Montana in football, who makes seventy percent of his passes, and Michael Jordan in basketball, who makes seventy percent of his baskets. But in baseball Babe Ruth, the greatest player who's ever picked up a baseball bat, still only came to bat once every nine times; even he would fail seven times out of ten. That kind of truth, the knowledge that you cannot do it alone, is a lesson which Governor Cuomo—once the Pittsburgh Pirates' number one draft prospect—says in the film is a lesson the Bible, Jeremiah, has tried to teach us and hasn't been able to but baseball has. The notion of sacrifice, bunt plays, Cuomo says, "This is giving up yourself for the good of the whole." We have a practical example of sacrifice, of team spirit, of community participation.

Hackney: Is that part of the American story—that community spirit, to sacrifice for others?

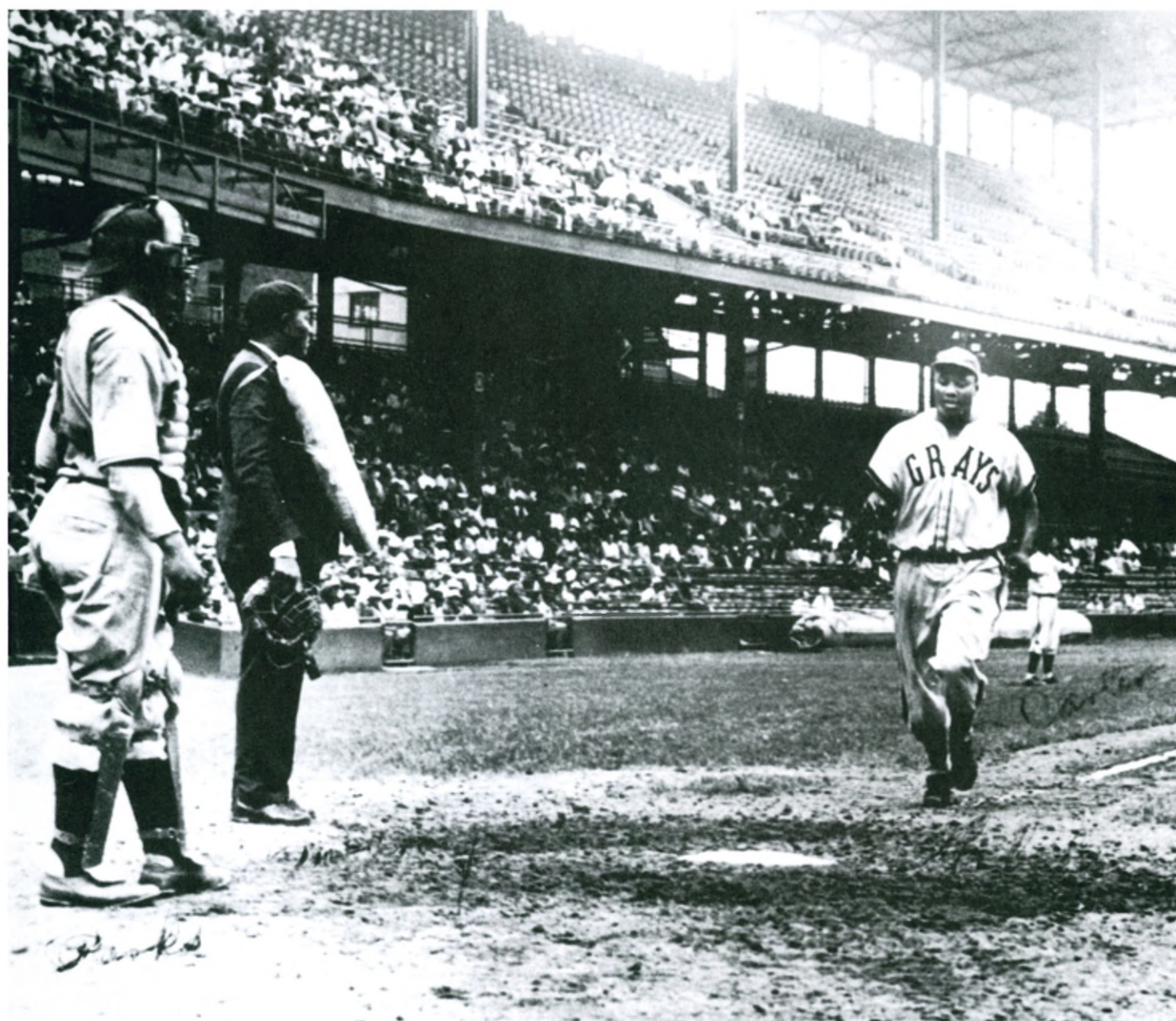
Burns: Well, I think that the American story is a complex coin that has dark and light sides. I think we see this in the arena of our centuries-old struggle towards racial justice and equality. Yet, we have a pernicious racism that persists despite decades of attempts by good people to eradicate it.

Hackney: When you begin thinking of a project, do you begin with the visual images or do you begin with the narrative or some other

historical concept?

Burns: I first have to feel that it resonates internally in me—it is neither a visual nor a narrative kind of correspondence at the outset. I am interested as a filmmaker in an emotional archaeology of the past, not for the sake of sentiment or romance, but with a sense that feeling, real feeling, is the glue that holds the events of the past together for people. Before I choose a

The Homestead Grays and the Newark Eagles at Griffith Stadium, 1942.



project I look to see if there may be a common feeling, a feeling that I have in my breast, that I suspect you might also share and that others might share. There has to be a sense of correspondence between the subject and our own times and concerns. Then, I actually begin in two separate directions, as if my left hand does not know what my right hand is doing. First, I begin a purely visual response, filming whatever I feel like in the myriad archives, collecting whatever looks good, without any worry about whether there are places in the script that this will illustrate. In fact, we don't want literal illustration in our films because that sets up a merely one-to-one relationship between the word and picture.

We hope that "one and one" eventually equals "three" in our films—a new relationship between word and picture—and not two.

At the same time this film exploration is going on unfettered, I've begun a purely narrative exploration with the writer, Geoffrey Ward, working closely with my partner on this film, Lynn Novick, trying to find the hundreds of stories that we might tell. We cast our net terrifically wide. If we ever published what we first attempted, it would be twice or three times as long as what we finally put out—in this case, easily forty hours in length—if we didn't begin to whittle away at that narrative. As we cut, we discover what is important to us, what has meaning.

Combined with a dynamic set of visuals, there are moments when the past, for a brief second, comes alive. I live for those moments.

In the Civil War, Walt Whitman said, "Future years will never know the seething hell, the black infernal background, the countless minor scenes and interiors of this Secession war, and it is best they should not. The real war will never get in the books." I think what Whitman suspected was the limitation of cold type on paper; how no matter how rich the literary imagery, a certain "realness" was lost. What we're suggesting is that if you pursue this kind of filmmaking, third-person narration with a literary sensibility—that

Continued on page 48

THE LIN

1 ST INNING, THE 1840S TO 1900

"Our Game" will tell the story of baseball's rise, in only one generation, from a gentlemen's hobby to a national sport played and watched by millions. In this episode, we meet the first baseball magnate, Albert Goodwill Spalding, explore the game's first gambling scandal, see the first attempts by women to play the game in the 1860s, witness the first attempt by ball players to unionize, and learn how the first black professionals were hounded out of the game in the Jim Crow 1880s.



Small-town team, 1880s.

—Photos from National Baseball Library & Archive



Ty Cobb

2 ND INNING, 1900-1910

"Something Like a War" will introduce some of the most extraordinary individuals ever to play the game: Ty Cobb, the volatile, brilliant outfielder who may have been the greatest ball player of all time, but who was "possessed by the furies"; Walter Johnson, the modest farm boy with a fast ball so intimidating hitters sometimes left the batter's box after only two strikes; Christy Mathewson, a college-educated pitcher so virtuous he was worshipped by schoolchildren as "the Christian Gentleman"; and John McGraw, the brawling, unstoppable manager of the New York Giants.

Shoeless Joe Jackson



3 RD INNING, 1910-1920

"The Faith of Fifty Million People" will culminate in the Black Sox scandal, in which eight members of the Chicago White Sox, including the incomparable Shoeless Joe Jackson, "played with the faith of fifty million people," as F. Scott Fitzgerald later wrote, by taking money from gamblers to throw the World Series in 1919.

EUP

A FILM HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL GAME, BASEBALL WILL AIR IN NINE "INNINGS" OF APPROXIMATELY TWO HOURS EACH SPANNING TWO HUNDRED YEARS—FROM THE LATE 1700S TO THE PRESENT. THE SERIES, WHICH BEGINS ON PBS ON SEPTEMBER 18, WILL UNVEIL RARE ARCHIVAL GAME FOOTAGE, PHOTOGRAPHS, INTERVIEWS, AND EARLY RADIO BROADCASTS. AND AS IN THE CIVIL WAR, THE VOICES OF THE PAST WILL SPEAK AGAIN.

BASEBALL A FILM BY KEN BURNS



Babe Ruth

4TH INNING, 1920-1930

"A National Heirloom" will focus largely on Babe Ruth, the Baltimore saloon-keeper's son who became the best-known and best-loved athlete in American history. What Babe Ruth is, a sportswriter said at the time, "comes down, one generation handing it to the next, as a national heirloom."

Satchel Paige

5TH INNING, 1930-1940

"Shadow Ball" will cover baseball's desperate attempts to survive the Great Depression and Babe Ruth's fading career, while a new generation of stars, including Joe DiMaggio and Ted Williams, is on the rise. This episode will also present the parallel world of the Negro Leagues, which thrived in the shadow of the all-white majors. The inning culminates with the greatest showdown in the history of the Negro Leagues: Satchel Paige, arguably the best pitcher ever, against Josh Gibson, "the black Babe Ruth," in the Negro League World Series.





Jackie Robinson

6TH INNING, 1940-1950

"The National Pastime" leads off with the 1941 season, one of the most exciting of all time. Joe DiMaggio hits in fifty-six straight games, the longest hitting streak before or since. Ted Williams becomes the last man to hit .400. And the Brooklyn Dodgers win their first pennant in twenty years. Then the war intervenes and baseball's best players become soldiers. On their return, the game—and the entire country—are changed forever: Branch Rickey integrates baseball on April 15, 1947, when Jackie Robinson takes the field. Baseball finally becomes in fact what it had always claimed to be: America's national pastime.

7TH INNING, 1950-1960

"The Capital of Baseball" celebrates the heyday of New York City baseball, where for ten straight years a local team always played in the World Series and almost always won. Rare newsreel film and interviews will illuminate some of baseball's memorable moments: The Shot Heard Round The World—Bobby Thomson's home run off Ralph Branca in 1951... Willie Mays's incredible catch in the 1954 World Series... Don Larsen's perfect game. 1955 provides the highlight of the episode when the Brooklyn Dodgers, sparked by Jackie Robinson and Roy Campanella, finally win their first World Series, only to be moved by their owner to a new city 3,000 miles away, leaving an empty shell in Flatbush, and an emptier spot in the soul of every Brooklyn fan.



Bobby Thomson being congratulated after his pennant-winning home run, 1951.

Roger Maris

8TH INNING, 1960-1970

"A Whole New Ball Game" takes place against the backdrop of the turbulent 1960s, when many question the game's relevance. The episode opens with the improbable last inning home run by Bill Mazeroski that wins the 1960 World Series for the Pittsburgh Pirates and signals the beginning of the end of the Yankee dynasty. Roger Maris breaks Babe Ruth's record by hitting sixty-one home runs in the 1961 season. Sandy Koufax, the shy untouchable pitcher, dominates most of the



decade and then leaves the game at the height of his power because of the arthritis that threatens to cripple him. Carl Yastrzemski and the Boston Red Sox almost win the World Series, but are stopped cold by the ferociously determined Bob Gibson. Towards the end of the decade, the game is radically transformed by the first successful attempt by the baseball players to organize into a union and Curt Flood's doomed attempt to escape the reserve clause.

9TH INNING, 1970-THE PRESENT

"Home" covers the most recent history of baseball and explores the future of the game. Game Six of the 1975 World Series—thought by many to be the greatest game ever played—reawakens a whole country's love for the game. But in the 1980s, the rising influence of television and the coming of free agency, with its enormous salaries and dislocations, threaten that affection. The episode ends with an impressionistic look at some of the achievements on the field in the late 1980s and early 1990s—Kirk Gibson's home run, the first Canadian World Series, and the extraordinary career of Nolan Ryan—and at the enduring appeal of the game itself.

Excerpted with permission from the WETA "Baseball" newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 1, December 1993.

Produced and directed by Ken Burns, the film is a production of Florentine Films and WETA-TV, Washington, D.C. In addition to funding provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the film has received major support from General Motors Corporation. Other sponsors are the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations, the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and the Public Broadcasting Service.



All-Star game, Los Angeles Coliseum, 1959.



OTHER BASEBALL PROJECTS

Endowment grants explore baseball's role in American society and human experience. Books written with NEH support include: *The Tropic of Baseball: Baseball in the Dominican Republic* by Rob Ruck (Meckler Publishing, Westport: 1991). Ruck received a \$3,500 Summer Stipend from the Division of Fellowships and Seminars.

Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy by Jules Tygiel (Oxford University Press, New York: 1983). Tygiel received a \$2,500 Summer Stipend from the Division of Fellowships and Seminars.

Sandlot Seasons: Sport in Black Pittsburgh by Rob Ruck (University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago: 1987). Ruck obtained a cosponsored grant of \$16,708 from the State, Local, and

Regional History program of the Division of Research Programs.

The Library of Congress is arranging and describing the papers and memorabilia of choreographer-director Bob Fosse and dancer-actress Gwen Verdon, including those relating to the 1955 Broadway production of *Damn Yankees*. The archive is part of the Dance Heritage Coalition, which is cataloging dance history with support from the Preservation Projects program of the Division of Preservation and Access.

The exhibition "Healing the Body and Mind: African Americans in Sports" runs to December 1996 in Philadelphia's Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum, which received \$88,880 from the Public Humanities Projects program of the Division of Public Programs.

The Ohio Humanities Council sponsored programs in Cincinnati on baseball in the fall of 1993. W. P. Kinsella, author of *Shoeless Joe*, was the Ohio Forum's keynote speaker. Other events featured two former players and an umpire from the Negro Leagues discussing their experiences, the history of baseball in Cincinnati, media coverage from 1869, and an exhibition, "Blackball Heritage: African Americans and Cincinnati Baseball."

"An All-Star Night of Baseball with Ken Burns" was the centerpiece of the New Hampshire Humanities Council's twentieth anniversary celebration on May 6. Seventeen renowned former ballplayers and managers were special guests at the screening of *Baseball*.

—C.B.

A DAUGHTER'S REMINISCENCE:

BY
ELINOR
NAUEN

How Hans Became an American

I've been sitting at my desk a lot
staring at my father.

It's a picture taken in summer
a few months before he died.

He's looking at me
with a wry and knowing
—did he know?—

expression. He looks like a man
who needs a private joke
to get a proper snapshot.
He's looking straight at me,
even as I sit

in a cold May, a little too tired,
the Yanks getting beat 4-1 in the 5th
by Oakland out on the coast,
a lackluster they'll-never-catch-up game
Rasmussen not getting shellacked
just doesn't have anything
and neither do the hitters.
Gone native in his Arizona retirement
Dad is wearing a bolo tie and looks
shrunken, frail.
I liked to kiss him on the top of his
bony head
in desert mornings.

He took all of us to a game only once,
my first, I was ten,
Charlie was eight, Lindsay was twelve
and the baby was left home.
We drove all the way from
South Dakota
up to Minneapolis
to see the Twins play the Yankees
(my team).

Daddy was a refugee from
Nazi Germany
and Mom was English.
They were grownups
who'd never seen a game either.
They went
because he was the father of
Americans
and I was a little baseball fanatic.

Mom sat quietly for about twenty
minutes
fanning herself with a straw sunhat
and beaming
then asked, when does the game
begin?

Look down there, we said.
It was already the second inning but I
still don't think she spotted it.
I think she was waiting for the play
by play.

The familiar radio sounds
so different in the ballpark.

Daddy wore plaid shorts over his white
skinny legs
and puffed a cigar.
He began to like baseball
when he found someone
who knew less about it than he did.
He explained it all to Mom
mostly according to his own logic.
He had an accountant's sense of
symmetry
and the diamond pleased him.
The profusion of numbers and their
richness
impressed him,
the implication of infinity.
And it was a damn nice summer day.
I think now of those bleachers
old Metropolitan stadium full of stolid
Scandinavians
who never corrected him—
that would have spoiled their fun.
Mom would ask, Where's that chap
running off to now?
And Dad would explain:
He goes home because he has
nowhere else to go.

My brother and I spent most of the
game under the stands

scrapping with baby Twinkies—
Twins fans who didn't take to our root-
ing for the enemy.

Charlie thinks he remembers a
game-winning
Bobby Richardson grand slam.
I only recall the Yanks winning in
the 10th
and the incredibly intense luxury of
that lagniappe inning.

Daddy stuck with baseball too.
Like the voting that made him
proudest as a naturalized citizen
he quietly exulted
in being able to talk to his kids
about what they liked to talk about
which was sports. What pleasure
it gave him
to be able to call

(those Sunday calls!—this is later
after we'd all left home)
and say, "So, Mattingly's still leading
the league" or
"I see where the Yankees aren't doing
too well."

But tonight there's an amazing
comeback
another 10th-inning heroic to call
home about
("I see where the Yankees are
going great guns")
though it's a few second
basemen later
and the serene and splendid Willie
Randolph
who pulls it out for the team. □

*The poem is reprinted by permission.
Elinor Nauen is the editor of Diamonds
Are a Girl's Best Friend: Women
Writers on Baseball (Faber & Faber,
1994.) She lives in New York City.*

Gil Hodges of the Brooklyn Dodgers scores a home run.

—Drawings by Andy Jurinka,
courtesy of Gallery Hanoch, N.Y.



BASEBALL AND THE MEANING OF AMERICA

BY CHRISTIAN K. MESSENGER

BASEBALL AND HISTORY seem almost synonymous by this time in American history. Yet the ways in which baseball and history coincide and diverge in American culture are various and fascinating. Baseball is the most enduring of the American team sports, the one with the richest historical tradition, the greatest backlog of memory and homegrown mythology.

Baseball's inner diamond is its active history. It's tight, geometrical, and where all tallies are made. Yet beyond the geometry stretches the outfield, where, except

for walled stadiums, the ball may roll forever. W. P. Kinsella knows this in his novel *Shoeless Joe*, which became the film *Field of Dreams*. In this tale, baseball remains the form you may summon in your imagination. As the sport without a clock, baseball frees the imagination for alternative universes, parallel universes, and a magical realism.

Yet baseball also has a logic that appears almost Newtonian. In baseball, the runner is *always* safe or out, and has been through its history. The stability of the game is evident as well in its batting statistics, which over that same period of time differ by one hit or two hits out of ten at bats.

Beyond baseball's structure and imaginative possibilities, baseball is individually historical. Baseball's history begins again every time a batter steps in at home plate. Baseball fabricates this home or origin and then sends us on a journey, which with a little skill (getting on base) and a little help from our friends (someone to drive us in) we do indeed come home again, to tally a run for our team. This run is inscribed in a scorebook and becomes the simplest of historical events in baseball.

Like most journeys through space and time, baseball can be a perilous trip. Pitchers are menacing, basemen try to tag you out, the ball travels faster than you do. There are safe places on your journey (the bases) but often you can't reach them and are turned back in a small defeat. The beauty of play is that we can begin again, next time at bat. "What is it you like about this game?" asks Father of Little Boy in E. L. Doctorow's *Ragtime*. "The same thing happens over and over," Little Boy replies. This delight in replication is everywhere in baseball's rhythms.

Yet this journey could be full of magical occurrences—everything from the hidden ball trick to three men sliding into third base—or as mundane as standing on second base with a lead-off double in ninety-five-degree heat and watching three straight hitters run the count to three-and-two. That is tedium and that too is history.

Another way in which baseball is organically historical is that it is seasonal. Baseball begins with the renewal of the earth in the spring, warms through the rich growing season, and then dies into the late fall with autumn's chill.

Baseball is also democratic social space. Players guard a green world by working together, yet spaced widely apart where individual duties coordinate with group responsibilities. Ballparks recall cattle ranges or farmlands; not the least of the outrage against artificial turf and domed stadiums has to do with our instincts that the game's validity has been tampered with and profaned. The eager response to the new Camden Yards sta-

stuff to my own son. I occasionally worried. Were there thousands of little neats without paws, giving up ambulatory status for the sake of the American game? Who knows? But oiling of gloves is family history. It's what a father knows and dispenses through love.

The elders are keepers of the stories, too, which they pass down in personal testimony to skeptical parties. My twenty-year-old son, a Ryne Sandberg devotee, has heard all he needs to know about the Brooklyn Dodgers' Boys of Summer from his father, a New Jersey kid in the 1950s. I remember my grandfather, who came to America as an immigrant from Germany in 1903, describe Honus Wagner's hands to me as the biggest he had ever seen on another human being. Wagner, the all-time Hall of Fame shortstop, played his last game in 1917.

Time in baseball is measured in generations, not hours. Time is a grandfather recalling for his grandson the exploits of a Musial or Williams while great-grandfathers might pass down memories of Ruth and Cobb. Some immortals live only in the antique photographs of the men who saw them play and have passed on themselves. To call Christy Mathewson still the best right-handed pitcher of all time, when he pitched his last game seventy-eight years ago, is a deep nod to history's authority and power.

Myth, of course, begins in history, some redolent historical moment that is passed down through the outlets of folk culture, print media, tradition, centuries, personal testimony—until it takes on the status of myth.

A good case in point would be the recently located film print of Babe Ruth presumably calling his shot in the 1932 World Series. Was he saying he had one strike left? Was he simply pointing at the pitcher? Or was he doing the impossible? Baseball mythology knows which explanation it wants: the pre-ordained home run. Yet just as important are the rhythms of the game that suggest the scene's improbability, the game's degree of difficulty.

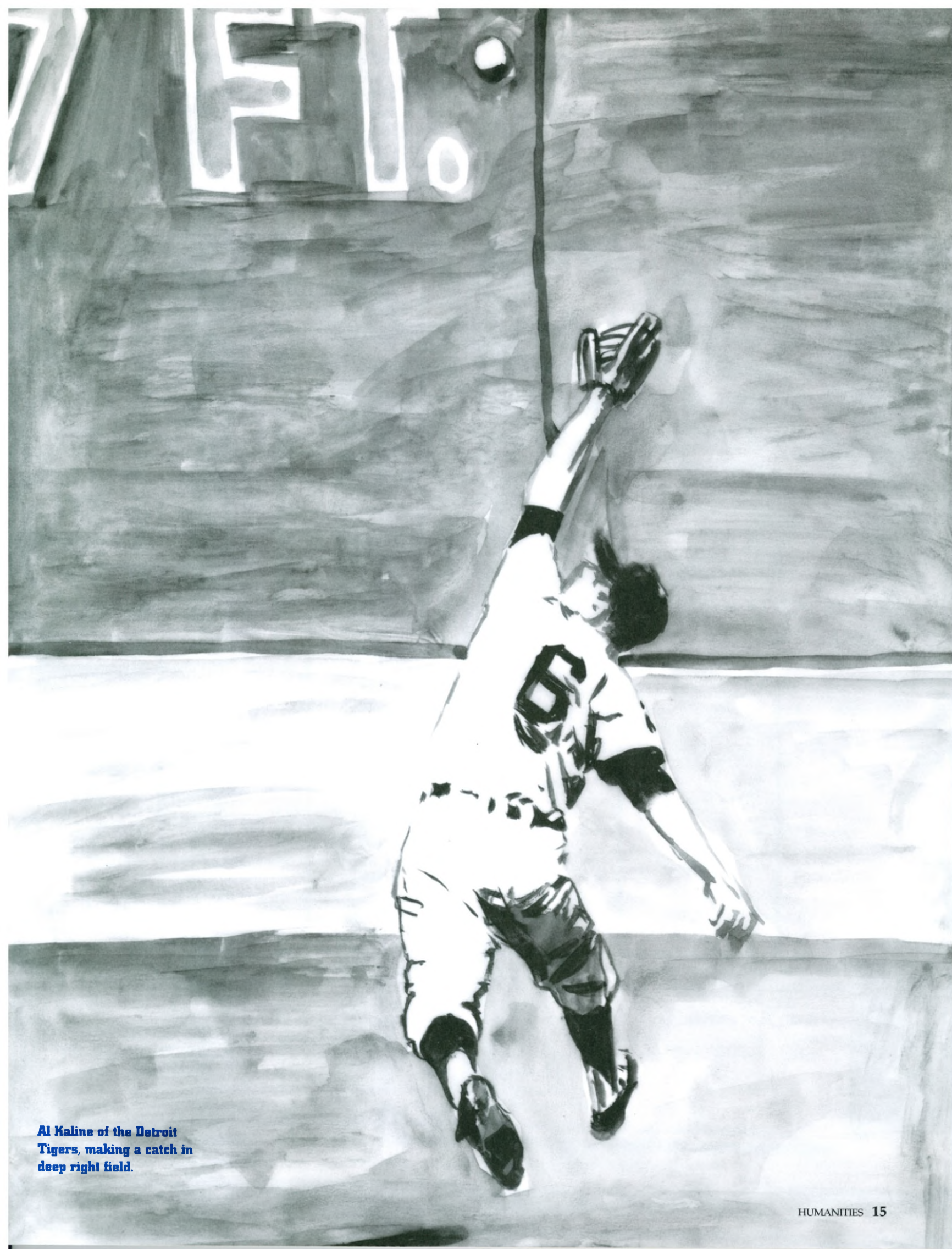
Baseball's historical records are built on its indomitable physical supermen, the consecutive game streaks of Lou Gehrig and Cal Ripken, Jr., the length of Ruth's home runs and the gargantuan quality of his appetites, Willie Mays's abandon, Nolan Ryan's cannon of an arm. Such characters and their deeds hearken back as far as the American frontier to half-legendary figures such as Davy Crockett and Mike Fink. Yet vulnerability and tragedy are part of this history as well. Lou Gehrig's early death and Pete Rose's fall from grace are matched as individual tragedies by the great collective American fall from grace, the Black Sox scandal of 1919.

Bernard Malamud's *The Natural* encapsulates all this. Malamud, trained in high modernism, wedded Arthurian legend to baseball's more homely lore. When Roy Hobbs is told to go up and "knock the cover off the ball," he does just that, the ball unravelling to its core while the outfielder can only retrieve a bunch of fragments. Yet Hobbs also strikes out and sells out, a sensual man of appetites who tries to beat time and his own history in a desperate urgency for the early greatness that had been denied him. Barry Levinson's film of the novel gets closer to the American dream yearning in baseball's appeal: Hobbs wins the pennant with a home run, setting off a galactic light show and, not incidentally, regains the son he never knew he

Myth, of course, begins in history, some redolent historical moment that is passed down through the outlets of folk culture, print media, tradition, centuries, personal testimony—until it takes on the status of myth.

dium in Baltimore suggests what we crave from baseball—a historical green setting within the city's harsh history.

Baseball is historical because parents and children are the keepers of its memory. Baseball's tools are those of the farmer and rancher but adapted: leather gloves and wood bats which call to memory a society which used saddles, plows, hoes, and fence posts. Fathers who don't know how to warn against drugs or to help their children navigate through the plague of AIDS can lovingly show them how to hold a bat or how to get that deep well pocket in a baseball glove. As a boy, my father knew about neat's-foot oil. That was what you rubbed on your glove to keep it supple and smooth. I did not know then what it was nor do I know now and to know would be to lose its power, but I solemnly passed along a bottle of the

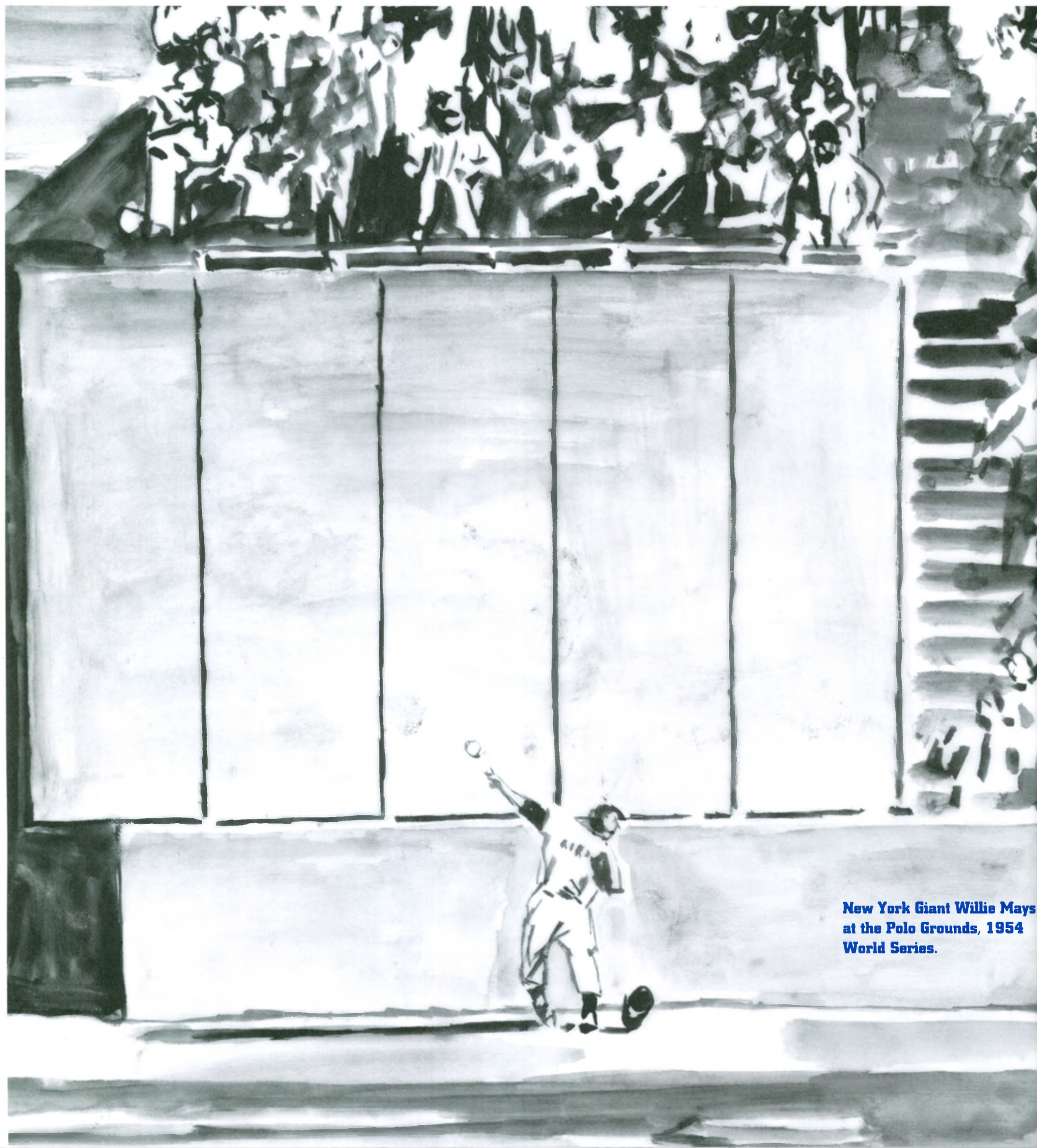


Al Kaline of the Detroit Tigers, making a catch in deep right field.

had. American victories and defeats: the two versions/visions of *The Natural* give us both. Baseball can be both mimetic and magical but nothing is truly "natural."

Baseball is history because of that unbroken line of tradition stretching back to the beginning of the country. It is astonishing in the age of hypertext and virtual reality to realize that from 1903 to 1953—a *half century*—the same sixteen major league baseball teams played in the

same American cities. Such stability and rootedness is probably almost anti-American. In Chicago, for example, where suffering through baseball defeat is a character trait passed down through generations, the last Chicago World Series champion will soon be entirely a matter of written record. One would have to be a pretty spry eighty-to-ninety-year-old to have attended the last Cubs World Championship in 1908, the White Sox in 1917.



**New York Giant Willie Mays
at the Polo Grounds, 1954
World Series.**

Baseball also touches on the public scars of our century. If this were not so, baseball, however deeply imbued in our family and imagination, would be merely a diversion. Baseball is our history because of its relation to our great social dilemma, the racism and segregation that runs deep through even the best of our institutions. For the first half of this century, baseball's shame was its segregation; then with the ascent of Jackie Robinson, integration became its triumph.

Baseball can represent inclusion and exclusion. Every kid remembers being the first kid picked to play, or the last kid, how he hit the home run to win the big game (at age eight in the backyard or twelve in Little League or only in his imagination), or, in a more traumatized vein, how he wasn't picked to play at all, how much it hurt, how the hurt lingers into adulthood. It's a short imaginative step to exclusion because of race or ethnic background. Our sentimental democratic sports stories tell us of how the team works everything out, the sports equivalent of the Warner Bros. platoon in World War II films.

Our best baseball novelists know varied stories about teams and teammates. For Mark Harris in *Bang the Drum Slowly*, a team comes together as it cares for a dying teammate, itself a variant of the Lou Gehrig story. For Philip Roth in *The Great American Novel*, the grotesque truth of exclusion comes clear in his account of Gil Gamesh, the greatest rookie pitcher in baseball history, yet twisted and scarred by prejudice. Gamesh is the only Babylonian kid on his block, indeed the only Babylonian kid anywhere. As Gamesh remembers his miserable childhood, "First for a few blocks the Irish kids threw rocks at me. Then the German kids threw rocks at me. Then the Eye-talian, then the colored, then them Mohawk kids. . . . hell, even the Jew kids threw rocks at me, while they was runnin' away from the kids throwin' rocks at them."

So baseball has its counter-histories, its parallel histories of absurdly humorous teams and players that nonetheless feed into large American stories that aren't very funny at all. But, told through the frame of baseball, we can listen to these stories and perhaps learn from them.

Some poignant baseball novels, such as William Kennedy's *Ironweed* or Jerome Charyn's *The Seventh Babe*, extend the metaphor of being left on base to a permanent banishment and homelessness. They are searing baseball lessons, both magic and terrible. Then there are the narratives down back behind the major leagues, the bushes, the sandlots, the Negro Leagues, which have their own rich history, now joined in fact and fiction by the Caribbean "town of shortstops," the world's greatest home run hitter, Sadaharu Oh, a Chinese-Japanese, the miracle of a Fernando Valenzuela, the newness of this spring's fresh bright kid, South Korea's Chan Ho Park for the Dodgers.

Baseball also approaches apocalyptic moments in its history and its novelists are not unaware of the potential link with even biblical narratives. In Eric Rolfe Greenberg's *The Celebrant*, a stunned Christy Mathewson, one of baseball's truly Apollonian figures, comes unhinged at

his realization of Black Sox treachery and shifts from his patrician reserve to a keening for his beloved sport:

"I do damn them," he said. "With a mark I damn them. I damn Cicotte. I damn Jackson. I damn Risberg and Gandil and Williams. And if there be others I will damn them as well. I will root them out and damn them for eternity. And I damn the filth that corrupted them, the dicers and the high rollers. They will pay. They will pay in time. . . ."

Pete Rose had better not apply for earthly reinstatement to Greenberg's Mathewson, if he knows what's good for him. Old Testament prophecy is wedded to baseball's

Baseball is our history because of its relation to our great social dilemma, the racism and segregation that runs deep through even the best of our institutions. For the first half of this century, baseball's shame was its segregation; then with the ascent of Jackie Robinson, integration became its triumph.

Fall, so deeply American is the moment and so transgressive a sin. In 1925, F. Scott Fitzgerald already knew the negative power of this image when Gatsby says admiringly about Meyer Wolfsheim, the "man who fixed the World Series," that "they can't get him, old sport. He's a smart man." Such a judgment says more about Gatsby's morality than any other single public moment in Fitzgerald's American tragedy.

In recent days, one of the more intriguing baseball historicizations is the renewed interest in the history of women in baseball, beginning with the All-American Women's League in the 1940s that engendered the film *A League of Their Own*. A spate of softball/baseball novels by and about women and the game yields fresh insights. In the late Sara Vogan's *In Shelly's Leg*, a pitcher and catcher for a championship softball team vie for the same man with totally different sensibilities which Vogan beautifully evokes through the diamond and its positions:

"Get down here," Rita said. She crouched behind the plate, her knees splayed as if waiting for the pitch. "Things look different from down here."

Margaret knelt next to Rita, looking out at her children on the pitcher's mound and across the still field. From this angle the field looked more rolling, not as flat as Margaret had always assumed. She saw hollows accentuated by the dusk light, rises that looked as if they would lead off into the trees.

Teammates, friends, and rivals try to see each other's life from the field and its contours as cooperation is posited as rivalling competition. The women have histories which the diamond represents.

Kinsella has written that baseball is stable and permanent. However our own cultural mosaic has changed, baseball has risen to provide us with the stories that place our national lives in context. Baseball is a humanistic retelling of our origins which circumvents random

occurrence and staves off our own mortality. With a little luck, we can stay up at the plate forever and the clock will never move. Our best baseball stories, both real and imagined, perform this miracle. As Robert Coover writes in *The Universal Baseball Association*, "The game. Life. Could you separate them?" Not in the diamond-bright art form that baseball is for America.

Baseball narrative, which possesses time for its own ends, not in submission, possesses history itself and speaks to every level of our experience. □

Christian K. Messenger is professor of English at the University of Illinois at Chicago. He will discuss "Literature and Baseball: A Natural" in September in Galveston, Texas.

Galveston College in Texas received \$75,000 to support "Baseball and the Meaning of America" from the Public Humanities Projects program of the Division of Public Programs. The series of public programs will run from July to December in Galveston's 1894 Grand Opera House.

THE GAME ENDURES:



A CIVIL WAR DIARY

IN THE MIDST OF the bloodshed of the Civil War, the sport of baseball remained a popular diversion both North and South, as diaries of the time attest. Captured at the Battle of Gettysburg on 3 July 1863, 1st Lt. William

Peel of the Eleventh Mississippi Infantry Regiment was removed with other Confederate prisoners to Sandusky, Ohio. He describes baseball in the prison yard.

29 July 1864

"... There came near being a serious accident in the yard this evening. There was a party engaged in a game of baseball. The man at the bat struck with all his might, but missed the ball & the bat—a very large heavy one—flew out of his hands & struck Cap't Fellows, who stood a few feet from him, plump in the forehead. The Cap't uttered a low exclamation, threw both hand[s] to his head, staggered & would have fallen to the ground, but was caught by a gentleman near him. He lay quite insensible for several minutes, but bashing his head at length revived him. The square,

butt end of the paddle struck him & consequently left no cut, but his head must be badly bruised. Leaning on the shoulders of a couple of his friends, he walked, after a while, to his Block."

28 August 1864

"There has been, for several weeks, a challenge pending over one of the baseball clubs.

"The Confederate Club challenged the Southern Club. The game came off today & created more excitement than anything has done in the yard for a long time. There were several hundred dollars bet on the game by the clubs & outsiders.

"They played nine innings. The Southerners beat the Confederates very badly: the *Rounds* standing nineteen to eleven." □

William H. Peel enlisted as a private in the Prairie Rifles at Okolona, Mississippi, on the 25th of April 1861. The twenty-three-year-old farmer was elected First Lieutenant at the reorganization of the Company on the 21st of

April 1862. Lt. Peel was severely wounded at the battle of Second Manassas, 29 August 1862, and slightly wounded and captured at the battle of Gettysburg, 3 July 1863. Peel was sent to the U. S. A. West's Hospital at Baltimore, Maryland on the 19th of August 1863. He was then transferred to Fort McHenry at Baltimore on the 12th of September 1863 and later to Johnson's Island in Lake Erie near Sandusky, Ohio, arriving there on the 30th of September 1863. While there, he wrote hundreds of pages of notes in his diary before dying of pneumonia at 11:00 p.m. on the 17th of February 1865. First Lt. William H. Peel was buried on Johnson's Island, five rows from the south gate, twenty-eight graves east of west side of graveyard, grave #129.

*—Mississippi Department of Archives and History,
Jackson, Mississippi.*



Field of Dreams:

THE HOUSES THAT
BASEBALL BUILT

BY JOHN PASTIER

—National Baseball Library & Archive

MORE THAN ANY other professional sport, baseball kindles the gentle flames of retrospection, literary impulse, mythologizing, and nostalgia.

It is little wonder that Renaissance scholar Angelo Bartlett Giamatti, president of Yale and the National League, and Major League baseball commissioner, was so in love with the sport. He admired its long-established traditions, sense of order and balance, varied geometries, and, perhaps above all, its symbolically pastoral setting. The subject of his dissertation was the garden in Renaissance literature, and he often compared ballparks to paradise, a word of Persian origin meaning an enclosed garden. Others have likened these stadiums to shrines and cathedrals. In his novel *Shoeless Joe*, W. P. Kinsella equated the making of a ball field with a feat of magic: "If you build it, he will come."

In the beginning, to borrow a famous opening line which baseball diehards sometimes render as "in the big inning," enclosed parks, which were born in Brooklyn in 1862, were a critical step in the development of America's first professional team sport. Within a generation, they had evolved from simple fenced fields with some male spectators sitting on the ground, most standing, and the few ladies seated on movable benches, to turreted Victorian double-decked carpenters' extravaganzas. Some were the largest places of public assembly in their city.

They were relatively quick and inexpensive to build, and they were also quick to catch a wayward spark and burn to the ground.

The next generation witnessed the emergence of nearly fireproof structures of steel and concrete, accommodating more fans than their predecessors and often cloaked in elaborate masonry exteriors that resembled public buildings. Their expense and permanence assured that the major-league teams that owned them would not casually switch cities after an unprofitable year or two. The resulting fifty-two-year period of total geographic stability seems amazing in retrospect, and is unlikely to be repeated.

The parks of 1909-1923, from Philadelphia's Shibe park to Ebbets Field and Yankee Stadium, can accurately be called classics. They were urban buildings formed by local street patterns, and were usually parts of living neighborhoods, accessible by foot and trolley, where residents or factory workers could see games from their windows or rooftops, and where local businesses benefited from their presence. At their best, they embodied a human-scale grandeur, an intimacy that made spectators virtual participants in the game, and encompassed a combination of architectural polish and engineering functionalism that could endear them to traditionalists and modernists alike.

After Ebbets Field, the jewel-box ballpark gave way to a demand for

ever larger capacities and more diverse uses than just a single sport. At eight-year intervals, record seating capacities were registered by Braves Field, Yankee Stadium, and Cleveland Stadium, which was built in the vain hope of attracting the 1932 Olympic Games to the shores of Lake Erie. The last two stadiums introduced an impressive new character to the building type. They were monumental gathering places, sometimes attracting crowds that numbered upwards of 80,000, not just for baseball, but for events such as prize fights, football, track meets, religious congresses, and even occasional operatic spectacles that must have been more satisfying as visual experiences than as musical ones.

Before Cleveland Stadium, all these facilities had been built by the team owners on private land. No team, however, could hope to build on such a scale, particularly during the Great Depression. Conceived in part for communal purposes (bringing in the Olympics and redeveloping the lakefront), and in part to stimulate the local economy, it redefined the stadium as a public and civic building rather than a private one. Team owners were quick to see the economic advantage of larger stadiums built with public money, and since then only two major league parks, Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles and Joe Robbie Stadium in suburban Miami, have been built by the team occupying it. And even those were built on publicly owned land donated to the teams.

With public ownership of stadiums, geographic stability was weakened. A team could easily migrate to a more promising market if it didn't have to finance its quarters there. Between 1901 and 1952, no teams moved, but since then, nine teams have changed cities, others have threatened to, and twelve have been added through franchise expansion.

At first, some of the publicly built stadiums were used only for baseball, but economics soon dictated that football games be played there too. Football teams had occupied the older parks too, but the shape of the field and seating had always been tailored primarily to the



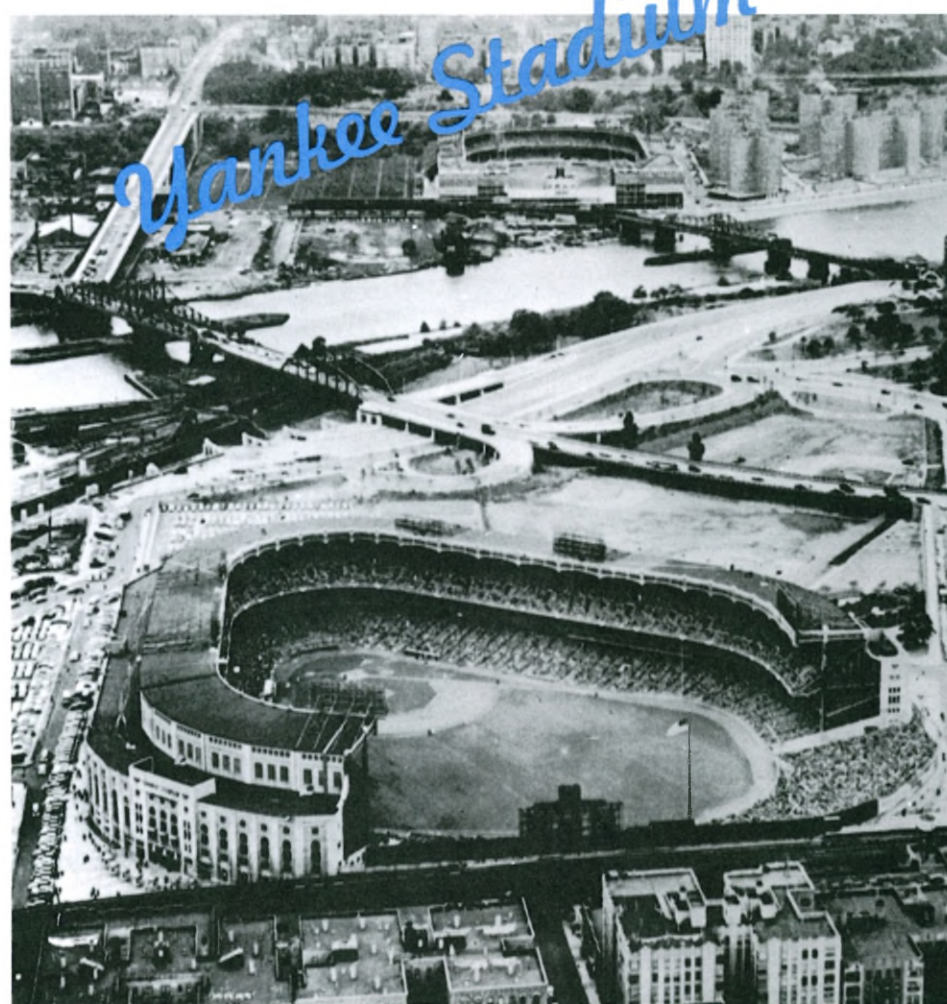
The first game of the first World Series, between the Boston Pilgrims and the Pittsburgh Pirates, at the Huntington Avenue Grounds in Boston, October 1, 1903.

needs of baseball. But in the 1960s, circular stadiums that favored neither sport, with movable seating sections and uniformly high seating capacities, became standard.

Baseball fans soon felt cheated, for these large multipurpose stadiums had none of the character, intimacy, or neighborhood quality of the classic parks. Their seating patterns were not intimate. Often they sat in the midst of suburban parking lots that occupied one hundred acres or more. Even worse, the opening of Houston's Astrodome in 1965 inaugurated a new chapter of baseball history: indoor games. Prompted at first by the enervatingly hot and humid coastal Texas climate, and then by Seattle's rain, Minnesota's cold, and finally the cold and snow of Canada, five roofed stadiums were built to offer fans and players heated and cooled air, artificial grass, and lights even during day games. The best of these may be Toronto's SkyDome, which compensates for poor baseball seating patterns by providing unprecedented luxury in its private suites, club seats, integral hotel, restaurants and bars (all of which have views of the playing field,) and, most important, by having a retractable roof that permits outdoor games in good weather.

By 1970, only six of the sixteen pre-World War II fireproof parks were still in use; or, seen from a different perspective, only a quarter of the active parks were old ones. Today the number is down to three, representing less than eleven percent of the major league inventory: Wrigley Field, Tiger Stadium, and Fenway Park, and all of these are threatened in some degree. (Yankee Stadium is sometimes included in this group, but it was radically rebuilt in the mid-70s, and is now essentially a modern park.)

But now, as if to make up for the errors of that time, neotraditional parks have come into fashion. In 1992, Baltimore's Oriole Park at Camden Yards began a trend that has been continued this year at Cleveland and Arlington, Texas, and will be extended further in Denver, Atlanta, and possibly Milwaukee. Promoted as old-fashioned parks with modern amenities, their attributes include seating capacities in the range of forty-five to nearly fifty thousand, angular seating and field geometries rather than curved ones, steel structural frames rather than concrete, and exterior styling that almost always



Yankee Stadium was built in 1923 to showcase Babe Ruth. The Polo Grounds (demolished in 1964) can be seen across the Harlem River.

harks back to the pre-Depression era. Baltimore's park is also notable for its strong integration with the street life and physical texture of its city. The Texas Rangers' new home, coyly named "The Ballpark in Arlington," makes liberal use of applied decoration in the form of block-letter T's, ornaments in the shape of Texas, lone stars, and longhorn steer heads. It boasts sixteen shades of green in its paint scheme and a concourse modeled after Chartres cathedral.

These postmodern stadiums have been hailed by their sponsors and the press as combining the best features of old ballparks with today's comfort and technology. (Interestingly, all new stadiums, even the most currently disdained examples of the 60s and 70s, were greeted by initial enthusiasm by the media when they opened.) In truth, most of them are modern facilities dressed in ersatz old-fashioned garb. To their credit, their playing fields take on some of the irregularities that made game action in the older parks more interesting than in the symmetrical and

nearly uniform stadiums of a generation ago, and their linear seating patterns visually resemble the classic parks'. But in three important respects, most of them fall short of the standards set seventy and eighty years ago.

The first is architectural integrity. Until a few years ago, virtually all baseball stadiums were built in the architectural and engineering styles of their time. Today the issue is complicated by architectural postmodernism, which is a simplified, usually unconvincing, and sometimes ironic use of older styles. As part of that regressive zeitgeist, most of today's neotraditional parks are buildings in simplified period costume, overt appeals to nostalgia rather than attempts to develop expression from a building's inherent structural and functional characteristics. The neotraditional design strategy leads to inauthenticity because there is virtually no way to duplicate the construction methods, materials, detail, workmanship, human scale, and manageable size of the classic parks under today's economic conditions.



Opening ceremony before the first game at Oriole Park at Camden Yards, in the heart of downtown Baltimore, April 6, 1992.

The second is economic stratification. Traditionally, baseball tickets were priced so that the most expensive ticket cost roughly three or four times as much as the cheapest, and the number of inexpensive seats was about ten to twenty percent of the total. But in the newer parks, bleacher seats are not in great supply, and the price ratio can reach as high as 28 to 1. This is due to air-conditioned private suites where seats can cost between \$37 and \$112 per game, exclusive of catering costs, and where tickets must be bought in blocks of eight or more for the entire eighty-one-game home season, payable in advance.

Arlington provides an illustration of the private economic benefits of a publicly built new stadium. The old park had twenty thousand seats priced below \$8, while the new one has only six thousand. In moving next door, the team was able to raise its average ticket price by 35 percent. (The Cleveland Indians raised theirs 39 percent upon moving into Jacobs Field this spring.) Arlington's suites will cost between \$30,000 and \$200,000 this year, food and drink not included. With 118 of these suites available, the team can gross perhaps an added \$10 million annually once they are fully leased. Another exclusive seating category, the club section, occupies its own level, sells at top prices, and carries a \$4 per game surcharge for waiter service.

These two elite seating areas are the keystones of all new stadiums. They occupy the prime space immediately above the lower deck, and since they require considerable room, cannot both be added to existing ballparks.

Baltimore has one level of suites. In Arlington, there are two, and Cleveland has three. The private desire to create such gold mines is the engine that propels the construction of new ballparks, while the public desire to return to a golden age of stadiums is the shiny red fiberglass body on this replica cabriolet.

The final problem is lack of intimacy. Today's "old-fashioned" stadiums are far larger than their role models. Arlington Stadium takes up almost three times the area of Ebbets Field, and its built portion (exclusive of the playing field) occupies more than five times the space of the Brooklyn park's. And, while it is touted as old-fashioned, it has 5,784 more seats than the modern park it replaces. At 49,292 seats, it holds more than some of the huge concrete doughnuts of the 60s and 70s, and about 50 percent more than the typical classic park. Jacobs Field in downtown Cleveland has only 60 percent of its predecessor's seating capacity, yet is larger.

Due to added seating tiers, wider seats, greater legroom, and the elimination of columns within the seating areas, modern parks have upper decks that are much farther from the field than those of the early fireproof era. In today's parks, lack of upper deck field proximity (a major determinant of intimacy) is even worse due to the positioning of suites and club seats. Taking a typical top deck seat behind home plate as a yardstick, average viewing distance to the batter has increased from 108 feet in 1909 to 180 feet in the notorious 1961-70 decade, and to 194 feet in the four newest parks. Of the last group, Baltimore is the best at 182

feet, and Arlington is the worst in baseball history at two hundred feet, despite a cautious experiment with columns within the lower seating deck.

Oriole Park at Camden Yards was a major step in the evolution of ballpark design, but its emulators have not matched its two prime accomplishments: relative intimacy and integration with urban life and form. The current ballpark building boom is the biggest since 1909-1915, and in most cases represents an overall gain over the stadiums that are being replaced. But at the same time, these structures are not fully honoring baseball tradition as claimed. Until greater efforts are made to curb the mushrooming size of the new parks, to bring their upper decks closer to the action, to provide a greater amount of affordable, old-fashioned bleacher seats, and to seek authentic architectural expression, the public benefits derived from building these \$250 million to \$400 million projects will be largely cosmetic, while the private gains will be old fashioned in a way that nineteenth-century railroad and oil barons would greatly admire. □

John Pastier is an architecture critic and ballpark consultant who has worked on the design of parks in Baltimore and Trenton. He has taught architecture, urban design, and criticism at the University of California at Berkeley and McGill University in Montreal.

Pastier will speak on "Architecture and Baseball: The Houses that Ruth (and Mays and Clemente and Brett) Built" in Galveston, Texas.

Diana Natalicio

MY REAL MISSION RIGHT now is to try to communicate to people that the world that they see may not be real," says Diana Natalicio, "that this society will only survive and all of us benefit, if all of us in fact participate."

Natalicio is directly speaking to the "privileged" in society—those with an education—to say to them that they must share what they have. She believes there is a growing gap between them and the "have-nots" and that education is the only equalizer.

"I think I am a voice. I certainly don't pretend to be the only voice and I certainly don't see myself as single-handedly going out and saving the world. But I am very idealistic about all of this. In many ways, I believe so strongly in education."

Since 1988, Natalicio has been president of the University of Texas at El Paso, an institution with a large enrollment of Hispanics—almost two-thirds of its 17,000 students. And most of the students—86 percent—commute daily from their homes in El Paso.

"They're members of very large families supporting younger brothers and sisters. They have no health insurance. They're dealing with many of life's challenges and trying to go to school at the same time. And most often, their academic careers are interrupted by life's challenges, not by the fact that they're not quality students or that they're not going to be successful ultimately."

Natalicio recalls twenty-nine students who graduated in the class of 1992 after ten years of classes. "They had the tenacity to hang in there and finish. If you look at their histories and what happened to them over those ten years—it's absolutely awesome. So from the admission side, I am more interested in helping people succeed than I am in keeping them out. And I am more interested in their finishing than in the speed of their finishing."

Natalicio is UTEP's seventeenth and first woman president. She arrived at the university twenty-two years ago as an assistant linguistics professor. Over the last two decades, she has written



Courtesy of University of Texas at El Paso

A Voice for the Unheard

numerous books, reviews, and articles on applied linguistics, specifically on the student who has difficulty speaking standard English.

Natalicio graduated from her hometown college of St. Louis University with a degree in Spanish and headed to Brazil on a Fulbright Fellowship. "I had never been on an airplane," she muses. "And I took off for Brazil and lived there for a year and that's when I really suddenly understood that my little world was really very small."

Five years later, after receiving a master's degree in Portuguese and Brazilian area studies at the University of Texas, she returned to Brazil as a language coordinator for the Peace Corps training program. She went back to Austin for her doctorate in linguistics. "Knowing more than one language gives you an opportunity to come into contact with different people. And I've always liked languages very much. I think it's because it's not a solitary thing—language."

Natalicio says another reason for her language study was "back in the late 1950s, early 1960s, you didn't worry much about what job you were going to get, you just majored in something because you liked it." She adds that

the professors and Jesuits from the university brought life to the language. This is part of the encouragement that helped her become the first in her family to go to school, much like the 62 percent of UTEP's student body who are first generation university students.

"My parents didn't go to college. They were small business people. But they valued education," she says. "I feel I was very fortunate in so many ways that I had a very supportive and encouraging home background, that people along the way, in a variety of settings, gave me opportunities to do a lot of things—different things."

"That's where I am now with my own life. I want to try—in one way or another—to make it possible for others to have those opportunities because I know what it meant to me. So I see myself now in the role of the opportunity-creator rather than the opportunity-seizer."

She serves on the board of the Texas Committee for the Humanities and is a member of the Department of Education's Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education. With membership in more than thirty-five academic, humanitarian, and civic organizations, she travels across the country making an average of ten speeches each month.

Her ties are very strong to the Hispanic community, nevertheless she says her voice is not limited to representing one group. "I really don't like divisions very much. I think we are too divided as a society into pockets—color or gender. I am most interested in tapping the full potential of the human resources in this society. I see it as trying to unleash or create an opportunity for the development of people—whoever they are, whatever their color, whatever their ethnicity, whatever their gender. People are just very important."

"I think once we get to know each other, a lot of these perceived tensions would just vanish because we're all people. We all have the same kinds of needs, and desires, and hopes, and dreams. And why not?" □



Gandhi in Geneva, Switzerland, Answering Questions through a Translator.
December 1931.

Wonders of Chicago's Great Century of Progress Are Revealed to
Thousands on Eve of Opening. May 17, 1933.

THE 1930s: PRELUDE TO WAR

BY
JANIS
JOHNSON

IMAGINE THAT YOU ARE IN A MOVIE THEATER. The house lights dim, and before the feature film, the newsreels flash—"Europe in Shadow of War! . . . Britain! London rings itself with anti-aircraft guns. . . France! Paris speeds mobilization . . . America! In Washington, President Roosevelt holds history-making press conference and discusses untiring peace efforts. In New York, travelers returning from Europe happily hail *Miss Liberty!*" For approximately a half-century—before nightly television news and "Entertainment Tonight"—newsreels were the *USA Today* of yesterday. "The newsreels were at once thrilling spectacles and informative documents, the unique fusion of entertainment and enlightenment that came to be the hallmark of modern mass culture," says Robert Rosen, director of UCLA's Film and Television Archive, the nation's second largest publicly held collection of film and television materials, after the Library of Congress. "Although intended to be shown only once when the events were still fresh, the tens of thousands of newsreel stories now constitute a veritable treasure trove of historical documentation."

The UCLA archive—with more than two hundred thousand motion pictures, television programs, and radio broadcasts—is a repository of twenty-seven million feet of Hearst Metrotone newsreel footage dating from 1919 to 1968, or more than five thousand hours of visual history. In this material, Rosen says, "one can identify a virtually infinite array of subjects: mass media in mass society, the automobile and the twentieth

Europe in Shadow of War! . . . Britain! London rings itself with anti-aircraft guns . . . France! Paris speeds mobilization . . . America! In Washington, President



Nazis Burn Books of Noted Writers in Great Bonfire. May 24, 1933.



King Alexander of Yugoslavia and French Foreign Minister Barthou Moments before Their Assassination. October 9, 1934.

century, the history of aviation, local and regional histories, the American presidency, multiculturalism in America, images of women, recreation and leisure, criminality and violence, war and revolution."

This material is in constant demand for commercial feature films and broadcast production, documentaries, and public television series.

Unfortunately, however, much of the newsreel legacy has been lost and much of what remains is seriously endangered, "a victim of neglect, indifferent conservation, the ravages of chemical deterioration, and disastrous fires," Rosen says. A particular problem is the fragile nature of the nitrate film stock on which newsreels were shot before the changeover to acetate safety film in the early 1950s. Nitrate film has a life span of approximately sixty years under good storage conditions; eventually it turns into a fine powder. Of the nitrate stock that survives, only a small portion is available for scholarly research.

In the race against time, the archive, with support from private partners and the National Endowment for the Humanities, is engaged in a three-year project dedicated to selecting, preserving, and providing access to the original footage from one decade of this newsreel era, 1930 to 1939. The Great Depression, the rise of fascism and the Spanish Civil War, and Japan's invasion of China were only a few of the breaking news stories of the 1930s.

Signs of the times. . . "Japan Pushes On in World Trade: Behind all the 'war talk,' Nippon goes ahead winning foreign markets" . . . "Sensational Films of Shanghai Bombing! The greatest drama of the war in China filmed by News of the Day cameramen at the risk of their lives!" . . . "Sky Scraping Blimp Meets Disaster: Baby dirigible *Columbia*, veteran of daring flights over the towers of N.Y., cracks up in storm" . . .

"Unique School Trains Debutantes! Society's daughters attend classes in New York to learn how to become the smartest of smart set—with perfect posture and poise."

. . . "Motor Strikers Riot as Sit-downers Defy Court. Graphic pictures of the strike at Flint, Michigan, show that clubs and tear gas bombs were used in the clash at the factory." . . . "Prosperity always returns, and will again," says ninety-three-year-old John D. Rockefeller, Sr., handing out dimes."

In the 1930s, newsreels matured into a sophisticated, wide-reaching form of communication, the archivists explain. Not only does the material illuminate the drama of these richly historical years leading up to World War II, but the project itself "provides a model for how other donors might work with the archive to rescue the [entire] newsreel collection."

An average of eighty million Americans (more than half the population at the time) attended movies each week between 1930 and 1945, according to the project organizers. Newsreels were integral to motion picture exhibitions during this period. Block booking practices insured that biweekly newsreel issues preceded most, if not all, movie feature presentations, making newsreels an important factor in shaping public opinion. Newsreels portrayed war and peace, technological innovations, popular culture, and sports. They even contained a "society page" for the latest in celebrity gossip.

Five major newsreel companies were at work—Paramount News, Universal Newsreel, Fox Movietone News, Warner-Pathe News, and Hearst Metrotone News. Their vast networks of camera operators and journalists shot footage around the globe and shipped it back to New York for distribution. "Newsreels continued to be influential during the rise of television," the organizers note.

*Roosevelt holds history-making press conference and discusses untiring peace efforts. In New York, travelers returning from Europe happily hail *Miss Liberty*!*



Nation Unites in Birthday Party for President. February 3, 1934.



Complete Films of Hindenburg Disaster! May 10, 1937.

"The Hearst newsreel company supplied television stations throughout the country with daily news coverage until well into the 1970s. Hearst news footage appeared on landmark television news programs such as Edward R. Murrow's *See It Now* and *Victory at Sea*."

From a scholarly view, newsreels are important not only for their lens on the times, but also for the opportunities they present for the analysis of media techniques and the role of ideology in mass communications. Archivists predict that only two of the five major American newsreel collections are likely to survive intact to be passed on to future generations and made accessible for scholarly use—the Hearst Metrotone News Collection at UCLA and Universal Newsreel at the National Archives.

More signs of the times: "Kids Serenade Mussolini: Il Duce gets a musical reception visiting sons of Italians living abroad"... "World's Fair Gets Finishing Touches: Wonders of Chicago's great Century of Progress are revealed to thousands on eve of opening"... "Babe Ruth on the Job with Braves: Bambino Arrives in St. Petersburg, Florida, with Boston team and big crowds pack field for his first workout"... "Quintuplet Record Is Put in Shade: Mother in Refugio, Texas, gives birth to nineteen babies, but then she's a Great Dane and it's a record for her breed."

The Hearst Corporation donated the Hearst collection to UCLA in 1982. Of the five major companies, only Hearst was closely associated with a newspaper organization—produced by journalists as opposed to the entertainment industry. Despite their point-of-view interpretation of world and national events, the Hearst newsreels showed less of an obvious bias than Hearst newspapers, according to the UCLA archivists.

"Though the editorial emphasis often reflects American isolationist tendencies, Hearst's coverage of regional conflicts in Europe and Asia was exemplary," UCLA's Cornelia

Emerson and Laura Kaiser have written. "In contrast to later periods (such as during World War II) when newsreel companies pooled their footage, the material from the 1930s has a distinctive point of view, making it a truly fascinating subject of study for both historians and students of the media."

While print sources remain crucial to understanding events of this era, moving image documents "give new context to this period," the archivists note.

In addition, many of the Hearst newsreel journalists were important figures in the development of the medium, especially Ariel Vargas and H. S. "Newsreel" Wong. (The Japanese government placed a bounty on Wong in 1937 because his coverage of Japanese attacks on Shanghai had aroused such international indignation.)

Especially interesting, the archivists add, is foreign newsreel interpretation of the United States, such as a German Universum Film AG story showing life in Harlem from a Nazi perspective.

Of the entire Hearst collection, approximately fifteen percent exists as released newsreels, or edited stories including narration and sound. The rest of the vault materials contains stories that were prepared for broadcast never appeared and represent a rich but untapped primary research source. Scholarly access to all this has been limited for several reasons, chiefly the fragility of the materials and the lack of reference copies.

Although the collection is extensively cross-indexed and has a complete set of summaries of material released theatrically, there are glitches, according to Blaine Bartell, UCLA's newsreel preservationist. He cites the footage of the aftermath of the bombing of Guernica during the Spanish civil war, the event that inspired Picasso's famous painting. The story summary only mentions the town of Balboa, and the index card gives no cross-reference for Guernica, which is mentioned only in the card's shot

Sensational Films of Shanghai Bombing! The greatest drama of the war in China filmed by News of the Day cameramen at the risk of their lives!



Emperor Hirohito Reviewing His Troops. ca. 1939.



Marian Anderson at Her Lincoln Memorial Concert. April 1939.

summary. This problem was discovered during research preparation for the NEH grant.

About ten million of the twenty-seven million feet of Hearst newsreels were shot on unstable nitrate film and faced inevitable deterioration without preservation efforts. About five million feet were taken during the 1930s. The oldest portion of the collection, from 1919 to 1929, has been preserved, as well as early sound newsreels produced by Hearst before 1934.

More signs of the times: "Europe's Gravest Hour! Dramatic Highlights of Czechoslovakian Crisis!"... "Lindy in Russia on Mystery Trip: Lone Eagle, mum as usual, tours Moscow with imposing escort of Soviet airmen making rumors fly"... "Tydings Beats New Deal Purge! Seventh blacklisted Senator, renominated by Maryland landslide, tells what his victory means to country"... "Europe at War! Films flown from London-Paris-Berlin-Warsaw show Continental capitals as conflict breaks—curtain rising on greatest drama in history—the Second World War."

A year-by-year approach to preservation of the 1930s material would be prohibitive in cost and time as preservationists carefully reformat newsreels onto acetate safety film. Bartell told the *Los Angeles Times* that it took "a couple of years just to preserve the *Hindenburg* explosion reel." So, the archive has selected three distinct categories of subject matter.

"Regional Conflicts in the 1930s," or about thirty-five hours of film, will focus on localized military clashes, such as the Russo-Japanese War, the Sino-Japanese War, the Spanish civil war, the Russo-Finnish War, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, and the Manchukuo border dispute. The range of materials includes footage of Italian troops occupying Ethiopia, the Japanese attack on Shanghai, and Soviet troops fortifying Shuyngdufeng Hill on the Manchukuo-Soviet border.

The second category, "Europe Before World War II," or about one hundred twenty hours of film, will show the response of both major and minor European nations to economic and political instability, including the Depression and the rise of fascism, as well as the development of treaties, pacts, and alliances in a futile attempt to preserve peace. Here, materials include the French army reinforcing the Maginot line in 1936, the German-Japanese treaty in 1937, the French fascist movement, Mussolini's anti-Communist activities, and the nine-power conference in Brussels in 1937.

Finally, "The 1930s in America," another three hundred fifty feet, will survey the impact of domestic and international instability within the U.S. There is film of such events as gold disputes and purchases, New York Mayor LaGuardia denouncing Nazi savagery in 1938, a German Bund meeting at Madison Square Garden in 1939, an antiwar demonstration in New York in 1935, and riots in Harlem.

When this project is completed in 1996, scholars and educators will be able to access the material at the UCLA Film and Television Archive Research and Study Center on VHS videotape, while copies also will be made available to archives, libraries, and research institutions for scholarly use.

Apart from new records of events and emotions of the 1930s, the UCLA newsreel project is expected to have a long-range ripple effect on other preservation efforts. "By making this project possible," says Rosen, "the National Endowment for the Humanities has opened the door to a whole new approach to saving our moving image heritage." □

Janis Johnson is a free-lance writer in Alexandria, Virginia.

The University of California at Los Angeles received \$255,000 from the Preservation Projects Program of the Division of Preservation and Access.

Sky Scraping Blimp Meets Disaster: Baby dirigible Columbia, veteran of daring flights over the towers of N.Y., cracks up in storm



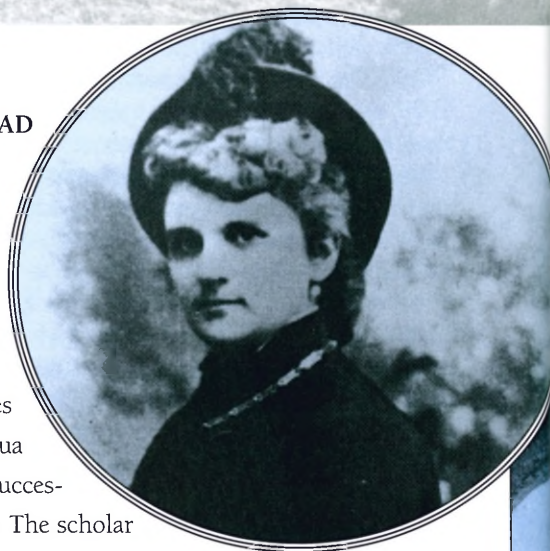
The chautauqua rolls into town each week, pitches its tents, and then, on five successive evenings, a scholar in the guise of Twain or one of the other writers, talks to the audience. The scholar answers questions while still in character, and then reverts to his or her modern-day self to continue the questions from the audience.

THE GREAT PLAINS CHAUTAUQUA TAKES TO THE ROAD for its tenth summer, bringing with it historical figures from America's Gilded Age—Mark Twain, Jack London, Stephen Crane, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Kate Chopin. Stopping in Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota, the chautauqua will revisit that era between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of World War I in which new technology, new immigration, and new political alliances were beginning to change the strata of society. The chautauqua rolls into town each week, pitches its tents, and then, on five successive evenings, a scholar in the guise of Twain or one of the other writers, talks to the audience. The scholar answers questions while still in character, and then reverts to his or her modern-day self to continue the questions from the audience.

The chautauqua includes daytime workshops, one for adults and one for children, brownbags, mapmaking and other activities. To prepare for the arrival of chautauqua, each of the states provides a series of reading and discussion programs, "Let's Talk About It," which draws from the writers' major texts: *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, *The Red Badge of Courage*, *The Call of the Wild*, *The Souls of Black Folk*, and *The Awakening*.

The first stop on this year's tour is McAlester, Oklahoma, on July 8, followed by Hiawatha, Kansas, on July 15, Hastings, Nebraska, on July 22, Sturgis, South Dakota, on July 29, and Bismarck, North Dakota, on August 5. The Great Plains Chautauqua is supported by the state humanities councils of the five states. For additional information call Everett C. Albers of the North Dakota Humanities Council at 1-800-338-6543.

In other chautauquas: Naturalist John Muir and environmentalist Gifford Pinchot are among the historical figures on the circuit in Arizona. In Nevada, the cast of visitors includes the westward visionaries Meriwether Lewis and Jesse Fremont.

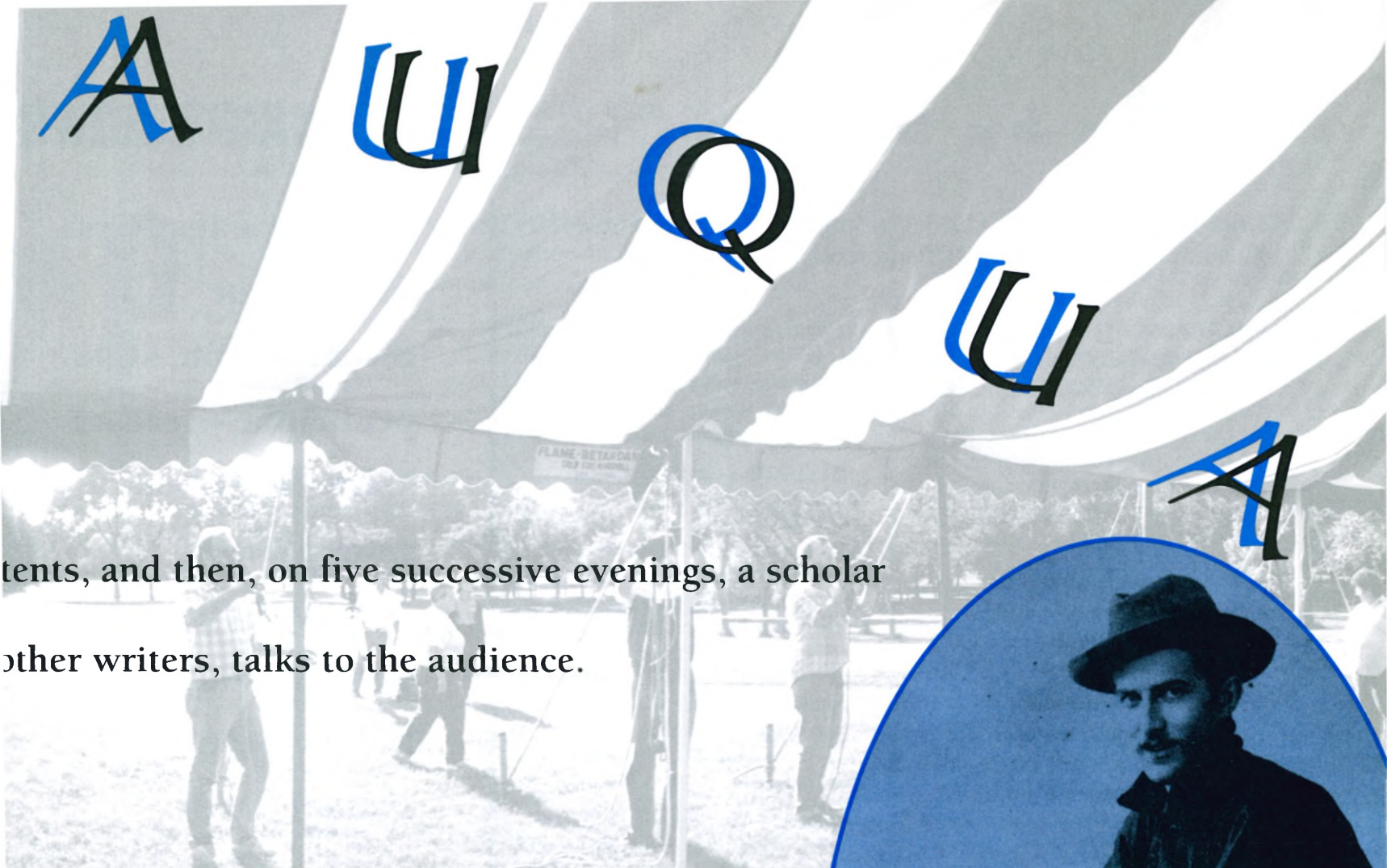


Kate Chopin (1850-1904) did not begin her brief literary career until 1884, when she was a widow with six children.

—Courtesy of Missouri Historical Society

Mark Twain habitually wore white suits, saying, "I prefer to be clean in the matter of rainment—clean in a dirty world."

—Courtesy of Great Plains Chautauqua Society



tents, and then, on five successive evenings, a scholar
other writers, talks to the audience.

—Courtesy of Great Plains Chautauqua Society



*Stephen Crane as a war
correspondent in Greece, 1897.*

—Courtesy of Syracuse University

*Jack London in 1909, writing
in the garden of his home in
Glen Ellen, California.*

—Courtesy of Henry E. Huntington Library



Here is a sampling of activities around the country sponsored by state humanities councils and foundations:

ALABAMA—"Making It in the Birmingham District," an exhibition of documentary photography of the city's industrial history, opens on July 20 at the Downtown Public Library. The exhibition moves to the National Building Museum in Washington, D.C., in late September. For additional information call 205-930-0540.

In celebration of its twentieth anniversary, the Alabama Humanities Foundation has introduced a new statewide program, "Humanities at Work," directed toward judges and lawyers, doctors and nurses, corporate executives, and other professionals. The participants meet in one-to-two-day sessions around the state to discuss humanities texts and their pertinence to the workplace. Larry Allums of Mobile University is the lead scholar.

ARIZONA—A new roster of historic figures is joining the chautauqua circuit this summer. Among them are Mary Austin, John Muir, William Mulholland, Gifford Pinchot, John Wesley Powell, and Brigham Young. The characters are portrayed by scholars who make a first-person presentation; then the audience has an opportunity to ask questions of the historical character and the scholar. For information call 602-257-0335.

CONNECTICUT—The Hartford Stage Company will offer a weeklong seminar on Shakespeare's *Richard III* to middle and high school teachers of English and drama. The July 18-22 sessions will include lectures and discussions on textual analysis, and biographical and contextual approaches to the play by professors from Trinity College, the University of Hartford, and Brandeis University; accompanying the lectures will be workshops on using live performance in the classroom.

In Waterbury, the Mattatuck Museum will offer a one-week seminar for teachers of grades 4-12 on teaching about ethnic diversity. Scholars and the museum staff will demonstrate the use

of archives and other community resources to help teachers to incorporate material about immigrant experiences and diverse cultures into their teaching plans; July 23-29.

GEORGIA—An exhibition titled "Puppetry of African Descent" opens July 8 at the Center for Puppetry Arts in Atlanta in conjunction with the National Black Arts Festival. It contains thirty-five objects from a variety of collections. The exhibition will be in Atlanta through November. It will visit Huntsville, Alabama; Nashville, Tennessee; Goldendale, Washington; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Washington, D.C., in 1995. For information call 404-873-3089.

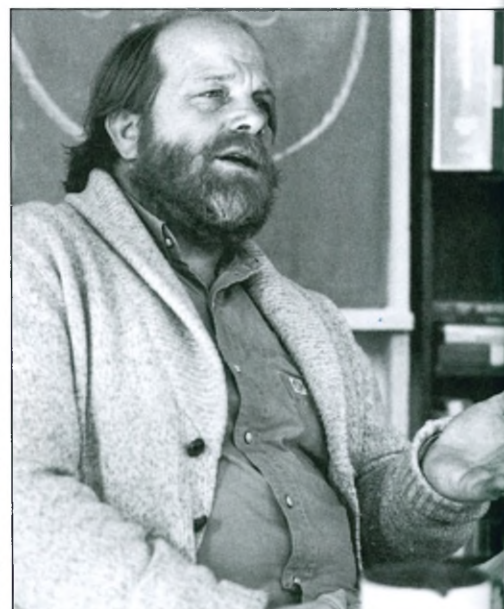
IDAHO—An exhibition at Blaine County Museum explores the life and ideas of poet Ezra Pound, born in Hailey, Idaho. It includes photographs, excerpts from letters and poems, text, and an interpretive brochure designed to illustrate Pound's importance to twentieth century literature. In the fall, the exhibition will begin traveling to public libraries in Boise, Idaho Falls, Lewiston, Moscow, Pocatello, and Twin Falls before returning for permanent display in Blaine County.

INDIANA—In conjunction with the Historic Landmarks Association of Indiana, the council will operate an information booth July 2-3 at the Indiana Black Expo in the Convention Center in Indianapolis.

IOWA—"Johnson County: A River Runs Through It" continues through November at the Heritage Museum in Coralville. The exhibition examines the history of the Iowa River and the lives of the people who have lived along its banks. Visitors see an old-time trading post, learn about the lives of Native Americans who inhabited the area 10,000 years ago, revisit famous floods, and learn about the making of clamshell buttons, ice-gathering, and grist mills.

BREAKING DOWN

Through a Teachers' Institute on reconciliation, state penitentiary teacher Mark Sanderson gains a better understanding of the Lakota and Dakota peoples ...and himself.



—Photo by Mark Pollard/Media One, Inc.

Mark Sanderson, a teacher at the South Dakota State Penitentiary, believes the key to conciliation is understanding one's culture.

PRISON WALLS

BY DAVID REMUND

PRISON WALLS MIGHT SEEM AN UNLIKELY PLACE FOR A FRIENDSHIP built on respect. Mark Sanderson, a teacher at the South Dakota State Penitentiary School, and inmate George Blue Bird prove otherwise. Since Sanderson attended a South Dakota Humanities Council teachers' institute on reconciliation, the men's friendship has grown even stronger.

"Mark is one of the few people who has proven to me that this world is a nice place to live," Blue Bird explains. Blue Bird grew up in the shadow of alcoholism on the Pine Ridge reservation.

Now, under Sanderson's supervision, Blue Bird teaches the Lakota language and culture he learned from his grandparents to his fellow inmates. To achieve that success, Blue Bird needed help overcoming his animosity.

"Part of the respect I show for George is listening," Sanderson says of his friendship with Blue Bird. "But that empathy and understanding can only happen because I have learned more about myself and my own culture."

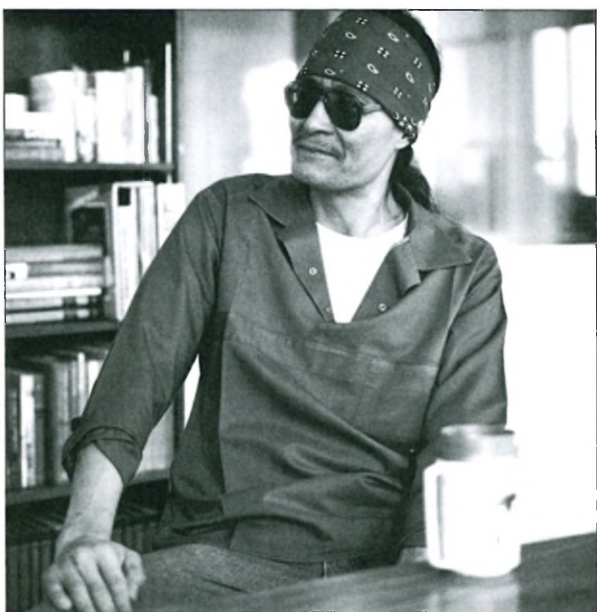
During a two-week teachers' institute in 1992, Sanderson studied the oral and written accounts of Native American, Hutterite, Russian, Scandinavian, and German settlements. He and the other teachers who attended learned how to become better advocates and promoters of the many cultures in South Dakota.

"One significant thing I learned was the immense diversity among the European settlers of the state," Sanderson explains. "The Russian, German, and Scandinavian peoples didn't just come here, settle the land, and hold hands. There were very real divisions among the different enclaves, which were not unlike the divisions we still have among whites and Native Americans."

Sanderson and Blue Bird agree that there should always be a time for asking important questions, for learning and dialogue—even in prison.

"The basis of understanding is learning," Sanderson says. "The teacher and student must have that understanding and connectedness. If we do not feel a connectedness, there will be problems in our society. Nobody's a martyr and nobody's a savior here in our school. We're all on a pilgrimage. We have a long way to go."

The institute is being taught again this summer at Sinte Gleska University and South Dakota State University. Gifts from US West and Black Hills Power and Light, along with grants from the South Dakota Humanities Council, will fund the 1994 session.



Inmate George Blue Bird teaches the Lakota culture to fellow inmates under Sanderson's supervision.

Excerpted from the South Dakota Humanities Council publication, *The Human Adventure*. Reprinted by permission.

KANSAS—The Great Plains Chautauqua visits Hiawatha July 15-19 with Mark Twain and other historical figures from the Gilded Age. (See page 28.)

KENTUCKY—An exhibition titled "Impact of the First Paper Mill in the American West" is currently on display at the Georgetown and Scott County Museum in Georgetown. The exhibition documents the operations and significance of the Craig-Parker paper mill, which opened in 1793. One of the owners was Elijah Craig, a Baptist preacher who also founded the town of Georgetown, started the school that became Georgetown College, and, many believe, invented bourbon. The exhibition includes a model of the mill, examples of paper it manufactured, and a sixty-page interpretive booklet.

MAINE—John Wilmerding, visiting curator of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, will speak July 20 at the opening session of "Maine in America: Lecture Series on Maine's Role in American Art." The four-part series is being held at the William A. Farnsworth Library and Art Museum in Rockland through mid-August. Another aspect of art, "The Craftsmen as Yeomen: Jeffersonian Ideals in the Modern American Crafts Movement," will be the topic July 11 at the Haystack Mountain School of Crafts' Gateway Building in Deer Isle.

The council is also offering two weeklong teachers' institutes on the Holocaust, from July 17-22 in Presque Isle and July 3-10 at Bates College in Lewiston. For information phone 207-773-5051.

MARYLAND—Authors Marita Golden and Juan Williams will examine the treatment of the Civil Rights movement in fiction and nonfiction, and poet E. Ethelbert Miller will discuss links between politics and poetry at Baltimore's annual Artscape Festival on July 16 and 17. For information, call 410-625-4830.

Continuing: "Lavish Legacies: Baltimore Album Quilts, 1846-54" is touring fifteen sites throughout Maryland. The exhibition focuses on issues

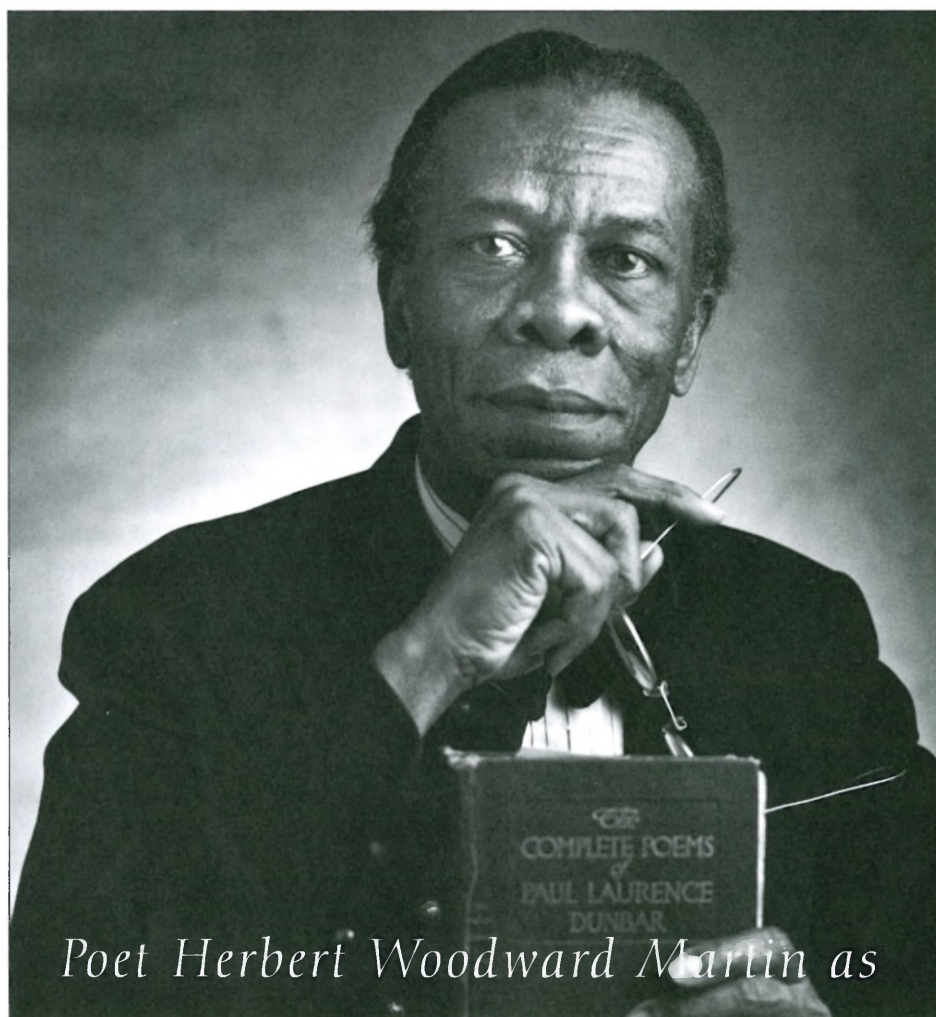
relating to women in the 1840s and 1850s; interpretive programs include an exhibition audio and a dramatic reading, "Quilt Voices," based on nineteenth-century diaries.

MISSISSIPPI—"The Sportable William Faulkner," which continues at the State Historical Museum in Jackson, includes a collection of seldom seen family photographs and a newly unveiled portrait of the writer. Film versions of Faulkner's fiction are being shown in the course of the exhibition, which runs through August.

In statewide activities, the council has embarked on a three-year initiative to assure that history, literature, ethics, and other traditional liberal arts are an integral part of the curriculum in Mississippi's community and junior colleges. The project is a joint effort with the Community College Foundation and the Millennium Group, a coalition of citizens and civic leaders across the state interested in postsecondary education. The project has taken them to Hinds Community College/Rankin, Meridian Community College, Pearl River College in Poplarville, Senatobia, and Tupelo. For information call 601-982-6752.

MISSOURI—"Sacred Encounters: Father DeSmet and the Indians of the Rocky Mountain West," continues at the Rockhurst College-Saint Louis University South Campus Building in Kansas City through August 21. The exhibition includes Native American and Catholic artifacts such as decorative clothing, sacred objects, trade goods, housewares, photographs, and drawings. For ticket and other information, call the co-sponsoring Kansas City Museum, 816-483-8300.

"Sacred Encounters" was organized by Washington State University in Pullman, in collaboration with the Cheney Cowles Museum in Spokane, Washington. The Jesuit Missouri Province Archives, the Confederated Salish and the Kootenai tribes of the Flathead Nation of western Montana, and the Coeur d'Alene tribe of Idaho also cooperated in producing the exhibition. Funding came from the Idaho, Missouri, Montana, and Washington Humanities Councils along with the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Skaggs Foundation, and the Lilly Endowment.



Courtesy of Ohio Humanities Council

Poet Herbert Woodward Martin as

Paul Laurence Dunbar

IN A LETTER DATED NEARLY ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, THE Dayton, Ohio, poet Paul Laurence Dunbar wrote of his ambition, "the all-absorbing desire to be a worthy singer of the songs of God and nature. To be able to interpret my own people through song and story, and to prove to the many that after all we are more human than African."

A century later, another black poet from Dayton, Herbert Woodward Martin, is speaking in the voice of Paul Laurence Dunbar with the intention of recreating the poet in his times.

His portrayal of "Paul Laurence Dunbar: The Eyes of the Poet" is one of the thirty talks featured in the Ohio Humanities Council's 1994 Speakers Bureau, which addresses the theme, "Community Reconsidered."

As a man of his times, among the first generation of blacks born after the Civil War, Dunbar was acutely aware that he had something to prove. The son of freed slaves, Dunbar worked hard to become an educated man. For most of his short life (1872-1906), he worked at menial jobs to support himself. And like most black Americans, Paul Laurence Dunbar was bilingual. He wrote in "proper" English as well as the dialect of his people.

Like Dunbar, Martin has proven himself a poet of his times. His celebrated poem, "A Negro Soldier's Vietnam Diary," deals with a crisis of his own generation. Martin under-

B Y T H E R E S E N O L A N

stands black colloquial speech as the verbal artistry of a people who had, until the Civil War, been legally denied the written word. "We have had to come back to the authentic narrative voice of black language," he asserts. "Oral forms are highlighted. You pick right up on the rhythm. It's an acceptable way of performing. I'm at more pains to hear the natural voice and speech patterns; in that instant some of Dunbar's come through."

Professor of English and poet-in-residence at the University of Dayton, Martin is also a physical dead ringer for Dunbar. In his presentation for the OHC Speakers Bureau, Martin draws upon theater, poetry, and historical authenticity to create the character and voice of Dunbar.

Martin addresses the language issue head on. Black culture is alive with its own vernacular, which has a deeply poetic cadence. Martin points out that Dunbar, like W. E. B. Du Bois, Zora Neale Hurston, Countee Cullen, and Langston Hughes, was caught between two basic vocabularies of black authors: "proper" English and dialect. All addressed the issue of dialect. Only Cullen rejected it. But according to Martin, "An awful stigma was attached to dialect." This stigma, Martin points out, was also fought by a white writer: "Mark Twain used dialect. He managed Southern black and Southern white as well as standard English. So did Dunbar in the same time frame." However, black authors sometimes found that the "unusual" market for their work, and often the patronage of wealthy whites, favored dialect. Martin notes, "One reason that Dunbar wrote in dialect was that he was able to sell dialect."

During the 1890s, Paul Laurence Dunbar became one of the earliest literary voices of his people. His poems were read aloud by schoolchildren both black and white, including the young Martin growing up much later in Birmingham, Alabama. In the 1990s, black novelist-poets such as Maya Angelou, Toni Morrison, and Alice Walker have created a renewed interest in dialect. "In Alice Walker's *The Color Purple*, because of the letter format, you 'hear the voice,'" says Martin. "Dialect is a problem, so we need to hear people pronouncing these words. When we read in our minds, we don't read aloud. We need to do that about three times to figure out the rhythms. When you have access to the poetry, you can read with joy and understanding."

Martin provides that voice. In Martin's interpretation of Dunbar's "Ante-Bellum Sermon," he summons up a preacher's exhortations, but the words themselves recall the music of black culture and assemble themselves into graceful lyrics. According to Martin, the language "starts with the blues, then slowly but surely it works into a gospel song, then goes back to blues and jazz." □

Therese Nolan is a freelance writer whose work appears in the Columbus Monthly and other magazines. Reprinted by permission of the Ohio Humanities Council.

NEBRASKA—The Great Plains Chautauqua visits Hastings on July 22 with Mark Twain and other historical figures from the Gilded Age. (See page 28.)

Other events: "The Dust Bowl Experience" will be discussed July 13 at St. Rose Church in Fremont, and "The Remarkable Suggs Family" will be the subject of a July 14 meeting at Union College in Lincoln.

NEVADA—The third Great Basin Chautauqua visits Rancho San Rafael Park in Reno July 25-28. The theme of this year's program is "Desert Travelers," featuring notable nineteenth-

century visitors to the state, among them Meriwether Lewis, Jessie Benton Fremont, Horace Greeley, and Brigham Young. Activities will include children's programs, book discussions, public policy forums, and a teacher training seminar, the Truckee River Institute. For information call 702-784-6587.

NEW JERSEY—Continuing: "People and Stories/*Gente y Cuentos*" involves small groups listening to and discussing contemporary short stories. The group meets at least six times for ninety-minute weekly sessions at which each story is read aloud, and

then discussed; targeted for audiences for whom English is a second language and for those enrolled in general educational development. Eighteen series were offered in 1993. For more information, call Georgia Whidden at 908-932-7726.

Continuing: InTHINK offers New Jersey's business community the opportunity to present humanities programs to its employees, primarily through lunch-hour lecture and discussion series in the workplace. Twenty-three such program are under way, with topics that include African American history, women's history, twentieth-century American fiction and poetry, Latin American short stories, Latin American Nobel Prize-winning literature, and music history.

NORTH DAKOTA—The Great Plains Chautauqua visits Bismarck August 5-9 with Mark Twain and other historical figures from the Gilded Age. (See page 28.)

OHIO—Representatives of four Native American Nations will meet with historians and the general public on July 22-23 to discuss issues such as the preservation of tribal history and customs, respect for burial grounds and mounds, and sovereignty. The symposium, "Ohio Native American Heritage Re-examined: Delaware, Shawnee, Miami, Wyandotte" will take place in the Tuscarawas Valley of eastern Ohio, where the last Delaware Grand Council gathered more than two hundred years ago. For information call Rachel Redinger at 216-343-1047.

OKLAHOMA—The Great Plains Chautauqua will stop in McAlester from July 8-12 with Mark Twain and other historical figures from the Gilded Age. (See page 28.)

OREGON—The story of Columbia Villa and the people who live there is the subject of a two-year project under way which will combine oral histories, exhibitions, photograph documentation, videotaping, and lectures and discussions. A picnic in August at the Villa will serve a way to invite the community's participation. Columbia Villa, built as public housing for workers in war industries in Portland in 1942, had fallen upon hard times by the 1980s, with drugs and unemployment undermining its residents; in the last five years there has been an effort

to reclaim the area and understand the values of the diverse cultural groups that live there. For information call Richard Lewis at 503-241-0543.

PENNSYLVANIA—The state is in the second year of a three-year project called "Raising Our Sites: Women's History in Pennsylvania." The work involves fourteen historic sites and is designed to strengthen the representation of women in exhibits, programming, and interpretation.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Continuing: "Quiet Heroes: a Documentation of the Civil Rights Era from 1949-1993," at South Carolina State University. The work of NAACP photographer Cecil Williams documents the early history of the Civil Rights movement in the United States, with a focus on the citizens of South Carolina.

Meanwhile, a five-year program in Japanese studies at Richland County's W. J. Keenan High School is being expanded this fall to the middle schools. Japanese teachers will make periodic visits to middle school classes, providing lessons in Japanese language and culture for those interested in the magnet program at Keenan. As part of the program, the high school will sponsor a daylong festival with visiting scholars discussing history and art, film as an indicator of the society, religion, folktales, and literature. For information, call 803-771-8864.

SOUTH DAKOTA—The Great Plains Chautauqua stops in Sturgis from July 29 to August 2 with Mark Twain and other historical figures from the Gilded Age. (See page 28.) For additional information, call John W. Whalen, 605-688-6113.

Other events: an institute for elementary and secondary teachers, "Family Diversity through Literature," at the University of South Dakota July 11-22, and a discussion on German-Russian settlement in the Midwest, July 8-9 at the Pierre Ramkota Inn.

"The Braided Lives Multicultural Reading Series," in which thirty community groups around the state are participating, resumes in August. Among the texts will be Amy Tan's *The Joy Luck Club* and *No No Boy* by John Okada.

TENNESSEE—Southern literature is the focus this summer in the program bureau. Scholarly speakers cover a wide range of the field: Ernest Gaines, Josephine Humphreys, Kate Chopin, Bobbie Ann Mason, Richard Ford, Alice Walker, Cynthia Rylant, Flannery O'Connor, Jesse Hill Ford, and William Faulkner.

UTAH—"Choices for the Twenty-First Century: Public Policy Discussions in Your Local Library" is a project being organized across the state with funds from the United States Institute for Peace. The discussion series is designed to bring together diverse populations to discuss the common values that guide U.S. policy. For additional information call 801-359-9670.

VIRGINIA—"Through Film and Video: The Practice of Seeing," is being offered for a second year for elementary, middle, and high school teachers, beginning July 21. At the twelve-day seminar at Mary Baldwin College, filmmakers join educators in presenting lectures, leading discussions, and screening films. The participants also work with cameras and editing equipment as a way of sharpening their critical skills and improving their understanding of the way ideas are transformed into images. Members of the seminar divide into production groups and produce films to be shown the final evening at Mary Baldwin. The seminar is cosponsored by the Center for Media and Culture and the Center for the Liberal Arts at the University of Virginia. For information call Michelle Branigan at 804-924-3296.

VIRGIN ISLANDS—The influence of the history of slavery on Virgin Islands culture will be the subject of a residential summer institute for social studies teachers at the University of the Virgin Islands on St. Croix, from August 1-19. Teachers will work with international and local scholars. For further information call 809-776-4044.

WASHINGTON—Continuing: Four traveling versions of the exhibition, "Seeds of Change," are avail-

able for sites throughout the state. Based on a Columbian Quincenary exhibition from the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C., the exhibition looks at the social and cultural effects of five "seeds" that shaped the modern world—corn, potato, sugar, the horse, and disease.

WEST VIRGINIA—A statewide initiative on National Issues Forums is under way in which citizens examine the human values that underlie important public policy issues such as health care, criminal violence, and free speech. WPBY-TV is producing a documentary on a high school forum on free speech for distribution in the fall. Tapes will be available to teachers for staff training, to librarians, to literacy tutors, to corrections instructors, and to others interested in the issue. For information call 304-346-8500.

WISCONSIN—To mark the five-hundredth anniversary of the establishment of an Ojibwa village at La Pointe, there will be three one-week institutes for fourth grade, middle school, and high school teachers on incorporating Wisconsin Indian history and culture into the curriculum. Each institute will involve studies in history, art, music, and literature, and meetings with tribal elders. Through the school year, the participants will be enrolled in the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire SocStudies-Net, an online electronic mail network for state social studies teachers. UW-Eau Claire is a sponsor, along with Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa Community College and the Chippewa Valley Museum.

In another summer institute, scholars at the Milwaukee Art Museum will offer "Art and Artifacts as Historical Texts: New Documents for U.S. History and Literature." The course is intended to help high school teachers integrate documents and objects into their classes. Among the nontraditional texts studied will be nineteenth-century landscape and portrait art, the photography of reform, prints and drawings of the 1930s, and modern art. □

Free at Last

In July, 1963, Hannah Johnson—a free black woman whose son was a member of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth Regiment of the Union Army—wrote to President Lincoln imploring him not to recant the Emancipation Proclamation. More than one hundred years later, her words to Lincoln have an eerie feeling of prophecy:

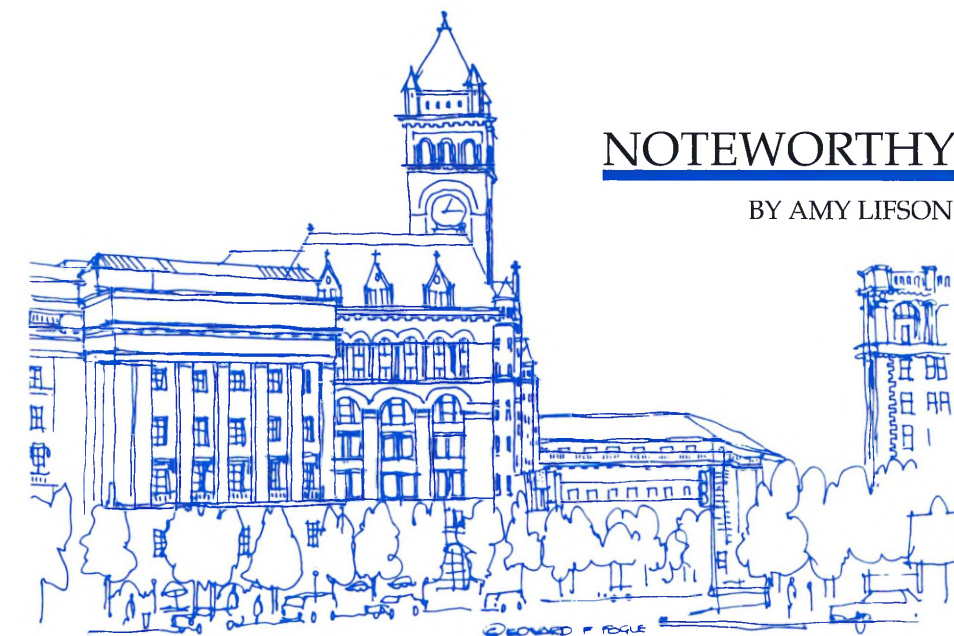
"...don't do it. When you are dead and in Heaven, in a thousand years that action of yours will make the Angels sing your praises I know it. Ought one man to own another, law for or not, who made the law, surely the poor slave did not. so it is wicked, and a horrible Outrage, there is no sense in it, because a man lived by robbing his whole life and his father before him, should he complain because stolen things found on him are taken...."

This is part of one of the documents published in *Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War*, winner of the 1994 Lincoln Prize given annually by Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania to a work about the Civil War. Past winners of the Lincoln Prize include Ken Burns's *The Civil War*.



Private Hubbard Pryor of the Forty-fourth U.S. Colored Infantry, 1864.

—National Archives



NOTEWORTHY

BY AMY LIFSON

Free at Last is an abridged work containing selections from the first four volumes of *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*.

To compile *Freedom*, members of the Freedmen and Southern Society Project at the University of Maryland searched and sorted more than two million documents pertaining to emancipation at the National Archives. From these, they selected fifty thousand for indexing, and then three thousand for publication. Project director Leslie Rowland says, "Selection is the most challenging and the most difficult part of the process. But some of our best material lies ahead, as we start delving into the Freedmen's Bureau records that document the years of Reconstruction."

Kurt Weill and the American Stage

The earliest recording of Kurt Weill's work is a 1927 acetate recording of a tango from his opera *Der Zar lässt sich photographieren*, housed at the Kurt Weill Foundation for Music in New York. This recording may also be the first example of a phonograph used as part of the stage action—where the orchestra stopped, and the characters on stage put on the record and danced and sang to it.

Weill's career was filled with innovations that left their mark on American musical theater. He was one of the first users of American jazz forms on stage, and of comment songs—when during a musical the characters sing out of context from the action. He is also considered the originator of the concept musical with his work *Lady in the Dark*, which was produced with Ira Gershwin and Moss Hart in 1941. Director of the Kurt Weill Foundation for Music David Farneth says, "A concept

musical is where the overriding conceptual framework of the piece replaces the plot and character development in the traditional sense. A recent example of this is *A Chorus Line*—any song in it could be replaced with a different song without changing the plot."

With help from NEH, the foundation is preserving the collection in the Weill-Lenya Research Center (named also for Lotte Lenya, Weill's wife and the center's founder) and making an index of it accessible on a national library database. The collection contains audio and video recordings of Weill's staged work, pop recordings of his songs, performance history materials, and correspondence and oral histories with directors, choreographers and singers who worked with Weill.

Farneth says that because of the breadth of the collection, the center is one of the few resources for comprehensive research on Weill on both sides of the Atlantic. "In the past, one of the difficulties in getting access to Weill's work was because he first lived in Germany, then went in exile to Paris, and then came to the United States. His works were scattered with various publishers in many countries. When this project is realized, scholars will have the benefit of access to documents that show Weill and his oeuvre in their entirety, and it may prompt far-reaching revisions to the current body of literature on Weill." □



Kurt Weill

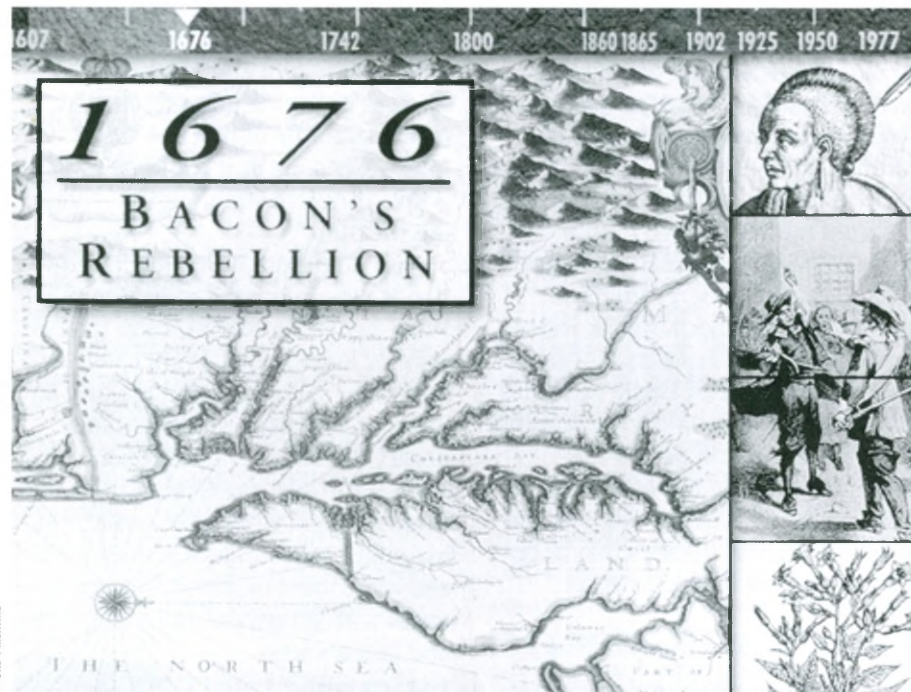
—Kurt Weill Foundation for Music

Calendar

JULY ♦ AUGUST

BY STEVEN SNODGRASS

♦ “Colonial Encounters in the Chesapeake: The Natural World of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans, 1685-1800” uses murals, drawings, and prints to explore the Chesapeake Bay watershed. The traveling exhibition is on display at the Calvert Marine Museum in Solomons, Maryland, in July and at the Martin Luther King, Jr., Library in Washington, D.C., in August.

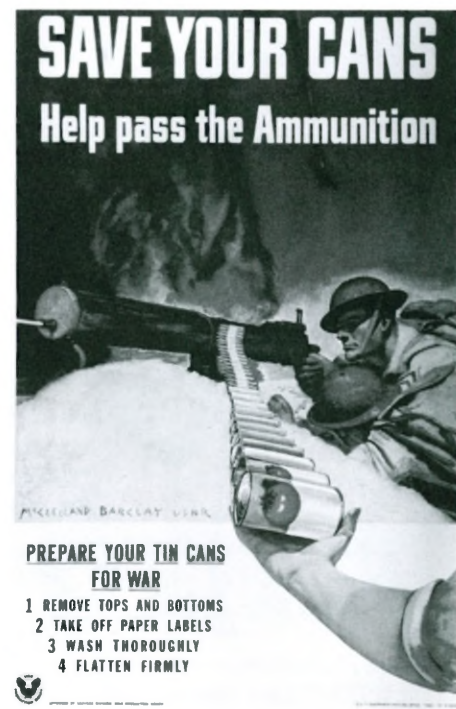


“Windows on Richmond/Reflections of a Nation,” an interactive, multimedia exhibition, traces the evolution of Richmond, Virginia, by examining trade, migration, culture, and social change. The exhibition compares Richmond’s urban development to those of other U.S. cities. “Windows” is on permanent display at Richmond’s Valentine Riverside, a history park and museum complex.

“Chicago Goes to War, 1941-45” looks at the contributions that Chicago’s households made to the war effort and the role the city played as an industrial center during World War II. The exhibition includes a piece of the world’s first nuclear reactor, ration stamps, a wooden neighborhood honor roll, and posters promoting scrap drives, war bonds, and enlistment. It is on display at the First Division Museum at Cantigny in Wheaton, Illinois.



Virginia’s Carlyle House Historic Park is showing “Don’t Get Weary: African Americans in Eighteenth-Century Alexandria” through August 28. The exhibition uses artifacts, authentically costumed mannequins, and living history presentations to reveal the everyday lives of enslaved and free African Americans.



ENDOWMENT EXHIBITIONS

—Photo by Rick Cardner, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston



More than forty-eight hundred American decorative-arts works from the colonial period through the mid-nineteenth century are on display at the Bayou Bend Collection and Gardens, part of Houston's Museum of Fine Arts. The collection is housed in a twenty-eight-room mansion on the estate of the late Houston philanthropist and collector, Miss Ima Hogg.

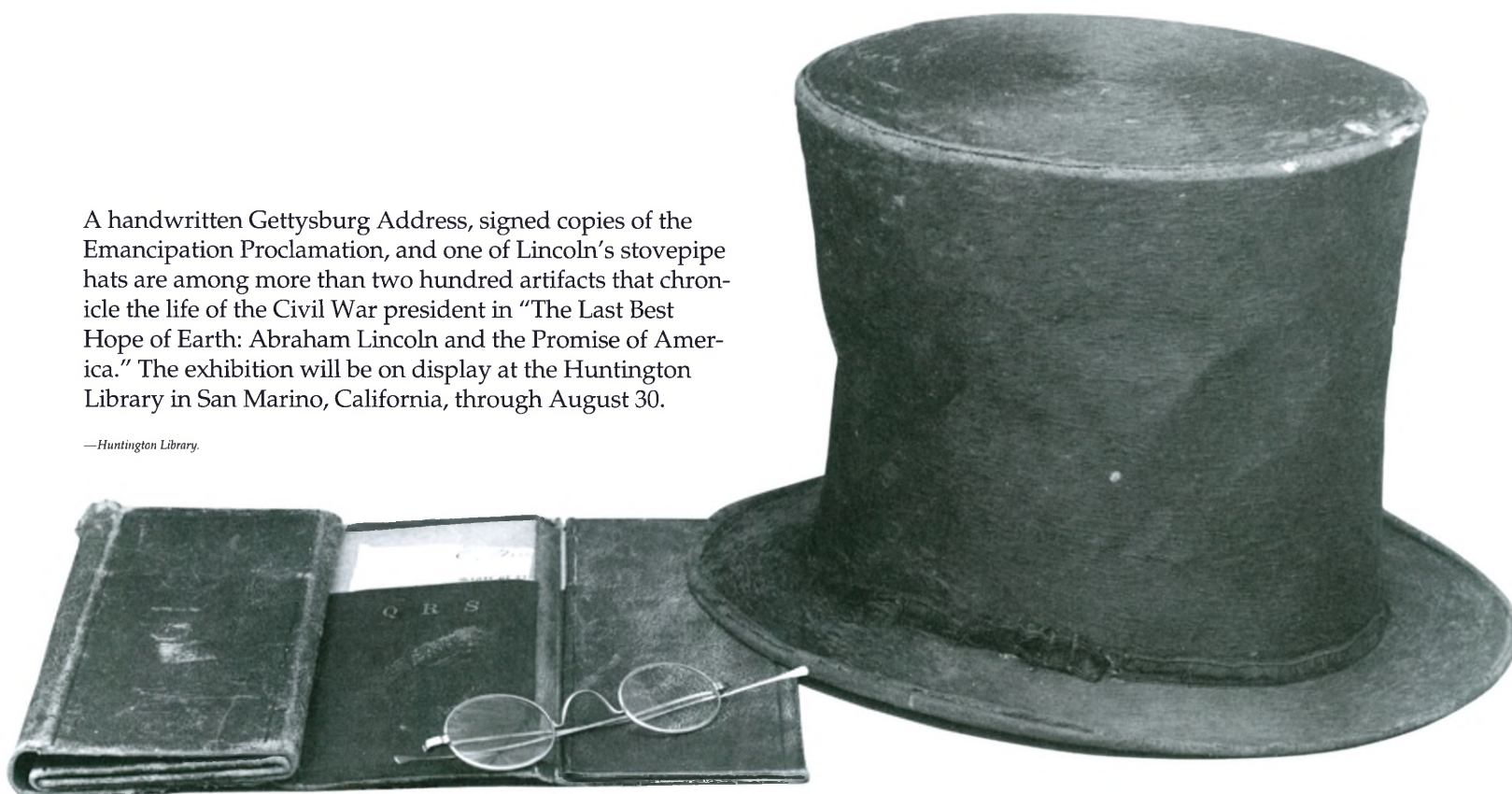
"Arkansas Indians: Roots, Removal, and Rebirth," planned with Quapaw, Osage, Caddo, and Tunica Indians, focuses on their ancestors' forced abandonment of the land and struggle to establish an ethnic identity. A replica of a pre-historic farming town, grave-site artifacts, and displays describing contemporary ceremonies are included in this exhibition at the Arkansas Museum of Science and History in Little Rock.



—Arkansas Museum of Science and History

A handwritten Gettysburg Address, signed copies of the Emancipation Proclamation, and one of Lincoln's stovepipe hats are among more than two hundred artifacts that chronicle the life of the Civil War president in "The Last Best Hope of Earth: Abraham Lincoln and the Promise of America." The exhibition will be on display at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, through August 30.

—Huntington Library.



HUMANITIES GUIDE

WRITING A DOCTORAL dissertation in the humanities requires time, concentration, and freedom from distractions. Those are precisely the rewards built into the Endowment's Dissertation Grants program, which made its first awards in the spring of 1993.

This new program is designed to assist humanities doctoral students at American institutions so they can devote their time exclusively to completing the writing of their dissertations. It is already bearing fruit. Laurie Hovell McMillin of Syracuse University has the distinction of being the first fellow to complete her doctorate after successfully defending her dissertation, "Horizons Lost and Found: Travel, Writing, and Tibet in the Age of Imperialism." She will begin teaching at Kenyon College in Ohio this fall. And she is not alone.

A number of 1993-94 fellows have already received their degrees and even more have accepted teaching positions. They can be found as new members of the faculties of such institutions as Columbia University, Franklin and Marshall College, Michigan State University, Samford University, the Universities of California at Berkeley and San Diego, the University of South Florida, and Vassar College.

The Dissertation Grants program offers the Endowment's first grant for graduate students, those in post-baccalaureate degree programs. The response of graduate students and their universities has left no doubt of the intense interest the program generates. Applications representing three-quarters of the Ph.D.-granting institutions in the country have been submitted.

In terms of the number of awards it can make, the program is not large, but it has a wide reach. In the first two competitions students from forty-seven universities in twenty-three states received offers of awards. As the list of these award-winning universities shows, students at both public and private universities, institutions with both large and small

The Dissertation Grants Program

BY KATHLEEN MITCHELL

doctoral programs, have demonstrated the tremendous quality and promise of the new generation of humanities interpreters and teachers.

One of the outstanding characteristics of many of the 1993-94 Dissertation Grants fellows is their remarkable skill with languages. Their résumés show facility with virtually all the major language families, including Uzbek, Akkadian, Serbo-Croatian, Vietnamese, Thai, Hindi, and the African Kikongo dialect, Kituba. These candidates also have strong records of professional advancement and publication. Some have already had careers, among them a doctor, a lawyer, a reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*, an award-winning film-maker, high school teachers, an army officer, and a town selectman. They are students of history, literature, classics, linguistics, art and architectural history, music history, theater and media, philosophy and religious studies, and politics and society.

Applicants to the Dissertation Grants program are nominated by their doctoral institutions. U.S. citizens, doctoral candidates in the humanities at U.S. institutions, who have completed all requirements for the doctorate except the dissertation

are eligible to be nominated. Each Ph.D.-granting institution in the country can nominate up to ten candidates for awards and each establishes its own internal competition to determine its nominees. Fellows receive \$14,000. The six- to twelve-month tenure period can begin any time between June 1 and September 1. It is expected that the dissertation will be complete by the end of the grant tenure period.

The most competitive applications come from those who have largely completed their dissertation research and have already begun drafting chapters. The application consists of two letters of recommendation—one from the dissertation director, a résumé, a list of graduate courses taken, and a brief but pointed description of the dissertation project in three single-spaced pages. The proposal is accompanied by a one-page bibliography identifying the most important scholarship and documentation relating to the dissertation topic.

Doctoral candidates interested in applying for Dissertation Grants may request guidelines and application materials from the program by calling 202/606-8465. The program maintains a file of the names and phone numbers of the designated nominating officials at the various Ph.D.-granting institutions and will be happy to provide these to potential applicants.

Guidelines and application materials should also be available from the university nominating official, who will have received them well in advance of the deadline. Because applications are accepted only by nomination, the potential applicant should contact the university nominating official to find out the nominating procedures and dates for the internal competition. The application postmark deadline for the national competition for 1995-96 Dissertation Grants is November 15, 1994. □

Kathleen Mitchell is senior program officer in the Division of Fellowships and Seminars.

A Year of One's Own

BY CONSTANCE BURR

I'M COVERING 40,000 YEARS of aboriginal history in Australia called the Dreamtime," said Marilyn Strelau, a 1994 teacher-scholar. "I need to understand the idea of the Dreamtime in the myths and stories of the aboriginal people, before I understand how immigrants assimilated that idea into Australian literature."

Strelau introduced her students to aboriginal myths in a multicultural literature class she teaches at Simsbury (Connecticut) High School. This September she and twenty-three other teacher-scholars will begin researching a wide variety of humanities topics that span the millennia, with support for an academic year of full-time independent study. They met at NEH last spring with past mentors and former teacher-scholars to discuss scholarship methods and resources and ways to build a successful relationship with a mentor.

"You're pioneers in creating a different national climate," declared Maynard Mack, Jr., who led the workshop on research methods and had served as a mentor to former teacher-scholars. "You become a symbol of all the teachers around you who are trying to educate by preparing for the unknown," said Mack, who is associate dean of undergraduate studies and associate professor of English at the University of Maryland. "You embody the fact that teachers from kindergarten through high school have minds that need to be nurtured—and that gets noticed."

The program demonstrates that scholarship is a means of professional self-renewal, giving teachers the opportunity to study topics and texts that are related to the subjects they teach. Mack advised participants to structure their time and research to ensure headway on their projects, as well as lead to a sense of confidence, expertise, and exhilaration. To help prepare the 1994 grantees for the coming year, he recommended the following:

- "Present yourself as a scholar. To gain access to a university library, explain what you're working on and identify yourself as a National Endowment for the Humanities teacher-scholar. NEH can give you an introduction that's almost a guarantee. You're a national investment at this point; at the end of a year you're a national treasure.
- "During the first three months plunge in and focus. Jot down ideas or lists to anchor what you've learned. If you have sixteen books to read, read the first five books and write five pages about them before reading the rest. Writing at this stage will give you direction and tell you what to look for in the remaining books.
- "Get into the habit of writing a few paragraphs every Friday. Writing is one of the most efficient ways to help you discover what you need to know. I don't know what Dreamtime is. But I do know it has the look of Joseph Campbell and a black hole that you could disappear into and never come back from. Although it is impossible to cover 40,000 years of history, for example, ask if you are absorbing enough material to use in the works that you are going to teach, and then move on.
- "If you're totally ignorant about computerized library reference systems and information searches, have no shame. Reference librarians exist to be exploited; in most cases they'll do the search for you. Also, develop a selection of key words in your computer so you can use

MARILYN STRELAU



Simsbury High School,
Simsbury, Connecticut

In "Australian Literature: Conversations among the Fringe Dwellers," Strelau will search for a national identity in the literature of the Aborigines, the English, and the new immigrants.

notes efficiently. One of the benefits of the computer is being able to search those sections easily.

- "E-mail conquers time. Investigate its potential. Neither sender nor responder needs to be available at the same time, so you can correspond at your own convenience. As a means of exchanging ideas and making new contacts, e-mail could sustain you throughout the year in magical ways."

In another workshop, a 1992 teacher-scholar and a mentor offered their perspectives on the experience. George Burson, a history teacher at Aspen (Colorado) High School, and Lloyd Kramer, Burson's mentor and associate professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, discussed their year-long affiliation at UNC. Burson put forth the idea that the mentor relationship should be collegial. "If you have a mentor who doesn't meet this criterion, I urge you to bail," he said.

"Look for a professor who is interested in precollegiate education, someone who is curious about what you do, and is smarter than you. Find a mentor who won't be satisfied with the mundane, one who will ask questions you haven't thought about," Burson advised.

Kramer, an intellectual historian, more than filled the bill, according to Burson. He and Kramer discussed how to structure meetings between teacher-scholars and mentors and get the most out of the relationship.

"Don't expect your mentor to guide you," Burson said. "He's the person on the side; you're doing the work. Even though the relationship is collegial, have in mind where you want to go next."

"My topic was an analysis of the American, French, and Latin American revolutions, and Lloyd is an

authority on modern European intellectual history. To be with someone whose job is to think about abstract ideas and convey them to young people kept me on my toes."

Burson recommended that teacher-scholars meet with their mentors over lunch, "because that way you're not taking their time. University faculty are so busy with their own teaching, committees, students in the office, and pressure to publish. And besides, it's more congenial," he added. Burson met with Kramer about every three weeks.

He assured the participants that "by December you'll have a handle on what you're reading, a focus." Working an eight-hour day, Burson said he outlined or summarized each book he read, and used that material to develop student objectives and lesson plans. He would bring these writings to their lunchtime sessions, asking Kramer what he thought of his interpretations.

Kramer explained his role in bringing coherence to the readings. "In the beginning we were fairly structured, but we always came back to whether there was a relationship between these revolutions, between ideas and actions," he said.

"As the year went on, he cast a wider net with his readings: the Ottoman Empire, Argentina, and slave trade. No matter what George would read," Kramer continued, "I would come back to questions about how economic and cultural motivations shape actions. This was not interrogation, but something I

could contribute, a way to help him think about relationships and provide conceptual coherence to this wide range of reading."

During the session with Mack, teacher-scholars discussed tailoring research methods to suit their projects. For example, Lorraine Boomer, of Gallup, New Mexico, will spend the year studying Navajo stories, myths, and legends, some of which she heard as a child in her first language. Because the majority of her elementary school students never learned to speak Navajo, she intends to transmit the culture's rich oral literature and traditional knowledge to them in translation.

This is a different type of inquiry. "A lot of what I'm going to do," Boomer says, "is seek out stories in a real life context. I go back in magical time to my grandmother's, when I would

do the dishes if she would tell me a story. These stories are a legacy, a gift. As I weave them into a kind of personal meaning and connect them to the Navajo world view, I will do this in an artificial setting, a library, where I will study works on philosophy, ethnology, and anthropology.

"Yet I'm afraid that because of all the scholarly kinds of knowledge, I'll get sidetracked into what the scholars perceive as important."

"You've made a very courageous statement," Mack responded, "that

—Courtesy of Lorraine Boomer

"Find a mentor who won't be satisfied with the mundane, one who will ask questions you haven't thought about."

LORRAINE BOOMER

Window Rock Elementary School, Window Rock, Arizona

A "Study of Navajo Oral Literature," will explore myths and legends to determine their relationship to the Navajo world view and to modern society.



SUSAN MITCHELL

San Rafael Elementary School, Oceanside, California

"History of Indigenous San Diego Tribes" will focus on precontact culture of the Cupeno, Cahuilla, and Kumeyaay tribes and their place in California history.

beautifully defines the problem. If you're concerned about the idea of falling into someone else's system and losing the authenticity of that material, that's very exciting."

Mack advised Boomer to be wary of anyone who might provide a structure that would keep her from "dealing with the outrageous otherness and fragility of the fact that these are surviving oral stories."

"I think you are close to something that many of us don't have access to. A lot of your responsibility is to have the courage not to be a systematizing scholar, but to get in there with your heart and your own experience."

"People can always come in with the scholarly machinery—and they will," cautioned Mack. "But you have something to offer that they don't have—if you have the courage to say it and find ways to help people see the value and experience the authentic quality of it."

Susan Mitchell, a teacher at San Rafael Elementary School in Oceanside, California, stated that she was working with oral traditions, as well. In studying the history of the Cupeno, Cahuilla, and Kumeyaay tribes of the San Diego area, she plans to visit these Native American communities and record their stories.

"Those are performance stories, in effect," Mack said, "that are still active

in an active culture. You're trying to explore their position in relation to a culture's efforts to come to terms with itself—without bringing in scholarly machinery. That is what the humanities are all about. After all, this is the National Endowment for the Humanities, not the National Endowment for Research."

In both sessions, participants talked about broadening professional contacts. "The process of working on one of these grants is political," said Mack, "and it's crucial to play the game in a way that's good for you and good for the kinds of deep, humanistic concerns that drew you into your subject in the first place."

To foster as many working relationships as possible, program officer Annette Palmer explained that NEH sends letters announcing a grantee's award and describing the program's purpose to school superintendents, board members, libraries, museums, and other institutions, as teacher-scholars request them.

An often overlooked way to develop professional contacts is simply by announcing one's presence. Burson had written to the head of the history department at Chapel Hill to obtain visiting scholar status, which entitled

"You've made a very courageous statement that beautifully defines the problem. If you're concerned about the idea of falling into someone else's system and losing the authenticity of that material, that's very exciting."



—Courtesy of Susan Mitchell

him to faculty library privileges.

"When you arrive, let them know you're there," he stated. "I urge you to be proactive."

"Unless you call attention to yourself," Kramer concurred, "you could drift for months, because everyone is caught up in daily routines. George came in and said, 'Here I am. These are my interests.'" Kramer introduced Burson to the Project for Historical Education, a UNC program to revitalize high school history teaching funded by the North Carolina State Humanities Council. Burson was asked to sit on the project's board, and he gave workshops for social studies teachers on the relationship between African studies, slavery, and American history. When he became a Woodrow Wilson fellow the following summer, he used the knowledge he gained at Chapel Hill to give workshops in five cities nationwide.

In addition to establishing scholarly credentials, defining a focus, and advancing research through writing and discussion, another topic of common interest was organizing vast amounts of information without becoming overwhelmed. A discussion in Mack's group dealt with breaking research down into bits and pieces, becoming well-versed in each part before tackling the next one, and being alert to unanticipated results.

"The computer has changed so much," noted Robert Dyer, a classics teacher at the Hotchkiss School in Lakeville, Connecticut. "I used to make boxes of notes that I never looked at because they were too

confusing. With the computer, I keep files of my work in various states of organization, so while I'm working on the current version, I can see how it looked three months ago. Sometimes the changes I've made are good, or were not necessary. I find myself building up files so I can keep track of how a project reshapes itself." Dyer will use the resources of Yale University to study the cultural background of Vergil, philosophical and religious treatises of Cicero, and modern critical theories of their literary influence.

"Hang onto the early versions," Mack enjoined. "They make you conscious of changes, development—and perhaps more judicious."

As for the collective benefit of these highly individual pursuits, Mack had this to say: "Regardless of which direction you take, it is a victory for the country. Your only obligation is to do the work with dignity and seriousness. Then the virtue of it will be available to more and more people. That's why NEH does this—to set models, to make it possible for the country to use the program as a model for teachers' professional development.

"Remember," he mused, "you're just doing something in Western culture that goes back to Horace. You're leaving the city not to leave it, but to come back to it rejuvenated, and more powerful. It's the whole pastoral story, and NEH is the pastor of the modern commercial, exploitive world.

"You're retreating into the pastoral world not because you want to tend sheep, but because it's the only place where by cultivating the soil, you can cultivate your soul. Which brings you back into the city ready to be a more interesting, urbane person. We're all living in the city; the classroom is the city, obviously.

"I do want to hear from you. Have a wonderful year." □

Constance Burr is assistant editor of Humanities.

The NEH Teacher-Scholar Program provided stipends of up to \$30,000 to twenty-four elementary and high school teachers for academic year 1994.

ROBERT DYER



The Hotchkiss School
Lakeville, Connecticut

In "Studies in the Reading and Cultural Background of Vergil," Dyer will examine the intellectual context of Vergil's *Aeneid*, treatises of Cicero, and modern critical theories of their work.

1994-95 Teacher-Scholars

LORRAINE BOOMER

Window Rock Elementary School
Window Rock, Arizona

A "Study of Navajo Oral Literature" will explore myths and legends to determine their relationship to the Navajo world view and to modern society.

SHAWN CHEN

Leuzinger High School
Lawndale, California

"Toward an American Art: Gertrude Stein and Georgia O'Keeffe" will examine the writings of Stein and the art of O'Keeffe for their contributions to modern art.

THOMAS CHMELIR

St. Louis University High School
St. Louis, Missouri

A study of "Native American Themes: Points of Conflict and Harmony with Non-Native Americans" will determine whether themes of the Native American world view are expressed by non-Native American writers.

DONNA DIAL

Miami Beach Senior High School
Miami Beach, Florida

"The Great Depression: As Reflected in its Literature and Popular Arts" will investigate literature, radio programs, films, and photography to understand the country's political and social currents in the 1930s.

ROBERT DYER

The Hotchkiss School
Lakeville, Connecticut

In "Studies in the Reading and Cultural Background of Vergil," Dyer will examine the intellectual context of Vergil's *Aeneid*, treatises of Cicero, and modern critical theories of their work.

BURTON EIKLEBERRY

Grants Pass High School
Grants Pass, Oregon

"Selected Ethnic Women Writers" will focus on recent prose by women of various ethnic backgrounds to study identity, gender, and culture.

PAULA FOWLER

West High School
Salt Lake City, Utah

"Options for Creative Expression by Female Artists: A Critical Approach to Understanding Their Lives and Art" will examine how social pressures and traditions have affected them.

BETTY FRANKS

Maple Heights High School
Maple Heights, Ohio

Franks will study "The Constitution of Japan: Rights and Responsibilities—Indigenous or Imported?" to evaluate the constitution's effect on the development of democracy in Japan.

DOUGLAS GOLDE

*Tenafly High School
Tenafly, New Jersey*

In "Painting and Literature: Comparative Studies of 'the Sister Arts,'" Golde will compare the aesthetics and cultural history of painters and writers from three eras.

THOMAS HARRISON

*The Brearley School
New York, New York*

"Eastern European Dissidents and the Breakdown of Communism" will explore how democratic- and human-rights activists contributed to the breakdown of Communist regimes and led to the revolutions of 1989.

PATRICIA KAUFMAN

*Talawanda High School
Oxford, Ohio*

"Women as Political Visionaries and Radical Reformers" will determine reformers' perceptions of social, economic, and political problems and their solutions for them.

ANDREA LIBRESCO

*Valley Stream South High School
Valley Stream, New York*

"American Women's Rights Activists as Reflected in Biographical and Primary Sources" will research women's contributions to change in American society from 1830 to 1920.

LORIN MALONEY

*Winchester High School
Winchester, Massachusetts*

"Tribal Resistance and Accommodation to Waves of Imperial and State Domination in the Balkans from the Seventh through the Twentieth Century" will study religious and ethnographic backgrounds.

MARILYN LEE MAUGER

*Haddonfield Memorial High School
Haddonfield, New Jersey*

"Spirit in the Stories: The Oral Tradition as Contemporary American Literature" will explore oral traditions of the Acoma-Laguna, Zuni, Hopi, and Navajo and their relationship to Native American poetry and fiction.

SUSAN MITCHELL

*San Rafael Elementary School
Oceanside, California*

"History of Indigenous San Diego Tribes" will focus on precontact culture of the Cupeno, Cahuilla, and Kumeyaay tribes and their place in California history.

KEVIN O'REILLY

*Hamilton-Wenham Regional High School
South Hamilton, Massachusetts*

"Textile Workers and Social Change, 1780-1850" will compare changes in attitudes toward work and family among textile workers in New England and Lancashire, England, during the Industrial Revolution.

ALYSON PATCH

*Sanderson Academy
Ashfield, Massachusetts*

"Including Native Americans in the Study of Early American History" will examine the relationship between Native Americans and European settlers from the time of exploration to the Federal period.

GEORGE RION

*Point Loma High School
San Diego, California*

In "The Lewis and Clark Expedition: An In-Depth Study of an American Epic," Rion will determine the impact of the expedition on the history of the West.

JANE SCHMIDT

*Bradford Middle School
Starke, Florida*

"Cultural Diversity: African Literature in Historical Context" will study the historical and cultural contexts of African authors and the societies they write about to recognize recurrent themes.

SHERRY STIDOLPH

*Whiting Lane Elementary School
West Hartford, Connecticut*

"Shakespeare and the Young Child" will focus on elements of the fairy tale in several Shakespearean plays and rework them as narratives that are appropriate for young children and true to Shakespeare's intent.

MARILYN STRELAU

*Simsbury High School
Simsbury, Connecticut*

In "Australian Literature: Conversations among the Fringe Dwellers," Strelau will search for a national identity in the literature of the Aborigines, the English, and the new immigrants.

PAMELA VALENTINE

*Cambridge Elementary School
San Antonio, Texas*

"Reverberations: The Spirit of Mexico Defined through Its Symbols from the Past to the Present" will explore motifs from pre-Columbian times to the present in art housed in the San Antonio area.

JOAN VANDENBERG

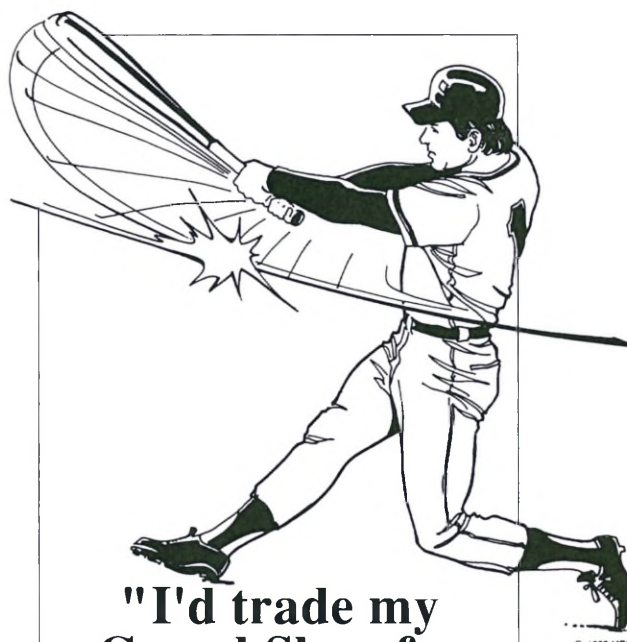
*Santana High School
Santee, California*

"Marriage in the Victorian Novel and Short Story: A Cultural Frame" will investigate nineteenth-century American fiction, history, and culture to understand domestic relationships and changing conventions.

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"Socialization of Islamic Women in Three Cultures" will study Muslim women in Bosnia, Jordan, and India to understand the impact of religion on the socialization of adolescent girls. □



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BÉISBOL IN EL NORTE



By SAMUEL O. REGALADO

"WHEN I CAME TO THE UNITED STATES TO PLAY PROFESSIONAL BASEBALL, I KNEW IT WAS GOING TO TAKE A LOT OF HARD WORK, DESIRE, AND DETERMINATION," RECALLS MANUEL MOTA OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. HE AND OTHERS LIKE HIM TRAVELED NORTHWARD DRIVEN BY THEIR DREAMS. BROTHERS JOINED BROTHERS AND SONS FOLLOWED FATHERS AS GENERATIONS OF LATINO PLAYERS LOOKED TO THE UNITED STATES IN SEARCH OF STARDOM AND FINANCIAL REWARD.

Players from Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and other Caribbean and Central American countries were to come to the United States and enter a sporting institution that symbolized the American dream of opportunity, upward social mobility, and success. They brought to the big leagues remarkable skills, and they added flair and charisma—players such as the Alou brothers, Luis Aparicio, Jorge "George" Bell, Orlando Cepeda, Roberto Clemente, Juan Gonzalez, Adolfo Luque, Juan Marichal, Orestes "Minnie" Minoso, Tony Oliva, Atanasio "Tony" Perez, Ruben Sierra, and Fernando Valenzuela.



Orestes "Minnie" Minoso of the Chicago White Sox was the first Latin black player to enter the big leagues after World War II.

—Photos from National Baseball Library & Archive

A number came to prominence after World War II, capturing seven Most Valuable Player awards, ten Rookie-of-the-Year titles, three Cy Young trophies, and eighteen batting championships. There have been seven home run kings and eight earned-run-average seasonal leaders; and, from 1951 through 1979, Latin players were stolen base champions twenty-one times. But the fame and fortune seen by most modern baseball observers often overshadowed the meager beginnings from which many Latin players emerged.

"I was so poor that I never know what it means the word 'lunch,'" recalls Cuban Zoilo Versalles. Versalles eventually triumphed in his quest to reach the big leagues; and in 1965 with the Minnesota Twins he became the first Latin to win the Most Valuable Player award. Baseball was clearly an opportunity for success. And success was often measured in terms of a balanced diet, a diverse wardrobe, shoes, and an opportunity to bring comfort to the family. In addition, it embodied the virtues of individualism, personal honor, and integrity. Most Latin players, in fact, saw themselves as ambassadors on behalf of their native lands. "I feel like I represent Puerto Rico," claimed Oakland Athletics' outfielder Ruben Sierra.

For many, however, their early days in the United States were filled with loneliness. The Spanish language was a bond. "Just listening to Orlando (Cepeda) chatter in Spanish was enough to make me feel at home," recalls Dominican Felipe Alou. But while the language was a tie with home, it was a barrier in terms of recognition.

For black Latinos, there was another difficulty, Jim Crow. Even for those who anticipated this problem, the reality of dealing with prejudice was difficult. "I wasn't allowed to go to the white hotel," recalled Puerto Rican Vic Power. "I stayed in the best house in the colored section, and that was usually a funeral parlor." This frustration magnified their sense of isolation. "Until then, I hadn't been homesick," claims Felipe Alou. "About the only thing that kept me from going home was that I wanted to play baseball more than ever." The negative factors associated with their North American experience, however, faded when compared with the poverty found in their own countries.

What became a flood of Latin talent in recent years, had begun with a trickle in the late nineteenth century. The first was Esteban Bellan, who joined the Troy Haymakers of the National Association in 1871. Known as the "Cuban Sylph," Bellan had come to the United States in 1866 to attend Fordham University.

Accounts of Bellan's history vary, some arguing that he had learned the game from another Cuban, Nemesio Guillot, who had attended school in the United States, others claiming that American sailors taught the game to Cubans during their stay on the island. This much, however, is clear: Bellan developed his skills, played for two years with the Haymakers, and was instrumental in furthering Cuba's baseball knowledge. By the late 1880s, Cuba's interest in baseball blossomed. Indeed, one Cuban writer correctly predicted that the "baseball fields of Cuba will persist longer than the cockfighting and the bullring." Cuban baseball also bled into the other Caribbean regions. Island hopping between national and regional teams became routine, and by 1900, baseball had also found a home in Mexico's Yucatan peninsula and in Venezuela.

From 1911 to 1947, the Cincinnati Reds and the Washington Senators sent scouts south to recruit low-cost players, primarily from Cuba. Armando Marsans, Mike Gonzalez, and Roberto Estallalla, among others, came from Cuba to grace America's baseball diamonds. Adolfo Luque, who pitched between 1914 and 1935, was regarded as the most talented among them. Gifted with a superb curveball, the right-handed "Pride of Havana" compiled a won-lost record of 194-179. In 1923 he led National League pitchers with a 27-8 record. In 1923 and 1925, he led the league with the lowest earned run average. The Sporting News called him "Cuba's greatest gift to our national game."

Others went less noticed. Black Latinos, like their American counterparts, were achieving only limited fame in the Negro Leagues. During the American winter season, however, they tested their abilities against the American white players who participated in the Caribbean leagues. Armed with a blazing fastball, José Mendez, known as the "Black Diamond," dueled and



Orlando Cepeda, who had a .297 lifetime batting average and 379 home runs, began playing big league ball with the New York Giants in 1958.

routinely defeated American stars such as Christy Mathewson and Eddie Plank.

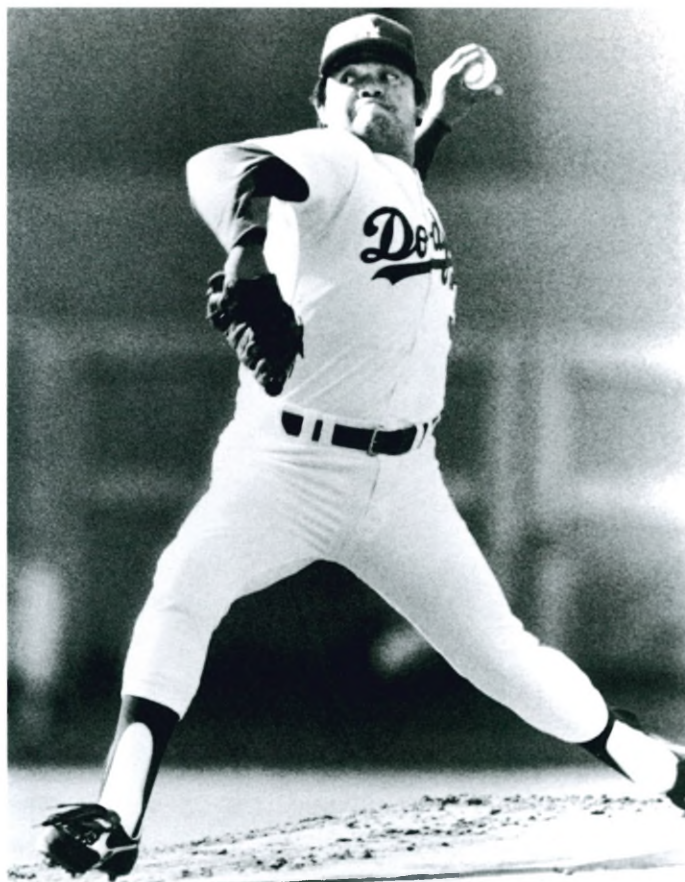
Martin Dihigo was said to be even better. His outstanding pitching—he won approximately 256 games in the American Negro League—was matched only by his powerful bat. Negro League records indicate that the Cuban routinely batted in the high .300s. His extraordinary talents earned him induction into the Cuban, Mexican, United States, and Venezuelan halls of fame. “I was in the game twenty-three years, and I never saw anyone better than he was,” says Hall of Fame slugger and Negro League legend Buck Leonard.

Orestes “Minnie” Minoso became the first of the Latin blacks to enter the big leagues in the post-World War II period. As a catalyst on the 1951 Chicago White Sox team, Minoso was one of baseball’s most engaging players and led the American League in stolen bases from 1951-1953. White Latin players also became instrumental to their clubs. In 1954, Roberto “Beto” Avila, second baseman with the Cleveland Indians, became the first Latin to win a batting title. Their successes brought a Latino surge—Felipe Alou, Luis Aparicio, Orlando Cepeda, Vic Power, Camilo Pascual, among others.

Roberto Clemente was perhaps the greatest Latin to grace the major leagues. The Pittsburgh right fielder, whose career extended from 1955 to 1972, was Puerto Rico’s glory. Not only did he win the 1966 Most Valuable Player award, four batting titles, 3,000 lifetime hits, and several Gold Glove awards, but he also campaigned to alter the image of Latinos in baseball. Spanish-speaking players, he argued, were unfairly ridiculed and stereotyped. “The Latin player doesn’t get the recognition he deserves. We have self-satisfaction, but after the season is over nobody cares about us,” he once claimed. Clemente, who often sparred with the American media, had a compassionate side. With great pride, he supervised the construction of Sports City where Puerto Rican parents could send their young people to advance their athletic skills and develop family values. It was on a 1972 relief mission to earthquake victims in Nicaragua that his plane crashed in the Caribbean, killing all aboard. Within months, baseball writers voted him into the Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, New York.

The Latin presence, with the exception of the Cuban players, continued to expand. Because of the diplomatic rift between Cuba and the United States, Cuban ballplayers became almost nonexistent. Only Tony Perez and Luis Tiant remained as representatives of what was once a thriving source of talent for the big leagues. Players from the Dominican Republic took up the slack and eventually several major league organizations established baseball academies there to develop talent and to orient players to North American culture.

The star of the 1980s, however, was to come from Mexico. Fernando Valenzuela captured the attention of the entire baseball world when, as a rookie pitcher for the Los Angeles Dodgers, he reeled off eight consecutive victories at the outset of the 1981 season. Caught up in the euphoria known as “Fernandomania,” Latin radio affiliates estimated that nearly twenty million Spanish-speaking listeners tuned in to hear a Valenzuela-pitched game. His celebrity helped to bridge the Anglo and Latin worlds. Jaime Jarrin, the Dodgers’ broadcaster on the Spanish-speaking radio affiliate, remembered that the phenome-



Fernando Valenzuela of Mexico. As a rookie for the Los Angeles Dodgers, he pitched eight consecutive victories at the outset of the 1981 season.

non “became a culture, a pole to which many happenings gravitated. With Valenzuela in the spotlight, many people who did not speak Spanish became interested in learning.” In June of that year, President Ronald Reagan and Mexican President Jose Lopez de Portillo invited him to lunch during an important economic summit.

By the 1990s, more than two hundred Latinos had climbed into the majors. The impact caused major league clubs to make changes in the way they dealt with their Latin recruits. Clubs hired Spanish-speaking employees both on and off the field to address their Latin constituencies. The American media, as well, instituted changes. More Spanish-language radio affiliates covered big league games. Television coverage expanded. The Atlanta Braves aired games in Spanish to Latin countries on the periphery of the Caribbean. And the American mainstream press began to hire bilingual reporters to assure better coverage of Latino players.

By 1994, five Latin players—Luis Aparicio, Roberto Clemente, Juan Marichal, Martin Dihigo, and Rod Carew—had earned enshrinement in baseball’s Hall of Fame. They and their brethren had changed the face of baseball and typified the changing ethnic character of the United States. Through drive and perseverance, they had not just enriched America’s national pastime but had carved a niche of their own in Pan-American culture. □

Samuel O. Regalado is associate professor of history at California State University at Stanislaus. Regalado will speak on “Latinos y Béisbol: Buy Me Some Peanuts and Cajeta,” in October in Galveston, Texas.

Babe Ruth in Nova Scotia, 1936.



Babe Ruth Museum

is, the most poetic writing possible—and at the same time enlarge that vision incrementally with equally compelling images, with music from the period, with first-person voices from the period (read artfully rather than overdramatically), and finally with sound effects that might help make these old photographs come alive, then you may be taking at least a few small steps towards what Whitman said is impossible: that is, rendering the past.

Hackney: Whitman may have also had in mind the notion that war was filtered through a set of conventions. In the mid-nineteenth century, those conventions were that the horror of war was not to be transmitted to innocent civilians. They were not supposed to know how terrible it was.

Burns: That's correct.

Hackney: *The Red Badge of Courage*, Stephen Crane's book, which is a great novel, comes to mind. It does contain some of the horror of war, but it's written at a distance.

Burns: Very much at arm's length. Actually, if you think about the Civil War in writing, it's only Whitman's work and the personal diaries that bring it home. The terrible pain of it all. I think Whitman's palpable loss of his brethren, feeling the lost limbs of his countrymen buried in Virginia fields or Gettysburg orchards, that hurt him personally, and his writing reflects that. Combined with the new invention of photography, you are suddenly made to feel our war, any

war, as never before, and maybe we begin to suspect that there was a common emotional language between us all that goes on....

Nowadays, as we find ourselves so fractured, so separated one from the other, we have to ask, "What is it in our environment that can remind us of this powerful common heritage?" I believe that it is only in the constant reminding, through good history, of this common bond between us, that we might act with the kind of cohesion Adams hoped for, in the kind of sympathetic dialogue that you have suggested so many times. That excites me—how we might find a new Homeric form. When we think of what gets in the way, we see that television is one of the worst features

of our daily life; that it promotes disunion at a psychological, emotional, and personal level more insidiously than practically anything else in our culture. But it may also be, paradoxically, the instrumentality of our deliverance, a way in which we might find a common language and a common purpose.

Hackney: Do you think baseball will evoke the same sort of common reaction that Whitman expected the war to?

Burns: I hope so. We've taken a game which is beloved by millions of people, and we haven't forgotten that game. Despite all the high talk of complicated social themes, it's still a perfect game in which the drama can be appreciated purely for what happens on the field.

Hackney: So it plays at various levels.

Burns: I think it plays at many levels. What surprised me more than anything else is that once we had mastered the narrative of the baseball game itself and had been able to go to the next level and look at some of these complex themes of race and labor and immigration and other social tensions, what was produced by the collision of these two forces—this glorious game and these complicated social themes—are very powerful emotions about time and memory, family and home that I think engage all of us at the deepest level.

Hackney: Baseball, all sports, are based on ideas about getting older as well. We've just got family and loyalty and basic themes.

Burns: But there seems to be a gap with this current generation. We seem to have forgotten so many things, particularly our heroes and other people that we might identify with. Tom Boswell, the great sports writer for the *Washington Post*, says that we don't dispose of the heroes in baseball the way that we dispose of other heroes in this disposable society. "We don't dispose of Babe Ruth," he said. "We don't dispose of Walter Johnson. And that's a wonderful thing to pass down to our children." We can

look at the history of the game of baseball as a family album. This person might be a disturbing racist character, this one might be a cutthroat businessman, this one might be a wonderful, heroic figure who sold out to gamblers, but they're nevertheless our family members. We can love them, care for them, be repelled by them; we can study them and learn from them. And make no mistake about it, they are all us.

Hackney: You pay some attention in this series to John McGraw and Christy Mathewson.

Burns: Yes.

Hackney: Do you see that as a small morality play?

Burns: I think it's a wonderful irony that one of the most rabidly competitive players—and in the series we go back into his childhood to see the roots of McGraw's passion for winning, and winning at all costs—he nevertheless finds his favorite player in the man who came to distinguish baseball from the earlier rowdiness that McGraw embodied, and that was Christy Mathewson, Christian Gentleman.

More than any other player, Mathewson brought the baseball player to a point of national heroic prominence. What I find interesting is the incredible partnership that these two men forged. Mathewson's untimely and early death was a terrific emotional blow to McGraw, who should

"Baseball brings us all magnificent characters, people who bubble up to the surface and in a big and emphatic way—like Babe Ruth did, like Ty Cobb did, like Jackie Robinson did. It's good biography—in my view the most satisfying kind of history. And we are, as a people, hungry for that."

have been above this sort of thing because he was so hard and tough. It's a great story.

Hackney: It is a great story. I am fascinated with one pair of bonded opposites in there, that is, individualism and communities. Baseball is strongly based on team spirit, yet is filled with heroes.

Burns: Well, baseball may be the one place in which that tension seems to

work most beautifully. It will continually reject the narcissism of our culture because, if you come to bat only once every nine times and you fail so often, it is a wonderful leveler of ego and self-involvement. At the same time, the blandness and uniformity of the community is checked in baseball and enriched by character. Baseball brings us all magnificent characters, people who bubble up to the surface and in a big and emphatic way—like Babe Ruth did, like Ty Cobb did, like Jackie Robinson did. It's good biography—in my view the most satisfying kind of history. And we are, as a people, hungry for that. But I think we're best served when these seemingly contradictory forces of individuality and community vie for supremacy. In football, you can run a few plays into the line to kill the clock. You can't kill the clock in baseball. You have to throw the ball across the plate and give the other team a chance to win, and they can win until the final out.

Hackney: That's true. It's never over.

Burns: Remember, when the bases are loaded and there are two outs and you're behind by three runs, Babe Ruth will fail seven times out of ten to deliver—and that is a magnificent leveler. It's an incredibly democratic sport.

Hackney: In what other ways is it democratic?

Burns: The game rewards excellence, and it has helped therefore to promote wave after wave of disenfranchised or, up to that moment, disenfranchised people. You hear time and again in baseball that playing the game was a badge of citizenship that no piece of paper could confer, that it was a way for a son to be, as Donald Hall says in the film, "less Polish and more American." We have a wonderful exchange in our second episode in which a father with great concern and worry for his young son writes to the *Jewish Daily Forward* and says, "I want my boy to grow up to play chess, not baseball. In educated America, adults play baseball. They run after a ball." He wrote, "I want my son to be a

menschen, not a wild American runner and yet he cries his head off." Abraham Kahn, the great editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, writes back to this man. He says, "Let your boy play baseball. Let us not so raise the children that they grow up to be foreigners in their own land."

Hackney: It seems to be also true that sports provide an arena in which egalitarianism can be proved in that universal standards are being applied. In every other area of life, you can discriminate against someone and hide it.

Burns: That's right. You can't fudge in baseball. Here's a really good example: In 1945, Branch Rickey decides he's going to bring a black man into the major leagues. He sends his scouts out, and it's clear almost instantly that this young player recently discharged from the army, Jackie Robinson, playing for the Kansas City Monarchs, would be ideal. Robinson's will, his pride in his people and his race—he's a college-educated man and an inspiring player—make him the best and most likely candidate. Rickey realizes he's going to have to start him off in his minor league club, and he picks the Royals in Montreal, because he feels that, since race is less of an issue in Canada, Jackie will have an easier time. However, the manager in Montreal is Clay Hopper from Mississippi, who asks Rickey, "Do you really think a nigger is a human being?" and begs him not to put Robinson on his team. At the end of this year, the '46 season in which the Royals have won the Little World Series, Jackie Robinson sparked the team with spectacular base-running, terrific fielding, and unbelievable hitting. Now Hopper is the first to say, "This man is a great ballplayer," and urges Rickey to move him up to the Dodgers for that historic 1947 season. When faced with great performance on the field, there is very little you can do. And the great tragedy, it seems to me, in baseball is why we did not do it sooner. Here's the proof of the tragedy: In the eleven years that followed Jackie Robinson's arrival, blacks won the

Most Valuable Player Award in the National League nine times. And when you realize there was still a quota system—there were still only a handful of blacks—it's an amazing, amazing statistic.

Hackney: That's a powerful statement in itself.

I know you have great faith in baseball, but do you have faith in the future of baseball in this television era? It's a linear game.

Burns: I'm troubled by three things. I'm troubled by television, whose hunger seems to force the game to do things that aren't natural. When I was a boy, I could come home from school and watch the World Series game and talk about it the next day. Now it's an event and a special privilege to stay up till eleven or midnight to see the game, and so I don't think the game is giving itself the chance to make new fans. Since baseball is such a generational thing and relies on continuity, I'm worried about that.

I'm also worried about money. In 1869, the first year of professionalism, George Wright, one of the stars of the Cincinnati Red Stockings, was paid six times the average working man's salary, the unheard-of sum of fourteen hundred dollars for the baseball season. One hundred and seven years later, 1976, the average player still only made seven or eight times the average working man's salary. Today, eighteen years later, it's fifty times. So we now have a sense that

"Our role models today are not teachers: They are the lowest paid. Our role models are not scholars, the lowest paid. But someone can make one hundred ten million dollars a year in the United States of America as a syndicated talk-show host."

players are no longer one of us. They are merely gladiators from another cosmos who engage in a kind of ritualized combat quite removed from our experience.

Baseball used to be so familiar. You would walk to the ballpark and kids would be playing this game along the way. The ballplayers themselves might be taking the trolley. Bobby Thomson, after hitting the most

important home run in regular season in the history of the game, took the Staten Island ferry home. I love that image.

Just think what would it have been like to be with Bobby Thomson taking the Staten Island ferry home and maybe looking out across the rail at the Statue of Liberty as you pass by, and wondering what benevolent god had provided him with a day like today? That would be good.

The third thing that bothers me, after television and money, is a sense that the game has forgotten its own history. In an attempt to make itself viable, baseball would like to pretend that it's really basketball or football, with extended playoffs and other bad changes. That, to me, is an identity crisis, and as we know with individuals, when you have an identity crisis, you go to a therapist and the therapist says, "Where did you come from? Who are your parents?" The beginning of the healing process begins when you know your past. I would like to hope that baseball would engage in a dialogue with its past, to see its great strength and its uniqueness. That is to say, we don't want to make it all action like football and basketball because, in fact, baseball is about the intervals, the gloriously natural intervals. Baseball is about the long season. It is like breathing, like daily life, instead of a spasm and convulsion of activity and then nothing, as football is.

Hackney: Personalities seem to be important in sports. People identify with individuals about whom they know something or something that is especially inter-

esting to them.

Is that necessary?

Burns: Yes. I think it's personality that gives baseball history so much of its flavor. We eat up Babe Ruth because he eats us up, and that's a wonderful kind of consumption. And even though we're repelled by it, we need to have the lesson of Ty Cobb's ferocity, anger, and bile to set in relief our own ferocity, anger, and bile. We



need these people to be mentors in conscious and unconscious ways for us, and we have very few arenas in which that happens in a healthy fashion. Quite often, in our entertainment areas, people are promoted based on so little skill that I think we're all collectively shocked. Our role models today are not teachers: They are the lowest paid. Our role models are not scholars, the lowest paid. But someone can make one hundred ten million dollars a year in the United States of America as a syndicated talk-show host. We have elevated glibness, facile humor, put-down, and superficial good looks as the treasured currency of our culture. This is now what we

think will survive, as if we think one can live on a diet of Twinkies.

But what we discover is that we are starved for something of significance, of value. I think the response to *The Civil War* was a way to say, "Look, I'm hungry for something more," and this good food doesn't necessarily have to taste bad. We don't turn up our nose at this stuff. It's not castor oil. It's actually nourishing, attractive, and tastes good.

Hackney: Which is to say that baseball responds to the market, this is a very democratic . . .

Burns: Well, once you begin to list all these threats to the game, you tend to fret and knit your brow. But we have

quotes dating back to the 1860s in which people are worried about the exact same things that I've listed—the greed, the selfishness, the other distractions. In 1869, Pete O'Brian said, "They're not playing baseball the way they used to back in 1857 and 1858, when I was a kid," and you suddenly realize this glorious idea that one needs only to know one's history to be liberated from the major anxieties of our day.

Hackney: To what extent do you work with specialists when you're putting together this story?

Burns: I participate in a community of documentary filmmakers who believe, not without some legitimate

reason, that every idea they have is good and every idea should therefore be funded and they should be left alone to pursue their artistic dream. We realized right off the bat that we have to form alliances and partnerships with various groups if we are going to be funded, if we are going to get these projects done, not the least of which, in my circumstance, has been the National Endowment for the Humanities. Among the many requirements of the Endowment, as you know, is that each project have a body of scholarly advisors. Many of my colleagues complain to me bitterly about this, as if these scholars were an unnecessary burden, but we find them a positive influence on our work. They are not window dressing, but dedicated scholars we actively engage in helping us make this film, reminding us where we go off, reminding us of the diversity of opinion and perspective. In the case of *The Civil War*, our board of advisors ranged from the most conservative Confederate historians to Marxist emancipationists. Within this collision of ideas, we actually were able to choose the sets of ideas that we wished to influence us.

But we did run into dogmatic reaction nevertheless. When, in the film, we had a Southern first-person voice, we were not—as many Marxist historians accused us of—subscribing to the “old version” of history. It was merely listening to a legitimate voice from the past; just as putting in a first-person quote by Frederick Douglass was not, as many conservatives accused us of, “selling out” to the emancipationists or to some revisionist version. It was merely saying, we have not brought into our narrative mainstream this black voice, indeed other black voices, when we tell this story, and we wish to do so. Finally we realized it’s only those who wish to exert a kind of philosophical tyranny on the past who are uncomfortable with that. Those who are willing to simply allow the sweet and bittersweet ambiguities of what happened, which I suppose is about as close a definition of life as you could possibly have, realize that we must be able to drink in, in the same moment, the seemingly contradictory impressions of understanding why a Southerner might fight, at the same time having moral outrage

against slavery as well as being impassioned by the oratory of Lincoln or Frederick Douglass.

Hackney: I think a lot of people, regarding the Civil War, have a hard time understanding how the historical causes of the war—rooted in slavery and all the things that go with slavery, two different kinds of society, whatever those causes were—are different from individual motivations of the people who go to war.

Burns: That’s exactly right. We know that slavery started this war, but we know that most Southerners fought, as Shelby Foote said, paraphrasing the young Confederate who was captured early in the war, “because you’re down here”—because the Yankees had invaded his country. A more impossible question, which we rarely engage, is why would someone from northern Minnesota, a farming son maybe, someone who may never have even met a black person, want to fight for something called union? To leave his safe life for an idea of union and emancipation. I find this a glorious thing. This is what we’re talking about here. When you say a national conversation and when I say why it is that we agree to cohere, we’re talking about an idea of union. I think we are hoping to enlist new recruits, to a new Union army, in a new battle against, not slavery, but pernicious racism, a new battle against the separatism and disunion caused by a variety of ills, including a rewritten version of diversity which allows everyone to grab their own story, claim a kind of righteous victimhood, and depart from our collective narrative.

I still subscribe to a Lincolnian love of those things that stitch us together, that bind us all to each other, all the same. We’re not a country united by language, by geography, by ethnicity, certainly not by religion, and yet for more than two hundred years, we have agreed to come together more or less magnificently as the world around us continually shows us examples of disunion.

Hackney: I think that’s right, which is why baseball may be a wonderful metaphor for America. Yankee fans and Red Sox fans can hate each other or can disagree with each other rather

vehemently, yet they are linked together in the game of baseball. They both are devoted to baseball.

Burns: Well, you may have hit upon it better than I have ever stated it even after five years of working on it. What I finally love about the work that I do is process—not the finished product, but the notion of working the material: How do you make this scene work? What is the hidden dynamic of narrative, what are the dynamics of music and image and sound effect and of voice, what are the dynamics of presenting this material? That’s what animates me. And maybe that’s what the great gift of baseball is. It seems to point to process. It seems to point to exactly what you were saying, that it is the doing and not the result, it is the engagement and not the expectation of reward. Perhaps when we feel baseball is threatened is when we get off that point. When people talk about going to a football game, they talk about what’s happening now and the result; the same with basketball. When we talk about going to a baseball game, we talk about the experience, my experience, my first sight of the green, green field, what it smelled like, the taste of the beer and the hot dog, the memory of when my father took me to a game, and his story about when his father took him, and then, maybe only then, I realize that there happened to have been a game that day, and in that game, the great moment was not the grand-slam home run, just as one would describe the last-second touchdown pass, but the little head fake that the base runner made, the breaking pitch that deceived the batter, the extra jump the outfielder got on the ball hit to the gap. So the memory we bring back is a choreography of intimate moments past and present, as if God could be found in the details of the game and not merely the result.

Hackney: Which is another interesting thing about baseball. It is a game which can be understood very simply in those terms, but it yields more meaning to those who know its subtleties. The more you know, the more you learn.

Burns: Yes, it rewards study. But, I have two small daughters, and they come to the game and can follow it, and even lacking some of the sub-

tleties, they drink it in. So perhaps with the *Baseball* series, we can invite everyone into our tent and say, "If you like baseball, you will enjoy this. If you think there's something more there, you will find something more to mine from the story." This is the metaphor of emotional archaeology that I keep talking about—you dig and you will find some more.

Hackney: There's lots of meaning there. One of your advisers, Gerald Early, had a rather striking observation on the cultural creations of America—baseball and jazz and—

Burns: The Constitution. It's really perfect. Gerald Early is one of our scholars, and we had been anxious to find another "talking head," as we say, to talk about some of the themes that could integrate into our main narrative the African-American narrative. Gerald, who kept suggesting other people, refused to let himself be filmed. Finally we said, "We have to film you. You're the most articulate of all the people we've wanted to talk to." We brought him in, and he was magnificent. We used one part of his interview in the beginning of our series, in which he said that baseball makes him feel more American, makes him feel connected to this culture (which is a terrifically painful thing as well as a positive thing for an American black man to say because the game's history is so checkered and so unsure even now). Then he stopped and said that there were only three things this civilization will be remembered for two thousand years from now. "The Constitution, jazz music, and baseball. They are the three most beautifully designed things this culture has ever produced." I don't know if you could really give that argument a serious challenge.

Hackney: It is powerful. Jazz itself has been suggested to me as the most appropriate metaphor for what it means to be American. That it is a democratic art form. It is the only indigenous higher art form.

Burns: I agree. And at its heart is the African-American experience, an ironic recapitulation of our national tension.

Hackney: Indeed, but it is interaction of African Americans or African cul-

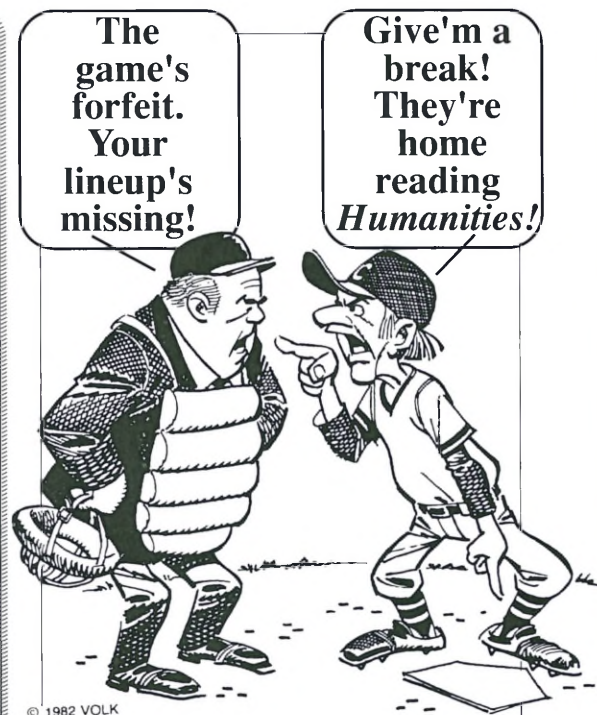
ture with European culture in North America that creates a different culture, and jazz features individual improvisation but in the setting of a group performance and with discipline. It has all the elements of baseball.

Burns: Exactly. And the Constitution, that much maligned document that makes everyone yawn and roll their eyes, is in fact a beauty to behold, full of the same kind of improvisational riffs that jazz music has. There is a rigid code, but within that code, a tolerance for variety and variation. It has actually animated our story for the last two hundred years, given a little snap to our step because of those ambiguities, and given us room to adjudicate those questions that seem at any given moment impossible to decide. That's its great glory.

Hackney: That's right. Another way to think of it is the Constitution really is a set of rules. It's the definition of a process, like baseball rules or like jazz, where you have a theme and a beat, and people wander around that.

Burns: Before we leave these wonderful metaphors, it might be possible to suggest that there's a moment in jazz when, having stated a theme, the musicians begin to wander off in improvisation, in pursuit of an improvisational perfection. But there is a moment when they are obligated by some higher laws of the universe, which we listeners hardly know, to return to the original theme. And when they do return to the theme, there is within our breasts a kind of special powerful exaltation that occurs. I am interested not so much in bottling or identifying or labeling that exaltation, but trying to say to everyone that there is such a thing and that we ought to celebrate it and look for it. You clearly know this from jazz, when the audience bursts into spontaneous applause as the musicians return to the theme we first heard. In baseball, you might find in its complicated rhythms a moment where things line up, and you feel within your breast a powerful emotion that I would suggest is a kind of American elixir, a tonic that is unique to us as a people, that I am in pursuit of in all of these films, whether it's *The Brooklyn Bridge* or the Shakers, Congress, *The Civil War*, or *Baseball*.

Hackney: We will look forward to that. Thank you very much, Ken. □



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