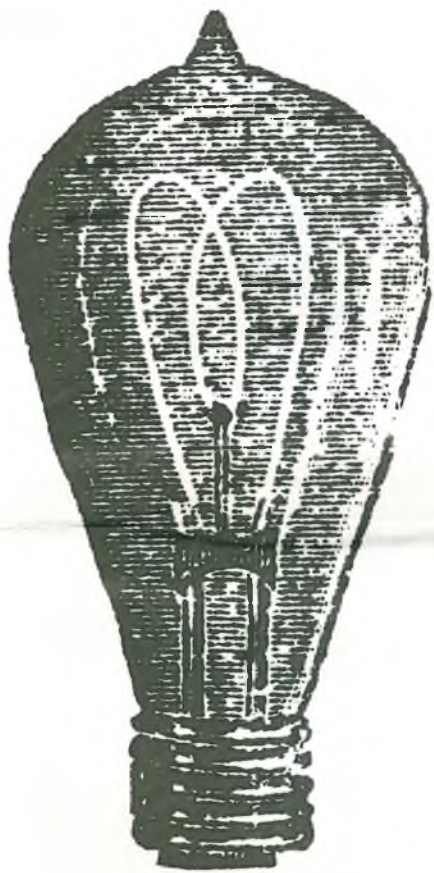


Humanities

Fanfare for Progress: 1893-1913



"Progress," the watchword of turn-of-the-century America, was given material form by the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. The Exposition was most particularly a celebration of technological progress, but the industrialism that was transforming American society engendered many other forms of progress endemic to the age—reform politics, conservation, educational progressivism, labor reform, the city beautiful movement and more.

Although the architectural style of the Exposition's buildings, derived from Greek and Roman antiquity, mirrored genteel standards of taste and culture, the rapid construction of the "White City," its illumination by electricity, and the towering, revolving wheel designed by George Ferris, all attested to the fact that Chicago, the United States, and the world were celebrating an era of unparalleled growth in the power and significance of machines. The Ferris Wheel alone taught many lessons.

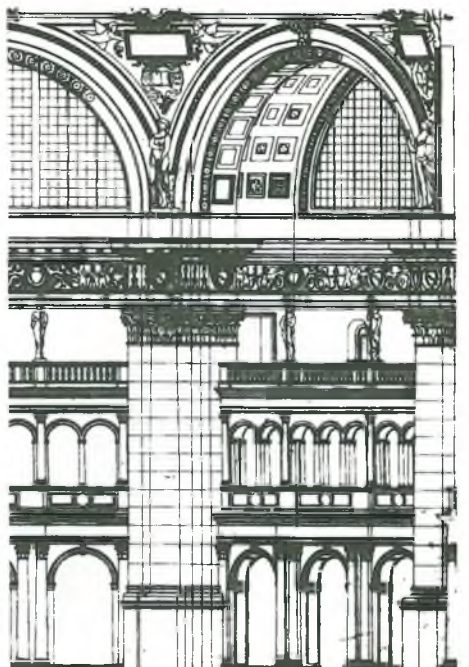
The architect Daniel Burnham, who was in charge of the construction of the Columbian Exposition, had issued a challenge to American engineers to produce something to rival the Eiffel Tower of the Paris Exposition. The thirty-three-year-old Ferris temporarily left his bridge building company in Pittsburgh, to design and supervise the construction of his 250-foot-high ride. The result was a machine of great complexity that could be admired by both engineers and the public. The Ferris Wheel provided further proof that engineers were ready and able to turn Burnham's most fantastic dreams into reality. Lifting large numbers of visitors above the Exposition, it gave its passengers a new, aerial perspective of the planned fair and the unplanned city of Chicago. For those with imagination, it provided a glimpse of the future in which progress would be made by useful machines, visual beauty, good management, and honest profit. The latter was important, noted William Dean Howells, for "The great Ferris wheel itself, with its circle revolving by night and by day in an orbit incomparably vast, is in the

last analysis a money making contrivance."

Burnham took his plans for the "City Beautiful" to Washington, D.C., in 1901, to Cleveland in 1902, to San Francisco in 1904, to the Philippines in 1905, and back to Chicago in 1906. In the nation's capital the L'Enfant plan was revived and a new cluster of monuments and monumental buildings made the city "worthy of a nation." In Manila, Burnham's designs for a new capital were evidence that the war with Spain had been fought to bring civilization to the benighted world, while his plan for Chicago anticipated the need for the integration of city and highway that the noisy and cranky automobile was just demanding.

For many reformers, civic art and the city beautiful were the necessary beginnings of any permanent political and social improvement. While architects designed the municipal buildings, railroad stations, libraries, and museums that would dominate the cityscape, other reformers organized the settlement houses, schools, health facilities, and playgrounds that would improve the lives of the immigrant poor. In the two decades following the Columbian Exposition, politicians sought to make the city synonymous with progress.

"In the city," wrote Frederic C. Howe in 1906, "the life of the future is to be found." The city was the hope of democracy because it was there that the citizen experienced government most directly. Reformers wanted to open opportunities, and their solutions varied from simply voting the bosses out of office to changing to commission and city manager type governments. In Toledo, Ohio, Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones became the reform mayor in 1897, advocating the eight-hour day and minimum wages for city employees and the public ownership of street car lines. In 1905, he was succeeded by his friend Brand Whitlock, who, in an essay titled "The City and Civilization," proclaimed that "the cities are the centers of the nation's thought, the citadels of its liberties, and as they were once and origi-



nally the trading-posts and the stockades whence the hardy pioneers began their conquest of the physical domain of the continent, so are they now the outposts whence mankind is set forth on a new conquest of the spiritual world, in which the law of social relations is to be discovered and applied."

For Whitlock and other early progressives, the Columbian Exposition provided a useful stock taking and a challenge to go forward. At the meeting of the American Historical Association held in conjunction with the fair, Frederick Jackson Turner read his paper on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," concluding that the disappearance of the line of frontier settlement meant the end of America's unique democratic institutions. Yet Turner did not rule out the possibility that new frontiers would be found. Expansion into the Pacific and Central America created new geographical frontiers, while the city offered an immediate, if metaphorical one. As Whitlock had phrased it, the conquest would be of the spiritual world rather than of nature, but the same process of the discovery and application of the laws of social relations would be repeated. Each wave of immigrants, each technological innovation, each scientific or artistic creation would have to be assimilated into existing institutions.

Like pilgrims to the holy land, men and women journeyed to Chicago to learn the lessons of the fair, applying them later in a variety of activities. Ellen H. Richards, the first woman to complete doctoral study in chemistry at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, set up an experimental kitchen at the Exposition that served meals in a room filled with exhibits explaining the new science of nutrition. In the following years she worked to improve public awareness of good diet, sanitation, and hygiene. In 1899 she helped to inaugurate a series of conferences at Lake Placid, New York, which led to the organization of the American Home Economics Association in 1908. Richards had taken the impulse of the Chicago fair into the home.

Franz Boas, like Richards, defined progress in terms of environmental control. A German-educated scientist, he immigrated to New York in 1886

and soon went to the Pacific Northwest where he studied the Indian tribes. Boas too participated in the Columbian Exposition, helping to organize and manage the popular ethnographic exhibits that included costumed natives of many lands. Returning to New York as curator of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History and professor at Columbia University, Boas spent the remainder of his life promoting the idea of cultural relativism, writing in defense of the eastern and southern European immigrants who were being accused of racial inferiority by nativist Americans. The publication in 1911 of *The Mind of Primitive Man* contributed significantly to the recognition of the art and culture of so-called primitive and folk societies.

Chicago continued to be a locus of change for the two decades after the fair. Jane Addams' Hull House gave direction to the settlement house movement, educating immigrants and helping young middle class women find useful work outside the home. Frank Lloyd Wright's Prairie Houses continued the progress of the city's architecture. In education, the University of Chicago assembled a faculty that included the economist Thorstein Veblen and the philosopher John Dewey, the former a critic of the idea that progress is measured solely in material abundance, the latter a founder of "progressive education" with its emphasis on preparing children for the world outside the classroom. As late as 1912, Chicago could still claim to be a center for young writers, as the founding of *Poetry* magazine by Harriet Monroe illustrates. Modernist poetry by Ezra Pound, William Butler Yeats, D. H. Lawrence, and Robert Frost filled its first issues.

In a sense, Chicago linked the urbanizing East and the still largely agricultural and mining West. Both sections were changing rapidly and their notions of progress often conflicted. Westerners were torn between their love of the natural beauty of unsettled mountains and forests and their desire to build cities and develop natural resources in order to share in the wealth created by industrialization. Their struggle was often complicated by the fact that much of the wealth of the western

states was controlled by eastern corporations, especially the railroads that owned vast areas of land as a result of generous grants by the federal government. Thus, progressive political reform in the West became wrestling control of state legislatures dominated by railroad interests.

The conservation movement defined progress as the preservation of land for future generations, so that they might experience a part of what Turner had memorialized while at the same time managing the land so that it would yield its products efficiently and profitably. Led by Gifford Pinchot, the first American to hold a degree in forestry, and supported by Theodore Roosevelt, the federal government began several programs to protect national parks and forests, to develop inland waterways, and to irrigate arid lands. While disagreement over the use of the remaining wilderness would eventually split the Republican Party, the efforts of the early conservationists had lasting effects. The Sierra Club, the National Audubon Society, the Boy Scouts of America, all founded between 1892 and 1910, helped to educate Americans about the value of nature. Even for those who could only know the wilderness through novels such as Owen Wister's *The Virginian*, or later through the movies, the frontier held special meaning. Surely, Henry James expressed the feelings of many when he wrote to Wister in 1902, "How I envy you the personal knowledge of the W.[ild] W.[est], the possession of the memories that *The V.[irginian]* must be built on, & the right to a competent romantic feeling about them."

Wister's novel was dedicated to his friend Theodore Roosevelt, who shared the author's belief that, "All America is divided into two classes—the quality and the equality. The latter will always recognize the former when mistaken for it." Yet for those who wished to rise with their class and not above it, progress was slower. In New York, Abraham Cahan resumed the editorship of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, a Yiddish language newspaper he had helped to found in 1897. Through the pages of the *Forward*, especially in his answers to letters to the editor, he explained American customs to millions of Jewish immigrants. In his English lan-

Walker Art Center



Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies



National Portrait Gallery

(top to bottom) a Philadelphia immigrant family; Susan B. Anthony; *Nude Descending a Staircase* by Marcel Duchamp, from the Armory Show, NY, 1913



Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art

Chicago Historical Society, ICHI-02227



Fine Arts Building, World's Columbian Exposition



South Beach Bathers by John Sloan, 1908

The



NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 19, 1906.

EARTHQUAKE
LAYS FRISCO
IN RUINS.

Scarcely the town was placed under martial law, a great war throve about the fire, and all the dynamite in the city was consumed.

The city broke beautifully clear. The wind, which usually blows steadily from the west at this time of the year, took a sudden turn and came steadily from the east, sending the fire, which lay in the wholesale district along the waterfront, toward the heart of the city, where stood the modern steel structure buildings, mainly stripped of their ornamental shells.

An outcrop of the flames ran along Market street, leaped New Montgomery and shot out toward the Palace Hotel. At the same time a steady fire coming up from the south

in the time of day when the city occurred.

THE CITY HALL, BORN NOT

All this made of San Francisco's ruins, dotted with debris. Chief of it buildings was the great City Hall, which cost \$2,000,000, and twenty years in building. Its walls were rent apart, and a great jumble of fallen stones, ported that some of the police emergency human team, who night in the building, were hurt in its fall.

OTHER BUILDINGS ON

Further down the street the



Brooklyn Bridge cables by Ken Burns.

guage novels, Yekl: A Tale of the New York Ghetto (1896) and *The Rise of David Levinsky* (1917), he interpreted immigrant life to Americans. As a Socialist, he was committed to helping the working classes through labor unions and government reform. Progress for Cahan was measured by the success of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in eliminating the sweatshops and by the United Garment Workers agreement with the men's clothing manufacturers to have impartial arbitration of contract differences. By 1913, Cahan and others could look with hope on the first minimum wage law, enacted by Massachusetts, and the establishment of a United States Department of Labor.

For those who sought more fundamental changes in American society, progress was elusive. Emma Goldman carried her message of anarchism, free love, and modernism in the arts across the country many times between 1897 and her deportation to Russia in 1919. Her lasting contribution, like that of other radicals, was to the cause of free speech. As their cases were heard in courts, the meaning of the First Amendment of the Constitution became more clearly defined.

The extension of legal rights was still more difficult for black Americans. Despite the efforts of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, blacks remained subject to the worst kinds of discrimination and mob violence. Race relations were the Progressive Era's greatest failure. Even Theodore Roosevelt was severely criticized when he had Washington to a meal at the White House in 1901. Far from being radical, Washington had articulated his position in a speech in Atlanta in 1893, in which he urged blacks to remain in the South and to learn industrial and agricultural skills in order to rise economically before seeking social and political equality. DuBois, on the other hand, sought to bring educated and talented blacks into the mainstream of American life by militant action. After receiving his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1895, DuBois wrote and lectured on history and economics, and, in 1905, helped to start an organization that became the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. For DuBois there could be no compromise with injustice. *The Crisis*, the monthly magazine of the NAACP, which he began in 1910,

summarizes his feelings perfectly.

There were other crises, of course; avoidable, like the financial panics of 1893 and 1907, or the invasion of Nicaragua by the Marines in 1912; and inevitable, like the revolt of youth against their parents. The generational conflict took on new dimensions, however, since G. Stanley Hall and other psychologists had popularized the concept of adolescence. At Hall's invitation, Sigmund Freud visited Clark University in 1909, to explain further the psychological significance of childhood. A colleague of Hall predicted that evolution was leading to a more childlike human species and looked forward to the day when adults would be happy, spontaneous, and youthful. For Randolph Bourne, who had worked his way through Columbia University despite physical and financial handicaps, the promise of his generation was that "youth is the incarnation of reason pitted against the rigidity of tradition." Finally, Theodore Roosevelt brought the image of youthful energy to the Presidency itself.

Roosevelt epitomizes the era. In 1893 he was a thirty-five year old commissioner of the civil service in Washington; two years later he was president of the board of police commissioners in New York; in another two years he was President McKinley's assistant secretary of the navy, a position he left to lead a volunteer troop, the Rough Riders, in the Spanish-American War. Returning a hero, he was elected governor of New York in 1898, chosen as McKinley's running mate in 1900, and then inaugurated as President of the United States after McKinley's assassination in 1901. President until succeeded by William Howard Taft in 1909, Roosevelt held the public's attention with his quick decisions, athletic activities, and personal commitment to many of the new political reforms such as conservation and antitrust legislation. In foreign affairs he was aggressive, intervening in Central America, starting construction of the Panama Canal, and sending the Navy on a world cruise.

Out of office, Roosevelt traveled in Africa and Europe, wrote for popular magazines and newspapers, and then returned to organize the Progressive Party in opposition to both the Republicans and the Democrats in the election of 1912. His popularity was so great that he received

more votes than Taft, allowing Woodrow Wilson to win. The party he helped to organize gave its name to the period of reform that continued until the First World War, but Roosevelt himself retired to travel and write until his death in 1919. Happily, his free time allowed him to attend the International Exhibition of Modern Art, best known as the Armory Show, in New York City in February 1913. Here, Roosevelt and other Americans saw some 1600 pieces of European and American art, much of it from the avant-garde of Paris—Duchamp, Matisse, Picasso, Kandinsky, and Braque. Roosevelt praised the show in an essay, "A Layman's Views of an Art Exhibition." Americans, he declared, must not ignore the art forces of Europe. His own preference was for the whimsical fantasies of Arthur B. Davies and the urban impressions of John Sloan, but he astutely saw connections between Cubism, the designs of a Navaho rug, and the "colored puzzle pictures of the Sunday newspapers." Roosevelt was not ready to reject the idea of progress defined by the classicism of the Columbian Exposition, but he recognized that beauty could also be found in the abstractions of a Navaho rug or even a Duchamp nude.

In 1913, Coney Island had its own Ferris Wheel, though most thought that the new Woolworth skyscraper was New York's Eiffel Tower. The streets of Manhattan and Brooklyn, like the Boardwalk, were a permanent Exposition midway crowded with the races and cultures of the world. An immigrant artist caught the new sense of order in his painting, "Battle of Lights, Coney Island," as surely as Ferris had captured the old order in his wheel. What had begun in Chicago as unity ended in New York as diversity. Where the taste of 1893 had been classical, the style of 1913 was abstract. What had been absolute was now relative. Where age had been honored, youth triumphed. The serious seemed playful. The Armory Show was a coda to the composition begun in Chicago, and a fanfare for progress in another era.

—Bernard Mergen

Mr. Mergen, a professor of American civilization at George Washington University, teaches courses in cultural history and the material aspects of American civilization and has been a Fulbright professor in Sweden and Berlin.

Editor's Notes

Progress vs. nostalgia, two predominant themes in American life, are dramatically highlighted in the brief period under study in this issue of *Humanities*. There is an underlying irony in the Columbian Exposition of 1893, designed to celebrate genteel standards of taste and culture, but in reality, a hymn to the wealth generated by the new industrialism that was transforming society.

Neil Harris (page 14) uses electricity as only the premier example of the age's inventive genius. "The Great Enchanter, the King of Wonders of the 19th Century," was one contemporary description of the White Magic, as electricity was called. "This first moment of enchantment with the versatile wonders of electrical energy, and the subterranean anxieties about its dangers, underscored the coming role of technology as hammer and anvil of national goals," writes Harris. "Like nuclear energy several generations later, electricity's revolutionary capacities were both awesome and terrifying; few precedents could guide social policy."

How remarkably like our own anxieties, nearly a century later: shifting definitions of taste and culture; doubts about America's ability to cope with the immigration of alien newcomers; the revolt of the young against "outmoded standards"; social reform; racism; feminism; sensationalism in the news; the menacing implications of new technology.

All of these seem to underscore the *plus ça change* aspects of the 1980s. For while memory casts turn-of-the-century America in a halcyon mode, a more exacting study of its history reveals a time very like our own.

—Judith Chayes Neiman

Humanities

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YESTERDAY'S NEWSPAPERS

By 1897, when he cabled to Cuba his now infamous message, "You furnish the pictures, and I'll furnish the war," thirty-four-year-old William Randolph Hearst had been locked in mortal combat for two years with Joseph Pulitzer for the newspaper domination of New York.

Pulitzer, the blind crusader from Hungary, had purchased the *New York World* in 1883 and had rapidly transformed it from a staid businessmen's journal with 20,000 circulation into a free-swinging "public service" paper that denounced everything from the Standard Oil and Bell Telephone monopolies to the pesky tolls on the newly opened Brooklyn Bridge. From his gold-domed headquarters,

was happening, Hearst made the promise of war that he then proceeded to deliver.

After the U.S.S. Maine exploded in Havana's harbor on Feb. 15, 1898, Hearst's *Journal* proclaimed it had "evidence" that a Spanish mine was responsible. The evidence later proved spurious, but the *Journal* passed the one million circulation mark, and President William McKinley declared war.

The industrialization, immigration and urbanization of that tempestuous era—was chronicled daily in the pages of the *Journal*, the *World* and the nation's other 2,324 daily newspapers. But because of the highly acidic nature of the newsprint used in post-Civil War times, the papers are gradually vanishing, and along with them their lode of historical information.

"The papers are literally falling apart," notes Larry Sullivan, librarian for the New York Historical Society. "They just crumble in your hands."

The historical society has become part of an NEH-sponsored initiative aimed at preserving many of the estimated 300,000 different newspapers published in the U.S. since 1690. Under a preliminary phase of NEH's United States Newspaper Program, the society and six other research centers are conducting intense surveys of their own newspaper holdings, and logging the results into a centralized computer bank. As a result, researchers across the country will be able to obtain access to the antics of Pulitzer and Hearst and to three hundred years of American history as chronicled by the press. NEH also plans to provide matching grants to permit microfilming of critical newspapers in danger of destruction.

Many historians acknowledge that newspapers are an indispensable research tool. "Local newspapers are a rich and absolutely essential resource for the study of local history," says Ronald Limbaugh, executive secretary of the Conference of California Historical Societies. "In many cases, back files of local newspapers provide the only running chronicle of information for some regions." Clarence S. Brigham, former director of the American Antiquarian Society, adds that "if all the printed sources of history for a certain century or decade had to be destroyed, save one, that which would be chosen with the greatest value to posterity would be the file of an important newspaper."

Sarah Wiggins, editor of *The Alabama Review*, warns of the perilous conditions of newspapers in many



(far left) newspaper tycoon, William Randolph Hearst; crusading journalist Lincoln Steffens exposed police corruption in New York; embodying the spirit of the Progressive era, Theodore Roosevelt brought the "image of youth and energy to the presidency itself."

Alabama collections. "The quality of the paper is so poor that whenever I use [the newspapers] to follow up an issue, there is always a pile of confetti on the floor, shattered pieces from simply turning the pages."

Gary Mills, whose work as an associate professor of history at the University of Alabama also takes him to these collections says, "Deep South states like Alabama are vital keys to understanding the South; yet, in-depth studies on crucial aspects of their history are lacking" because rural and small-town papers have been lost or ignored.

Concerns of this sort were being articulated with increasing urgency in the early 1970s. Responding to an NEH request for suggestions, the American Council of Learned Societies asked its member associations' executive secretaries in 1972 to consider ways to compile newspaper bibliographies. The next year, the Organization of American Historians received a grant to study the need for revising an outdated, incomplete bibliography of U.S. newspapers from 1821 to 1936. The organization used a follow-up grant the next year to survey the broader need for newspaper access nationwide. By 1976, the federal government was sponsoring a pilot program in Iowa which resulted in a computerized index and a published guide to 6,000 newspapers published in the state since 1836. The Library of Congress, with financial help from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, subsequently published a newspaper cataloguing manual as a guide for other states.

Based on these experiences, NEH has devised a three-phase program, including a first step of grants for long-range planning at the state level. A second stage includes grants for each state and territory to carry out surveys of all papers published within its borders, and to publish a guide to these papers. NEH eventually plans follow-up grants for microfilming of papers that are considered most significant for scholarly research. Some states like New York already have begun microfilming endangered materials. But Peter Paulson, director of the New York State Library, says the federal initia-

tive will help preserve more papers than the state could manage alone.

As part of the program's second phase, states will feed the results of their surveys into a centralized computer data bank or repository, where the information will become available to researchers all across the country. The material will be sent to a repository operated by CONSER (Conservation of Serials), a U.S. and Canadian cooperative of eighteen national, state and university libraries.

Once the system is in place, a researcher in Los Angeles could use a computer to find out which issues of which New York City newspapers are on file at the New York Public Library. The California researcher then could contact the library and purchase a copy of any material that has been microfilmed.

Though it may take fifteen to twenty years to complete the program's ambitious goals, some newspaper records already are being sent via computer to the central repository. In August, 1982, NEH issued grants to enable the Library of Congress and six other major research libraries to enter information during the next two years on approximately 35,000 newspapers into the computerized data bank. The research centers—the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago, the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland and state historical societies in Kansas, New York, and Wisconsin—all hold major newspaper treasures ranging from the nation's earliest colonial publications to current community newspapers.

The American Antiquarian Society contains the nation's most comprehensive set of colonial papers, including the first issue of the *Boston Newsletter*, the nation's first regular newspaper. In its premier issue, published April 24, 1704, the paper noted that "priests, Jesuits" and "other Papists" were said to be massing in Scotland, apparently prepared to install the "Pretender" James VIII on the British throne, all part of a nefarious plot by the wicked king of France to destroy Protestantism.

The society also counts among its collection the *Massachusetts Spy*,



Pulitzer had incited a revolution in American journalism, with stories of scandal, sports and sex that appealed to the burgeoning Manhattan population.

But the younger Hearst, having applied Pulitzer's tactics to his San Francisco paper, was determined to fight Pulitzer on his own turf. Fueled by his family fortune, Hearst purchased the *New York Morning Journal* in 1895 from Pulitzer's brother and immediately began raiding the *World* for talent. Among those he lured away was R. F. Outcault, who since 1889 had been drawing the nation's first color comic strip, "The Yellow Kid of Hogan's Alley." Pulitzer retaliated by hiring another artist, and both papers began carrying the "Yellow Kid"—a symbol of the battle for circulation that critics called Yellow Journalism.

The competition erupted into open warfare by the late 1890s, as the papers duelled in covering Cuba's struggle against Spanish colonial rule. Pulitzer initially set the pace in exploiting the conflict, but Hearst soon outstripped him. When artist Frederic Remington cabled Hearst from Cuba in 1897 seeking permission to return home because little

the nation's first labor-oriented paper, which, incidentally, was published by Antiquarian Society founder Isaiah Thomas. Thomas immortalized his first issue with an eyewitness account of the 1775 Battle of Lexington. Joyce Tracy, director of the society's newspaper preservation program, notes that the research center owns approximately 14,500 different newspapers, including more than 2 million separate issues, most published before 1877.

One of the nation's most varied newspaper collections resides about 200 miles south of Worcester at the New York Historical Society, which stores one and one half million volumes of decaying papers in three warehouses in Patterson, N.J. This collection's highlights include contemporaneous accounts of John Peter Zenger's 1735 libel trial, which established a legal precedent for newspaper publishers to criticize government officials; a detailed set of California papers from the Gold Rush era, including many that were destroyed in California itself during the San Francisco earthquake; and numerous Civil War papers, some published on toilet paper or the back of wallpaper in newsprint scarce cities like Vicksburg.

Historical society librarian Larry Sullivan notes the research center also holds virtually every paper published in New York between the Civil War and the turn of the century, possibly the most critical period in the newspapers' development.

Between 1865 and 1900, the U.S. population more than doubled, from 35 million to 76 million; the population of New York City alone mushroomed from about 1 million to 3.4 million. The swollen cities became mass markets for newspapers, which began adapting ways still reflected in much of today's journalism. Papers became cheap and easy to read, filled with screaming headlines, human interest stories and muckraking accounts that assailed big business and government malefactors.

Although Joseph Pulitzer is commonly credited with developing that era's "new journalism," the foundations actually were laid by Charles A. Dana, a former student of

Greek and Latin and an assistant secretary of war who purchased the *New York Sun* in 1868. At a time when the typical newspaper was about as stirring as a recitation of the phone book, Dana sought out stories appealing to the public's emotions by stressing the pathos and humor of the news. "It will not take as long to read the *Sun* as to read the *London Times* or Webster's Dictionary," Dana said. "But when you have read it you will know all that has happened in both hemispheres."

The *Sun* was once one of the first papers to aim features at an increasingly literate female audience, while its clever editorial writers coined such terms as "to the victor belongs the spoils," and "no king, no clown to rule this town." The *Sun* also conducted a series of exposés, including a detailed description of how the Credit Mobilier organization bribed congressmen in an effort to build the Union-Pacific Railroad.

One of Dana's crusading police reporters, Jacob A. Riis, heavily influenced a man who would become that era's single best-known journalist: Lincoln Steffens. In 1893, Steffens was a green-as-grass reporter for the *New York Evening Post* when Riis took him in hand and began to teach him the investigator's art. In the following year Steffens helped expose massive police corruption. His work also triggered the appointment of a new "reform" police commissioner named Theodore Roosevelt.

A decade later, Steffens relied on his *Post* experiences to produce a famous series of magazine articles exposing corruption and graft in other major cities. When his old friend Roosevelt became President, Steffens wrote a syndicated newspaper article alleging the President would "buy" congressional votes for his programs through old-fashioned patronage schemes. He later said Roosevelt was "almost as honest as an honest crook." Roosevelt, who had once praised magazine exposés, began attacking them. He called the writers "muckrakers," charging that, like characters by that name in *Pilgrim's Progress*, they waded through the slop without ever turning their eyes up to see life's positive side. Roose-

velt later insisted that he didn't mean to include Steffens, ironically remembered as history's most famous muckraker.

But if Dana stressed human interest stories and Steffens dug up dirt, Joseph Pulitzer became the apostle of sensationalism. In 1878, Pulitzer founded the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and was such a success that five years later he launched his *New York World*. He made his intentions clear, announcing in the *World's* first issue: "There is room in this great and growing city for a journal that is not only cheap but bright, not only bright but large, not only large but truly democratic—dedicated to the cause of the people rather than to that of the purse potentates—devoted more to news of the New than the Old World—that will expose all fraud and sham, fight all public evils and abuses—that will battle for the people with earnest sincerity."

Pulitzer also realized there was readership to be gained and money to be made by sensationalizing the human interest story. Day after day, the *World* was filled with melodramatic headlines such as "School Girl's Sad Fate. Decoyed into a House of Ill-fame at Coney Island." Murder stories were often accompanied by five-column illustrations. Catastrophes always made page one.

Pulitzer also used stunts and other gimmicks to sell subscriptions, and his stated theory behind all crusades was "PUBLICITY, PUBLICITY, PUBLICITY." He sent an expedition to rescue a pioneer girl from Indian captors. Nellie Bly, the daredevil columnist, faked insanity to expose conditions in an insane asylum, and improved on Jules Verne by circling the globe in only seventy-two days. Pulitzer also used coupons and contests. He created the first public opinion polls and invented the man-in-the-street interview. Within a decade, he had boosted the paper's circulation from 20,000 to 400,000.

But it took William Randolph Hearst less than three years from his 1895 purchase of the *Journal* to beat the master at his own game. While campaigning for the working and middle classes against the "gorged trusts," Hearst made sure that lurid

crime and sex stories dominated his front page.

One *Journal* issue featured an illustration of a young American woman being stripped and searched on board an American ship by a band of lusty Spanish officers. "Does Our Flag Protect Women?" said Hearst's banner headline. Outraged at the scoop, Pulitzer charged in the rival *World* that the incident was a fabrication—and immediately began beating the bushes for his own atrocity stories.

Yet by the early 1900s, an increasingly sophisticated public was beginning to tire of "yellow journalism." The newspapers from that period still enticed readers with bright human interest stories and inches-high headlines. But after sober reports of President McKinley's assassination in 1901 and accompanying charges that William Hearst's bombasts had helped to incite it, newspapers came gradually to reflect the growing conservatism of their publishers and the increasing objectivity of their editors.

In 1923 the American Society of Newspaper Editors adopted a journalistic code of ethics, which has continued to set the standard for American journalism and has made the modern newspaper a far different kind of historical record.

But the entrepreneurial spirit of Hearst and Pulitzer is evident in the pages of every American newspaper to this day. Much of what they initiated has proved enduring, vital and perennially popular.

—Francis J. O'Donnell

Mr. O'Donnell, a practicing journalist, is a frequent contributor to *Humanities*.

United States Newspaper Projects/
Organization of American Historians/
\$232,662/1973-79/6 national repositories: American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA/\$201,978
Center for Research Libraries, Chicago/\$35,845/Kansas State Historical Society/\$183,806/New-York Historical Society/\$192,916/Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland/\$122,935/State Historical Society of Wisconsin/\$210,000/1982-84/18 repositories in state and territories: \$253,788/1983/Division of Research Programs



The Rise of New York



In 1906, the English writer H. G. Wells made a long-promised trip to the United States. Generations of English travelers had come to this country before him—most of them shocked by its crudity but consoled, at least, by the refinement of its cultured elite and by their spiritual capital, Boston. But Wells was not the ordinary English visitor—and Boston left him cold.

"My main thesis," he wrote, "is that culture, as it is conceived in Boston, is no contribution to the future of America. . . . We give too much to the past. New York is not simply more interesting than Rome, but more stimulating, and far more beautiful, and the idea that to be concerned about the latter in preference to the former is the mark of a finer mental quality is one of the most mischievous and foolish ideas that ever invaded the mind of men."

The "idea" that Wells declared "mischievous and foolish" was, in fact, at the very heart of America's establishment culture at the turn of the century. Intellectual Boston and its suburbs in the journals, museums, academies, and parlors of countless American cities gathered unto itself the high-minded impulses which flourished in the hothouse atmosphere of American gentility. Boston, of course, was not just Boston—it was the Philadelphia which hounded Thomas Eakins from the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, after he had exposed young females to nude male models in life-drawing classes; it was the colonies of Americans abroad who chased aristocrats and collected old snuff boxes; and it was the closed, smug world of the National Academy in New York, whose narrowness provoked artistic rebellion at the start of this century.

The custodians of culture, whether in poetry, painting, or fiction, had as their common faith a belief in a world of art separated from and, in their formulation, higher than the bustling, disorganized experience of everyday American life. Theirs was a world of harmony, of restraint, of chaste pleasures, of controlled form and refreshing, uplifting beauty.

To leave their world, to leave, that is, this symbolic Boston, was to enter the America of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century—a

clangorous, crude, dynamic, forceful boom-society—which assaulted the ear and roughed-up the spirit. It was, in fact, to enter New York.

H.G. Wells's willingness to take the New York tiger by the tail coincided with a new, radical orientation in early twentieth-century American culture charted by a rising generation in the arts who had grown up with the new social forces—awful and wonderful both—that were shaping urban America. Theirs was the experience of watching the titanic struggles of a new society coming into being—at once brutal and exultant, powerful and out of control, crass and thrilling.

But if they resisted the impulse to jump into the great American race for material well-being, then they watched from the periphery. If they were determined upon a career of the intellect or the sensibility they were cautioned, in fact, not to watch at all—to turn away from the mean streets to the secret garden of polite American culture, to turn, as they came to see it, from Life to Art.

In his classic formulation of the dual nature of nineteenth-century American society, the Harvard philosopher George Santayana described the dilemma that the new generation faced, and was determined to solve. Santayana spoke, in 1911, of America as a nation "with two mentalities." "This division may be found symbolized in American architecture: a neat reproduction of the colonial mansion . . . stands beside the skyscraper. The American Will inhabits the skyscraper; the American Intellect inhabits the colonial mansion." The task before an entire generation of writers, of artists, of reformist intellectuals was to make their dash for freedom out of the mansion of America's sensibility into the swarming streets of her experience.

The spirit of insurgent realism first found its voice not in New York but in the West. It was in Chicago, where writers learned their craft not as professors but as journalists, that the impulse to describe the world as it *was*, not as it should be, first took hold among the young. Such naturalist writers as Chicago-born Frank Norris, author of *The Octopus*, and *Vandover and the Brute*, harsh titles more easily spat out than said,

and Theodore Dreiser, whose novels would include *The Titan* and *The Financier*, proclaimed their manifesto for realism. There was no sign of genteel aestheticism in Norris, who wrote, "Who cares for fine style: Tell your yarn and let your style go to the devil. We don't want literature, we want life."

Literature thus became a weapon in the hands of the writer, a determined social realist out to describe and change his world. Floyd Dell, one of the many Chicago writers who would soon move to New York, wrote, "We have seen changes in machinery, and changes in institutions, and changes in men's minds—and we know that nothing is impossible. We can have any kind of bloody world we want."

The Chicago of the literary realists, which would form one prop of the New York pre-war Renaissance, had its counterpart in the Philadelphia band of artists in the 1890s who followed the painter and the critic Robert Henri to New York and formed the core of the revolutionary exhibition of "the Eight" in 1908. Like the Chicago writers, the group around Henri had its creative roots in journalism. William Glackens, George Luks, Everett Shinn, and the artist who would emerge as the greatest of the group, John Sloan, initially earned their livings as illustrators for newspapers. Henri pulled together his band into an emerging school of realism centered in New York which opened America's eyes to a larger life.

Henri's basic assumption was that aestheticism, the belief in art for art's sake, was a kind of timidity, a shying away from harsh realities that a too fine sensibility could not accommodate. The point was not to look away from life—from its scruffy disharmonies, its rude vitality—but to take it head on. The very act of grappling with life was itself a value for Henri. And not only for Henri. William James, one of the few elders who could speak to the young, asserted in *The Will to Believe*:

"If this life be not a real fight, in which something is gained . . . it is no better than a game of private theatricals . . . Be not afraid of life. Believe that life is worth living, and your belief will help create the fact."

It was possible to be in Henri's circle and never even hear words traditionally associated with art—words such as "beauty," "taste," "harmony," "technique," "style." Their words were Rooseveltian: "vigor," "strain," "struggle." George Luks, the toughest of the Henri circle growled his contempt for sophistication. "Art my slats! I can paint with a shoestring dipped in pitch and lard . . . Technique did you say? My slats! Say listen, you—it's in you or it isn't. Who taught Shakespeare technique? Guts! Guts! Life! Life! That's my technique."

The realists, thus, struck an attitude of active involvement, combative or no, which bespoke their belief that it was the artist's full partici-

pation in life rather than the individual technique of his art which marked his worth, his usefulness. It was upon the personality of the artist that Henri placed his hopes for the reformation not only of American art but of American society. The artist who was unafraid, who could, so to speak, box and paint both, was the only hope of a culture whose mind, as Santayana warned, was so tragically divided. Henri's concept of the artist as an organic personality who might yet save his America reflected a broad intellectual mood which swept the Manhattan Renaissance. His friend, Van Wyck Brooks, whose classic essay, *America's Coming of Age*, would become the bible of the new cultural nationalism, held up the example of Walt Whitman: "Everything which had been separate, self-sufficient, incoordinate—action, theory, idealism, business—he cast into a crucible; and they emerged harmonious and molten, in a fresh democratic ideal based upon the whole personality."

But Whitman—and for that matter the other great predecessor, the painter Thomas Eakins—had labored alone, had shouted his "barbaric yawp" into the American void. In the New York of the new century, however, artists in every medium, writers in every mode, reformers of every stripe might come together from what art critic Sadakichi Hartmann called their "intellectual isolation" to form a redemptive community to regenerate American society.

It was the pleasure of being together, of believing together in a rising New York City that fed the shared optimism and artistic purpose. John Sloan, whose capacity for friendship was expressed in his long-standing bond with Henri, was the heart and soul of the new gregarious creativity. It was Sloan who painted the literary critic Van Wyck Brooks, the poet Alan Seeger, and the Irish painter-saint John Butler Yeats gathered together at the table of the Petitpas sisters' boarding house in Greenwich Village; Sloan who shared with Eugene O'Neill an affection for the "Hell Hole" saloon on Sixth Avenue, which found its way into both their work; Sloan whose hope for America's political future led him to associate with the socialist editors of the *Masses* little magazine; Sloan who rejoiced in the free-form dancing of Isadora Duncan, who moved him, he wrote, "as a symbol of human animal happiness . . . the greatest human love of life."

For the New York realists all generalizations about life and struggle, about the redemption of American culture through art and intellectual community, boiled down to a felt obligation to capture the look and feel of the New York of crowds, bridges, slums, skyscrapers, saloons, theaters, and subways; of public brawl and private refuge. New York was itself the resolution of America's divided mind—it was a city in which beauty and ugliness, intellectu-

ality and vitality, art and life combined. "Others," wrote Sloan's friend Jerome Myers, "saw ugliness and degradation there, but I saw poetry and beauty."

The city which toughed the spirit of the artists and writers of Greenwich Village was a place where one found, as the radical journalist John Reed wrote, "All professions, races, temperaments, philosophies / All history, all possibilities, all romance." It was, in John Sloan's painter's language, a "cosmopolitan palette in which all colors mingle and then appear sharply by turns."

New York was above all the place of intense reality—but reality defined in the antibourgeois spirit of the insurgents. Everett Shinn, one of the company of the Eight, "looked," as he wrote, "beyond the outposts of society, where people were real by default of riches—to saloons where periled the dreams of change and expansion, to alleyways and gutters, train yards, night carts, dives, docks, dance halls, and park benches."

The discovery of that New York—the true New York to the realists—might be dated from 1890 when Jacob Riis wrote *How the Other Half Lives*, about the Manhattan poor, and from the photographs of Lewis Hine, exposing the reality of poverty, and of the young Alfred Stieglitz, who, years before the realists would be sneeringly described as the Ashcan school, had earned for his band of city photographers the hostile description of "the Mop and Pail Brigade."

In 1900, Sadakichi Hartmann, himself a true Manhattan mix of German and Japanese ancestry, offered his *Plea for the Picturesqueness of New York*, in which he sought "to give to art the complexion of our time," by focusing not on the beauties of the conventionally pictorial but on the Manhattan reality. And two years later the writer Hutchins Hapgood found what he called *The Spirit of the Ghetto* in a pioneering and romantic study of New York's Jewish section, and later wrote his *Types from the City Streets*, populated by bums, prostitutes, peddlers, bohemians.

This was the life which crowded its way onto the canvases of the painter-realists—works with such titles as Everett Shinn's "The Laundress" or "Washington Square," and "Rush Hour"; George Bellows' "Cliff Dwellers," or "Steamy Streets," or, later, "Stag at Sharkey's"; and such works by Sloan as "Wake of the Ferry," "McSorley's Bar," and "Six O'Clock Winter."

There was another emerging vision of the city—in art and in literature—which was even more radical in its discovery of the city as a subject for art. The New York of the realist was very human in its scale and spirit, conveying some sense of the enduring vitality of the small town and village environment imposing itself defiantly on the urbanscape. But it was impersonal New York, mecha-

nized New York, the New York of glass and stone and steel, of suspension bridges and skyscrapers, which challenged the modernists around Alfred Stieglitz and his gallery "291" to find an equivalent aesthetic.

For Henri, Sloan, and their community of realists, the bridges, subways and high-rise buildings of Manhattan, took their place principally as background for human drama. For John Marin, perhaps the greatest of the Stieglitz group of city painters, the high-rise buildings of Manhattan were themselves the essence of the raw vitality of New York and called for an artistic response not representational but abstract. In his catalog introduction to an exhibition in 1913 of his revolutionary New York watercolors, highlighted by his vision of the new sixty-story Woolworth Building broken into lines and planes, Marin explained to the bewildered:

"Shall we consider the life of a great city as confined simply to the people and animals on its streets and in its buildings? Are the buildings themselves dead? . . . I see great forces at work; great movements; the large buildings and the small buildings; the warring of the great and the small; influences of one mass on another greater or smaller mass . . . And so I try to express graphically what a great city is doing."

This was the New York of Marin's Woolworth Building, of Joseph Stella's *Battle of Lights*, Coney Island and *New York Interpreted*, of Max Weber's *Improvisation of New York City*, of the work of Abraham Walkowitz, and later of Georgia O'Keeffe, of Charles Sheeler, of the photography of Edward Steichen and Alfred Stieglitz, of the writing a decade later of John Dos Passos' *Manhattan Transfer* and Hart Crane's epic poem, *The Bridge*, of Charles Sheeler and Paul Strand's wondrous 1921 film *Manhattan*.

There were, of course, vast differences in approach between the abstract modernists and the realists, and, for that matter, among the modernists and the realists, but what is significant, perhaps, is what they shared—a sense of dislike for academic traditions which separated the artist from a vivid and immediate response to the life around him, a belief in the possibilities of a national art which was more than vulgar patriotism—"It is not necessary to paint the American flag to be an American painter," John Sloan said. "As if you didn't see the American scene every time you opened your eyes"—a sense of the artist's power to regenerate his society, and a commitment to the American values of dynamism and of belief in things contemporary and of the future. It was these values which brought them all to New York City some eighty years ago and bound them to its promise—and bound us, their twentieth-century heirs—to it as well.

—Marc Pachter

Mr. Pachter is Assistant Director and Historian of the National Portrait Gallery.



Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden



New-York Historical Society



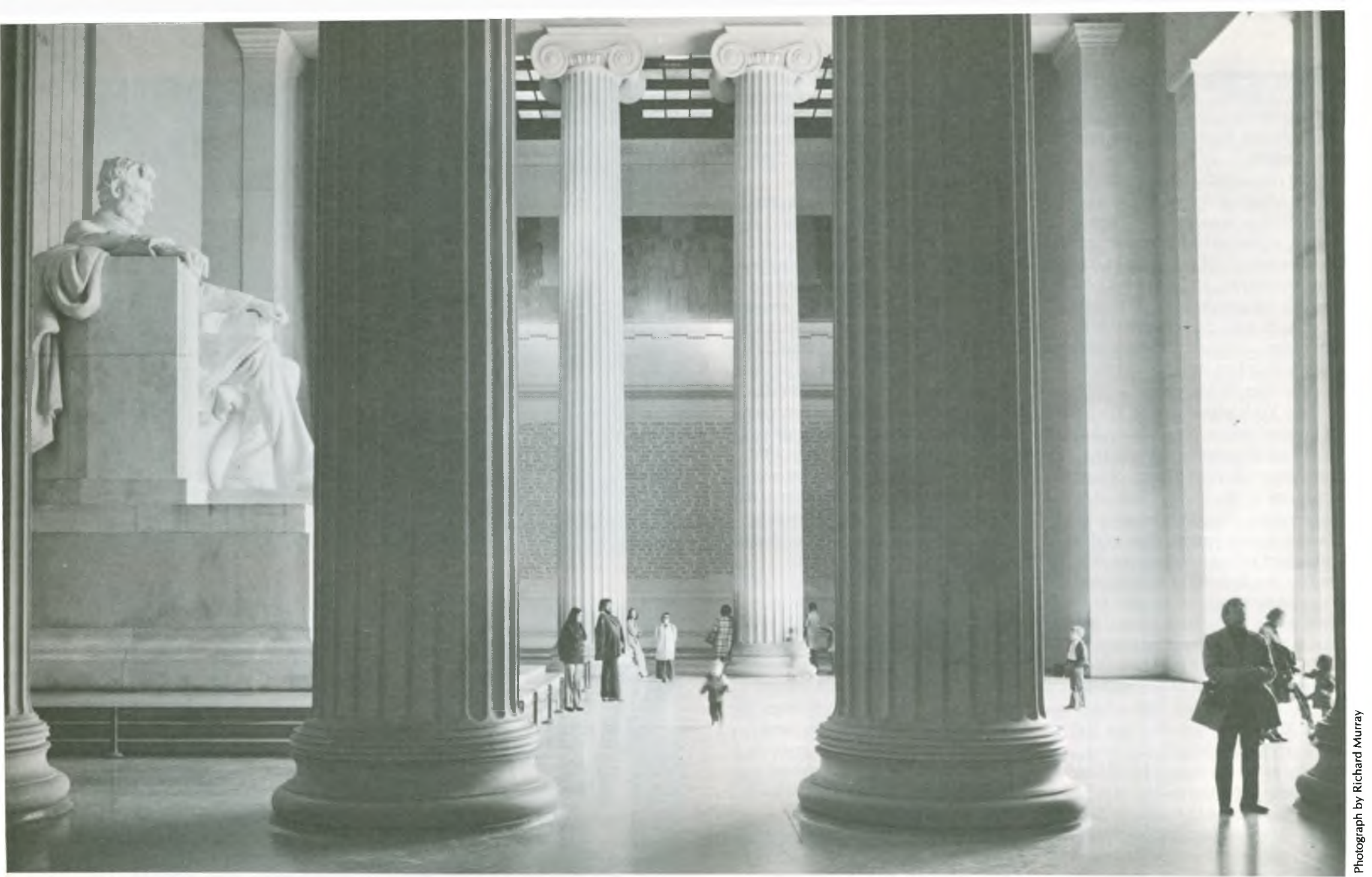
National Portrait Gallery



(top to bottom) *McSorley's Bar* by John Sloan, a magnet for artists, writers and intellectuals of the period; Hester Street illustrates the kind of raw vitality realist artists felt obliged to capture; Robert Henri, mentor of "The Eight"; artist John Sloan, c. 1907; John Marin's *Lower Manhattan*



Museum of Modern Art, Lillie P. Bliss Bequest



Photograph by Richard Murray

The American Renaissance

It was only the best of times, American artists thought, a moment when artists rode in the vanguard, not playing their usual role of recording or interpreting change, but inspiring the changes that occurred. Historians see the period as a revival of the ideals and the creative spirit that transformed Europe in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and call the years following 1876 the "American Renaissance."

Manifest in painting, sculpture, and, most prominently, architecture, the American Renaissance was more than an artistic revival. It was an expression of the optimism felt by politicians, financiers, and industrialists, as well as artists, that the United States was taking its place in the succession of the world's great civilizations. Five world expositions were held in this country between 1876 and 1915. Museums, libraries, universities, operas and orchestras proliferated. Great monuments were raised to national heroes. The Brooklyn Bridge was built.

Since the 1930s, the American Renaissance as a period of distinct artistic accomplishment has either been disparaged or ignored. After all, in the same period, Frank Lloyd Wright advanced a native American architecture with his prairie house.

After Modernism became *de rigueur* for architects, the American Renaissance was branded "anachronistic, conservative, academic and unrelated to American civilization."

But the Brooklyn Museum, which prides itself on examining areas other scholars have neglected—and is itself housed in a magnificent example of American Renaissance architecture designed by Charles McKim—recalled the glories of the American Renaissance in an exhibition which gave impetus to the growing anti-Modernist movement in architecture.

Borrowing about two-thirds of the displayed items from other museums and private collections, the Museum assembled some 300 objects—architectural drawings, original photographs, paintings, sculpture (original and maquette), glass, furniture, ceramics and metalware. The 232-page catalog, *The American Renaissance, 1876-1917*, is one of the few books written about that period and is now used as a textbook in university classrooms.

Among artists, the architects who created monuments and public buildings contributed the most to embodying the Renaissance vision. Many architects were modern Renaissance men. Stanford White, in addition to designing offices, clubs, and build-

ings for New York University and the University of Virginia, also fashioned jewelry, stained glass, and pedestals for the sculpture of his friend Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

Architects such as White, Charles Kim and Daniel Burnham spanned the worlds of art and commerce, bringing visionary plans to corporate boardrooms, mayors' offices and meetings of university trustees. With families holding newly amassed wealth, architects worked hand-in-hand to build private palazzos and public facilities. Prompted in part by exposés of slum conditions, a City Beautiful movement emerged and architects reached beyond the building walls to design landscapes and to plan city renewals.

Daniel Burnham, the designer of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Wanamaker's in New York, Filene's in Boston, and Union Station in Washington, D.C., was the first chairman of the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts and also made plans for improving the cities of Cleveland, San Francisco, Chicago, Baltimore and Manila. "Make no little plans," he is alleged to have said, "they have no magic to stir men's blood."

The great world expositions opened America's eyes to the amenities of

the planned city and to the great achievements of other civilizations. From the Philadelphia Centennial to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, word of the Renaissance was carried to Americans from all walks of life.

For the expositions, structures were lavishly created on the scale and model of classical buildings. The material used, a mixture of plaster of Paris and horsehair called *staff*, was malleable and easy to work, unlike carving marble or stone. When given a protective coat of paint, staff was durable for several years.

Each exposition had its unique spectacle: at Nashville, there was a model of the Parthenon and a pyramid; Buffalo had a Tower of Light and St. Louis, a model city. But Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 was the climax, the celebration of American's ripened self-confidence. "This is the greatest meeting of artists since the fifteenth century," said sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens after the first planning session for that event.

Richard Guy Wilson, an architectural historian at the University of Virginia and author of much of the Brooklyn exhibition catalog, says that the Chicago Exposition was the first American attempt to "outdo Europe



(opposite) a glorious example of the American Renaissance, the Lincoln Memorial; (this page, top to bottom) built of staff and now demolished, the Dewey Triumphal Arch and Colonnade, 1899; the Boston Public Library, 1895; another view of "The White City," the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893, spur to the city beautiful movement



the buildings were made memorable by a collaboration among architects, mural painters and sculptors to produce, in Wilson's words, "architecture and art with a civic face that enhances its surroundings."

One of the earliest examples of civic art, the Boston Public Library was commissioned in 1887 and opened to the public in 1895. Designed by Charles McKim, the library was planned as a solid block in a form derived from Italian Renaissance palazzos. Its stylistic inspirations include Labrouste's *Bibliothèque Sainte-Genevieve* in Paris, Leon Alberti's *San Francisco* in Rimini and the Colosseum in Rome. Carved into the facade, a long roster of stellar names from the arts and sciences celebrates human achievement. Statues of *Science* and *Art* guard the doors and sculpted rondels punctuate the space between windows. Inside, walls are decorated with murals, the last one completed by John Singer Sargent in 1917. "This is an attempt to take the great Western heritage and make it specifically a part of America," Wilson says. "It shows a high degree of patriotism and nationalism, mixed with a cosmopolitan spirit."

Nationalism was also manifest in the public monuments constructed at the time. In Washington the Lincoln Memorial derived its design from ancient Greek and Roman temples, but it is, nevertheless, peculiarly American. In Classic temples, for example, the entry is on the shorter side with unbroken rows of columns on the long sides; the Lincoln Memorial entry is on the long side. In several ways it is stamped with American symbolism; thirty-six columns represent the states of the Union when Lincoln was President and forty-eight festoons, the states when the Memorial was completed in 1922. Murals above the Gettysburg Address incised on the wall allegorize the Emancipation, and murals above the Second Inaugural Address allegorize reunion.

The Memorial's dominant feature, the monumental statue of Lincoln by Daniel Chester French, assumes a classic sculptural pose, in which a leader is seated in a Roman chair with two fasces, the Roman symbol of authority. Yet, to portray Lincoln the man, French adhered to contemporary standards of precision in detail and studied Mathew Brady photographs, casts of Lincoln's death mask and hands, and Lincoln's shoes.

Perhaps the American Renaissance received its most exuberant expression of patriotism in the arches occasionally constructed of staff or wood to commemorate a public event. Derived from the famed triumphal arches of Rome through which conquering legions marched on their way home from battle, the American arches were designed and decorated by pre-eminent architects and artists as a public service—though not without hope that the temporary arch might inspire a commission for a

at its own game." At the Philadelphia Centennial, Wilson says, Americans had found a "pale copy of the Old World," and realized they must concentrate on the fine arts.

In Chicago, the White City, as the Exposition site was called, presented the image of unity in city planning, though not one building facade had a pure stylistic origin. For example, the Administration Building borrowed its dome from Brunelleschi's Florence Cathedral and its Ionic colonnade and loggia from the tomb of Mausolus at Halicarnassus, while its sculptural ornaments recalled French models. The Exposition's eclectic structures, with their precisely copied detail, were pleasingly woven together by waterways and connecting bridges. Wilson describes three distinctive parts of the Columbian Exposition: the Court of Honor where buildings and space were formally delineated and which became a model for many civic and municipal centers; an irregularly shaped wooded island which he compares to suburban areas; and the Midway sideshows, peepshows and the world's first working ferris wheel (constructed to rival the sensation of the 1889 Paris World's Fair, the Eiffel Tower). In this division of space, Wilson sees the beginning of three archetypal areas of the American environment: civic, suburban and commercial, or City Hall, the Neighborhood, and Main Street.

Though architecture dominated the American Renaissance, many of

permanent one. Such was the case when Stanford White designed a wooden arch at Thirteenth Street and Fifth Avenue in New York to mark the centenary of George Washington's first inaugural. The arch so captivated Americans that White was commissioned to design the permanent arch now framing the entrance to Washington Square.

Not so fortunate, Charles R. Lamb designed an arch to honor Admiral George Dewey on his triumphal return from the Battle of Manila Bay. Located in New York, at Fifth Avenue and Madison Square, the arch and its columned processional walk were frosted with allegorical images and statues of American naval heroes from John Paul Jones to David Farragut. Though victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898 brought America several overseas colonies, the arch was soon demolished, never to be replaced.

Nationalism was only one of many currents underlying the American Renaissance. The genteel tradition was another. Viewing art as the index of civilization, this tradition sought ideal images of beauty, nobility and universality to elevate aesthetic standards.

Architecture in the genteel tradition borrowed heavily from classical styles, incorporating such features as domes, triumphal arches, columns, capitals and colonnades. Painting and sculpture showed symbolic rather than specific incidents; the human figure was depicted allegorically—personified as Truth, the State, or a similar abstraction—or as a real person symbolizing higher virtues.

In its high-mindedness, the genteel tradition engendered a unique motif, the American virgin. Typically, she was a woman of pensive beauty, aloof and utterly feminine—a woman who could have only the purest thoughts. The famous Gibson girl, immortalized in the drawings of Charles Dana Gibson, is probably the best-known example of this genre. "They were women who weren't supposed to do anything but sit and look pretty," says Dianne Pilgrim, Curator of Decorative Arts at the Brooklyn Museum. "It was very American to idealize women; the paintings are beautiful, but the idea is alarming to women today."

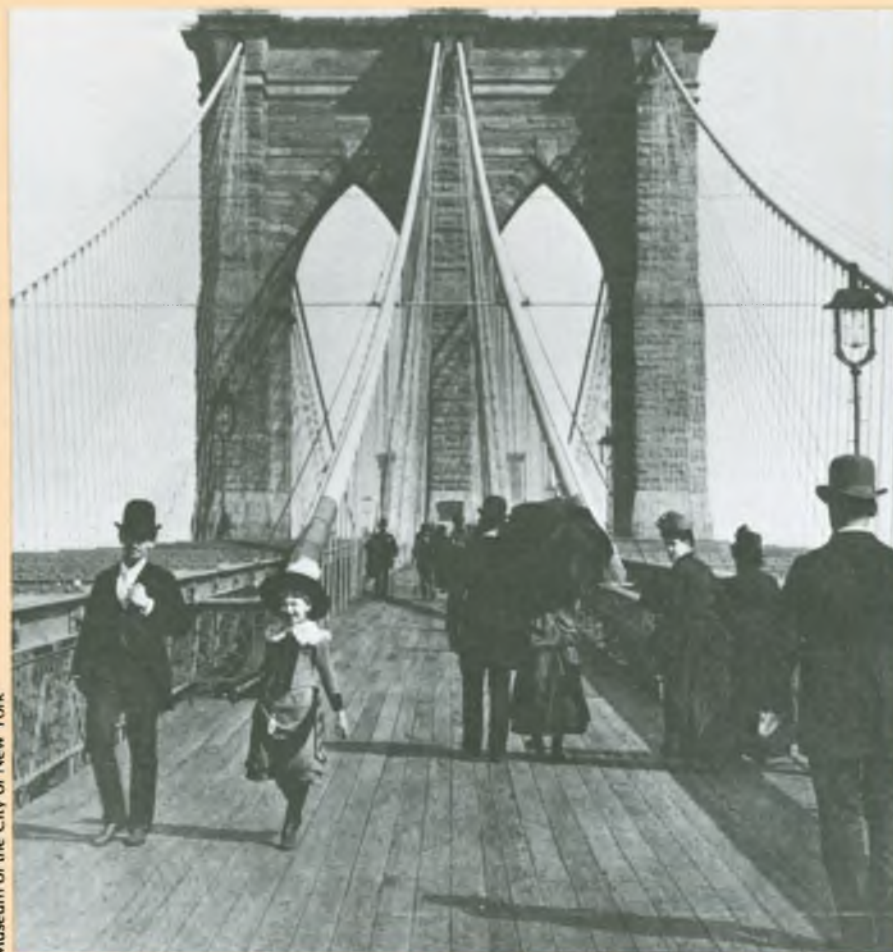
The American Renaissance left legacies which we see today in Federal Washington and the canyonlike streets of New York, in our state capitols and county court houses, in our city parks and the libraries that grace our small towns like jewel boxes.

Perhaps the highest praise was paid by a European, Swiss architect Le Corbusier: "In New York I learned to appreciate the Italian Renaissance."

—Anita Mintz

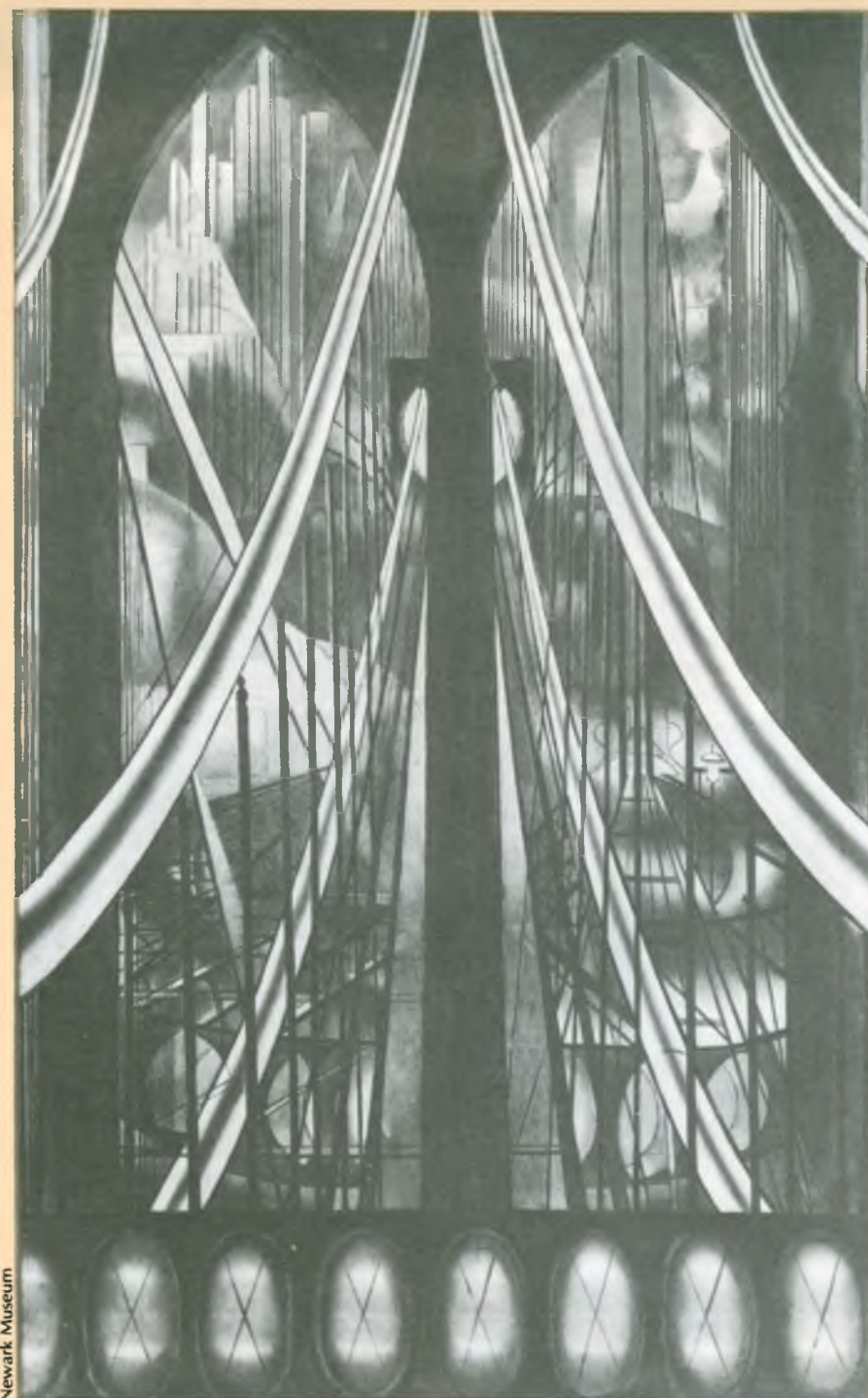
Mrs. Mintz is a frequent contributor to Humanities.

"The American Renaissance, 1876-1917"/
Dianne T. Pilgrim/The Brooklyn Museum,
NY/\$203,750/1979-80/Museums
and Historical Organizations



Museum of the City of New York

Brooklyn Bridge is a film that traces the transformation of a famous landmark from a heroic engineering feat to a symbol of American strength and vitality; (below) Joseph Stella's spectacular painting of the Bridge.



Newark Museum

The Brooklyn Bridge

On the occasion of its hundredth birthday last May, columnist George Will wrote, "the Brooklyn Bridge is our cathedral for the secular city . . . the tower's gothic arches were suited to this, our Notre Dame . . . this vaulting creation expressed America's defining urge, the itch to get up, get moving, get across, get on the road."

It is this spirit that has been captured by filmmaker Kenneth Burns, in his CINE Golden Eagle Award-winning film, "Brooklyn Bridge," funded in part by NEH and the New York Council for the Humanities.

Lewis Mumford, the architecture critic and historian, is one of three narrators Burns used to document both the story of the bridge's construction and the outpouring of poetry (Hart Crane's "The Bridge" is only the most famous), painting (Joseph Stella, John Marin, Georgia O'Keeffe) and other famous tributes to the bridge that has become an American icon.

The first part of the film borrows heavily from David McCullough's book, *The Great Bridge*. McCullough, the second narrator, tells the dramatic story of the building of the bridge: the tenacity of those who literally risked—and sometimes lost—their lives during the long period of construction. We learn of the visionary John Roebling, the brilliant engineer who designed the bridge (and died before construction began) and the courage of his son, Washington, who was determined to make his father's dream a reality. Young Roebling, who was stricken by the painful and crippling "caissons disease," engineered and supervised the work until it was finished.

The heroism of Roebling and others, the "spirit that is behind and in the bridge," is expressed by the many visual and lyrical tributes that are shown and read in the second half of the film, where playwright Arthur Miller calls it "steel poetry." "In the end," says architecture critic Paul Goldberger, the third narrator, "it is just so beautiful."

Burns shows us the beauty of the bridge in all lights and from all angles, presenting it, in the words of Mumford, as "inescapably grand, solid, indestructible—in the way other works of art are not."

—JCN

"The Brooklyn Bridge Film Project"/
Kenneth L. Burns/Florentine Films,
Inc., Walpole, NH/\$25,000/1979-80/
\$10,000/1983/Media

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February 1, 1984

Fall 1985

DIVISION OF RESEARCH PROGRAMS—Harold Cannon, Director 786-0200

Intercultural Research—Harold Cannon 786-0200

February 15, 1984

July 1, 1984

General Research Program—John Williams 786-0207

Basic Research
Archaeological Projects—Gary Messinger 786-0227
Research Conferences—David Wise 786-0225

March 1, 1984
March 1, 1984
September 15, 1983

January 1, 1985
January 1, 1985
April 1, 1984

Research Materials Program—Dorothy Wartenberg 786-0210

Research Tools and Reference Works—Dorothy Wartenberg 786-0210
Editions—Helen Aguera 786-0215
Publications—Margot Backas 786-0222
Translations—Susan Mango 786-0213

October 1, 1983
October 1, 1983
October 1, 1983
July 1, 1984

March 1984
July 1, 1984
July 1, 1984
April 1, 1985

Research Resources—Jeff Field 786-0204

Humanities, Science and Technology—David Wright 786-0207

Joint NEH-NSF Program Individual Awards
Collaborative Projects

March 1, 1984
November 1, 1983
November 1, 1983
September 15, 1983

January 1, 1985
June 1984
June 1984
January 1, 1984

Travel to Collections*—Eric Juengst 786-0207

OFFICE OF PLANNING AND POLICY ASSESSMENT—Armen Tashdianian, Director 786-0424

Planning and Assessment Studies—Stanley Turesky 786-0420

August 1, 1983

April 1, 1984

OFFICE OF CHALLENGE GRANTS—Thomas Kingston 786-0361

May 1, 1984

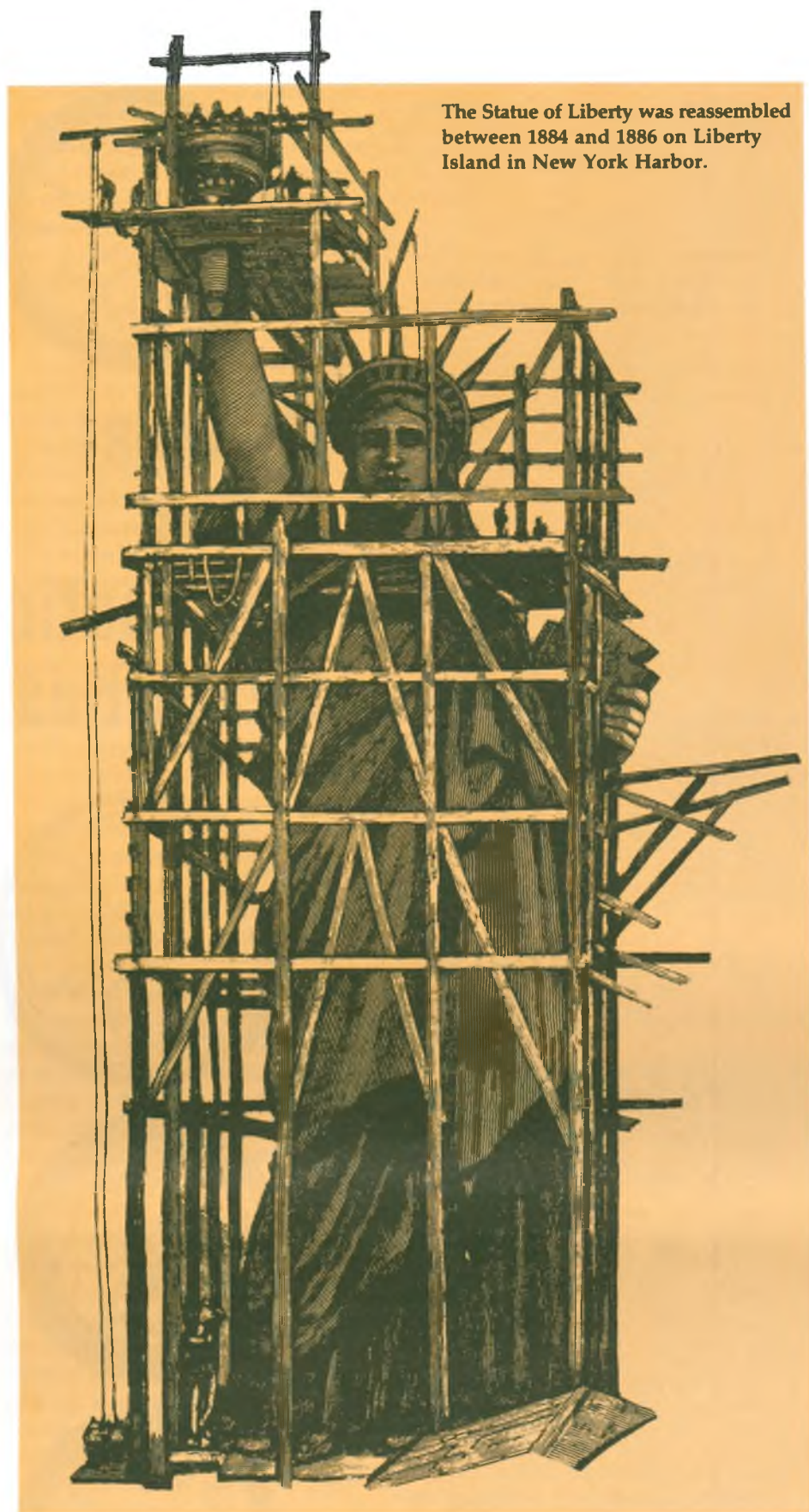
December 1984

*New \$500 awards to defray travel to research collections within North America and Western Europe



Nearest Grant Application Deadlines





The Statue of Liberty was reassembled between 1884 and 1886 on Liberty Island in New York Harbor.

nent dominated the statistics.

There was nothing sinister about the change. Most immigrants to the United States in the nineteenth century came during the height of industrialization in their nations, victims of both social and economic dislocation. Thus, as industrialism moved from west to east and north to south in Europe, the uprooted peoples left their lands and moved to cities—in Europe, in the United States, and in Latin America. Not everyone preferred an urban area but most did.

In all, more than 4.7 million Slavs (non-Jewish Russians, Poles, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Slovenese, Croats, Serbs, and Bulgarians), 3.5 million Italians, and 1.7 million Jews comprised over two-thirds of the newcomers. The other third included Germans, Britishers, Irish, and Scandinavians, groups that had formerly combined to form immigrant majorities, along with approximately 250,000 Asians. Collectively these men, women, and children contributed to the largest influx ever to reach United States shores in a twenty-two year period. In six of those years (ending June 30) figures exceeded one million persons:

1905	1,026,499	1910	1,041,570
1906	1,100,735	1913	1,197,892
1907	1,285,349	1914	1,218,480

After 1914 annual immigration totals never reached the million mark again. Had World War I not curbed the flow, the massive exodus from Europe might have resulted in new yearly highs. But the continuous and changing flow of immigrants since the 1840s (which subsided considerably during the Civil War and the depression years of the 1870s) precluded, as historian James Richardson has written, the nation's opportunity of achieving social stability or rapidly assimilating its older immigrants. "There were always more economic changes, more technological innovations, and more newcomers to be absorbed."

and the old-stock Americans, between the working classes and the immigrants, between the amateur reformers and the professional politicians, even between private philanthropy and government. She made Hull House a clearinghouse for every kind of social service, an experimental laboratory in social reform, in art and music and drama and education as well; she made it a school of citizenship and a university of social service. Political bosses also "built a bridge" by finding jobs, fixing tickets, bringing Thanksgiving and Christmas turkeys, lending money, and providing a listening ear—all in exchange for votes on election day. Churches and synagogues, too, gave a sense of continuity and a degree of emotional succor. "Without the Church," one Pole recalled, "we would have lost our identity."

Life in the New World proved hard but most of the immigrants had been driven out of Europe by economic catastrophe and had no choice but to succeed in America. Grinding poverty resulting from burgeoning populations, the agricultural revolution, and new land laws had forced people out of their homes; industrial activities elsewhere beckoned to them. Immigrants did not move carelessly or thoughtlessly. They knew where the jobs existed and how they might better themselves. As one Pole wrote to the Emigrants Protective Society in Warsaw: "I am absolutely determined to go now to New York or Philadelphia to earn some hundreds of roubles there within two or three years."

To be sure, local conditions and circumstances contributed to each group's desire to leave. High birth rates, cholera and malaria epidemics, and a totally depressed economy forced a decision upon the southern Italians. "We would have eaten each other had we stayed," one immigrant later confessed. Pogroms, circumscribed educational and occupa-

IMMIGRATION

From the Columbian Exposition in 1893, celebrating the 400th anniversary of Columbus discovering America, until the beginning of World War I in 1914 about fifteen million immigrants arrived in the United States. Their presence propelled an agricultural nation into an industrial one and a rural country into an urban society. Their sweat and sinew contributed to the dynamic growth of American industry, and they peopled both the great and fledgling cities of America. Needed for their labor, they were nonetheless rejected on other counts. Most were regarded, as Rutgers University Historian Samuel Bailly has recently written about the Italians, as inferior races "that threatened to dilute the good North European stock and

undermine traditional American institutions. The Italians provided the unskilled labor necessary for the growth of the economy, but the native-born elite certainly did not see them as bearers of civilizations."

Although the proportion of immigrants to the total United States population at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not exceed that of the decade from 1845-1854, when more than three million people, mostly Irish and German, reached American shores, the numbers certainly did. The ethnic types changed even more markedly. Whereas most Europeans who arrived before the 1890s were from northern and western Europe, as the twentieth century began, people from eastern and southern parts of the conti-

The institutional structures of society found great difficulty in meeting the challenges of this rapid social change, but they tried. Swarms of immigrants swelled America's cities and vastly increased the need for housing, jobs, educational facilities, social services and police protection. When government officials proved unable to cope with the demands, the settlement house workers, political bosses, and religious institutions assumed the major responsibility for acculturating the newcomers. Women like Jane Addams in Chicago and Lillian Wald in New York established two of the most famous of the social settlements. In a later era historian Henry Steele Commager explained how over the years Jane Addams built a bridge between the immigrants

tional opportunities, and restrictive living accommodations propelled Jews from Russia. Poles fled poverty and an attempt to suppress their culture.

The flight to the United States may be attributed primarily to industrial expansion which opened up jobs in mines and mills, factories and foundries. New industries such as oil refining, improved processes for making iron and steel, and new overseas markets created fantastic manpower needs. Whereas in 1890 about eight million people worked in factories, mines, construction, manufacturing, and transportation in the United States, twenty years later the workforce in these same areas exceeded fifteen million. Cheap, comparatively fast, steamships moved people across the ocean in a week to

ten days, and letters from compatriots earning \$1 and \$2 a day highly impressed peasants struggling on \$.35 for the same number of hours.

Like immigrants before them, the Italians, Slavs, and Jews settled mostly in the northeastern quadrant of the nation with the states of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey housing more than half the total. New York City alone kept about 70 percent of the Jews and perhaps half of the Italians but cities like Boston, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago, as well as the mining regions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and New York, provided jobs and homes for most of the others.

Once in the United States the immigrants and their families found fewer opportunities than they had anticipated and the so-called "princely wages" in America insufficient to meet their needs. To live adequately in 1910 a family of five required an income of \$900 a year but only one in seven foreign-born persons earned that much. On the eve of World War I a federal government commission discovered that the average annual family income for most of the newer groups fell far short of the basic minimum:

Armenians	\$750
Jews	\$685
Northern Italians	\$657
Lithuanians	\$636
Greeks	\$632
Poles	\$595
Syrians	\$594
Slovaks	\$582
Ukrainians	\$569
Southern Italians	\$569
Russians (non-Jews)	\$494
Serbs	\$462

Unwilling or unable to exist on such wages, or merely birds of passage who had sojourned here for a short duration, about one-third of the Europeans returned to their native lands.

Those who remained in the United States coped with the most brutal conditions. They crowded into tenements, and often started their days before the sun rose and remained at their jobs long after dusk. Slovaks in Pittsburgh labored 12 hours for 7 days a week in the steel mills and 24 hours in a row on alternate week-ends when they changed shifts. Women especially fared badly. Domestic servants were expected to rise at 4 or 5 a.m. and continue their chores until they cleaned up after a multicourse dinner. In Pittsburgh's steam laundries Slavic women stood continuously in pools of water with their skirts soaking from the steam.

Amazingly, and despite the wages and working conditions, the immigrants survived and some even prospered. Millions accepted their low standard of living and even sent money back to relatives in Europe. In addition, voluntary associations such as mutual aid societies, social and recreational clubs, churches, and burial societies, and ethnic newspapers eased the transition to America and aided with adjustment. In New

York City, before the days of Ann Landers, Abe Cahan gave advice through his "Bintel Briefs" in the Yiddish-language *Daily Forward*. No subject was too pedestrian or too abstruse to be overlooked. Should a poor woman sell her children to another who might feed them; should a free thinker continue to say prayers to please his parents; should a mother take her child out of school and send him to work to help the family? Cahan provided answers to these and other questions, and his "Bintel Briefs" column became the newspaper's most popular feature because they dealt with the real dilemmas of the new immigrants.

Physically, the immigrant ghettos may have been no more than a ten- or fifteen-minute walk from the dominant core of WASP Americans, but spiritually they were still oceans apart. Large numbers of old stock Americans accrued vast profits from the cheap labor in their midst yet emotionally and ideologically they felt an unbridgeable gulf. As contemporary sociologist E.A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin put it, the majority of southern and eastern Europeans entering the country were "beaten men of beaten breeds," and some certainly belonged in "skins, in wattled huts at the close of the Great Ice Age."

Then, as now, xenophobes worried about minorities undermining established traditions and overwhelming society with their high birth rates and "inferior" ways. Americans focused on individual behavior and ethnic background rather than on the strong tradition of assimilation and on the human potential that environmental circumstances might develop. The huge flow of strangely garbed people babbling in incomprehensible tongues paralleled the influences of the eugenics movement and coincided with the American upper class's infatuation with Social Darwinism. The old elite easily accepted the "scientific explanations" that "proved" their innate superiority and the genetic inferiority of darker skinned peoples. The bluebloods of Boston formed the Immigration Restriction League in 1894 and stressed the importance of using a literacy test to keep out the less desirable newcomers. Labor leaders in San Francisco, who had already lobbied successfully to get the Chinese banned from this country in 1882, originated the Asiatic Exclusion League in 1905. Many Protestants throughout the nation applauded the efforts of restrictionists on both coasts and readily supported the exclusionist movements.

But businessmen who depended on cheap labor, and an overwhelming majority of Catholics and Jews, refused to embrace restrictionism, while no President from Grover Cleveland through Woodrow Wilson saw much value in closing our gates. William Howard Taft, for example, when vetoing a literacy bill in 1913, expressed an "abiding faith" in American institutions to exert a posi-

tive influence upon newcomers "no matter how lacking in education they may be . . . The second generation of a sturdy but uneducated peasantry brought to this country and raised in an atmosphere of thrift and hard work, and forced by their parents into school and to obtain an instrument for self-elevation, has always contributed to the strength of our people, and will continue to do so." Thus, a stalemate developed in which sufficient popular clamor led to minor immigration restriction bills and agreements limiting entry of Asians, lunatics, and political radicals, and to only studies of how to completely revamp the system. Major immigration acts narrowing the opportunities for southern and eastern Europeans would not pass until after Warren Harding restored "normalcy" in the 1920s.

Of all the twentieth-century European groups none aroused as much animosity in the United States as did the Jews. Slavs and Italians generally "knew their place" and although they received no respect from other Americans their activities posed no immediate threat. Jews, on the other hand, were victimized by anti-semitism, an ancient hostility that had waxed and waned in American society since colonial times but which had surfaced only mildly before the East Europeans started coming. Americans also perceived Jews as socialistically inclined laborers willing to fight for greater social justice, as ambitious competitors anxious to succeed in capitalistic endeavors, and as intellectually gifted people who might elbow them out of the nation's elite universities. And in these areas the fears of the older Americans proved justified for the Jews made an extraordinarily significant impact in American society. They moved out of the working class within a generation or two and engaged in activities which affected the course of American labor, entertainment, philanthropy, government policies, and education to a greater extent than did the members of other European cultures who came to the United States contemporaneously.

Most of the Jews who arrived around the turn of the century had little respect for occupations that required brawn; they preferred activities involving intellect. Although they might work as tailors or printers they sought independent entrepreneurial opportunities as quickly as possible. They also had a respect for education in itself as well as for what it could do to advance their positions in society. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Federal Industrial Commission noted the prevalent attitude in the Jewish ghetto: "The poorest among them will make all possible sacrifices to keep his children in school: and one of the most striking phenomena in New York City today is the way in which Jews have taken possession of the public schools, in the highest as well as the lowest grades."

The values of the Jewish culture

were also apparent in some of the newer immigrant groups but not in others. Roman Catholics who had a high regard for jobs that afforded men an opportunity to display their physical prowess, who learned to accept the views of higher authorities, and who rarely found cultural support for intellectual explorations, remained in the working classes for one or two generations longer than the Jews primarily because of their preferences. Armenians, Greeks, and Japanese people who, like the Jews, had a high regard for education and an adventurous entrepreneurial spirit, also moved up the socio-economic ladder fairly quickly but because their numbers were fewer, they had less visibility and received sparse attention from journalists and scholars.

The concentration of almost two million Jews in New York City, the media capital of the nation, meant that their activities would not be overlooked. Moreover, the areas in which they excelled—education, labor organization, social welfare, theater, and philanthropy—resulted in frequent contact with members of the city's elite. The two major international garment workers' unions, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated, were both founded in the city before World War I and both had major impacts on the labor scene. The Jewish unions not only organized around bread and butter issues like wages and hours, but they pioneered in health and recreational care, housing, and educational benefits for their members. In the theater, Jews constituted about half of the actors, popular song writers, and song publishers in the early decades of the twentieth century. In the field of higher education, Jewish students dominated New York City's publicly financed colleges and made up a significant proportion of those attending Columbia and New York University. Jewish philanthropies, both from religious obligations and social concern, helped those less fortunate at home and abroad. The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906

(continued on page 27)



Museum of American Immigration

Publishing in 1900 his *Progress of Invention In The Nineteenth Century*, Edward W. Byrn confessed some humility on tackling the subject. The century's inventive genius, "a gigantic tidal wave of human ingenuity and resource," had been so "stupendous in its magnitude, so complex in its thought, so fruitful in its wealth, so beneficent in its results," that the mind was "strained and embarrassed in its efforts to expand to a full appreciation of it" Overcoming his diffidence, however, Byrn managed to produce a compilation of the era's achievements. Since 1800 these had included: telephones, photographs, rubber goods, octuple web printing presses, gas engines, steam fire engines, elevators, typewriters, sleeping cars, air brakes, artificial limbs, suspension bridges, stem-winding watches, friction matches, oleo-margarine, celluloid, soda water fountains, pasteurizing, asphalt pavements, horseless carriages, aluminum ware, anaesthetics, Gatling guns, X-ray machines, cigarette machines, circular knitting machines, oil and gas wells—a strange, incongruous, sometimes startling medley which went on for pages and could have gone on for more. Never before had "thought been so fruitfully wedded to the pregnant possibilities of matter," Byrn concluded.

By the early twentieth century the rhetoric of astonishment greeting each new invention had become stylized, even repetitive. But the sense of wonder at living in so remarkable an age remained. Life changes were sweeping, continual, and fundamental. They were also alternately comic and terrifying, untamed and domesticated, destined to unexpected, sometimes improbable uses by their ultimate consumers. Among the many novelties it is difficult to choose any one. But there was one presence whose promise and power dwarfed the others, whose masters were labeled magicians, and whose capacities for pleasure, comfort, and domination seemed unlimited. "The Great Enchanter, the King of Wonders of the 19th century," was one description in the 1890s. It comes, not as a stranger "with huge engines and a roar that shakes the hills," wrote another ten years later, but quietly, leaving "no trace of its passage"

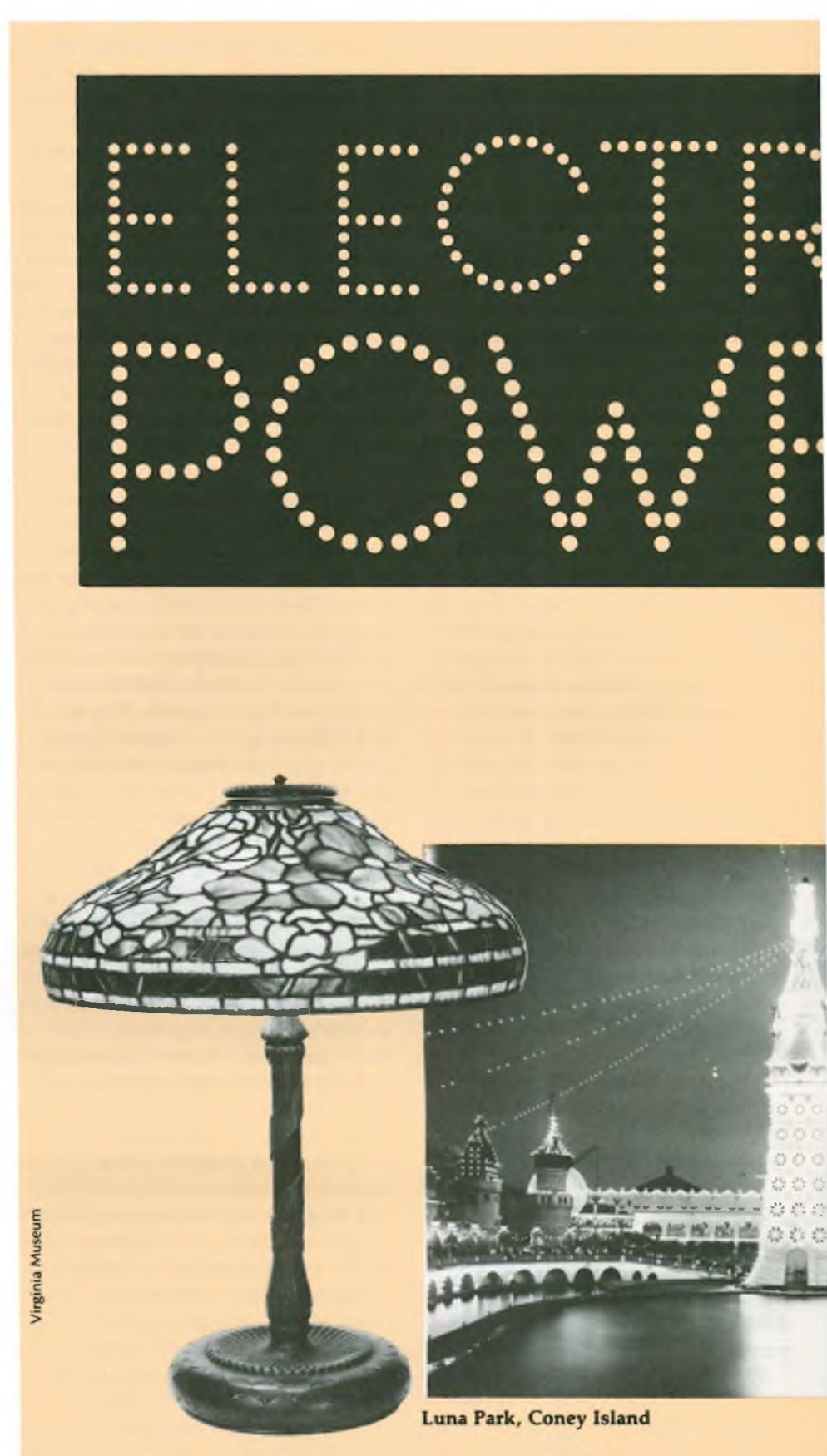
The mysterious newcomer was electricity. However ancient were theories of electrical energy or well established several of its instruments, including the telegraph, broad public familiarity (along with popular debate about its impact) came only in the late nineteenth century. And, in America, it brought also mass deification of the age's most heroic inventor, the Wizard of the White Magic, Thomas Alva Edison.

Electrical energy, tamed and available for distribution, showed itself in a variety of ways. One was through an extraordinary range of new products, some modest, others vast, which merchandisers placed on the

turn-of-century market. There were electric fans and electric elevators, electrified stoves, voting machines, vacuum cleaners, clocks, washing machines, irons, coffee-makers, bottle warmers, and heating pads. Mail order houses like Sears, Roebuck featured in their catalogs electrical instruments capable of doing everything from curling the hair to reviving the sexual powers. Not every domestic appliance powered by electricity would make its appearance: electric typewriters, razors, can openers, blankets, and toothbrushes awaited another, perhaps more self-indulgent era. But the power houses and electric lines gave urban customers, at least, access to some startling new commodities.

Among all these conveniences the most dramatic form of the new electricity took in turn of century America was light. Despite the fact that so many others had worked to perfect it, Edison himself was best associated with the incandescent light bulb. Many Americans first encountered its impressive effects at fairs and expositions. In settings like Chicago's Columbian Exposition, the Pan-American at Buffalo, the Louisiana Purchase at St. Louis, or at other big shows in Omaha, Atlanta, Seattle, and San Francisco, the wonders of electrical illumination were striking and unforgettable. The union of the electric bulb with buildings and fountains excited romantic outbursts. And the thousands of lights strewn about bridges, courthouses, and skyscrapers resembled nothing more than jewelry, according to contemporary accounts. The elaborate advertising signs (helping to launch the Great White Way on Broadway), the illuminated billboards, and the theater marquees led the English visitor, William Archer, to invoke the "thickly gemmed vista of every cross street," and the elevated trains seemed "like luminous winged serpents, skimming through the air." Photographs, postcards, and prose poems captured the "lights of the city." Both gaslighting and arc lighting had been used for some time in street illumination. But although both remained competitors, for a while, the new electric bulbs seemed infinitely more audacious, more spectacular, and more efficient, not simply in their gift of beauty to daily life, but through their capacity to fight crime, aid commerce, and improve work.

Artists seized on the light bulb with special enthusiasm. Unlike oil or gas lamps the incandescent bulb adapted to a series of flexible shapes and could be used at any angle, even upside down. While a few designers exploited bulbs for special interior effects, including both Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright, to a remarkable extent the most impressive novelties lay in Art Nouveau exoticism, and the marvelous intricacies of manufacturers like Tiffany and Handel. By and large, one connoisseur has written, "Art Nouveau lamps generated more heat than

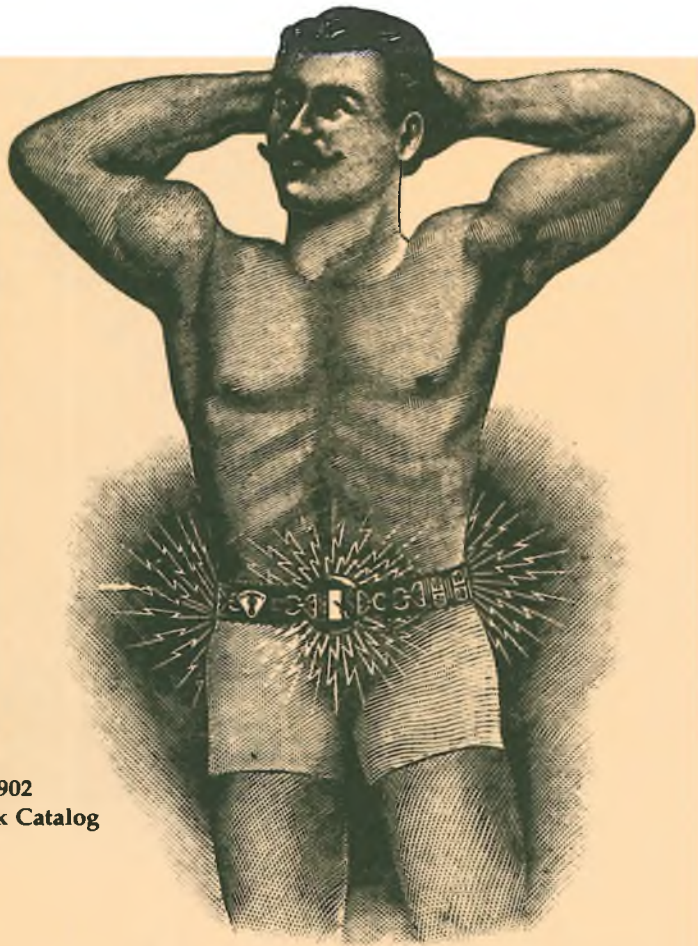


light." The intense, flame-like colors of these electric fixtures, the expensive if nostalgic invocation of plants and flowers, must have recalled the open blaze of oil or candle. Thus in some ways, like so many innovations before it, electricity moved along established aesthetic routes. The Tiffany sconces in New York's Lyceum theater, Robert Koch has written, suggested "fire in monster emeralds."

Contemporary delight in joining electrical technology with stylistic ornateness was demonstrated in another area of public interest: entertainment. Gaslight introduced many innovations to theatrical management, but electricity vastly expanded them. Theater lighting and special effects were revolutionized. But it went far beyond that. Dozens of great amusement parks, from Dreamland and Steeplechase and Luna Park in Brooklyn, to Riverview and the White City in Chicago, to Cincinnati's Coney Island and the

Santa Monica Pier enticed urbanites eager for diversion. Luna Park, which opened in 1903, claimed to have attracted 25 million visitors in its first five years. While steam, gravity, and mechanical rides were popular, the amusement park appeal built also on the lights and thrills provided by electricity, as excursionists were whirled, tossed, and snapped into frenzy.

Electricity as illusion-maker was furthered by the infant motion picture industry. The small store-fronts which became nickelodeons began only after the turn of the century; by 1908 thousands served millions on a daily basis. Dozens of strange new words, most of them ending in -scope or -graph—Vitascope, Cinematograph, Kinematograph, Cosmoscope, Motorscope, Cinograph, Phenakistoscope, Hypnoscope, Theatograph—were coined by inventors for their moving-figure machines. Alarmed and offended by such powerful shapers



Electric Belt, 1902
Sears, Roebuck Catalog



U.S. Library of Congress

of opinion, moralists and educators fought to control the films. But by World War I motion picture culture was a force in itself; the flimsy, fire-trap theatres seemed insignificant alongside the splendid new movie palaces, attracting middle class audiences wherever they opened.

In these early years electricity seemed prepared to serve the cause of reform as well as illusion. Expansive social ideals, sometimes quite utopian in their claims, developed around the promise of electric transit. For some this meant the electric automobile, lean, safe, and economical. But for many more it implied a most unlikely revolutionary: the electric trolley. Quaint and domestic it may have appeared, but the electric trolley suggested cosmic changes. Easier to control than steam, cheaper to operate, reassuring rather than intimidating, the clang of the trolley pledged to end urban congestion and rural isolation. The trolley "will

be worth more to the farmer than a new potato bug destroyer," Charles Skinner wrote in 1902, and make life broader, freer, more diverse. Trips into town, to shop or to visit, would be easy and inexpensive. Trolleys could deliver mail and messages.

But the trolley solved city needs as well. In 1896 some 120,000 horses pulled the streetcars of America; three years later their ranks had been reduced by 80 percent, and the city streets were suddenly cleaner and more inviting. The "hum of the trolley car is not, like the clatter of the train, prohibitory of the enjoyment of conversation," *Scribner's* wrote in 1907. "There is no dust; there are no cinders." Open trolleys brought relief in the summertime; long-distance trolleys aided tourism. New England was overspread with "a reticulation of trolleys" connecting one resort town with another. It was possible to travel from New York to Boston entirely by interurban trolley. It

"has nothing to alarm the timid," the *Independent* concluded, "fits easily into rustic life," and would grow "rich off the crumbs of business that a steam road would despise."

An enemy to demographic density, a friend to social integration, the commuter's aide, the tourist's blessing, the trolley was welcomed by Americans with astonishing enthusiasm. By 1907 30,000 miles of electric track had been built, a doubling of the number built during the previous eight years. The 36,000 cars in the United States at the turn of the century outnumbered Europe's by seven times. All of London had fewer miles of trolley track than Brooklyn, whose 1902 system was the largest in the world.

Electricity's benefits were not undiluted. Increases of power and speed were dangerous. In the early twentieth century complaints charged Pennsylvania streetcars with killing more than 1,500 people annually. Accidental electrocutions from fallen power lines, as well as intentional executions through a new form of capital punishment, raised a series of questions. Building codes, safety congresses, and engineering societies took up the challenge of controls. Writers speculated about the fantastic new weapons that electrical power made possible; a spate of science fiction novels toyed with the new inventions. Juvenile heroes like Tom Swift explored some of the perils, while utopian novelists alternately glorified and worried about the electrical age. Like nuclear energy several generations later, electricity's revolutionary capacities were both awesome and terrifying; few precedents could guide social policy.

Not that large numbers of artists and writers worked seriously on electrical themes at this point. In the age of George Barr McCutcheon and Zane Gray, of Harold Bell Wright and Gene Stratton-Porter, electricity was not a major issue. High romance, historical fiction, family melodramas, and Westerns did not take to it easily. Indeed, automobiles penetrated fiction far more rapidly and powerfully than electricity; they fit so well into daring escape scenes and furious chases. Countless popular texts did, of course, try to explain the mysteries of electricity to would-be inventors and harassed householders, while youngsters were served with L. Frank Baum's *Wonderful Wizard of Oz* to whet their appetites for more information. Curiosity was met best by magazines and newspapers. Aided by halftone reproductions the popular press explored the nature of theater switchboards and urban generating plants, of electric signboards and trolley systems, of street lights and home appliances.

And electricity was only partially distributed. Before 1914 its full impact was still not felt. The new devices for the home were expensive and available only where power lines had already been laid down. As late as the 1930s a substantial por-

tion of Americans lived out their lives without benefit of electricity. However loudly magazines vowed that electricity would end the isolation of the farmhouse, it took the Depression and the New Deal's rural electrification program to approach this ideal. In 1900 only \$2 million was being spent annually on electrical appliances and supplies for the household (less than 2 percent of what was spent on home furniture), though it reached \$20 million by 1914.

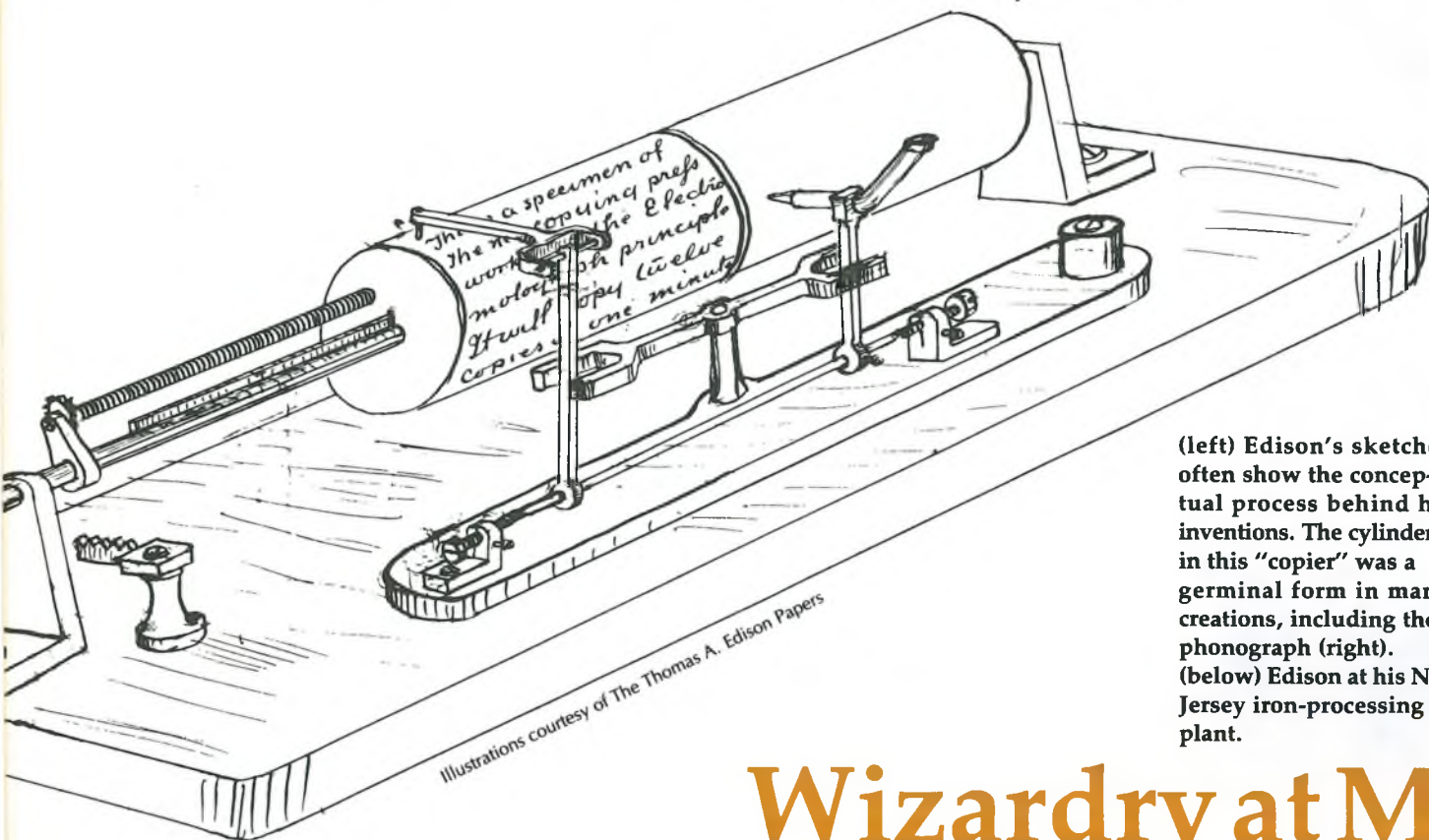
But the promises were real, along with the exhilarating displays in public places. And electricity posed special opportunities for progressives concerned with the nature of American government and the role of public utilities. Debates about rate management, public ownership, and even political jurisdictions focused on the new power. A literature of technological transcendence developed, arguing that unlike steam or oil, electricity required new public arrangements. Municipal borders looked trivial beside the broader regions created by the generation and distribution of power. Electrical enthusiasts predicted an era when many traditional political usages would be transformed by a new rationalism and when equity would distribute the scientific marvel. "The electric age has dawned," B.O. Flower, the mystic and reformer wrote in the *Arena* in 1907. "All that now remains is to cheapen its production so that it can be brought within the reach of millions," and its capacities became universal blessings. Flower's solution was municipal ownership, to guard against greedy monopoly and unjust profits.

In its first decades then, before World War I, the Electrical Age diverted itself with spectacular entertainments, the promise of labor-saving appliances, and revolutionary expectations about public health, sanitation, and professional administration. Electricity made possible a new vertical landscape of unprecedented dimensions and transformed almost every workplace. Venerable symbols of the American sublime, like Niagara Falls, were yoked to the new power, in what seemed a marriage between nature and technology. Electricity gained much of its appeal through its contrasts with the polluting and centralizing tendencies of steam. Later generations would realize that however miraculous electricity might be, it was not redemptive. Cost, corruption, and contamination were never transcended. But this first moment of enchantment with the versatile wonders of electrical energy, and the subterranean anxieties about its dangers, underscored the coming role of technology as hammer and anvil of national goals.

—Neil Harris

Mr. Harris, a professor of history at the University of Chicago, teaches American social history including courses in Culture and Technology in America and a social history of the Civil War.

T. A. Edison
Chas. Schermer
Nov 1878



(left) Edison's sketches often show the conceptual process behind his inventions. The cylinder in this "copier" was a germinal form in many creations, including the phonograph (right). (below) Edison at his New Jersey iron-processing plant.



Wizardry at Menlo Park

Reese V. Jenkins, professor of history at Rutgers University, allows that it is a "staggering" task to organize, edit, and publish the letters, laboratory notes, drawings, and patent, corporate, and litigation records of America's master technologist, Thomas A. Edison.

In a single trove, the archive at the Edison National Historic Site, in West Orange, New Jersey, a team of scholars directed by Jenkins are sifting through more than three million pages of documents, 20,000 photographs, and thousands of artifacts, selecting material for a 300,000-page microfilm edition and fifteen-volume

book edition of Edison papers. Jenkins and other members of the Thomas A. Edison Papers project expect to finish the work by the year 2000.

The project, partly supported by the NEH, was born in the mid-1970s, when representatives of the New Jersey Historical Commission, the Smithsonian Institution, and the National Park Service (which runs the West Orange site) met to discuss ways of making Edison's papers more accessible to scholars and the general public. Out of that came the plan for publishing an edition of Edison's papers in a twenty-year program at Rutgers.

Jenkins, a historian of science and technology, who had recently published a study of the American photographic industry in Edison's era (*Images and Enterprise, Technology and the American Photographic Industry, 1839-1925*, Johns Hopkins University Press), was appointed by Rutgers to direct the project. Editorial offices are located at Rutgers and at West Orange, where Edison built a laboratory in 1887 and died in 1931.

Born in Milan, Ohio, in 1847, Thomas Edison helped steer agrarian America toward modern industrialism through his innovative work in telegraphy, telephony, incandescent lighting, electric power generation and distribution, and several other fields. His invention factories in Menlo Park, New Jersey, and then West Orange, were forerunners of the modern research and development laboratory. The patent-holding Edison Electric Light Company led to the founding of General Electric, one of the world's industrial giants. Yet Edison, "the most prolific inventor in American history," according to Reese Jenkins, has until now been mostly neglected by scholars.

One reason may be that Edison was a technologist, not a scientist. "There's a kind of snobbery between scientists and engineers," says Jenkins, "and I think that carries over to the historians."

Jenkins adds that many academics have been equally uninterested in the business world. And Edison, who "buddied around with Henry Ford and Harvey Firestone," was at the heart of American commerce.

For a time, the three industrialists, with American naturalist John Burroughs, made summer tours of the eastern United States. "I hope you enjoyed and were benefitted by our camping trip. I enjoyed it and feel ready for the enlarged business that

is coming to us," begins an August 1919 letter to Edison from tire-and-rubber manufacturer Firestone. A third reason for the academic neglect, believes Jenkins, may be the scale of the paper wilderness at West Orange, an archive open to scholars only since the late 1950s. "There is an enormous body of material," he says.

Yet the selection and organization of Edison's notebooks, bills, and receipts, account ledgers, and correspondence should yield a better understanding of the growth of American corporate enterprise.

"Right now," says Jenkins, "we're working on the first two volumes of the book edition," which stretch to Edison's establishment of the Menlo Park laboratory in 1876.

"Through that period, he's working in the telegraph industry [beginning in 1863, at the age of 16, Edison roamed the Midwest as an itinerant telegrapher; in 1868, he went to work for Western Union Telegraph Company in Boston], inventing and manufacturing telegraph instruments.

"We're finding that there's been little done on the American telegraph industry, especially after the Civil War. There's essentially no secondary literature on the subject. We're working with primary sources."

In a world worried about nuclear power and poisonous chemicals, Edison's papers shed light on the process of technological growth in a sometimes resistant society.

By creating the first commercially practical incandescent lighting system, Edison "laid the foundation for the whole utility industry of today based on centralized production," Jenkins points out. But to launch the business that would compete with the gaslight system, he says, Edison had to contend with "substantial political opposition to electricity." Incan-



descent lighting not only threatened investors in gas; people had been electrocuted by exposed lines powering already existing arc lights. Edison successfully countered his opponents by arguing "against the safety of gas," says Jenkins, and by pressing to have his system's electric wiring laid safely underground.

Throughout his long career as a technological innovator, Edison often expressed himself in drawings and diagrams. "You see these drawings develop in stages, becoming increasingly mature and ultimately developing into engineering drawings," says Jenkins. Sketches from Edison's lab notebooks, many of which will go into the project's microfilm and book editions, could be the basis for what the Rutgers historian calls "the study of nonverbal technical communication."

"In Edison," he says, "we have a Rosetta stone," an opportunity to develop a stylistic analysis of technology of the sort art historians now bring to bear on painters and painting. "If Edison, like a painter, has a [conceptual] palette, if he draws on certain stock solutions over and over, then that gives us basic insight into the creative process," says Jenkins.

As an example, he points to Edison's development of the phonograph and, later, motion pictures. Edison's phonograph, as sketched in 1877, played a record in the shape of a revolving cylinder. In 1888, when Edison began serious work on motion pictures, he again employed a revolving cylinder, this one holding tiny images that could be viewed through an eyepiece.

Edison ultimately abandoned that design; the revolving kinetoscope "didn't work," says Jenkins. "He modified it. But you see his very deep dependence on the phonograph. The cylinder form is one of those elements on Edison's palette."

With an office at the West Orange archive, editors on the papers project are camped in the heart of Edison country. But their search for documents goes beyond New Jersey.

Caveats and applicants for Edison's 1,093 patents (no other American has held more) are in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Many of Edison's legal records sit in federal court depositories in three states and the District of Columbia.

That litigation material, says Jenkins, can provide biographical tidbits about individuals in Edison's orbit. In documents at West Orange, editors come across unfamiliar names: "You have a contract, a reference in a letter, but not much else," says Jenkins.

"We're looking at history from the bottom up when we look at the history of technology," he says. In trying to track down some of Edison's contemporaries, "you're lucky if you find them in the city directory."

"Then you go to the litigation record and suddenly you have substantial information about the person." Court documents can reveal

the background of an expert witness, or the nature of an unknown technologist's role in Edison's business affairs.

While portions of the microfilm edition of Edison's papers are ready for publication, the first volume of the project's book edition is not due out until sometime next year. Highly selective, the fifteen illustrated volumes will represent less than one-half percent of available Edison material, and will include correspondence, lab notes and drawings, contracts, depositions, and patents, as well as reviews of early recording artists, reports on motion pictures, and photographs of early models of inventions.

In making sense of the mass of technical material in the archive, says Jenkins, "Our guide is to follow Edison and his associates. They dated, signed, and witnessed those documents which they thought were most important at the time." Filming what appear to be the most important documents (usually on acid-permeated pulp paper) spares them from handling by future researchers.

Jenkins says outside interest in the Edison papers is building: "We get frequent calls asking when our books will be published. And they're not only from scholars. There's a lot of general interest."

In grappling with the legacy of America's greatest technologist, Edison editors are, appropriately, using the latest in high-technology—a word processor compatible with the publisher's photo-composition equipment, and a data-processing system allowing editors to query what is expected to become a 50,000-entry data-base.

Just as appropriately, the project is being helped along financially by the business community in which Thomas Edison moved so comfortably. The project's private fund-raising group consists of top executives from RCA, GE, Westinghouse, Bell, and other corporations. "The companies that are most interested," says Jenkins, "are those that today we would regard as high-technology," firms whose executives tend to worry about the U.S. leadership in technological creativity.

Businessmen as well as historians, he says, each ponder in their own fashion "the social and political conditions that fostered technological growth in the era of Edison."

But whether one dreams of technological vigor, or of an archive tamed, with Edison you tend to start at the same place: "It's exciting to work with someone who shaped the world. But if Edison was important, it's because of the technology. And if you don't know the technology, you don't know Edison."

—Michael Lipske

Mr. Lipske is a Washington writer.

"The Papers of Thomas Edison"/Reese V. Jenkins/Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ/\$89,410 FM/1981-84/Research Editions

The Jamesian Genius

ALICE JAMES

Although Jean Strouse makes clear in her Bancroft prize-winning biography of Alice James that her subject resented sympathy, it is difficult for readers of this book (Houghton Mifflin, 1980) not to shake their heads and sigh, "Poor Alice." Unmarried in an age when marriage was a measure of a woman's worth, and female in a family where manhood laid the only claim to serious, nonpatronizing attention, the "brilliant younger sister of William and Henry James," as Strouse's publisher calls her, is one of the most obvious victims of circumstance that that phrase has ever described. What is not at all obvious, however, and what Strouse's book so carefully analyzes, is exactly how circumstances frustrated Alice's considerable mental powers, and to what extent her own personality conspired, to produce the mysterious nervous disorders that tormented and eventually paralyzed her, the neurasthenia that afflicted so many in the late nineteenth century, including her brother William.

The most concrete evidence of Alice's brilliance is her diary, which Alice did not begin to write until 1889, when she was forty years old, three years before she died. "The journal," Strouse writes, "is not straight autobiography: as always, Alice's language about herself conceals as much as it reveals, and her passions and interests come through only

indirectly." Strouse uses a number of tools, however, among them, literary criticism and psychoanalytic theory, to pry from Alice's journal what personal "passions and interests" lie hidden. But Alice's social commentaries are what won the journal critical acclaim. "Alice found her own province in politics," writes Strouse. "None of her male relatives had laid claim to it . . ."

Alice was radical, a champion of Irish nationalism and of the British workers' cause. One observes in her musings on social injustice, however, a striking omission of the woman's rights movement, officially born, Strouse points out, in 1848, the same year as Alice James. "Her lack of participation in feminist activities," explains Strouse, "had partly to do with her sense of fatalism: she felt powerless to alter the position of women or her own sense of inferiority to William and Henry."

Alice was more comfortable taking on the oppressors of class than the oppressors of sex and more adept at "firing salvos at British sanctimoniousness," especially where it rigidly maintained social class distinctions. In her diary on February 8, 1891, she leveled as skillfully sarcastic and evocative a blow at British snobbery as might be found in Dickens. Her allusion to that writer suggests that she was aware of his mark upon this diary passage and of its worthiness of him:

. . . There was a pathetic remnant

WILLIAM JAMES

However many detractors there are of the philosophy of William James, is there one among them who doesn't love to read it? Richard Rorty recently wrote in a review of Jacques Barzun's worshipful *Stroll with William James*, "When James is disparaged as a philosopher, it is mostly by philosophers who have realized that he can be quoted to excellent effect on both sides of many of the issues he discusses."

Those who love to read and quote William James should be aware of an NEH-supported project to produce for the first time authentic texts of his works. Under the direction of Frederick Burkhardt, the American Council of Learned Societies has been at work since 1974 determining the most authoritative texts for James's writings and comparing them with later revisions to produce texts which set forth James's final intentions in a form as faithful as the evidence permits. Each of the sixteen proposed volumes will contain an

index and appendices that list the manuscript alterations as well as the rejected variant readings.

Determining the authoritative texts for James's work is complicated by his custom of treating a manuscript submitted for print as a draft and revising heavily the galley proofs returned to him. The editorial theory which holds that the "holograph" or handwritten and signed manuscript is the best authority, therefore, is not always suited to these works.

Ten volumes are already available, including *Pragmatism*, *The Principles of Psychology* (in three volumes), and several collections of James's articles, among them, *Essays in Religion and Morality*. The editors expect the remaining six volumes to be in print by the end of 1985. —LB

"Authentic Editions of the Works of William James"/Frederick H. Burkhardt/American Council of Learned Societies, NYC/\$162,343/1976-1980/\$130,000 OR; \$10,000 FM/1978-81/\$179,792 OR; \$15,000 FM/1981-83/\$153,928/1983-85/Research Editions

in Leamington [a fashionable nineteenth-century spa, where Alice was "taking the cure"], a decayed gentlewoman, . . . Fortune had led her down the rungs of her ladder, to an income of ten shillings a week; Mrs. Nickelby was a stern logician compared to her, and she had the mental range of an ant, —not a dear little burnished definite ant, who could tell you, if only he would, with such precision, all the architectural tragedies of his career, but a blurred vague ant, if such a thing is possible. On this little heap of social ruin, however, the *Gentlewoman* was impregnably intrenched, and how often have I gazed sadly through her atmosphere of *inherited* good breeding, and seen unfold itself the endless row of desperate ciphers, by which she is multiplied on this teeming island.

Such visions prompted the Sunday *New York Times* to pronounce Alice "in character and intellect . . . the equal of her distinguished brothers" and *The New Republic* to go even further: "In some of her insights, some of her assessments of nineteenth-century humbug, Alice went beyond either of her eminent brothers, and her judgments on the social history of her day have now the air of something like divinations."

All this we did not know in 1974 (the above reviews coincided with the posthumous publication of the diary in 1934; in forty years both diary and reviews had fairly disappeared), when Jean Strouse began work in earnest at Harvard's Houghton Library where the family papers are held.

At the outset, Strouse hesitated because she was not sure that she "could stand working on such a depressing limited life for two years." The universe of documentation was so large and Strouse's search so thorough that two years stretched into five, one spent with the support of an NEH Fellowship for Indepen-

dent Study and Research. Judith Thurman wrote in her review of *Alice James* in *Ms.*, 1980, "I shudder to think what a task of research and compression the material imposed—for the James family is nothing if not *documented*, by themselves and others." Of "themselves," Strouse read all the published works by William, Henry, and Henry, Sr., much of the unpublished family letters, and, of course, all of Alice's correspondence. Of "others," Strouse consulted papers of other families living in Boston at the time to get a sense of what, if anything, might be typical about the James family; letters and diaries of other young women of the period to find how Alice's correspondence compared with them; biographies of one James or several; medical history, especially those papers written by doctors who had actually treated Alice (there were many); records of the woman's movement; Civil War studies; intellectual and general histories of nineteenth-century New England; and U.S. censuses, which show, Strouse mentions in the book, that "of the small percentage of women in American history who never married, the proportion is highest for women born in the last four decades of the nineteenth century."

If Alice's diary is "not straight autobiography," Strouse's book is not "straight biography." But where Alice's journal eludes and conceals, the book *Alice James* sets Alice's invalid existence in the times and the family and interprets the whole experience by dissecting all of its contributing details. Strouse uncovers the clearly suffocating influence of Alice's eccentric, well-intending father, whom the biographer portrays in

a selfish paternity that would not admit his children's pain or shortcomings. From her mother, Alice learned that women achieved power through self-effacement. Strouse tells us, "By giving all but asking nothing, [Mary James] placed everyone else in her debt. They owed her nothing less than everything."

Alice's relationships with the "other" James brothers, Robertson and Garth Wilkinson, seem less important to her development. But William James emerges here as a stultifying influence, not at all the "adorable" genius so revered in other biographical treatments.

"I regret that," Strouse says, "because I know him to be quite wonderful in other contexts, but I was committed to focusing on Alice. And in relationship to her, he could be rather monstrous, though it was certainly not deliberate."

"That's the heartbreak of it. Her father, too, was probably delightful. But, unintentionally, he crippled her."

In this biography we see William as "the oldest," who apparently took with his birthright the responsibility for improving his younger siblings. He heaped upon Alice such sympathy that she was several times moved to rebuff it, as in the following reply to a letter from William calling her a "poor child . . . stifling slowly in a quagmire of disgust and pain and impotence":

". . . I consider myself one of the most *potent* creations of my time, & though I may not have a group of Harvard students sitting at my feet drinking in psychic truth, I shall not tremble, I assure you, at the last trump."

"William," writes Strouse, "had

often praised his sister's letters as 'inestimable,' 'splendid, noble, etc.' (the 'etc.' undercutting what preceded it) . . . He inevitably took away with his left hand the encouragement he gave with his right. 'I do hope that you will leave some notes on life and english life which Harry can work in hereafter, so as to make the best book he ever wrote.' "

Besides her beloved companion Katharine Loring, Alice's brother Henry was her best friend. "Alone among the male Jameses, Henry treated Alice as a person rather than a girl," Strouse comments. Indeed, Strouse credits Henry with such an affinity with his sister that she used in her biographical approach a premise Henry offered in reaction to the diary, ". . . Her tragic health was in a manner the only solution for her of the practical problem of life."

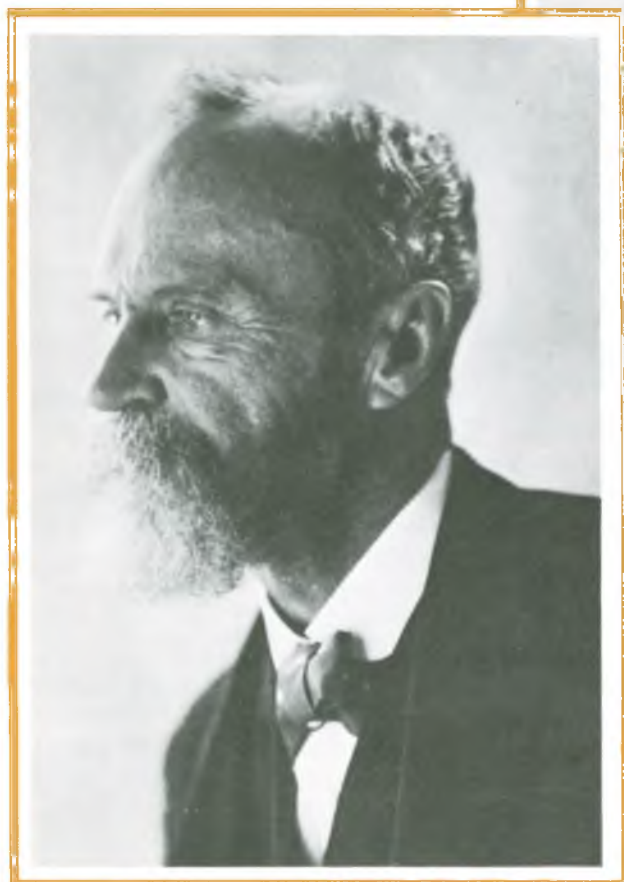
Alice recognized too that "her miserable health was her career," Strouse interprets. "It grew out of her particular, troubled existence, just as Henry's novels and William's psychology grew out of their moral concerns and personal conflicts."

Poor Alice. We shake our heads not just for her but for a generation of women like her, who suffered "mysterious nervous ailments, ranging from occasional 'sick headaches' and a becoming Victorian delicacy to screaming hysterics and bizarre psychotic episodes. Taken all together," Strouse writes in the introduction to her biography, "these illnesses with their distinct personal origins, can be seen as a collective response to the changing shape of late nineteenth-century American life, in particular to the changing social positions and functions of women."

—Linda Blanken

Ms. Blanken is the managing editor of *Humanities*.

"*Alice James: A Biography*" / Jean Strouse, NYC/\$15,000/Fellowships for Independent Study and Research



Photograph by Henry James Vaux



"In some of her insights, some of her assessments of nineteenth-century humbug, Alice went beyond either of her eminent brothers," William, left, and Henry, right. Alice is pictured in London in 1891.



The Emergence of Women



Photographs from The National Portrait Gallery

U.S. Library of Congress



Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 1815-1902, and Susan B. Anthony, 1820-1906, were the two women most responsible for giving organization and leadership to the woman's movement in the nineteenth century.

In the years following the Civil War, opponents of woman's suffrage believed that denying women the vote was a way of preserving the family. If women were kept away from the male-dominated political arena, argued those who were against suffrage, women would stay at home. But by the 1890s the argument was refuted by the facts of women's lives, for women, without the vote, were *not* staying home. Rather they were everywhere challenging male sanctuaries and refusing to accept domesticity as their sole vocations.

The feminist movement in the United States reached a peak of organizational activity and cultural influence in the period between 1890 and the First World War. In this progressive era of general reform sentiment, women's organizations dedicated to feminist and social reform goals flourished and feminist analyses of society and women's place were legion. Increasing numbers of women graduated from college, entered the work force, and participated in previously prohibited sports and physical activities. In this context, woman's suffrage—a major goal of organized women for a half century—took on a new, more powerful dimension.

By this time, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the two women most responsible for giving organization and leadership to this female rebellion since its beginnings in Seneca Falls in 1848, had retired. Their major work was carried on

in a period of frustration for the woman's rights movement. (During the nineteenth century, the terms in usage were the singular "woman's rights" and "woman's suffrage." "Feminism" was not used until the 1900s; the plural "women's rights" came into use in the 1920s.) Within the conservative climate of the nineteenth century, Anthony and Cady Stanton's early arguments for free divorce, for reform dress, for the participation of working women in a broad coalition around the issues of woman's rights and labor reform, and for the inclusion of women within the suffrage guarantees of the Reconstruction Amendments for blacks were unsuccessful. In 1869, despite their efforts, the suffrage movement split into two wings—one centered in Washington, D.C., which Susan Anthony led, and the other centered in Boston, led by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell. In 1875, the trial of famed pastor Henry Ward Beecher for having "alienated the affections of" (seduced) Elizabeth Tilton, the wife of his reform associate Theodore Tilton, tainted the entire movement with the charge of sexual radicalism. For both Tilton and Beecher had been involved with the woman's rights movement.

Yet the impact of feminism on American women even during these years cannot be discounted. From the 1830s on, women established sororital, social service, and reform organizations and forced their way into higher education and the profes-

sions. Women were the backbone of the antebellum charity, religious missionary, and antislavery movements. Their reform involvement became even more powerful after the Civil War, especially with the formation of a nationwide system of women's clubs between the 1860s and the 1880s and the organization in 1874 of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. In 1837 Oberlin College was the first American college to admit women. Public and private colleges in the Midwest and the West generally followed Oberlin's example, but the intransigence of eastern colleges like Harvard and Yale led to the establishment of a number of prestigious women's colleges, including Vassar and Smith, with a rigorous curriculum designed to demonstrate that, contrary to common belief, women were as intellectually capable as men. In 1848 Elizabeth Blackwell was the first woman to graduate from an American medical school; in 1860 Arabella Mansfield was the first woman to be licensed as a lawyer by a state bar association.

How all these individuals and movements were influenced by the woman's rights movement may never be precisely documented. Some, we know, acted or emerged in response to the modernizing trends of the age. Throughout the century newspapers regularly covered woman's rights gatherings, and feminists regularly presented their ideas to the public through lectures and writings. Cady Stanton's stirring 1848

Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, in which she paraphrased the wording of the Declaration of Independence to demand legal, social, economic, and political equality for women, was as famed in the nineteenth century as it is today. "We hold these truths to be self-evident," she wrote, "that all men *and women* are created equal." (The italics are my own). Yet, she continued, "the history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman; having as direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her." "The speedy success of our cause," she concluded, "depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to women of equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce." Her prophetic words foretold what would be over a century of agitation to secure the ends she outlined.

We can document feminist contribution to tangible gains for women all during the century. In the 1830s, for example, married women were defined by the law as appendages of their husbands, with no rights to their property, their earnings, their children, or even their bodies. By the 1890s, many of the most egregious legal inequalities had been ended. Most states gave women control over their property and earnings and, in line with the nineteenth-century

devotion to motherhood, greater rights than their husbands in child custody cases. In 1857 Cady Stanton and Anthony provided a hiding place for the wife of a prominent Massachusetts man who had abducted their daughter. The woman had gone into hiding after being beaten by her husband when she presented him with proofs of his infidelity; he gained custody of their children in the courts, and then had his wife committed to a mental institution. In 1857 such treatment was legal; by the 1890s few states granted men such dominance.

Yet much like today, when feminism has become a diffuse force affecting the majority of American women, it may have been that Cady Stanton and Anthony and the others created a "climate of feminist expectations" in which women were empowered to view themselves as individuals able to operate outside the traditional spheres of home and family. The increasing numbers of women at work throughout the century gives an indication that this was so. Moreover, the expansion in women's employment opportunities over the course of the century indicated a growing consensus in favor of a broadening of women's roles. In the 1830s women were severely limited in occupational choice: they could work as domestic servants, as schoolteachers, and in certain factory occupations (such as textile weaving) generally related to work that women had performed in their homes in the pre-industrial era. Business and the professions were closed to them. By the 1890s, although the proportions of women in prestigious professions were small and women worked in sex-segregated situations where they were paid less than men, most occupations were open to women.

Although the female work force remained predominantly young and unmarried until after the Second World War, some scholars now argue that even within the home women were exerting authority to determine the direction of their lives. The extraordinary decrease in the fertility rate of American women over the course of the nineteenth century (from about 7 births per woman early in the century to about 3.5 births at its close) provides a striking example of what one historian has called a surging "domestic feminism"; married women in a real, although unannounced, manner were taking significant control of their lives. Historians of divorce argue that women were becoming self-directed and point to a growing incidence of marital breakup by the end of the nineteenth century as well as to the fact that many more women than men initiated divorce proceedings.

The nineteenth-century glorification of domesticity and women's moral superiority provided a ready justification for women's assertion of authority. And the phenomenal growth of voluntary organizations like the women's clubs and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was

related to women's desires to have an independent sphere of activity outside the home.

In all these changes, we must recognize the role of Cady Stanton and Anthony as publicists of woman's rights. Anthony devoted her entire adult life to organizing, writing, and lecturing throughout the nation. Cady Stanton's role as an organizer and lecturer was more limited until the 1860s, when she, too, with children nearly grown, took wholeheartedly to the lecture trail.

Because of the central role of Cady Stanton and Anthony as leaders and theorists of woman's rights and woman's suffrage, their letters, speeches, and other papers are of inestimable value for scholars of the woman's movement and of the American reform, political, and intellectual traditions.

The NEH has recently supported the first major attempt to bring together these papers. Anyone who has worked with these materials knows that they are scattered in repositories throughout the nation, that certain of the speeches they gave remain lost in local archives and newspapers, that unknown materials probably still exist in private hands, and that important correspondence in European archives has never been fully examined. It is no small task, therefore, that faces Patricia Holland and Ann Gordon of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and the other editors of the Stanton-Anthony project, Ellen Dubois and Anne Margolis. With an initial planning grant from the National Historical Publication Records Commission and additional support from the Rockefeller Foundation, the editors plan a comprehensive microfilm edition of the Stanton-Anthony papers as well as a selective multivolume letterpress edition. The works will go far toward completing the still fragmentary history of woman's rights and woman's suffrage in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

By the 1870s, the energy and efforts of Cady Stanton and Anthony had brought them fame, and they were much in demand as speakers on the Lyceum Circuit—that nationwide organization of local committees

which brought celebrated intellectuals and popular and provocative orators to cities and towns throughout the land. It was at this point, however, that their careers diverged. To Anthony—less a theorist than Cady Stanton and more an organizer—the temper of the times dictated a focus of political goals, primarily suffrage. Cady Stanton was never convinced that this narrowing of focus was necessary. While she was willing to aid Anthony in leading the suffrage movement, other causes also compelled her attention. Chief among these from the 1870s on was her attention to her personal crusade to inform women of their oppression and to urge them to seek autonomy in their own lives and in their marriages, especially in the area of birth control, which she talked about during her Lyceum tours in special speeches to which only women were admitted.

Throughout her career, Cady Stanton supported both radical and conservative solutions to social ills. Neither she nor Anthony endorsed alternative sexual arrangements outside of marriage. She did not support abortion, and the form of birth control she advocated was probably abstinence. Like most nineteenth-century feminists, she believed that women were morally superior to men and that in the area of morality men should be expected to act in as careful a manner as women. Her message, like that of Anthony, was directed primarily toward middle-class women, particularly after their attempt in 1868 to bring working-class women into their reform coalition failed. Cady Stanton adhered to early eugenicist ideas, believing that not only hereditary traits but also actions and attitudes could be passed on to the developing fetus. Thus she counseled that husbands and wives should pay careful attention to the circumstances of their own lives when engaging in sexual intercourse that might produce a child.

Cady Stanton never abandoned her support for free divorce, arguing that women were victimized in unhappy marriages and that there was no reason to continue such failing enterprises. She insisted that wife

beating and male alcoholism be recognized as major social problems.

Communitarianism also appealed to her—both in terms of its possibilities for freeing women from the drudgery of domestic duties and for redressing the social ills which industrialization and the growth of monopolistic capitalism were creating. On several occasions she counseled the building of living complexes in which general professional services might be provided women in the areas of cooking, cleaning, and child care. In this idea she anticipated the famed scheme that Charlotte Perkins Gilman would later delineate. During her later years she became an advocate of the cooperative movement under which workers would own the enterprises in which they worked.

By the 1890s, Cady Stanton and Anthony could view their work as the foundation of a new era—one in which women were willing to question the old verities regarding their dependence on and subordination to men. And the friendship that these two women forged became a model for the strong friendships among women that were key to the building of feminist networks in a twentieth-century era when American culture still denigrated the possibility of women combining careers with marriage. Anthony and Cady Stanton's mutual commitment to reform and to each other stood as an example to Jane Addams in her groundbreaking work in social service at Hull House, to Charlotte Perkins Gilman in her quest for personal identity in Pasadena, to Emma Goldman working for social reform and Margaret Sanger for birth control. Too, their 1868 attempt to create a coalition with working-class women provided a useful example in the 1900s for those workers and middle-class reformers who founded the Women's Trade Union League and for those suffragists who attempted to broaden the basis of their support beyond the middle class. Moreover, through their writings and the example of their lives, they added impetus to the development of a new kind of marital relationship—one in which equality and sharing were the standard and which by the 1920s would come to be known as "companionate marriage." Although they were women of the nineteenth century, Anthony and Cady Stanton defined the issues that would occupy women during the ferment of feminism that characterized most of the twentieth century.

—Lois Banner

Ms. Banner, professor of history and women's studies at the University of Southern California, is the biographer of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Her most recent book, *American Beauty*, was published by Knopf last Spring.



Suffragette marchers in 1913.

"The Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony"/Patricia G. Holland/University of Massachusetts, Amherst/\$3,000/1981/\$179,886 OR; \$49,550 FM/1982/Research Editions



Touring the Turn of the Century

For most Americans of means, travel at the beginning of this century usually meant travel abroad. "One might enumerate the items of high civilization, as it exists in other countries, which are absent from the texture of American life, until it should become a wonder to know what was left," wrote the great Anglophile Henry James in an 1879 discussion of one admitted American treasure, at least—Nathaniel Hawthorne. James continued:

"No State, in the European sense of the word, and indeed barely a specific national name. No sovereign, no court, no personal loyalty, no aristocracy, no church, no clergy, no army, no diplomatic service, no country gentlemen, no palaces, no castles . . . cottages, nor ivied ruins; no cathedrals, nor abbeys, nor little Norman churches; no great Universities, nor public schools—no Oxford, nor Eton, nor Harrow; no pictures, no political society, no sporting class—no Epsom, nor Ascot!"

Charges of monotony and mediocrity by British visitors to the United States, from the ante-bellum Mrs. Trollope to Matthew Arnold in 1888, helped fortify the notion in some Americans that travel which enriched was conducted elsewhere. But for those who defied the strictures of the "taste makers," native tourism had its rewards. And what those were today's travelers can see almost as vividly as travelers did in the 1900s, by visiting museums, historical societies and other institutions with regional collections that present in three-dimensional richness the events, customs, livelihoods and aspirations of a century ago.

The seven collections briefly "visited" here are among the eighty-four institutions awarded NEH Challenge Grants this year. (The Challenge Grants Program awards one federal dollar for every three that an institution can raise from private sources to help organizations important to the humanities achieve greater financial stability.) We have described only those parts of the seven institutions which pertain to our theme of turn-of-

the-century America. Taken together, they provide, as a travel series for a stereoscope might have done, a whistle-stop tour of America, circa 1900.

Beauport, Gloucester, Massachusetts

Henry Davis Sleeper was a man of his time. A well-to-do young Bostonian, he had studied architecture in Paris and returned home to practice interior decorating. Though only in his twenties, he had been an antique collector for several years and, like his affluent friends, wanted to build a "cottage" at the shore.

In 1907, he bought a small strip of rocky bluff on fashionable Eastern Point and built the first three rooms of Little Beauport. For the next seventeen years, the house was in a constant state of transformation. Every time an architectural component or great "find" in a junk shop caught Sleeper's fancy, he added another room or redesigned an existing one. By 1921, Beauport had grown so large, it sprawled from the road to the granite shoreline.

Each room, a stage-set for his antiques and architectural finds, was named appropriately. ". . . The entrance hall, or breakfast room can be called the Cogswell Room, as all the woodwork came from the Cogswell house," he wrote his builder/architect. The *Golden Step* Room is named for the ship's model in it; the

Pembroke Room, for the seventeenth-century house in Pembroke whence Sleeper took the bricks for it. The low-ceilinged Jacobean room is named as a tribute to the pewter pieces on display, and to its dark oak panels. The Pine Kitchen is named for its huge fireplace and American country furnishings.

There are tens of other rooms, each with a theme and a name and each a small museum for Henry Davis Sleeper's splendid collections.

Beauport, Paul Hollister wrote in *The American Art Journal* (Winter 1981), is "a conglomeration of towers and belfries, bay windows and shrine-like dormers, wooden figures, molded chimneys, weathervanes, and intersecting rooflines that seemed to combine effortlessly features of the English manor farm, the Norman dovecote, the nineteenth-century priory, and the New England shingle-style." Of the forty-odd historical properties the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities owns and manages, this museum of the decorative arts on Boston's North Shore is surely the most eclectic.

Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

"I am an American. Proud of it, aren't you?" That hand-penned note, written about 1909 from one family member to another, is part of the exhibit *Destination Philadelphia: The Past Century of Immigration* at the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies in Philadelphia. Philadelphia was, and continues to be, a major port of entry for Asian and European natives who left their homelands to become Americans.

The Balch Institute is dedicated to preserving the ethnicity and heritage of these many people by collecting what immigrants brought with



them, or made or used after they arrived, and by sponsoring a library, forums, classes, symposia, and a museum that displays and interprets the many collections.

Turn-of-the century buffs visiting *Destination Philadelphia* will see a varied assortment: a steamer trunk from Antwerp, a barrel made in a Philadelphia cooperage, a chittera from Italy, a Bavarian beer mug, and many other household items of the 1890s and early twentieth century including passports, ships' manifests, steamship tickets, photographs, and other artifacts. There is clothing of the period—coats, early twentieth-century Bavarian trousers, embroidered vests, aprons, samplers, skirts—evidence of the rich variety of immigrants who came here.

Another current exhibit, *Irish Eyes: Still Smiling*, depicts life in Philadelphia's Irish community during the past hundred years. *The Third Wave: Soviet Jews in Philadelphia*, opening in early September, displays photographs and artwork of the Soviet Jewish community in Philadelphia. Some of the art depicts scenes of old and contemporary Philadelphia; some are scenes from the "old country."

Founded in 1971 with funds from Balch family trusts, the Balch Institute opened to the public in 1976. Preserving America's multicultural heritage is their primary mission, for they fear that as the melting pot bubbles, more and more ethnicity will disappear; as immigrants become assimilated, mementos of the past



might be considered unimportant. Yet these mementos are, according to Institute director Mark Stolarik "the tangible parts of America's heritage."



Mahoning Valley Historical Society, Arms Museum, Youngstown, Ohio

The Arms Museum of Local History in Youngstown, Ohio, is a museum within a museum. Greystones, the preserved 1905 stone mansion that houses it, was built by steel pioneer Wilford P. Arms, and is a reminder of the affluence of early twentieth-century America. Renaissance Revival in style, its lattice windows, carved wood paneling and handwrought iron decoration reflect the "Arts and Crafts" movement, popular at the time. Mrs. Arms willed Greystones to the Mahoning Valley Historical Society in 1961 and the Arms Museum opened there three years later.

In compliance with Mrs. Arms's will, the first floor rooms remain exactly as they were during her lifetime. Her bone china, sterling silver, antique furniture, imported *objets d'art* and elegant costumes attest to the privileged and gracious lifestyle of a very wealthy family in the Western Reserve.

The exhibits on the other two floors document the settlement and growth of the Mahoning Valley, from pioneer days through the prospering of the coal and steel industries. The area was rich in coal and iron ore. From the early to mid-nineteenth century, blast furnaces abounded. Pig and puddled iron were shipped east and west. Then, with rail freight rates punitively high, Valley works switched to rolling operations, producing sheet, tinplate and pipe. By 1900, the cotton industry, the growing oil industry, the rail passenger car manufacturers and others were eager customers. Fifteen steel companies thrived in the Valley.

Times were good, not just for the Arms family and their friends but for the Welsh and Irish miners, and the Romanians, Ukrainians and Poles who worked on the railroads and in the mills. Eighty-four different ethnic groups have figured in the growth of the Valley, subjects of many museum exhibits of costumes, valentines, toys, icons, photographs, and other ethnic and historical artifacts and documents.

Visitors to the permanent collection can see the first piece of tin plate produced in the Valley and the first bar rolled, along with many other objects that characterize this booming turn-of-the-century iron and steel center.

Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

Parlor organs across the country sang out, "Meet me in St. Looey, Looey; meet me at the Fair." Everyone wanted to visit the spectacular St. Louis world's fair, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904, to marvel at the exhibits, to watch the Summer Olympics in America's first concrete stadium, to use the first coin machines, to eat the first ice cream cones and to watch airplanes compete to attain the unprecedented speed of twenty miles per hour.

The Exposition was a double-purpose extravaganza, a commemoration of St. Louis's part in the opening of the West, and a celebration of progress in the hundred years since the Louisiana Purchase. While fairgoers regarded St. Louis as a stylish, sophisticated city, a hundred years earlier it had been a French fur-trading outpost on the eastern edge of unexplored frontierlands. It was the gateway to the West for Lewis and Clark as they set out to fulfill President Jefferson's directive to go into the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase territory to find "... the most direct and practicable water communication across this continent for the purpose of commerce."

Appropriately, one outcome of the Exposition was Congressional authorization to build a monument to Thomas Jefferson in commemoration of the Louisiana Purchase, using the remaining assets from the Fair. The monument, constructed on the site of the main entrance to the Exposition, now houses the Missouri Historical Society and its comprehensive collections.

The collections concentrate on the development of St. Louis, of Missouri, the Missouri River valley, and the Louisiana Purchase territory. Included are Lewis and Clark's manuscripts, artifacts and letters, the 1904 Fair collection, the Charles A. Lindbergh collection, shoes from the 1820s to the 1930s, an extensive costume collection of French couturier designs worn by stylish St. Louisans, as well as hats, silk parasols and elegant gowns from an earlier era.

Collections of household items such as lamps, stoves, quilts, coverlets, and dolls, compete for attention with cobblers', brewers' and tobacconists' tools, firefighting equipment and firearms, and scenes of river transportation in the nineteenth and early



twentieth centuries. Archaeological artifacts date to 8000 B.C. and include a significant Plains Indian collection. Paintings, sculpture, photographs, books, posters, and musical scores round out the holdings. As one admirer suggested, "It's like a Smithsonian-on-the-Mississippi."



Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota

Thomas Barlow Walker, a lumber mogul and art collector, founded what was later to become the Walker Art Center when he opened the first public art gallery in the Midwest in 1879. Like fellow art-lovers of that time, he admired the visionary dreaminess of landscape paintings by Hudson River School artists. Some of his early acquisitions include Thomas Cole's *An Italian Autumn* and Frederic Church's *Scene in the Catskill Mountains*. These paintings represent the beginning of a continuum that is the permanent collection of Minneapolis's museum of contemporary art.

Walker's collecting tastes developed as painters experimented with new techniques. John Kensett's *Scene on the Delaware* and Worthington Thomas Moran's *A Summer Squall* (1889) are good examples of how landscapes had abandoned tranquil hills in favor of rough seas and stormy clouds. Works by Thomas Eakins, Robert Henri, John Sloan and other early twentieth-century renegades from the art establishment continue the spirit of the founder's taste in collecting and introduce to the Center the new realism and early abstract art.

In 1927, a new museum, now the Walker Art Center, was built on the edge of downtown Minneapolis. Most of the permanent collection of nineteenth-century American landscapes are from the original Thomas Walker collection.

Twentieth-century art is the interest and commitment of the Walker Art Center. The collection includes avant garde art of every decade and style—works by painters like Max Beckmann and John Marin in the 1930s, Milton Avery, Max Weber, Fernand Leger in the forties, Stuart Davis and Clifford Still in the fifties, Frank Stella, Morris Louis, Ellsworth Kelly, Alan D'Arcangelo, Helen Frankenthaler in the sixties and seventies. Recent acquisitions, by painters like Joel Shapiro, Deborah Butterfield and Charles Ginnever continue the Walker tradition and enhance the Center's reputation as a worthy repository for American art.

The Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum, Canyon, Texas

Bands of Comanche, Kiowa and Cheyenne Indians, and herds of buffalo roamed the Texas Panhandle before 1874. United States military forces defeated the Indians that year and removed them to reservations; hunters slaughtered the buffalo—more than 100,000 in one year alone.

Suddenly the open range was lure to sheepmen and ranchers; cowboys rode the range, dominating the region for the next decade. The 1880 census shows a Panhandle population of 1,607 people, 97,236 cattle and 108,234 sheep.

The next years, 1885-1910, were the last of the frontier in the Texas Panhandle. Government enticements, the lure of cheap and fertile land, and the establishment of railroads brought civilization. Towns grew along the rail lines, and settlers arrived in waves from the Midwest, gradually displacing the range and the cattlemen. Today the Panhandle, with several hundred small towns, is mainly rural and agricultural. The Old West frontier is a matter of history.

That history is one interest of the Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum located on the West Texas State University campus in Canyon. Among its several regional collections is Pioneer Village, a typical frontier town. Its five "blocks" contain two historical structures, the Sam Wood Cabin and the Goodnight Line Camp, built before 1890, and fifteen reconstructed full-size buildings of 1890 vintage: a Livery Stable, Jail, Printing Office, Blacksmith Shop, Doctor's Office, Bank, Dress Shop, General Store, Hotel, Four-room House, Saloon, Outhouse, One-room School, Law Office and Barber Shop.

The Barber Shop, its shoeshine stand in front of the window, offered cowboys ten-cent shaves, two-bit haircuts and hot baths, as well as cold ones for less.

The roll-top desk in the lawyer's Office was used in the 1890s by local Judge J.N. "Honest Jim" Brown. The gavel on the desk is of wood from Sam Houston's law office window sill. A coal-burning stove with coal bucket and shovel, an early Seth-Thomas clock, a nineteenth-century sailing ship model, framed portraits, and a supply of writing materials, stapler and sealing wax complete the scene.

The One-room School displays recitation benches, desks, blackboard, pictures, pump organ, stove, lunch pails, books, and the inevitable switch the teacher used to keep pupils in line. A walk through these and the other buildings gives the visitor a view of the tamer side of the Wild West.



The Army Museum, San Francisco, California

In the heart of the Presidio, the U.S. Army base in San Francisco, a museum operated by the Fort Point and Army Museum Association depicts the devastation of the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and Fire. Most of the Army Museum's themes are, as one would expect, military: the history of the Presidio, the story of the Pacific coastal defense network, the experiences of California's citizen soldiers. Why, then, is a major exhibition area devoted to San Francisco's now-legendary disaster? The exhibition is a reminder of the immense and somewhat controversial role that the U.S. Army played in defending the city from the fire's ferocious attack.

Brigadeer General Frederick Funston, then ranking officer at the Presidio, was charged only with defending the United States from foreign invasion. But as the fire threatened to destroy the city, Funston mobilized his resources. Thus, in the museum within the Presidio, one diorama on display depicts California Street, the flames advancing up the blocks and enveloping buildings: the old Mark Hopkins Hotel, the

Crocker mansion, and others. General Funston recognized the emergency. Without orders or clear authority (his superior officer, Commander Greeley, was in Chicago at his daughter's wedding), he ordered out the troops—to fight the fire, to prevent looting, and to help the hundreds of homeless and frightened San Franciscans. Whether he acted constitutionally or with proper authority are issues still hotly debated.

The troops Funston sent out were a ragtag crew made up primarily of coastal Artillery battalions stationed at the Presidio. Those infantrymen and some cavalrymen were joined by National Guardsmen, San Francisco firemen, San Francisco policemen, and even some volunteers.

Another display, complete with authentic weapons, period furniture, newspapers and maps, portrays three uniformed officers in Funston's Command Center, planning how to contain the fire. They dynamited more than twenty city blocks along Van Ness, from Golden Gate Avenue to Washington Street, creating a fire break. Another exhibit, life-size, portrays Army personnel at one of the many relief stations set to administer first aid, distribute food and coffee,



and provide temporary tent shelters. Other displays include photographs, maps, murals, and a glass case containing Funston's uniform, complete with the Congressional Medal of Honor he had earned a few years earlier in the Philippines.

Unlike most Army posts, the Presidio is open to the public. Those who wish to know more about the Presidio, Pacific coastal defense, California citizen soldiers, and the 1906 Earthquake and Fire will also find acres of parkland, with trails, trees, creeks, and open unguarded gates.

—Jane A.L. McCarthy

Ms. McCarthy is a writer visiting in Washington.

NEH Challenge Grants

The Endowment offered this year \$26.7 million to eighty-four institutions in Challenge Grants, grants that work to prime the pump of private support for humanities organizations. Each federal dollar in a Challenge Grant is awarded for every \$3 that an institution has raised from private sources, so that the \$26.7 million is expected to generate more than \$80 million of support from the private sector.

The only Endowment program not organized to support particular projects in the humanities, the Challenge Grants Program offers a humanities institution the opportunity to strengthen its financial base in a number of ways. Challenge funds can be used to establish endowments or cash reserves; to renovate, repair, or add to existing facilities; defray continuing or cumulative debts or mortgages; purchase equipment; or augment acquisitions. In each case, the expenditure or purchase must be attributable to the study or preservation of the humanities.

Descriptions of how this year's grantees, including those seven briefly noted above, propose to use their funding appear on page 27.



"National Ignorance"

Gregory Rabassa's article (Volume 3, Number 6) correctly notes a trend . . . of expanding interest in translating; he speaks of his hope for a "new age of Dryden" which will provide superior translations and an expansion of knowledge. In *Humanities* (Volume 4, Number 2) Margaret Sayers Peden complements his statement, but she rightly speaks . . . with a sense of urgency . . . of the need for this nation to educate its peoples to view affairs in an international context and emphasizes the current failure in language education. I reiterate . . . and add that the provincialism of the attitudes here can only be countered when the thoughts now being expressed in the literature of other peoples, written in other languages, are readily available in English.

Our national ignorance of other cultures is not only the result of our drastically reduced language study but is also due to the astounding paucity of publication of translations in the United States. Although the trend may be up as indicated by Rabassa, the 1977 *Index Translationum* places the United States on a par with Poland and numerous small countries in the number of translations published that year, less than 600 books! In his article, "Translation: the

Recreative Art," Rabassa applauds the retranslations of the classics and while we are also pleased, we must realize that of these 600 texts the majority of available translated material is not of recent vintage.

There are positive steps which are being taken in promoting awareness of the importance of translation today. The translation issue of *Humanities* is one. Perhaps, the most concerted effort in that direction is the formation of a clearing center for translation information to coordinate efforts and information of various associations, to afford discussion among translators, critics, and publishers concerning translations of higher quality and of greater quantity.

In 1978 the American Literary Translators Association, ALTA, was organized to bring literary translators into an informative relationship. In ALTA's official journal, *Translation Review*, and in its annual meetings the association provides a national forum for discussion of the translation process, publication questions, and other matters of interest regarding translation and the humanities. Through a workshop format at the meetings, translators explore translation problems and teaching methods; they interchange ideas and materials from translation workshops across the nation. ALTA gathers information from numerous organizations and publishes a *Newsletter* to inform members concerning the national and international events, awards, and other matters affecting translators in the humanities. The center is collecting a library of works published in a foreign language and translated into English. ALTA is located at the University of Texas, Dallas, P.O. Box

688, Richardson, Texas, 75080.

Because of the importance of this organization to the field of translation and because of the urgent need for increased and better translation in the humanities, I bring this association to your attention.

—Elizabeth Gamble Miller

Southern Methodist University

About "Aboutness"

With reference to Arthur Danto's piece in *Humanities* (Volume IV, Number 1), it is true that the first step in a theory of art may require the approach to art as representation. but objects of (art) need not always be "about" some external thing, though our response to them may require such a reading. The bicycle wheel to which Danto refers is a "ready-made" ("assisted" it is true), and it is crucial in understanding the intent of Duchamp's "ready-mades" to remember that they represent—or rather *present* (to avoid yet another "about"-ness)—Duchamp's "irony of indifference."

"About"-ness is an extension of the pathetic fallacy. One of the most important contributions of some modernist art and thought is the assertion that objects have their own private existence, indifferent to their meaningfulness to the rest of us. Some artists, some of them consciously—perhaps even Warhol—have taken note of this overdue realization. We can respond to Warhol's Brillo-box as it is "about" something, but does such a response address the box or the something? When we respond to Mt. Denari as "about" aspiration or aloofness, does geology gain?

—Charles Shere

Berkeley, California

Unpalatable

As a musicologist by training, if not by present occupation, I read with special interest the February issue of *Humanities*. Unfortunately, I found an unpalatable mistake in Malcolm Bilson's article on the use of historical instruments ("Is the Medium the Message?") In a colorful metaphor comparing music to exotic food, Professor Bilson describes a Chinese waiter who found certain foods "not 'valid' for my palette." Because I seriously doubt that Professor Bilson meant to fling won-tons onto a canvas to create an original collage, I assume this word is the work of the ever-present villain—Typo. Nevertheless, I cannot just brush the matter aside. It should have never passed unnoticed by the editor of a publication which promotes the humanities, fields that depend so much on language.

However, I would not want this bitter pill of criticism to get stuck to your palate, so let us wash it down with a toast to your otherwise splendid publication.

—Ivana Pelnar-Zaiko, Ph.D.

Duke University

ERRATA

We regret the following errors in *Humanities*, Volume IV / Number 2: The title of the article on page 19 should have been "Gardens of the Middle Ages;" the woodcut at the top of page 19 is from the Dumbarton Oaks collections; the Memling Madonna at the top of page 20 is from the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.

RECENT NEH GRANT AWARDS

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

Archaeology & Anthropology

American School of Classical Studies, NYC; Martha H. Wiencke: \$149,920. To analyze and study the excavated materials from the prehistoric site of Lerna in Greece. *RO*

Brown U., Providence, RI; Robert R. Holloway: \$16,015 FM. To continue excavation of the Early Bronze Age site of la Muculufa in Sicily, which is yielding a deeply stratified deposit with superimposed buildings. *RO*

Brown U., Providence, RI; Peter R. Schmidt: \$52,461. To enable archaeologists, ethnographers, and historians to complete an interpretive history of the ancient iron technology and civilization in Tanzania. *RO*

Bryn Mawr College, PA; Jordon H. Richard: \$31,115. To conduct an archaeological survey of Eskimo sites in the Karluk area of Kodiak, Alaska. Archaeologists will investigate prehistoric sites and Russian and American sites dating from the period of earliest contact between Westerners exploiting the rich salmon resources and the Eskimo inhabitants. *RO*

Columbia U., NYC; Philip D. Schuyler: \$10,000 OR; \$10,000 FM. To hold the 1983 Conference of the International Council of Traditional Music, the first meeting to be held in the United States since 1950. *RD*

Kenyon College, Gambier, OH; Edward M. Schorlman: \$9,223 FM. To conduct an archaeological survey and test excavation in the area of Santa Barbara, Honduras. *RO*

New York U., NYC; David A. King: \$23,430 OR; \$6,500 FM. To translate and comment on Arabic texts on folk science. *RL*

Princeton U., NJ; Robert L. Thorp: \$24,376. To study the burial customs and funerary art and architecture of ancient China, including new information from Chinese excavations. *RO*

SUNY at Albany, NY; Michael R. Werner: \$21,905. To continue archaeological investigation of a Roman frontier settlement near Mt. Kosmaj, Yugoslavia. *RO*

Syracuse U. Press, Syracuse, NY; Walda C. Metcalf: \$10,000. To publish a collection of approximately 200 traditional folk songs from the eastern seaboard of the United States, accompanied by interviews and photographs of the singers and performers and transcribed notes of the field experience. *RP*

Texas A&M Research Foundation, College Station, TX; Frederick H. Van Doorninck, Jr.: \$15,000 FM. To continue the study and reconstruction of the hull of an 11th-century Islamic ship excavated in the sea off Serce Liman, Turkey. *RO*

Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Inc., Charlottesville, VA; William M. Kelso: \$174,800. To continue excavation and study of the buildings and material remains associated with the artisans and slaves living at Jefferson's Plantation, Monticello. *RO*

John R. Baker: \$2,460. To translate *Cognitive Anthropology: Structure and Foundation of an Anthropological Paradigm*, by Dr. Egon Renner. *RL*

U. of Chicago, IL; Leon Marfoe: \$132,000 FM. To continue salvage excavations at the Early Bronze age site of Kurban Hoyuk in southeastern Turkey. *RO*

U. of Colorado, Boulder, CO; Robert L. Hohlfelder: \$25,000 FM. To continue underwater excavations in the harbor of Caesarea Maritima, Israel. *RO*

U. of Louisville, KY; Stephanie J. Maloney: \$15,799 FM. To excavate and study the early Christian church of Torre de Palma in Portugal. *RO*

U. of Minnesota, St. Paul; William D.E. Coulson: \$21,360 FM. To study excavated materials from the excavations at Naukratis, the Greek city in the western Nile Delta region of Egypt. *RO*

U. of Minnesota, Minneapolis; George R. Rapp, Jr.: \$18,062 FM. To excavate the settlement and

cemetery at Sotira Kaminoudhia in Cyprus in order to define the chronological period, Chalcolithic III, that just precedes the Early Bronze culture in Cyprus. *RO*

U. of Nevada, Reno; Warren L. d'Azevedo: \$55,204. To study the contemporary native arts of the Gola of western Liberia. *RO*

U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Ellen L. Kohler: \$39,800. To research and write Volume II of the Gordion series. The volume will deal with the 25 tumuli excavated in the Early Iron Age capital of the ancient Phrygians in Turkey. *RO*

U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Robert H. Dyson, Jr.: \$10,000. To translate excavation reports from Haft Tepe, Iran, 1965-80. *RL*

U. of Texas, San Antonio; Thomas R. Hester: \$16,020 FM. To continue excavations at the Maya site of Colha, Belize where evidence for a violent destruction of the buildings and elites has been recorded. This destruction may be related to the Classic Maya collapse. *RO*

U. of Virginia, Charlottesville; Malcolm Bell, III: \$50,000 FM. To excavate and study a major Hellenistic Greek colonial city at Morgantina in Sicily. *RO*

Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, Richmond, VA; John D. Broadwater: \$114,757. To continue archaeological excavation of a ship sunk in the York River during the Battle of Yorktown, 1781. *RO*

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MD; Diana M. Buitron: \$8,700 FM. To continue study of excavated materials from the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, Kourion, Cyprus. Scholars will analyze the finds and investigate the cult practices at the site during the Archaic period. *RO*

Washington State U., Pullman, WA; Dale R. Croes: \$180,000. To continue analysis and interpretation of archaeological materials excavated from paleo-Indian sites on the Hoko River in Washington State. *RO*

Wesleyan U., Middletown, CT; Stephen L. Dyson: \$10,000 FM. To excavate and study a church and monastery complex in St. Jeans-des-Vignes, Soissons, France. Archaeologists and historians will collaborate in the research. *RO*

Yale U., New Haven, CT; Sarah P. Morris: \$10,540 FM. To survey the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus in Arcadia in Greece to produce a publishable plan of the natural features and ancient structures. *RO*

Arts—History & Criticism

Association for Recorded Sound Collections, Manassas, VA; Timothy H. Brooks: \$616,332 FM. To conduct a survey of "LP and 45 rpm" sound recordings contained in the nation's 5 largest audio archives, and to create a computer-generated index to the recordings. *RC*

George Mason U., Fairfax, VA; Lorraine A. Brown: \$50,000. To document the WPA Arts Projects through a survey of tape-recorded interviews with former participants, and the transcription of selected existing interviews. *RC*

Princeton U., NJ; John K.G. Shearman: \$10,000 OR; \$30,000 FM. To conduct an international meeting of art historians and painting conservators as a means of exchanging ideas about and presenting a comprehensive picture of the works of Raphael on the 500th anniversary of his birth. *RD*

Princeton U. Press, NJ; Sanford G. Thatcher: \$4,000. To publish a manuscript that examines the role representation plays in music and argues that an awareness of representation can enrich our critical vocabulary. *RP*

Research Foundation of CUNY, NYC; Barry S. Brook: \$33,248. To prepare a computerized five-year cumulative index (1972-1976) to the *Repertoire International de Litterature Musicale*, the international bibliography of scholarly writings on music. *RC*

Soc. for Preserv. of New England Antiquities, Boston, MA; Ellie D. Reichlin: \$17,857. To orga-

nize and catalog architectural records, including drawings and photographs, documenting the variety of buildings found in urban, suburban, and rural Massachusetts between 1890-1945. *RC*

Southern Illinois U., Carbondale, IL; Kenney Withers: \$16,218. To publish volumes 9 and 10 of *A Biographical dictionary of Actors*, which includes entries on all who in any way contributed to the theatre (construed in its broadest sense) in London between 1660 and 1800. *RP*

Arthur G. Miller: \$25,000. To conduct research that will result in an interpretive monograph on the pre-Hispanic, Mesoamerican mural painting tradition of Oaxaca, Mexico. *RO*

U. of California, Berkeley, CA; Ronald A. Wells: \$20,000. To augment a pilot study comparing the astronomical orientations of Egyptian temples to the orientations of specific rising stars. The result would be the establishment of secure dates for Egyptian monuments. *RO*

U. of California, Berkeley, CA; James Cahill: \$49,025. To catalog extant painting by Ming artists including a bibliography of scholarly publications on these works with notes on available published reproductions. *RC*

U. of Denver, Denver, CO; Mary C. Lanius: \$7,726. To conduct a research meeting of scholars engaged in the study of South Asian (Indian) art history and archaeology. *RD*

U. of Iowa, Iowa City, IA; Margaret A. Alexander: \$64,363. To prepare two volumes of the *Corpus of Mosaics of Tunisia*, the primary publication of the Roman mosaics found in the imperial sites. *RO*

U. of Iowa, Iowa City, IA; Rudolf E. Kuenzli: \$19,706. To microfilm original documents of the Dada art and literary movement extant in foreign and private collections for deposit at the University of Iowa's Dada Archives. *RC*

U. of Maryland, College Park, MD; Neil Ratliff: \$10,000 OR; \$5,378 FM. To conduct a joint conference of two music archive groups—the International Association of Music Libraries, Archives, and Documentation Centers (IAML), and the International Association of Sound Archives (IASA). *RD*

U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI; Henry T. Wright: \$14,052. To conduct a survey and architectural study of early mosques on the Comoro Islands in the Indian Ocean. *RO*

U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA; Robert O. Gjerdingen: \$6,955. To produce a translation of *Investigations into the Establishment of harmonic Tonality* by Carl Dahlhaus. *RL*

U. of Washington, Seattle, WA; Naomi B. Pascal: \$10,000. To publish an illustrated work on the artists who accompanied the expeditions of Bering, Cook, Vancouver and others, and who recorded the geography and the inhabitants of the North Pacific Coast from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. *RP*

Yale U., New Haven, CT; Harold E. Samuel: \$47,934. To provide for the arrangement, description, and preservation of original music manuscripts and correspondence of Kurt Weill, a major figure in the history of American musical theater. *RC*

Yale U., New Haven, CT; Vivian Perlis: \$60,927 OR; \$90,976 FM. To produce a collection of tape-recorded interviews with major figures in contemporary American music. *RC*

Yale U. Press, New Haven, CT; Judy Metro: \$10,000. To publish a volume of 161 watercolors, finished drawings, and sketches made by Benjamin Henry Latrobe in his travels about America between 1795 and 1820. *RP*

Classics

Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; Gordon M. Messing: \$1,500. To translate a revised and expanded version of a Rumanian scholarly monograph by H. Mihaescu on the history and development of Latin in the Danubian provinces. *RL*

U. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill; Lewis

A. Bateman: \$2,989. To publish a manuscript that studies the popular religious beliefs of the Athenians and concludes that there was no demonstrable deterioration in religion from the fifth century to the fourth century B.C. *RP*

History—Non-U.S.

Indiana U., Bloomington; Yuri Bregel: \$30,000. To translate the 19th-century Chronicle of Hiva, Central Asia, by Munis and Agahi. *RL*

Johns Hopkins U., Baltimore, MD; David W. Cohen: \$16,760 OR; \$2,500 FM. To translate historical texts of the Lake Victoria region of East Africa. *RL*

Metrocenter YMCA, Seattle, WA; Jarlath Hume: \$15,000. To develop an anthology on the tradition of historical, philosophical and religious thought about the relationship between wealth and well-being for use in an adult education curriculum-based program. *GP*

Monmouth College, West Long Branch, NJ; Tasdeusz A. Swietochowski: \$17,844. To translate from the Azerbaijani of Akhundzada's Three Letters of the Indian Prince Kamal ul-Dauleh. *RL*

Princeton U. Press, NJ; Sanford G. Thatcher: \$9,815. To publish a manuscript that describes political institutions and ideologies, religious communities and social groupings in sixth and seventh-century Iraq, arguing that some of these institutions and beliefs underwent significant change after the Islamic conquest while others did not. *RP*

Research Foundation of SUNY, Binghamton, NY; Yedida K. Stillman: \$9,674. To translate with extensive historical introduction Samuel Romanelli's *A Journey in an Arab Land: Moroccan life and politics as seen through the eyes of an 18th-century Jew*. *RL*

Anne Royal: \$21,200. To produce an annotated translation of Mishqa's 19th-century Lebanese-Syrian *Memoir*. *RL*

Stanford U., CA; Leon E. Seltzer: \$5,203. To publish a study of the Chinese city of Hankow in the 19th century. *RP*

U. of Arizona, Tucson, AZ; Stephen H. West: \$53,067 OR; \$1,000 FM. To produce an annotated translation of records of the culture of Kaifeng, Sung capital of northern China, 12th century. *RL*

U. of California, San Diego, La Jolla; John A. Marino: \$15,000. To compile, edit and translate an anthology of scholarly articles on the social and economic foundations of Neapolitan culture. *U. of Chicago, IL; Elizabeth Johnson: \$3,666 FM. To publish an economic social history of eighteenth-century Russia, the culmination of more than fifteen years' research in European archives by the late Arcadius Kahan. *RP**

U. of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu; Donald J. Raleigh: \$45,000. To translate E.N. Burdzhakov's *The February Russian Revolution: The Insurrection in Petrograd (1917)*. *RL*

U. of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA; Richard J. Lozier: \$2,000. To publish a study of six novelists of the colonial experience in Africa. Three of the writers are European: Joyce Cary, Isak Dinesen, Nadine Gordimer; three are African: Chinua Achebe, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Alex La Guma. *RP*

U. of Minnesota, Minneapolis; Ruth-Ellen B. Joeres: \$9,513. To hold an international meeting of social historians and literary scholars investigating the condition of women in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Germany. *RD*

History—U.S.

American Assn. for State and Local History, Nashville, TN; Gerald W. George: \$55,000. To develop a profile of the historical agency field,

assessing needs, analyzing employment patterns and evaluating its contribution to American cultural life. *OP*

Boston U., MA; John B. Armstrong: \$115,000 OR; \$66,000 FM. To prepare a bibliography of printed works on Connecticut, the sixth in the seven-volume Bibliographies of New England History. *RC*

Stanford U., CA; David C. Weber: \$52,133. To organize and produce finding aids to six major manuscript collections of 20th-century Mexican-American history and politics. *RC*

Interdisciplinary

American Irish Historical Society, NYC; Lisa M. Hottin: \$19,800. To arrange and describe archival and manuscript collections that document the contributions of the American Irish to American history. *RC*

American Library Association, Chicago, IL; Howard S. White: \$64,400. To develop an attachment for paper copiers that enables the face-up, nondestructive copying of bound volumes. The device offers a solution to a long-standing preservation problem in research libraries. *RV*
Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, Philadelphia, PA; R. Joseph Anderson: \$132,531. To survey late 19th- and early 20th-century sources documenting ethnic and immigrant life in the Anthracite Region of northeastern Pennsylvania. *RC*
Katherine B. Branstetter: \$12,562. To translate, analyze and annotate 75 Tzeltal Mayan folk tales and fables depicting worlds considered to have existed before our own. *RL*

Columbia U. Press, NYC; Randall T. Bouchard: \$17,082 FM. To translate Franz Boas' *Indian Legends from the North Pacific Coast of America*. *RL*
Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; David G. Brumberg: \$372,787 FM. To survey manuscript and archival holdings in New York City repositories and to generate computer-produced guide. *RC*
Educational Broadcasting Corporation, NYC; William Lamb: \$500,000. To produce a series of ten one-hour documentary programs tracing the history of the Jews within the context of world history, with Abba Eban as on-screen host and commentator. *GN*

George F. Elmendorf: \$172, 590. To prepare a bibliography of works printed in Nicaragua, written by Nicaraguans, or about Nicaragua, 1800-1978. *RC*

Florida State U., Tallahassee; Alan R. Mabe: \$10,000. To hold a conference on philosophical issues in Aristotle's works on biology, using those texts as a means of clarifying ambiguities in other works of Aristotle. *RD*
Fordham U., Bronx, NY; Bernice G. Rosenthal: \$10,000. To hold a scholarly conference on the influence of Nietzsche in Russian literature and thought of the Silver Age (c. 1890-1917). *RD*

Michael M. Gorman: \$22,000. To prepare a catalog of the approximately 250 authentic Augustine manuscripts held in U.S. collections. *RC*
Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; Elizabeth H. Boone: \$70,857. To complete the cataloging of the Pre-Columbian Library. *RC*

Johns Hopkins U., Baltimore, MD; Henry Y.K. Tom: \$5,000. To publish an exploration into the development of electric supply systems in the United States, England, and Germany. *RP*
Johns Hopkins U., Baltimore, MD; Henry Y.K. Tom: \$5,740. To publish a study which shows how the Roman humanists accommodated their secular-intellectual interests to the religious-theological ambience in which they found themselves. *RP*

Sergei Kan, Dedham, MA: \$19,550. To translate and edit texts on the history and culture of the Tlingit Indians by Russian Orthodox missionaries in the 1880s-1900s, including a monograph, *Indians of Alaska*, and articles published in the Russian Orthodox Messenger. *RL*
Kathleen L. Lodwick: \$69,860. To complete an index and biographical guide to the "Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal." *RC*

New York State Education Department, Albany; William A. Evans: \$135,963. To microfilm New York historical records dealing with factory regulation and welfare programs as well as court, land, and chancery records containing aggregate data of importance to social historical inquiries. *RC*

New York State Library, Albany, NY; Larry J. Hackman: \$52,140. To hold workshops to train 100 library and historical organization administrators in conservation management and to initiate long-term statewide conservation planning. *RV*

Northeast Document Conservation Center, Andover, MA; Mildred O'Connell: \$96,000. To support the field service program of a major conservation facility. The program provides on-site consultation and education by conserva-

tion professionals to small and moderate-sized libraries and archives in the northeastern U.S. *RV*

Orthodox Church in America, Syosset, NY; Dennis R. Rhodes: \$46,220. To arrange and describe the historical records of the Orthodox Church of America. *RC*

Pennsylvania State U. Press, University; John M. Pickering: \$15,000. To publish three volumes of annotated bibliography on the life and culture of 41 ethnic groups in the United States. The volumes continue the coverage provided in *A Comprehensive Bibliography for the Study of American Minorities published in 1976*. *RP*

Polish American Historical Association, Chicago, IL; Josephine Wtulich: \$20,713. To translate a collection of letters from Polish emigrants in Brazil and the United States at the end of the 19th century. *RL*

Princeton U., NJ; Bernard Lewis: \$30,000 FM. To support the Third International Congress on the Economic and Social History of Turkey. *RD*
Princeton U., Press, NJ; Sanford G. Thatcher: \$4,080. To publish a study of the Renaissance humanists Erasmus, Lorenzo Valla, and the Spanish scholars who edited the Complutensian Bible. *RP*

Research Foundation of SUNY, Albany, NY; Paul E. Szarmach: \$9,942. To hold an international meeting of scholars on the sources of Anglo-Saxon culture covering four areas: literary culture, Celtic and Viking archaeology, art history (iconography), and research tools and methods. *RD*

Research Foundation of SUNY, Albany, NY; Clyde L. Miller: \$9,000. To translate Jean Gerson's *The Consolation of Theology*, written in the 15th century. *RL*

Research Libraries Group, Inc., Stanford, CA; Nancy E. Gwinn: \$200,000 OR; \$675,000 FM. To microfilm about 30,000 U.S. imprints and Americana, 1876-1900. The project will preserve materials, held in seven RLG libraries, fundamental to American studies, but which survive in brittle, critical condition. *RV*

Gene H. Roghuir: \$3,500. To translate a Telugu novel, a work important for its realistic treatment of contemporary social and cultural issues in Indian village life. *RL*

Temple U., Philadelphia, PA; David M. Bartlett: \$10,000. To publish a study of American perceptions of the city reflected in the images of contemporary photographers working between 1938 and 1915. *RP*

U. of Arizona, Tucson, AZ; Lillian Schlissel: \$10,000. To hold a conference on the history of women in the American West. *RD*

U. of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR; Donald R. Kelley: \$72,929. To hold a four-week summer institute for 50 secondary-school, social-studies teachers contrasting West European parliamentary systems, socialist systems, and political systems in Latin America. *ES*

U. of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu; G. Raymond Nunn: \$143,541. To prepare a guide to American archival and manuscript sources relating to Asia and Oceania. *RC*

U. of Louisville, KY; Sherrill R. McConnell: \$12,021. To microfilm records of the history of medicine in Kentucky, a collection of field notes assembled by the Kentucky Writers' Project under WPA auspices. *RC*

U. of Maryland, College Park, MD; John B. Carlson: \$9,133. To hold a conference of historians of science, astronomers, anthropologists, and art historians conducting research in the relatively new field of ethnoastronomy—the study of indigenous, usually non-Western, astronomical systems and cosmologies. *RD*

U. of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA; Richard J. Lozier: \$6,637. To publish two short novels on the colonial experience in the Indies, translated from the Dutch. *RP*

U. of Missouri, Columbia, MD; Susan L. Flader: \$74,469. To continue an interdisciplinary historical study of French colonial society in the Mississippi valley from 1720 to 1830. *RS*

U. of Missouri, Columbia, MO; Lawrence H. Feldman: \$8,880. To complete a computerized index for all extant manuscripts, 1523-1821, in 86 towns of Guatemala and Honduras for the benefit of historians, linguists, and anthropologists. *RC*

U. of Nebraska, Lincoln; Kay Graber: \$5,150. To publish notes and transcripts made by John G. Neihardt during his interviews with Black Elk, an Oglala Lakota American Indian holy man, in the early thirties. Anthropologist Raymond J. DeMallie has written the introduction, annotated the interviews, and provided a biography of Black Elk. *RP*

U. of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE; Brian W. Blouet: \$9,671. To hold a symposium on the history of cartography of the North American Plains, drawing on mapmaking by Native Americans, fur traders, amateur explorers, and the great expeditions. *RD*

U. of Nevada, Reno, NV; Yoshi Hendricks: \$64,275. To catalog printed works in the Basque Studies research collection. The collection, the largest of its kind in the U.S., supports research on the history, language, politics, migrations, society, and culture of the Basque people. *RC*
U. of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM; John L. Kessell: \$69,246 OR; \$48,335 FM. To produce a six-volume scholarly translation of the "journals" of Diego de Vargas, governor and colonizer of Spanish New Mexico from 1680 to 1710. *RL*

U. of North Carolina, Greensboro, NC; Bolton A. Anthony: \$92,000. To develop a public lecture-seminar program, a series of six readers, and a series of video-tapes on six topics regarding human values in Western civilization for implementation in North Carolina and for national dissemination. *GP*

U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Thomas A. Reiner: \$9,998. To plan a study which would assess the economic significance of humanities institutions and their involvement in the philanthropic sector in several metropolitan areas. *OP*
U. Press of Kentucky, Lexington, KY; Wm. Jerome Crouch: \$5,223. To publish the first scholarly book on the place names of the state of Kentucky, alphabetically arranged and containing information on the accepted local pronunciation of the place, its location, an account of its founding and of the origin of the name. *RP*

U. of Texas, Austin; Ira R. Buchler: \$3,000 FM. To translate Michel Perrin's *Le Chemin des Indiens Morts*, a study of the mythology and ritual of the Guajiro Indians of Venezuela and Columbia. *RL*

U. of Virginia, Charlottesville; H. Leroy Vail: \$10,000 OR: \$10,000 FM. To hold a conference on the history of tribalism and ethnic awareness in Southern Africa. *RD*

Elizabeth N. Wing: \$2,500 OR: \$8,000 FM. To translate *A Guilty Innocence: Woman as History's Outlaw (La Jeune Nee)* by Catherine Clement and Helene Cixous, a key text of contemporary French feminist theory and literary criticism. *RL*

Language & Linguistics

Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, DC; Donna M. Christina: \$78,986. To conduct a national survey of collections of tape-recorded speech samples of American English and to create a preservation and research collection to be housed at the Library of Congress. *RC*

Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, PA; Betty C. Jutkowitz: \$10,000. To publish Volume I of the first complete linguistic atlas of the Jewish population groups of Europe, based on the design outlined by the late Professor Uriel Weinreich. *RP*

Princeton U., NJ; Hans Aarsleff: \$6,331. To conduct the Third International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences—ICHOLS III—held for the first time in the United States. *RD*
U. of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, HI; Laurence C. Thompson: \$133,757. To augment the staff of the Salish Indian lexicography project. *RT*

U. of Texas, El Paso; Jacob L. Ornstein-Galicia: \$10,000. To conduct a meeting of scholars from the United States, Mexico, and South American to assess the present status and future directions of research in Chicano Spanish dialects. *RD*

Literature

American Oriental Society, New Haven, CT; Fedwa Malti-Douglas: \$30,000. To produce an edition and translation of as-Safadi's Biographical Dictionary of the Blind. *RL*

American Oriental Society, New Haven, CT; Benjamin R. Foster: \$28,500. To produce an annotated translation with commentary of a collection of Akkadian poetry and prose. *RL*

Brown U., Providence, RI; Geoffrey W. Ribbans: \$10,000. To conduct a triennial meeting of the Asociacion Internacional de Hispanistas, to be held for the first time in the United States. *RD*
Jae-hyon Byon, Princeton, NJ: \$26,000. To produce an annotated translation with historical introductions and commentaries of four agricultural treatises of traditional China. *RL*

Carleton College, Northfield, MN; Janet E. Goff: \$24,913. To produce an annotated translation of 11 Japanese No plays written between the 14th and 16th centuries and inspired by the 11th-century prose masterpiece, *The Tale of Genji*. *RL*
Drexel U., Philadelphia, PA; Harold H. Kollmeier: \$67,000. To aid in conversion and processing of data in the preparation of the concordance to the English prose of John Milton. *RT*

Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC; Laetitia Yeandle: \$18,100. To conduct microfilming of some 5,000 manuscripts from a 16th- and 17th-century English theatrical history collection. *RC*

Johns Hopkins U., Baltimore, MD; Jerrold S. Cooper: \$40,793. To produce an annotated translation, with commentary, of Sumerian and Akkadian royal inscriptions. *RL*

William B. Logan, NYC: \$7,663. To produce an annotated translation of three "autos sacramentalis" (dramas of redemption) by Calderon. *RL*
North Carolina State U., Raleigh, NC; James C. VanderKam: \$26,500. To prepare a critical text and translation of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees. *RL*

Northern Illinois U., DeKalb, IL; Marvin A. Powell: \$9,994. To translate M.A. Dandamaev's *Slavery in Babylonia* from Nabopolassar to Alexander the Great (626-331 B.C.), a monograph on slavery during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods of ancient Iraq. *RL*

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies; Thomson Ronald B.: \$4,000. To publish a translation from Arabic into English of the first volume of the al-Isharat of Ibn Sina, or Avicenna (980-1037), an Arabic treatise. *RP*

Princeton Theological Seminary, NJ; Kathleen E. McVey: \$5,420. To produce an annotated translation of the hymns of the fourth-century writer Ephrem the Syrian. *RL*

Stanford U., CA; Leon E. Seltzer: \$9,010. To publish the first complete translation of a collection of early songs and poetry of Nahuatl (Aztec)—of all Indian languages the one with the largest number of speakers and the greatest written tradition. *RP*

Syracuse U. Press, NY; Walda C. Metcalf: To publish a revised edition of the sixteenth-century volume in *A Critical Bibliography of French Literature*, sometimes called "the Larousse of French bibliography." *RP*

Temple U., Philadelphia, PA; Ann T. Matonis: \$56,802. To conduct a research project which will investigate and annotate the alliterative, metrical, and stylistic features of Middle English alliterative poetry. *RO*

Twayne Publishers, Boston, MA; Caroline L. Birdsall: \$2,192. To publish the last volume in *The Selected Letters of William Dean Howells*. *RP*
Twayne Publishers, Boston, MA; Caroline L. Birdsall: \$6,261. To publish *A History of New York*, a volume in the definitive edition of *The Complete Works of Washington Irving*. *RP*

U. of California, Berkeley, CA; Padmanabh S. Jaini: \$22,000. To prepare a critical edition and translation of selected Sanskrit texts from the sixth century A.D. recording a debate between the two major sects of Jainism on the possibility of women attaining spiritual salvation. *RL*

U. of Chicago, IL; Dennis G. Pardee: \$41,517. To produce an annotated translation of the Ugaritic Ritual and Epistolary Texts, 1400-1200 B.C. *RL*

U. of Chicago, IL; David T. Roy: \$37,000. To produce an annotated translation of the 16th-century Chinese novel, *Chin P'ing Mei (A Plum in a Golden Vase)*. *RL*

U. of Chicago, IL; Suzanne P. Stetkevych: \$33,500. To produce an annotated translation of the Syrian poet al Macarri's 11th-century work, *Epistle of Forgiveness: A Literary Excursion to Paradise*. *RL*

U. of Georgia, Athens, GA; Egbert Krispyn: \$23,611 OR; \$30,000 FM. To translate a collection, in six volumes, of 17th-century literature from the Low Countries. *RL*

U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Robert L. Danly: \$35,700. To translate and produce a commentary of two novels by the 17th-century Japanese writer Saikaku: *Worldly Reckoning* and *The Woman Who Lived for Love*. *RL*

U. of Minnesota, Minneapolis MN; Wladyslaw B. Godzich: \$8,876. To conduct a conference examining popular literature and popular culture in Spain, 1500-1700, as a means of revising our notions of literary theory and literary history. *RD*

U. of Minnesota, St. Paul; Lindsay E. Waters: \$3,771. To publish a classic work by Mikhail Bakhtin on Dostoevsky and the novel. *RP*
U. of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE; Willis G. Regier: \$2,882. To publish an analysis of the small scenes in Shakespeare's plays—often cut by directors and overlooked by readers—which demonstrates how these shorter scenes comment on and underscore the longer scenes in their structure and content. *RP*

U. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC; Lewis A. Bateman: \$3,600. To publish a study of the interrelationship between poetic metaphor and religious reflection, using T.S. Eliot's *Four Quartets* as the basis for analysis. *RP*

U. Press of Kentucky, Lexington; Kenneth Cherry: \$2,660. To publish an analysis of Emily Dickinson's poetry which is based on her own ordering of the poems. *RP*

U. of Toronto; Prudence Tracy: \$4,700. To publish a work that argues that contrapasso, or retribution, is a central concept, philosophically and artistically, in Dante's *Hell*. *RP*

U. of Washington, Seattle, WA; Naomi B. Pascal: \$4,000. To publish an analysis of the influence of the Bible on vernacular literature of the late medieval period, which examines morality plays, short lyric poems, and three major works: *The Parliament of Fowls*, *Pearl*, and *Piers the Plowman*. *RP*

Wayne State U., Detroit, MI; Andrea Di Tommaso: \$17,576 OR; \$2,000 FM. To prepare a bilingual annotated edition of the entire lyric poetry of Matteo Maria Boiardo, an Italian writer of the late 15th century. *RL*

Wayne State U., Detroit, MI; Robert B. Winans: \$42,478. To prepare a guide to book catalogs published as advertisements in eighteenth-century U.S. newspapers. *RC*

Winthrop College, Rock Hill, SC; Jack W. Weaver: \$5,259. To conduct a symposium on the present status and future directions of scholarship on the works of William Butler Yeats (d. 1939), drawing on the research of historians and literary scholars. *RD*

Yale U., New Haven, CT; Jonathan D. Spence: \$52,000. To translate the letters of Lian Ch'i-ch'ao, an important political reformer and intellectual in modern China's history. *RL*

Philosophy

Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; Norman Kretzmann: \$55,783. To produce an annotated translation of medieval philosophical texts. *RL*

Illinois State U., Normal, IL; Kenneth C. Kennard: \$4,970. To conduct a research conference on the philosophical work of Alan Donagan (U. of Chicago) because his work is broad, current, and prominent in several areas of contemporary philosophy. *RD*

Indiana U., Bloomington, IN; John Gallman: \$7,845. To publish volume 2 in the comprehensive, chronological edition of the writings of Charles Sanders Peirce, whose scholarly contributions range from mathematics, chemistry, and astronomy to philosophy, logic, and semiotics. *RP*

Memphis State U., Memphis, TN; J. Harvey Lomax: \$25,000. To translate Karl Lowith's treatise, *Nietzsche's Philosophy of the Eternal Return of the Same*. *RL*

Princeton U. Press, NJ; Sanford G. Thatcher: \$4,600. To publish a study of Socrates' political views as presented in Plato's early dialogues, suggesting that Socrates' position is less authoritarian and far more cogent than scholars have thought. *RP*

Saint John's College, Santa Fe, NM; Keith Hoeller: \$14,500. To produce an annotated translation of Heidegger's *Elucidations of Holderlin's Poetry*. *RL*

Scholars Press, Chico, CA; D. Davis Perkins, Jr.: \$3,000. To publish a commentary and exegesis on two treatises of Philo, which has been produced by an interdisciplinary and international team of scholars. *RP*

U. of California, Riverside, CA; Ernst Behler: \$100,000. To produce an edition and translation of Nietzsche's writings, Section 1: *The Early Period, 1869-1889* (3 vols.). *RL*

U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Joseph C. Miller, Jr.: \$23,550. To produce a transcription and translation of a Rajastani oral religious epic, with an accompanying pictorial scroll. *RL*

U. Press of New England, Hanover, NH; Alexander Altmann: \$3,760. To produce a translation and edition of Moses Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem*, as well as the translation of a German introduction and commentary on the text. *RL*

Vanderbilt U., Nashville, TN; Peter C. Hodgson: \$51,000 OR; \$31,200 FM. To produce an edition and translation of G.W.F. Hegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*. *RL*

Religion

Princeton U., NJ; Helen Hardacre: \$10,000. To conduct a conference on the scriptural sources and history of the cult of the future Buddha (Maitreya), focusing on the textual traditions and their relation to various Buddhist schools, movements, and works of art. *RD*

U. of California, Santa Barbara, CA; Birger A. Pearson: \$10,000 OR; \$20,000 FM. To conduct a conference as part of the groundwork for a collaborative research project on the history of Christianity in Egypt until the Arab conquest. *RD*

Social Science

Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI; Cynthia A. Timberlake: \$50,000. To augment the arrangement and description of significant records of the 19th- and 20th-century Hawaiian sugar industry. *RC*

Brookings Institution, Washington, DC; Laura P. Walker: \$44,773. To augment the preparation and archival processing of a guide to the documentary collection of an institution that has played a significant role in 20th-century American public policy formation. *RC*

James Jerome Hill Reference Library, St. Paul, MN; W. Thomas White: \$52,572. To produce a microfilm of James Jerome Hill's personal business correspondence, which span the years 1866-1916 and documents a major aspect of America's commercial history. *RC*

Johns Hopkins U., Baltimore, MD; Henry Y. K. Tom: \$3,900. To publish a study of the United States Constitution from the perspective of the informed citizen who seeks a coherent basis for accepting its authority. *RP*

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN; Lydia A. Lucas: \$16,180. To organize and produce a description of the records of a major beet sugar processing company, 1899-1972, an important American agricultural business. *RC*

Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, MA; Virginia M. Adams: \$8,120. To augment the archival processing of an unusually complete collection of papers documenting the business ventures of a New England mercantile family, 1764-1897. *RC*

U. of Illinois, Urbana, IL; Cary R. Nelson: \$10,000. To conduct a conference on Marxist theory as an interpretive theory in relation to more recent literary and cultural theories of interpretation. *RD*

Challenge Grants

American Research Center in Egypt, Inc., NYC; Paul E. Walker: \$200,000. To support the building of operating and program endowments. *CS*

American Society of International Law, Washington, DC; John L. Hargrove: \$500,000. To support expansion of a permanent working endowment. *CO*

Amherst College, MA; Mary C. Bateson: \$850,000. To support an endowment for the non-Western studies program. *CC*

Appalshop, Inc., Whitesburg, KY; Katharine K. Pearson: \$225,000. To support renovation, retire debts, and support humanities programming. *CX*

Archaeological Institute of America, NYC; Eugene L. Sterud: \$575,000. To support expansion of a humanities program endowment. *CO*

Augustana College, Sioux Falls, SD; Chester B. Whitney: \$400,000. To support building an endowment for the Center for Western Studies, Library and academic chairs. *CC*

Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, Philadelphia, PA; M. Mark Stolarik: \$250,000. To support expansion of the current endowment for the archives and library. *CA*

Bucknell U., Lewisburg, PA; Frances D. Fergusson: \$800,000. To support library renovation and a humanities endowment. *CC*

Chatham College, Pittsburgh, PA; William L. Dillon: \$500,000. To support an increase in the humanities endowment. *CC*

Cherokee National Historical Society, Tahlequah, OK; A. Eugene Hileman: \$300,000. To support development of a permanent exhibition and exhibition endowment. *CH*

Children's Museum of Oak Ridge, Inc., TN; Selma K. Shapiro: \$150,000. To support building expansion and to establish endowment for education programs. *CA*

CUNY Queens College, Flushing, NY; Marvin Rich: \$300,000. To support an endowment for a visiting scholars program. *CC*

Colby College, Waterville, ME; Stanley A. Nicholson: \$750,000. To support renovation and acquisitions for the college library. *CC*

College of New Rochelle, NY; Sarah N. Leonard: \$100,000. To support establishment of an endowment for faculty development. *CC*

College of our Lady of the Elms, Chicopee, MA; Mary A. Dooley, SSJ: \$250,000. To support expansion of a humanities endowment. *CC*

College of Saint Rose, Albany, NY; Patricia Hayes: \$244,309. To support library renovation and an acquisition endowment. *CC*

College of Saint Scholastica, Duluth, MN; Janet S. Rosen: \$73,500. To support acquisition of new library equipment and furnishings. *CC*

College of Santa Fe, NM; Paul E. Kaylor: \$100,000.

To support library renovation and endowment expansion. *CC*

Columbia College, SC; William E. Lampton: \$150,000. To support establishment of a humanities endowment fund. *CC*

Concord Free Public Library, MA; Rose Marie Mitten: \$150,000. To support renovation and expansion of present library facilities. *CQ*

Connecticut College, New London; David F. Edwards: \$400,000. To support renovation and the establishment of a chair in the humanities. *CC*

Converse College, Spartansburg, SC; Frederick F. Ritsch, Jr.: \$250,000. To support renovation and establish endowments for faculty development, library acquisitions, and visiting scholars. *CC*

Cortland County Historical Society, NY; Leslie C. O'Malley: \$5,000. To support renovation of a historic house. *CH*

Educational Communications Board, Madison, WI; Joan Zieger: \$361,717. To support promotion and development of humanities programs. *CB*

Fine Arts Museums Foundation, San Francisco, CA; Harold Kaufman: \$400,000. To support establishment of a humanities program endowment. *CA*

Fort Point & Army Museum Association, San Francisco, CA; Mitchell P. Postel: \$30,000. To support professional staffing and program development. *CA*

Fraunces Tavern Museum, NYC; Christine M. Miles: \$200,000. To support renovation and establishment of a program endowment. *CA*

Friends of the Islamorada Branch Library, Inc., FL; Edison E. Archer: \$10,000. To support the addition of new space to the existing library. *CQ*

History of Science Society, Cambridge, MA; Gerald Holton: \$80,000. To support establishment of an endowment for publications. *CO*

Huntington Historical Society, NY; Gay Wagner: \$128,562. To support establishment of an operating endowment and retire capital debt. *CH*

Johns Hopkins U., Baltimore, MD; Jack G. Goellner: \$250,000. To support initiation of an endowment for humanities. *CP*

Linguistic Society of America, Washington, DC; Victoria A. Fromkin: \$75,000. To support establishment of a permanent fund for publications and programs. *CO*

Los Angeles Library Association, CA; Sheila Grether: \$500,000. To support replacement of collections destroyed by fire. *CQ*

Los Angeles Co. Museum of National Historical Foundation, CA; Craig C. Black: \$750,000. To support renovation and development of the history and anthropology collections. *CA*

Louisa May Alcott Memorial Association, Concord, MA; Jayne K. Gordon: \$30,000. To support restoration of an historic house. *CH*

Loyola College, Baltimore, MD; David F. Roswell: \$500,000. To support establishing an endowment for visiting professorships and programs. *CC*

Mahoning Valley Historical Society, Youngstown, OH; Patricia W. Cummins: \$30,000. To support purchasing storage units and establishing an archives endowment. *CH*

Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; J. Fife Symington, Jr.: \$600,000. To support an endowment for professional positions in the museum and library. *CH*

Mattatuck Museum, Waterbury, CT; Ann Y. Smith: \$250,000. To support renovation and the development of an exhibition endowment. *CA*

Meadville Public Library, PA; Alice Gertzog: \$25,000. To support expansion of the children's library and add to the present collection. *CQ*

Millsaps College, Jackson, MS; William W. Franklin: \$300,000. To support an endowment for humanities programs and a visiting professorship. *CC*

Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; Raymond F. Pisney: \$750,000. To support an increase in an endowment for programs and operations. *CH*

Monroe County Public Library, Monroeville, AL; Ann W. Pridgen: \$100,000. To support acquisition and conversion of a former hotel as a new library site. *CQ*

Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, MT; Michael W. Hager: \$300,000. To support establishment of an endowment for acquisitions and collections maintenance. *CA*

Muskingum College, New Concord, OH; Daniel E. Van Tassel: \$213,350. To support a library endowment and library acquisitions. *CC*

92nd Street YM-YWHA, NYC; John S. Ruskay: \$500,000. To support establishment of a humanities endowment for continuing education programs. *CX*

Northeast Document Conservation Center, Andover, MA; Ann E. Russell: \$180,000. To support establishment of an endowment for educational and conservation programs. *CX*

Ohio State U. Research Foundation, Columbus;

William J. Studer: \$260,000. To support endowment of the compilation and editing of the Hilander Collection of Medieval Slavic Manuscripts. *CU*

Pace U., NYC; Joseph E. Houle: \$300,000. To support a chair in philosophy and endow faculty development. *CU*

Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum, Canyon, TX: \$95,000. To support the purchase of technical equipment for conservation of paper, paintings and artifacts. *CA*

Paul Quinn College, Waco, TX; Brenda A. Rorie: \$150,000. To support renovation and expansion of a humanities endowment. *CC*

Poricy Park, Middletown, NJ; Patricia L. Contreras: \$30,000. To support development and endowment of permanent education programs. *CH*

Reading Public Library, MA; Barbara M. Nelson: \$50,000. To support conversion of an old school for library use and increase acquisitions fund. *CQ*

Rocky Mount Historical Association, Piney Flats, TN; E. Alvin Gerhardt, Jr.: \$65,000. To support initiation of a development program and education programs. *CH*

Rutgers U., New Brunswick, NJ; Hendrik Edelman: \$330,000. To support establishment of an endowment for library acquisitions and undertake collection conservation. *CU*

Saint John's College, Kansas; Gordon W. Beckler: \$150,000. To support an endowment for the college library and faculty. *CC*

Saint Joseph's College, Rensselaer, IN; Inge Erickson: \$400,000. To support establishment of an endowment for a core humanities program. *CC*

St. Louis Public Library, MO; Joan Collett: \$250,000. To support repair and renovation of the main library. *CQ*

Saint Louis U., MO; John H. Gray: \$500,000. To support an increase in the humanities endowment for faculty development, academic chairs, and library acquisitions. *CU*

Saint Norbert College, De Pere, WI; Donald Salmon: \$400,000. To support renovation and humanities programs. *CC*

San Diego Historical Society, CA; Richard R. Esparza: \$250,000. To support completion of the conversion of an exhibitions building. *CH*

School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM; Douglas W. Schwartz: \$250,000. To support expansion of an endowment for humanities programs. *CS*

Shaker Community, Inc., Pittsfield, MA; John H. Ott: \$250,000. To support establishment of endowments for maintenance programs, and the library. *CA*

Simon's Rock of Bard College, Great Barrington, MA; Robert Ackerman: \$150,000. To support establishment of an endowment for faculty development. *CC*

Society for Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, MA; Nancy R. Coolidge: \$750,000. To support development of an endowment for education staff and programs, capital repairs, and collections development. *CH*

Susquehanna U., Selinsgrove, PA; Homer W. Weider: \$200,000. To support endowments for visiting professorships, library acquisitions, and foreign language laboratory. *CC*

Temple U., Philadelphia, PA; Joseph A. Boisse: \$750,000. To support establishment of an endowment for library acquisitions. *CU*

Trinity U., San Antonio, TX; Richard H. Werking: \$300,000. To support establishment of an endowment for humanities acquisitions for the university libraries. *CU*

Tufts U., Medford, MA; Jean Mayer: \$750,000. To support establishment of an endowment for library acquisitions and collections maintenance. *CU*

U. of California, Berkeley; James H. Elliott: \$100,000. To support establishment of a permanent fund for the Pacific Film Archive. *CA*

U. of Houston, TX; James H. Pickering: \$750,000. To support establishment of endowments for faculty development, curriculum, and library acquisitions. *CU*

U. of Kansas, Lawrence; George W. Woodyard: \$1,000,000. To support establishment of endowments for library acquisitions and for the Center for Humanistic Studies. *CU*

U. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Samuel R. Williamson, Jr.: \$750,000. To support establishment of a humanities endowment for summer institutes and fellowships for high school teachers, university faculty development, and library acquisitions. *CU*

U. of the Pacific, Stockton, CA; Hiram L. Davis: \$600,000. To support renovation and reorganization of the college library. *CU*

U. of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia; Maurice English: \$75,000. To support establishment of an endowment for new humanities texts. *CP*

U. of Washington, Seattle; Patricia P. Auguszty: \$289,000. To support broadcast programming

in the humanities. CB
 U. Press of New England, Hanover, NH; Thomas L. McFarland: \$90,000. To support establishment of an endowment for humanities publications. CP
 Valley Forge Historical Society, PA; Meade Jones: \$75,000. To support renovation, curatorial assistance, conservation, and an endowment. CH
 Valparaiso U., IN; Gary A. Greinke: \$250,000. To support an endowment for library acquisitions and chairs in history and American Literature. CC
 Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond; David B. Bradley: \$375,000. To support endowment for exhibitions and programs. CA
 Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, MN; Martin Friedman: \$600,000. To support renovation and develop an endowment for humanities programs. CA
 Warren Wilson College, Swannanoa, NC; Robert F. Yeager: \$375,000. To support establishment of a humanities endowment. CC
 Wayne State U., Detroit, MI; Joanne V. Creighton: \$500,000. To support establishment of a humanities endowment for programs. CU
 Westville Historic Handicrafts, Inc., Lumpkin, GA; Matthew M. Moye: \$125,000. To support an endowment for operations. CH

Capital letters following each grant show the division and the program through which the grant was made.
Planning and Policy Assessment
 OP Planning and Assessment Studies
General Programs
 GP Program Development
 GY Youthgrants
 GZ Youth Projects
 GL Libraries Humanities Projects
 GM Museums and Historical Organizations Humanities Projects
 GN Media Humanities Projects
Research Programs
 AV Humanities, Science and Technology
 RC Research Resources
 RD Research Conferences
 RE Editions
 RI Intercultural Research
 RL Translations
 RO Basic Research
 RP Publications
 RS State, Local and Regional Studies
 RT Research Tools
 RV Conservation and Preservation

(Immigration, continued)
 by Jews of central European lineage, attempted to protect the civil rights of all Jews in the United States and abroad.
 Although the Jewish presence on the American scene may have been somewhat more visible than the impressions made by the other ethnic minorities, the impact of the immigrants cannot even be compared to the overwhelming changes the new society forced upon them. The United States transformed the offspring of the Europeans to a much greater extent than the foreigners affected America. The newcomers had to drop their languages and, in many cases, cherished family traditions before Americans would accept them. New York City School Superintendent Julia Richman succinctly expressed the prevailing phi-

losophy in 1905 when she said that the immigrants "must be made to realize that in forsaking the land of their birth, they were also forsaking the customs and traditions of that land; and they must be made to realize an obligation, in adopting a new country, to adopt the language and customs of that country." What is revealing from today's perspective is that most of the children and grandchildren of the immigrants of yesterday had no qualms in shedding their ancestors' cultural baggage in order to become full-fledged Americans. For them, the promise of America was to become Americans, not transplanted Europeans.
 —Leonard Dinnerstein
 Mr. Dinnerstein is a professor of history at the University of Arizona. His most recent book is *America and the Survivors of the Holocaust*.

Coming in the next issue:

Where Are the Humanities in the Current School Debate?

WILLIAM BAKER

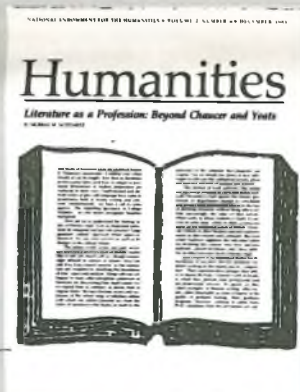
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4

12

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21



16

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- 3 Editor's Notes
- 11 Grant Application Deadlines
- 23 Letters to the Editor
- 24 Recent NEH Grant Awards
- 27 How to subscribe to *Humanities*

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