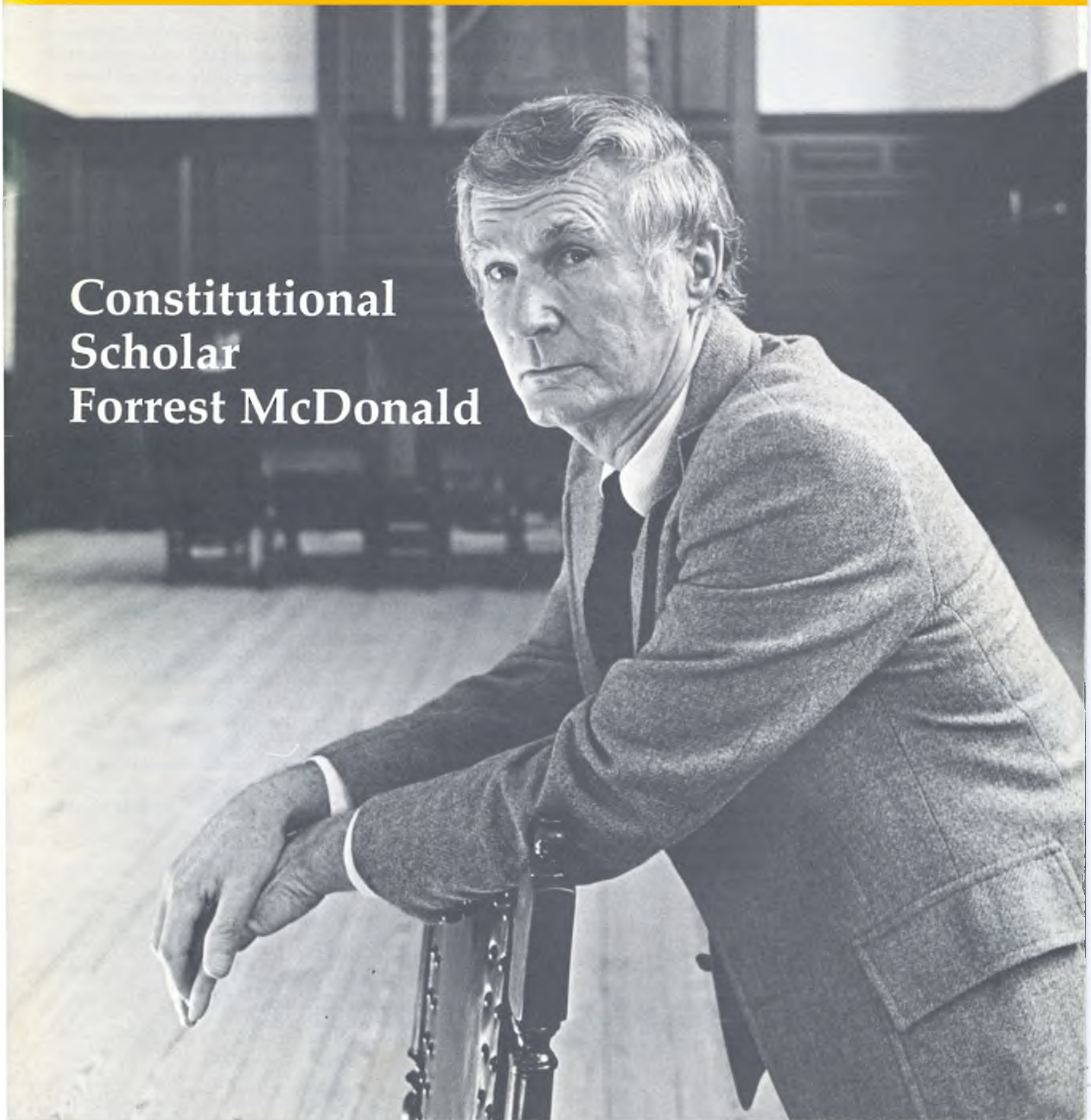
Humanities

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES • VOLUME 8 NUMBER 2 • MARCH/APRIL 1987



Constitutional Scholar Forrest McDonald

Humanities

Forrest McDonald, author of Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution, *is the 1987 Jefferson Lecturer in the Humanities. A professor of history at the University of Alabama, Dr. McDonald has taught at Brown and Wayne State universities and at the College of William and Mary.* Photograph by C. James Gleason

***Humanities* is a bimonthly review published by the National Endowment for the Humanities**

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Editor's Notes

The Jefferson Lecture

Constitutional scholar Forrest McDonald will deliver the sixteenth Jefferson Lecture in the Humanities on May 6 in Washington, D.C., and on May 13 at the University of Kansas in Lawrence. The highest honor conferred by the U.S. government for outstanding achievement in the humanities, the Lecture was established by the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1972 as an opportunity for outstanding thinkers to talk about ideas in a public forum. Dr. McDonald, a professor of history at the University of Alabama, who has written nine books on the U.S. Constitution and the founding period, will talk about the intellectual world of the founders, a world where the public discussion of ideas was frequent and popular.

Throughout his career, Forrest McDonald has sought to explain how the founders arrived at the system of representative, limited government that continues to safeguard personal rights and to promote individual achievement. He has explored the ideas that the early statesmen derived from Enlightenment philosophy and classical government, from their experiences as British subjects and as revolutionaries, from the economic conditions of the period, and from their individual beliefs and aspirations. Some of these areas of study are represented in this issue of *Humanities.*

The founders debated their ideas about the methods and principles of governing through brilliant political essays. These debates are discussed in this issue in "The Anti-Federalists vs. the Federalists," a pair of essays by political scientists W. Carey McWilliams of Rutgers University and Thomas L. Pangle of the University of Toronto, which demonstrate that the exchange of ideas about government is ongoing in American political life.

"Whenever the people are well-informed," Thomas Jefferson wrote from Paris in 1789, "they can be trusted with their own government." Since 1982, the Endowment has supported more than 350 projects with approximately $22 million to encourage studies of the Constitution so that Americans will be well informed about their government. The 1987 Jefferson Lecture in the Humanities is a part of that effort. The award recognizes the combination of intellectual vitality and social concern exemplified by Thomas Jefferson. Previous Jefferson lecturers have been Leszek Kolakowski, Cleanth Brooks, Sidney Hook, Jaroslav Pelikan, Emily T. Vermeule, Gerald Holton, Barbara Tuchman, Edward Shils, C. Vann Woodward, Saul Bellow, John Hope Franklin, Paul A. Freund, Robert Penn Warren, Erik H. Erikson, and Lionel Trilling.

—**Linda Blanken**

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FORREST McDONALD

BY LINDA BLANKEN

FORREST McDONALD, who bears an uncanny physical resemblance to Patrick Henry, talks about the American founders in a voice some men use when they're remembering an uncle or older friend of the family. He is affectionate, respectful, amused by their weaknesses, and somewhat awed by their accomplishments. He smiles at the vanity that kept George Washington's spectacles a secret from all except his aides-de-camp. He often ends a story about the general's strength as a leader with a fervent, Texan "Gawd!" that survived twenty years of his teaching in the North (at Brown University in Providence, then at Wayne State University in Detroit).

On May 6 in Washington, D.C., and on May 13 at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, McDonald, who is now professor of history at the University of Alabama, will speak more formally about the founders, as he delivers the Sixteenth Annual Jefferson Lecture in the Humanities. The lecture is the highest honor awarded by the federal government for scholarship in the humanities and is conferred by the National Endowment for the Humanities. McDonald will speak about the intellectual world of the founders, where he has spent most of the past thirty years, "with only occasional excursions into the twentieth century," he says. McDonald practices history through immersion.

One of three finalists for the 1986 Pulitzer Prize in History for *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution* (University Press of Kansas, 1985)—his third interpretive history of the Constitution—McDonald won the Fraunces Tavern Book Award for his biography of Alexander Hamilton in 1980 and has published books about the presidencies of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

He first took up residence in the eighteenth century during research for his doctoral degree in history, which he received from the University of Texas, Austin, in 1955. He was inspired by an argument between two professors at the university over the Beard thesis. An eminent historian, Charles Beard had published *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (Macmillan Company, 1913), which demonstrated to the satisfaction of many that the drafters of the Constitution were a property-holding interest group who wrote the document in such a way as to derive personal economic advantage. Beard contended that the ratifiers of the Constitution were "merchants, money lenders, security holders, manufacturers, shippers, capitalists, and financiers," and that its opponents were "non-slaveholding farmers and debtors." McDonald would later dismantle the Beard thesis in his first work on the Constitution, *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (University of Chicago Press, 1958), but as a student in Texas, he recalls, he realized "that if people like these could disagree over something as fundamental as the Constitution, well, I was in uncharted territory."

McDonald earned his master's degree in 1949 with a study of Beard's book and was then directed by his dissertation adviser, Fulmer Mood (to whom *We the People* is dedicated), to read the vast body of primary material that led to the events in 1787.

"Fulmer told me, 'You cannot understand the Constitution by starting in 1787,'" McDonald remembers. "'You've got to go back at least to the 1760s and get a lo-o-o-ng running look at it.' So under his guidance for a year or two I read enormous quantities. I read every statute passed by the British Parliament. I read all the debates in the Parliament between 1763 and 1787. I read all the proceedings of all the state legislatures, and I read all the statutes enacted by all the legislatures. I did this before I set out on the road."

Sources not subjects

This process of immersion is, says McDonald, one of the guards that historians construct against bias. "You study sources, not subjects," McDonald says. "And you don't frame a question, you don't frame a hypothesis, you don't frame a theory until you have exhausted the reading material. You don't even ask questions of the sources; they'll tell you after a while what the questions are. I don't start out investigating a subject; I start out investigating material."

McDonald practices what he teaches. Students in his seminars at the University of Alabama, some of which he teaches with his wife, Ellen Shapiro McDonald, are introduced immediately to Max Farrand's *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (Yale University Press, 1967, 1987). At the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, where McDonald is filling a one-year appointment as the James Pinckney Harrison Professor of History, his students read not only the Convention debates, but Hamilton's and Jefferson's opinions on the constitu-

Linda Blanken is editor of Humanities.

tionality of the Bank of the United States, portions of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, Marshall's decisions on *Marbury* v. *Madison*, *Gibbons* v. *Ogden*, and *Cohens* v. *Virginia*, and selections from the Virginia and Massachusetts bills of rights.

The McDonalds surprised their seminar students last semester by assigning a research project that specified the materials but not the subject. "We told them to pick a state," says Ellen McDonald, "and to read everything in the newspaper files for that state, from 1783 forward to 1787. 'But what's the topic?' they asked. 'No topic,' we said. 'But what are we looking for?' they asked. 'Just read the whole file,' we told them, 'then come back and we'll talk about what you've read.'

"They all said it was the hardest assignment they'd ever had," she smiles, "but every one of them produced a good paper."

Still, in the interest of efficiency, doesn't the mature historian impose some direction on the material? Is research not selective reading?

McDonald answers flatly, "No."

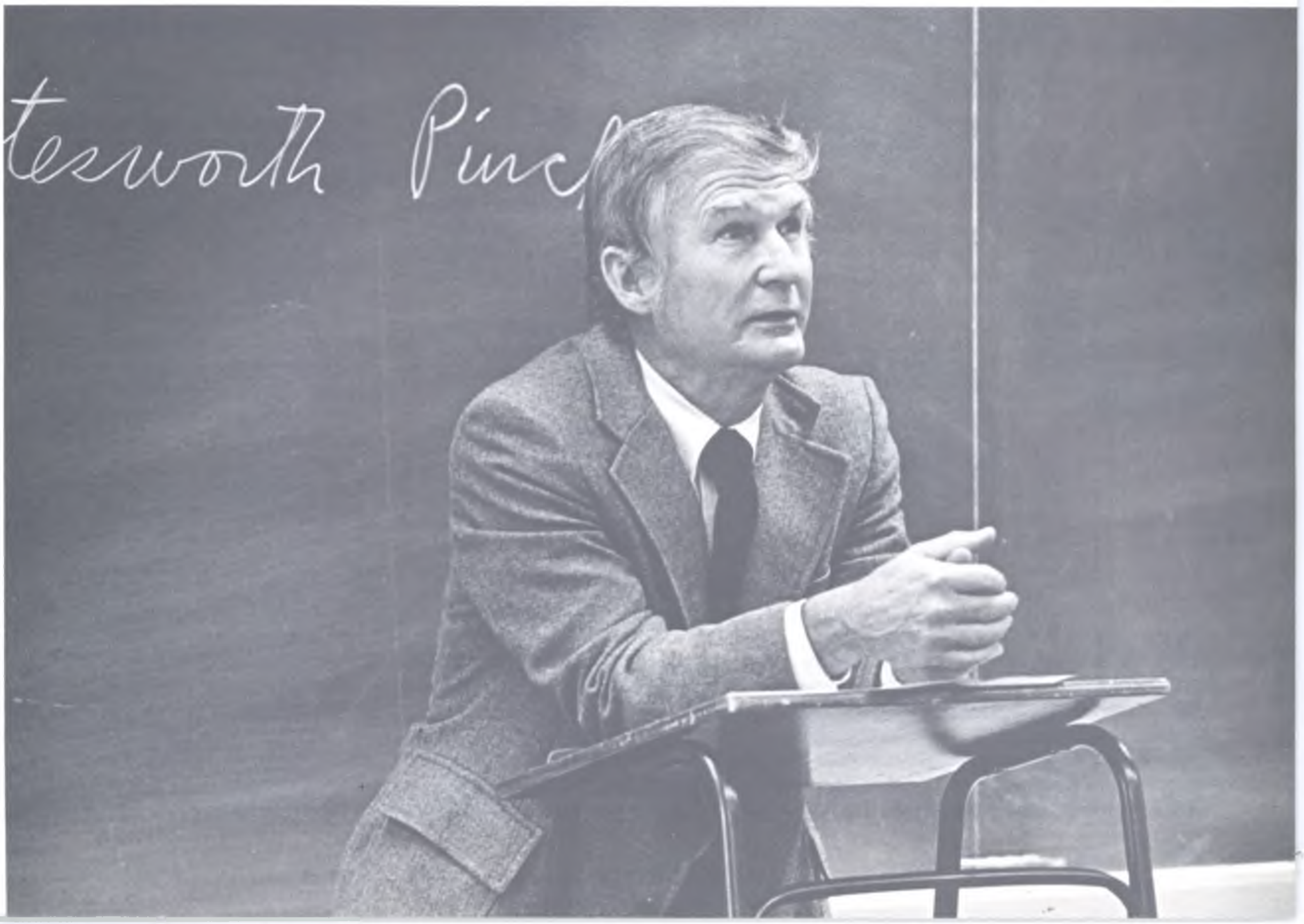
He adds, "The direction that my research on the eighteenth century took was that after having read everything related to eighteenth-century history that I could find in Austin, Texas, I drove to Atlanta, Georgia, and went through everything they had in the state archives there that was in any way related. And then I drove to Savannah, to the historical society, and I read all the newspapers they've got there. And then I drove to Columbia, then I drove to Charleston, then I drove to Raleigh, ..."

Among the formal acknowledgments in the preface to *We the People* is a recognition of the Chrysler Corporation and the UAW-CIO for the Plymouth automobile, which "uncomplainingly carried me the equivalent of thrice around the globe in my search for data."

With two consecutive grants from the Social Science Research Council, McDonald spent two years (1951–53) combing the state archives and historical societies on the east coast, as well as the U.S. Library of Congress and the National Archives.

In the thirty years since, the books that have drawn on this research have earned McDonald a reputation that M.E. Bradford describes in a recent *National Review* as "magisterial." *We the People, The Anti-Federalists, 1781–1789* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1963), *E Pluribus Unum: The Formation of the American Republic, 1776–1790* (Houghton Mifflin, 1965, reprinted by Liberty Press, Indianapolis, 1979), *Enough Wise Men: The Story of Our Constitution* (Putnam, 1971), *The Presidency of George Washington* (University Press of Kansas, 1974), *The Presidency of Thomas Jefferson* (University Press of Kansas, 1976), *Alexander Hamilton: A Biography* (Norton, 1980), and *Novus Ordo Seclorum* form a body of work that makes McDonald one of the nation's foremost authorities on the early national period of American history.

Consequently, McDonald is on the road again. Because of the interest in the Constitution as the bicentennial



Photograph by C. James Gleason

approaches, McDonald lectured at fourteen different campuses last fall. He has a similar schedule for spring and next fall, and, to make sure that McDonald would be available to lecture this September 17, the two-hundreth anniversary of the signing, Murray State University in Kentucky invited him three years ago. Next year, the University Press of Kansas will publish the collected lectures.

The Trilogy on the Constitution

Through a complex, state-by-state and delegate-by-delegate analysis of the economic interests that competed in and among the diverse territories of the thirteen states during the 1780s, McDonald concludes in *We the People* that "it is not even theoretically possible to devise a single set of alignments on the issue of ratification that would explain the contest as one in which economic self-interest was the principal motivating force." He undertook the study, he wrote, "to clear the decks" and proposed at the same time to follow his first book "with two more, in which I shall attempt to write something meaningful about the making of the Constitution." *We the People* ends with the following hypothesis:

A fourth possible economic interpretation of the making of the Constitution is that it was the expression of the prevailing popular ideology of the socially desirable or normal relationship between government and economy. This ideology did not necessarily coincide with the philosophical systems of theorists and other thinkers, but was rather a broad mosaic of folk values, assumptions, myths, and ideals, a vaguely defined mold which ordinary individuals unconsciously used as a frame of reference in judging whether any proposed political or economic action was acceptable.

Few will be disposed to deny the existence of such a general mold of popular opinion, but it may seem difficult or impossible to reduce it to concrete terms.

The hypothesis anticipates the third work in the trilogy, and, as difficult or impossible as it may have seemed to reduce the "general mold of popular opinion" to concrete terms, this is, in fact, one of the achievements of *Novus Ordo Seclorum.* The book explores how the multitude of competing, intersecting, and overlapping "principles and interests," as McDonald calls them, interact with "lessons of experience" and political compromise to form "a new order for the ages."

In *Novus Ordo Seclorum* McDonald reviews English common and parliamentary law, which contributed to the several ideas of property and liberty, among other concepts, that the framers brought to the Convention. He also describes the systems of political theory that many Americans had learned from John Locke, David Hume, Montesquieu, Jean Jacques Burlamaqui, Sir James Steuart, Emmerich de Vattel, and Niccolo Machiavelli.

As preparation for writing *Novus Ordo Seclorum,* McDonald read everything that the eighteenth-century American politician would have read. His research for the biography of Alexander Hamilton gave him a head start on this project.

"I had been struck by the fact that Hamilton gives credit to people from whom he gets ideas. Most eighteenth-century people do not. Benjamin Franklin declares that men are ruled by ambition and avarice, as if he coined the thought. So I decided to read everything Hamilton had read. That's a pretty good list.

"Only two authorities are cited in the debates of the Convention—Montesquieu, a handful of times, and Blackstone, once. But by the time I wrote *Novus,* I could go through those speeches and tell you what book the words are coming from," says McDonald, pointing to a well-worn stack of volumes of the *Records of the Convention.*

A distinctive feature of McDonald's interpretation of political theory is the discussion of the sources and characteristics of the several kinds of American republicanism:

Speaking broadly, even grossly, one may characterize American schools of republican thought as being in two categories: those which reduced their principles into systems or ideologies, and those which did not. Those which did—again speaking broadly, for there were shades and overlappings, and the substantive differences are clearly visible only at the extremes—may likewise be characterized in two categories. One, the more nearly classical, may be described as puritan; the other, the more modern, may be described as agrarian.

The motto from the Great Seal of the United States, *E Pluribus Unum,* is the title of Forrest McDonald's second book on the Constitution, which describes the political maneuvering behind the ratification of the Constitution. (opposite) The title of his latest book is taken from the reverse of the Great Seal, *Novus Ordo Seclorum*—a new order for the ages.

McDonald defines the "filters" that helped shape American opinions about government as "local traditions, prejudices, and circumstances that predisposed people in the various parts of the country to choose selectively among the sources of their ideas." This is an idea also underlying the controversial "Celtic thesis," which has provoked arguments among historians since McDonald and Grady McWhiney, then also a professor of history at the University of Alabama, published an essay called "The South from Self-sufficiency to Peonage" in *The American Historical Review* in 1980. Historians have taken issue with the claim that the traditional practices and culture of Celtic herdsmen must form part of any interpretation of the American South, because the South was largely populated by these people.

Theory and Experience

In a previous work, *E Pluribus Unum*, McDonald had asserted that "writing the Constitution had been a great achievement in practical, not theoretical, politics." In *Novus Ordo Seclorum* he reaffirms that sentiment, yet develops more fully the blend of idea and experience.

McDonald explains the nature of the influence of theory on the framers as he discusses their "lessons of experience" from 1776 to 1787: "Various of the ideas and ideals that we have been considering served as guides to the Patriots of Seventy-six, and during the eleven years after the Declaration of Independence they also served as prisms through which public events were perceived." His discussion of the compromise proposal that made acceptable John Dickinson's plan of mixed government illustrates the combination of practical and theoretical politics that produced the Constitution. He first classifies the delegates by the political theorists they invoked to justify their positions on the nature of the legislature. He then notes "that if the convention was not to end in failure, a compromise must be worked out and/or extraordinary means of persuasion must be applied." The "extraordinary means of persuasion" employed to bring about the writing and ratification of the Constitution are described in the second book in the trilogy, *E Pluribus Unum*.

Although several reviewers dubbed this 1965 study of the wheeling and dealing among the founders "neo-Beardian," McDonald's book is a narrative history that tells a story not only of political intrigue, but of virtue and vision. Of the ratification in Pennsylvania, for example, McDonald writes that people "were in a mood to vote their pride, not their pocketbooks. In 1786 the anti-Morris [Anti-Federalist] faction had sought to do them the favor of exempting them from taxes, a favor that had the incidental (if not the primary) aim of depriving them of the vote. The nationalists saw to the repeal of this measure, and though repeal cost the artisans and mechanics money, it restored their right to vote and won their loyalty. In the election on the Constitution they showed that loyalty: the Federalists won by the overwhelming margin of 1,198 votes to 160." Moreover, at the conclusion of the book, McDonald points to a factor in the creation of the Constitution that had little to do with political schemes or economic considerations. It might have been otherwise, McDonald writes, "but there were giants in the earth in those days, and they spoke in the name of the nation, and the people followed them."

Hamilton and the Heroes

It is something of an irony, McDonald admits, that he has been named the *Jefferson* Lecturer in the Humanities, "since I am the last unreconstructed Hamiltonian Federalist living." His interest in Hamilton is a natural combination of two directions that McDonald pursued early in his career: eighteenth-century history and twentieth-century finance.

McDonald's first position after graduation from the University of Texas was that of a researcher on the Public Utility History Project for the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. From this work, he published his first book, *Let There Be Light: The Electric Utility Industry in Wisconsin, 1881–1955* (American History Research Center, 1957). In the process, he became fascinated by Samuel Insull, an Englishman who progressed from Thomas Edison's secretary to a magnate of the public utilities industry in the United States. So McDonald wrote the biography, *Insull* (University of Chicago Press, 1962).

"Once you've been through Samuel Insull's finances, other finances become easy," says McDonald. "As it turned out, the studies I did of twentieth-century business and economic history complemented my interest in the eighteenth century, particularly in terms of understanding the ungodly complicated public finances following the Revolution. The work on Insull made it possible for me to do the Hamilton biography and an intermediate project, the book on the presidency of Washington, in which I had to work out the implications of Hamiltonianism."

In addition to reading everything that Hamilton had read, McDonald also read all that he had written and that had been written to him. He did this in the course of reviewing for the *William and Mary Quarterly* all twenty-six volumes of *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* as they were published.

McDonald's interpretation of Hamilton's life is based on an eighteenth-century practice that McDonald says he will treat more fully in the Jefferson Lecture. Early Americans chose a public role or character and shaped their lives accordingly. McDonald's Hamilton resembles a character that he would have read about in the memoirs of Jacques Necker, the finance minister for Louis XVI. McDonald quotes Necker:

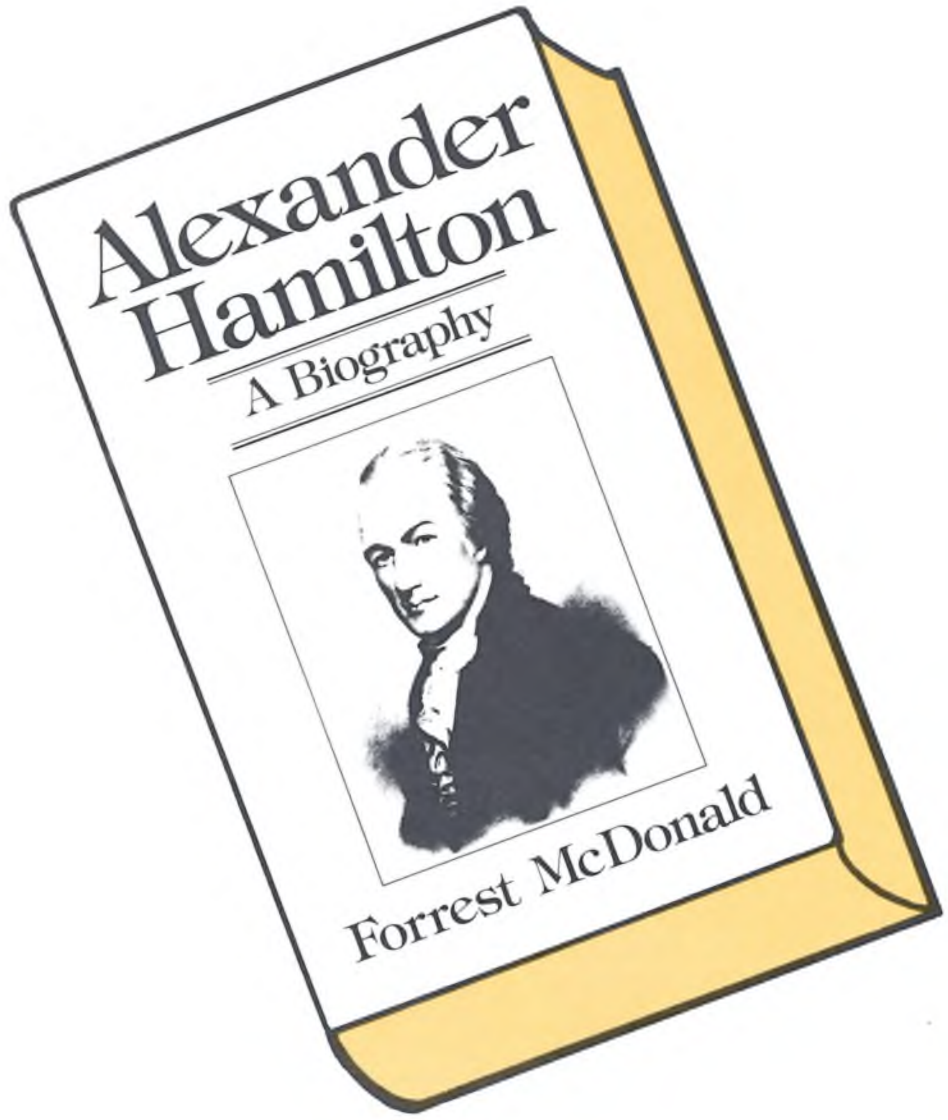
There are men whose zeal ought not to be cooled: such are those who being conscious that they are qualified for great things, have a noble thirst for glory; who being impelled by the force of their genius, feel themselves too confined within the narrow limits of common occupations; and those, more especially, who being early struck with the idea of the public good, meditate on it, and make it the most important business of their lives.

In McDonald's view, part of the process of writing history is unconscious or intuitive. He refers to this belief in the preface to *E Pluribus Unum,* where he describes the "three phases of the historian's cerebral processes":

The first of these, ingesting, is systematic and logical: one utilizes one's training to find all the relevant materials, and one by one takes them all in. The second, digesting, is partly logical but mainly intuitive and unconscious: the human brain can and daily does perform many thousand times as many calculations, reducing facts to generalizations, as can be performed on the brain's logical, conscious surface. The third, writing, is partly intuitive and partly a matter of hard, systematic work.

The historian has experienced several demonstrations that his brain, like some independent, creative research assistant, continues to reduce facts to generalizations while he works on something else. Once, while he was methodically going through the records of every town meeting that had been held in New Hampshire during colonial and revolutionary periods, he suddenly realized "the significance of something I'd seen back in New Jersey. Everybody had always considered the paper money movement of the 1780s as a relief to private debtors who wanted a currency that would depreciate rapidly. But the New Jersey act, I realized in a flash, was really a slick though rather primitive effort to take care of the public debt without imposing an insufferable burden of taxation. This was such a wonderful moment when I had understood something in a way that nobody had understood it before!" (McDonald's interpretation appears on pages 38–39 of *E Pluribus Unum.*)

On his farm in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, McDonald will suspend work, after a few hours of writing, to plant a hundred daffodils or camellias or fruit trees. And as he plants this spring, his brain will be working toward some future harvest.



National Portrait Gallery

Portrait of George Washington by Gilbert Stuart, ca. 1797.

Heroic Biography

BY EDWIN M. YODER, JR.

When Dumas Malone, the great Jefferson biographer, died last December, I found myself pondering what historians are apt to consider a hazardous subject: heroic biography.

It is not a recognized term of historical art; indeed, insofar as it hints even slightly at the sly inflation of the biographer's subject for patriotic or nationalistic ends, it would be thought an illegitimate pursuit. We would be reminded of what the great neoclassical painter David sought to do for Napoleon and his imperial court.

Let us, however, use the term provisionally, as a convenient term for a certain sort of biography of the great and near great, a style of biography that we expect to satisfy both curiosity and the thirst for inspiring example. Obviously, I do not have in mind the sort of biography Lytton Strachey famously attacked, in his preface to "Eminent Victorians"—"those two fat volumes . . . with their tone of tedious panegyric, their lamentable lack . . . of detachment."

It would fall somewhere in the broad realm between hagiography, which should be reserved for saints, and demonology, which should be reserved for the truly villainous. We think of Mason Weems, the nineteenth-century collector of charming myths about Washington, and William Herndon, scouring backwoods Kentucky and Illinois for tales of the martyred Lincoln, as examples to be avoided. They tilt toward hagiography, as H. L. Mencken, with his tongue-in-cheek depiction of George Washington as an intoxicated roué and land-grabber, tilts toward burlesque.

Where is the balance to be struck? I think we find a satisfying answer in Malone's six-volume *Jefferson and His Time.* Jefferson was clearly a heroic presence for Malone, who pursued his great subject for forty years. Yet Malone made no effort to con-

Edwin M. Yoder, Jr., a syndicated columnist with the Washington Post *Writers Group and former Editorial Page Editor of the (late)* Washington Star, *won the Pulitzer Prize in editorial writing in 1979. He is a graduate of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and of Oxford University.*

ceal frailties and contradictions. Read Malone on Jefferson's narrowing views of states' rights in old age, or on his vindictive pursuit of Aaron Burr, or his quarrels with John Marshall. No prettification there. Yet the overall effect of this wonderful work is to evoke those mythic strengths that make the author of the Declaration of Independence so imposing a presence in our national imagination. It would be a fortunate republic, lacking the unifying mystique of royalty, whose heroes and founders all in due course found their Dumas Malones.

The foregoing reflections lead, naturally, to a more general question: Does the biographer who takes on a national hero, a member of the pantheon of founders, incur some special obligation? A responsibility to handle the alabaster gingerly, to avoid the tarnish of mockery or iconoclasm?

When the late Fawn Brodie published her best-selling, one-volume Jefferson biography some fifteen years ago, she in effect accused the Jefferson scholars—Malone and others—of doing precisely that: playing watchdog to the pantheon, and sacrificing the subtle, ambiguous stuff of truth to that role. Her most sensational charge, for instance, was that Thomas Jefferson, lonely after the early and tragic death of his wife, sired several illegitimate children by a slave woman, Sally Hemings. In her view, and the view of those who swallowed her reading of the evidence, it was clear that a "Jefferson mafia" had shirked the prime obligations of scholarship and conspired to keep Jefferson's character inviolate.

The suggestion was nonsense. There was no conspiracy; only a very different—and I would say more responsible—attitude toward some very shaky historical evidence.

Yet the episode helps to illuminate the question I am posing. And at the most obvious level, one would have to say that Brodie was, in principle, absolutely right. It is not the right function of biographers, however exalted the patriotic standing of their subjects, to falsify them for any reason. In the Tudor age, British monarchs (especially Elizabeth I and her father before her) licensed and limited the manner in which artists might represent them. The result was a style in royal portraiture that, after the genius of Holbein, tended to a pale abstraction and idealism of imagery. In the Soviet Union, even today, there is the Great Encyclopedia to which one may turn to discover the precise state of any historical reputation at any time. Republics neither have, nor assert, such controls. An American "great encyclopedia" enshrining some official orthodoxy about the nation's great is as unimaginable as a Soviet Lytton Strachey, poking saucy fun at Lenin.

The result is that the more complex the figure, the wider the variety of interpretations. Merrill Peterson has shown, in *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*, how every age and political sect recreates the Sage of Monticello to its own specification; and yet, on the whole, without lasting harm. One of the founders, Benjamin Franklin, undertook to codify, as it were, his personal image and reputation. He did so in his autobiography, one of the American classics and a rich source of votive myth and imagery. Yet if it was his sly intent to enshrine himself as a plaster wise man, he failed. He did not prevent later biographers, from Phillips Russell in the 1920s to more recent ones, from tracking him into the salons of eighteenth-century Paris where the ladies are seen to be swooning over the shrewd doctor's rustic coonskin cap and stroking his bald head.

And what of the greatest national icon of all, George Washington? Like many generations of American schoolchildren, I studied in public school classrooms from whose walls the *pater patriae* glared sternly down. That memorable Gilbert Stuart portrait, with its particularly reproving set of the mouth, was everywhere. I certainly knew the stories of the cherry tree and of spinning the coin across the Rappahannock. It would be many years before I encountered—in one of Dan Boorstin's "American Experience" volumes, I believe—the story that that famous expression is not a reflection of character so much as a reflection of Washington's discomfort with a new and ill-fitting set of false teeth. He happened to be trying them out when he sat to Stuart.

Such are the trivial and harmless dissonances that all of us encounter in the lore of the founders and other national heroes—and relish, too; for there is something in us ordinary folk that seeks the consolation of knowing that heroes have their foibles too.

But turn the question around, ask it another way, and we get a rather different answer. Does a democratic republic, notwithstanding its stern immunity to the cult of personality, not need heroes as much as more hierarchical societies? And if we do, as I think is the case, how shall the need be served without sacrifice of scholarly integrity?

I have cited the example of Dumas Malone's Jefferson. Douglas Southall Freeman's Washington (although not so good as his Lee) is a model; so is that brilliant cameo of Washington by Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Young Man Washington," with its endearing evocation of (as Morison puts it) "the last person you would ever suspect of having been a young man." Beveridge's John Marshall would rank with them; and others.

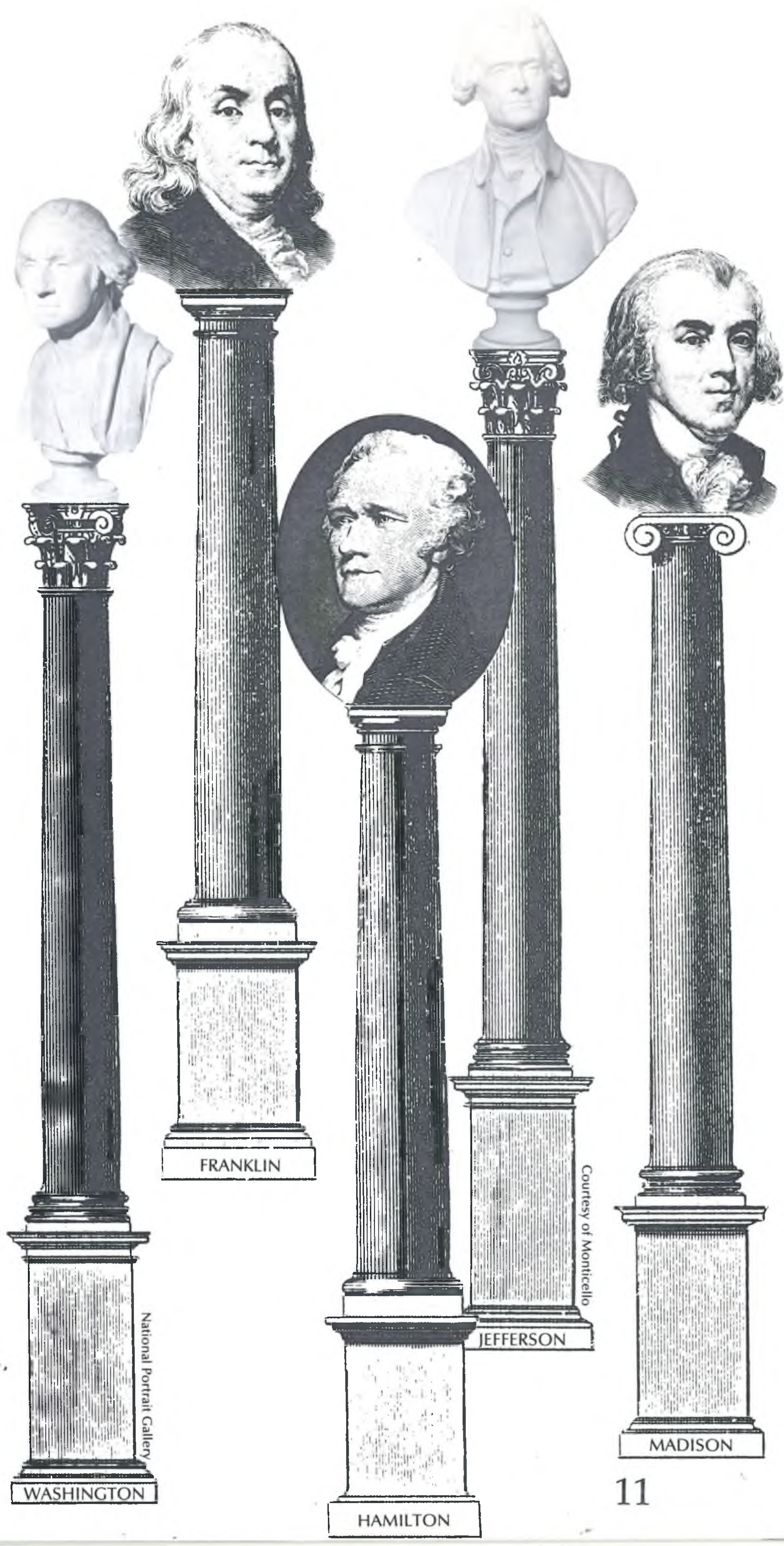
There are, I think, two expectations to be satisfied in heroic biography. One, the more obvious and in some ways the easiest, is inspiration. Each of us will have his idea of what that is. For me, it is the evocation of Washington's magnanimity—for instance, toward the egregious young "Citizen" Genet, the French revolutionary envoy who, landing in Charleston, so annoyed Washington with his inflammatory speeches. But when Genet's former colleagues turned against him in Paris and put a price on his head, Washington generously permitted him to stay on and settle down in New Jersey as a gentleman farmer. I like to think, too, of John Marshall, in the pre–Supreme Court years, when, almost alone in his party, he opposed the hysterical and repressive Alien and Sedition Acts. I like to think of

Jefferson, with that queer blend of vanity and modesty, deciding with a twinkle in his eye to omit all his political offices from the cenotaph that marks his grave.

If the Civil War was our *Iliad,* the lives and characters of the founding generation constitute our *Aeneid,* our founding myth. Modern scholarly biography is a long way from classical epic; yet the function of the heroic biographer is at least allied to the function Vergil assumed when he undertook to link imperial Rome to the fall of Troy. After all, history, and its subspecies, biography, are precisely humanistic disciplines, and it is not outrageous to expect them to be, in appropriate measure, humanizing. As autonomous pursuits, independent of the response they evoke, they are likely to be sterile and worse than useless.

But if we may expect inspiration, there is no escape from complexity. After Freud, the ambiguities of human character, the willfulness of impulse, must be considered even when we deal with heroes. But this, while it can be overdone, is no barrier to heroism properly understood. James Madison, who was crucial to the founding of our government, was deeply imbued with the Calvinist view of human nature, the lurking dangers of the will to power and the need to contain it institutionally. He was no romantic—nor were most of those realists who wrote our Constitution. Dr. Freud would have had little to tell the American founder who wrote, in *Federalist* 51: "But what is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. . . ."

It is no slight art, of course, to evoke greatness in biography—heroism, within the limited meaning I have assigned it. Suetonius and Tacitus showed long ago how easy it is to evoke villains, how the Neros and Caligulas can be portrayed believably in the starkest blacks and whites. Heroic portraiture demands a more various palette, a more subtle and inclusive line. Dumas Malone showed how it can be done. May his tribe increase.

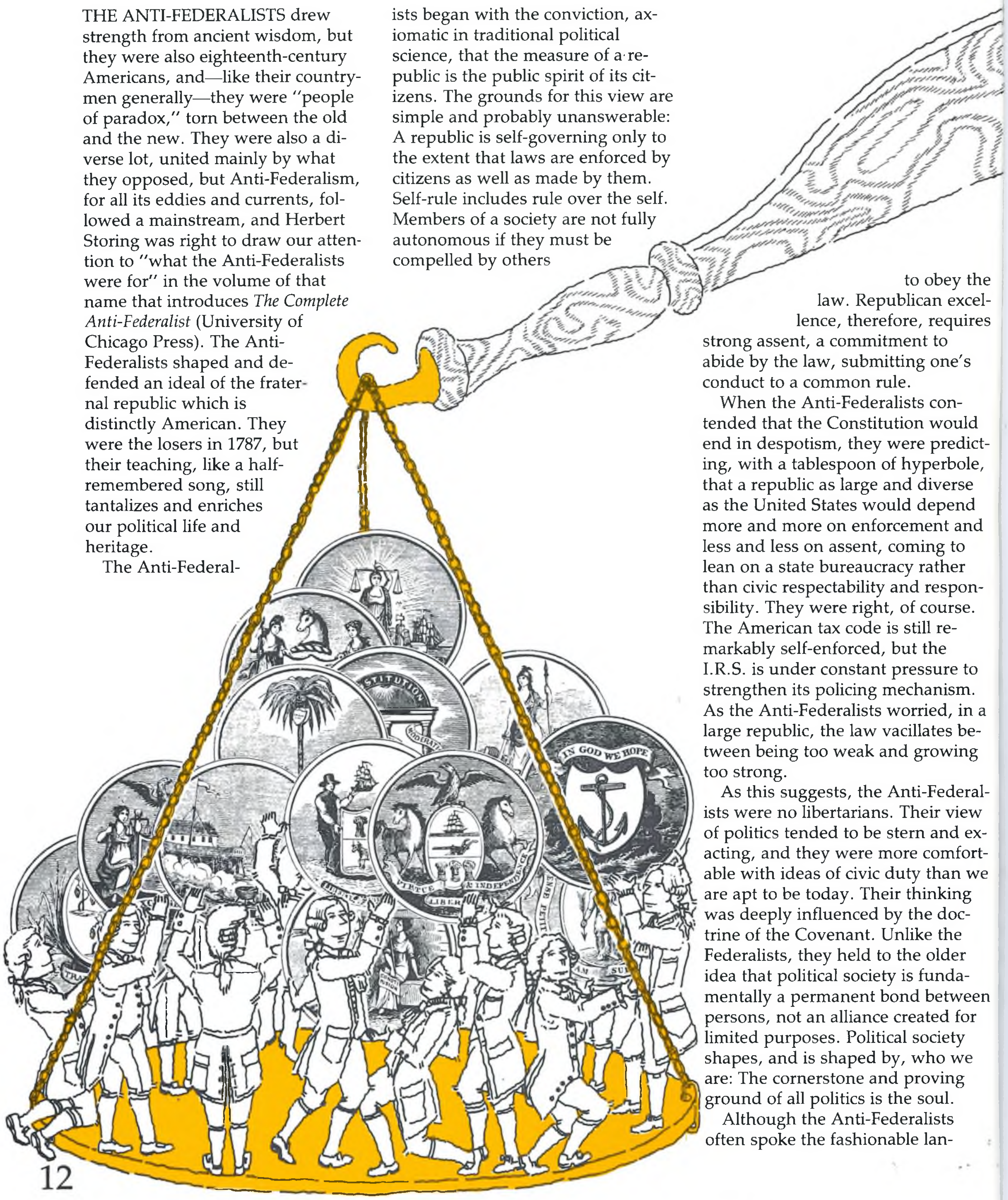


The Anti-Federalists vs. . . .

BY W. CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE ANTI-FEDERALISTS drew strength from ancient wisdom, but they were also eighteenth-century Americans, and—like their countrymen generally—they were "people of paradox," torn between the old and the new. They were also a diverse lot, united mainly by what they opposed, but Anti-Federalism, for all its eddies and currents, followed a mainstream, and Herbert Storing was right to draw our attention to "what the Anti-Federalists were for" in the volume of that name that introduces *The Complete Anti-Federalist* (University of Chicago Press). The Anti-Federalists shaped and defended an ideal of the fraternal republic which is distinctly American. They were the losers in 1787, but their teaching, like a half-remembered song, still tantalizes and enriches our political life and heritage.

The Anti-Federalists began with the conviction, axiomatic in traditional political science, that the measure of a republic is the public spirit of its citizens. The grounds for this view are simple and probably unanswerable: A republic is self-governing only to the extent that laws are enforced by citizens as well as made by them. Self-rule includes rule over the self. Members of a society are not fully autonomous if they must be compelled by others to obey the law. Republican excellence, therefore, requires strong assent, a commitment to abide by the law, submitting one's conduct to a common rule.

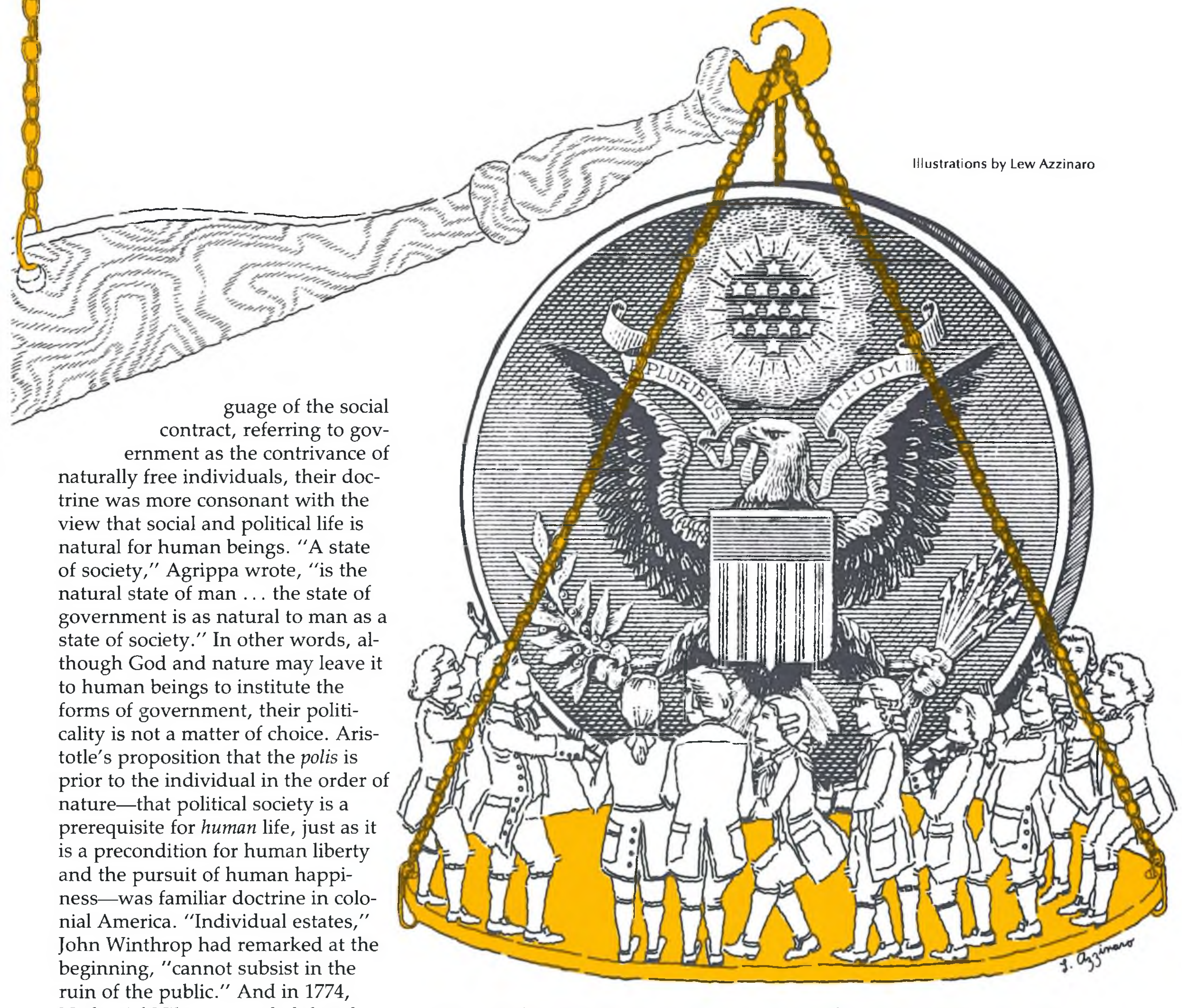


When the Anti-Federalists contended that the Constitution would end in despotism, they were predicting, with a tablespoon of hyperbole, that a republic as large and diverse as the United States would depend more and more on enforcement and less and less on assent, coming to lean on a state bureaucracy rather than civic respectability and responsibility. They were right, of course. The American tax code is still remarkably self-enforced, but the I.R.S. is under constant pressure to strengthen its policing mechanism. As the Anti-Federalists worried, in a large republic, the law vacillates between being too weak and growing too strong.

As this suggests, the Anti-Federalists were no libertarians. Their view of politics tended to be stern and exacting, and they were more comfortable with ideas of civic duty than we are apt to be today. Their thinking was deeply influenced by the doctrine of the Covenant. Unlike the Federalists, they held to the older idea that political society is fundamentally a permanent bond between persons, not an alliance created for limited purposes. Political society shapes, and is shaped by, who we are: The cornerstone and proving ground of all politics is the soul.

Although the Anti-Federalists often spoke the fashionable lan-

Illustrations by Lew Azzinaro



guage of the social contract, referring to government as the contrivance of naturally free individuals, their doctrine was more consonant with the view that social and political life is natural for human beings. "A state of society," Agrippa wrote, "is the natural state of man . . . the state of government is as natural to man as a state of society." In other words, although God and nature may leave it to human beings to institute the forms of government, their politicality is not a matter of choice. Aristotle's proposition that the *polis* is prior to the individual in the order of nature—that political society is a prerequisite for *human* life, just as it is a precondition for human liberty and the pursuit of human happiness—was familiar doctrine in colonial America. "Individual estates," John Winthrop had remarked at the beginning, "cannot subsist in the ruin of the public." And in 1774, Nathaniel Niles contended that, by nature, there are no private rights: Private claims, like individuality itself, derive from the community and are founded in convention. Few Anti-Federalists would have gone so far, but they were inclined to concede a moral priority to political community, recognizing that it is political society—as opposed to the village, the family or the "state of nature"—which by combining many skills and crafts, enables individuals to discover and practice what they do best.

The Anti-Federalists leaned toward the classical view that the best political society is small and stable because such a regime reduces the tension between public reason and private sensibility and, at its best, can win the affections of the people as allies for the public good. In the small state, citizens are apt to see and benefit from public goods: They can sit in the new park or attend a meeting at the town hall. In a large state, however, only a small fraction of the government's activities are perceptible in day-to-day life. Reason tells Americans that Justice Holmes was right, that "Taxes are what we pay for civilized society," but the taxpayer may not feel that way on April 15th. "The laws of a free government," Richard Henry Lee wrote, "rest on the confidence of the people, and operate gently—and never can extend their influence very far—. . . about the center, where the benefits of the government induce the people to support it voluntarily; yet they must be executed on the principles of fear and force in the extremes."

In any country, civic education involves a discipline strong enough to curb the body and direct the passions. If law and politics are only restraints, however, wholly at odds with private interests and personal feelings, the government will be experienced as a despotism. A large state, distant from the emotional world and daily life of its citizens, can rule only by repression or by "corruption"—a direct appeal to the citizen's private interests. The Anti-Federalists would not have been surprised that totalitarian regimes, with their demand for civic zeal and fervor, depend on state terror. And they might have accused contemporary Americans of a political system that depends, to a dangerous degree, on the lobbying of powerful interest groups, which the Anti-Federalists would see as a civic vice.

The small state can also teach softly because it is more compatible with a citizen's dignity; in such a

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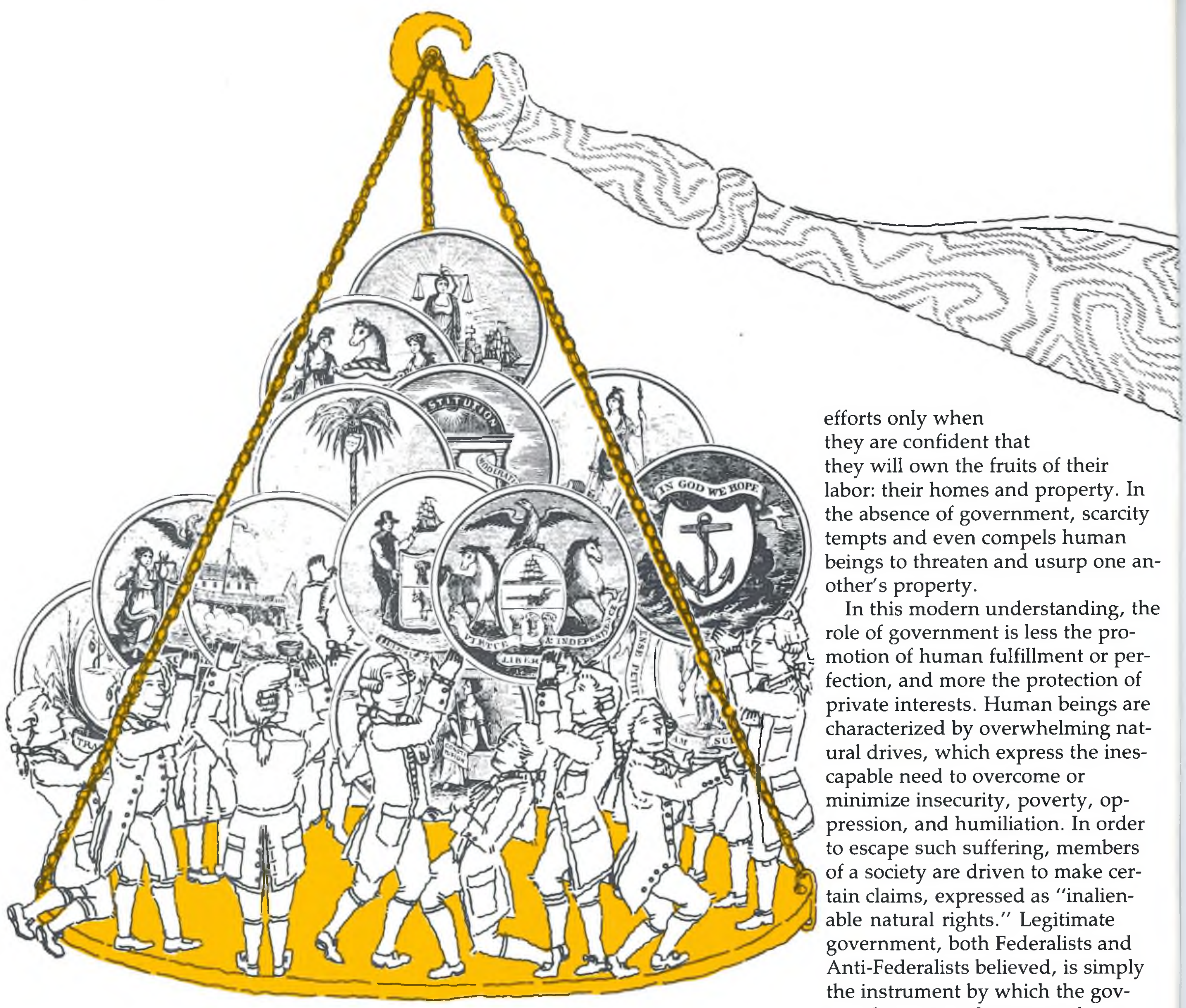


The leading Federalists tended by and large to view their debate with the Anti-Federalists as a family quarrel. Madison, Hamilton, Wilson, and especially Jefferson looked upon the greatest Anti-Federalists (e.g., Patrick Henry, George Mason, Samuel Adams, Richard Henry Lee) as elder brothers, whose basic commitments they applauded, whose statesmanship they esteemed, and whose worries they listened to with respect. But the Federalists were convinced that in the present "critical" period of the fledgling republic these former comrades-in-arms remained too attached to conceptions that, however respectable in themselves or in appearance, had proved impractical, at least in the American context.

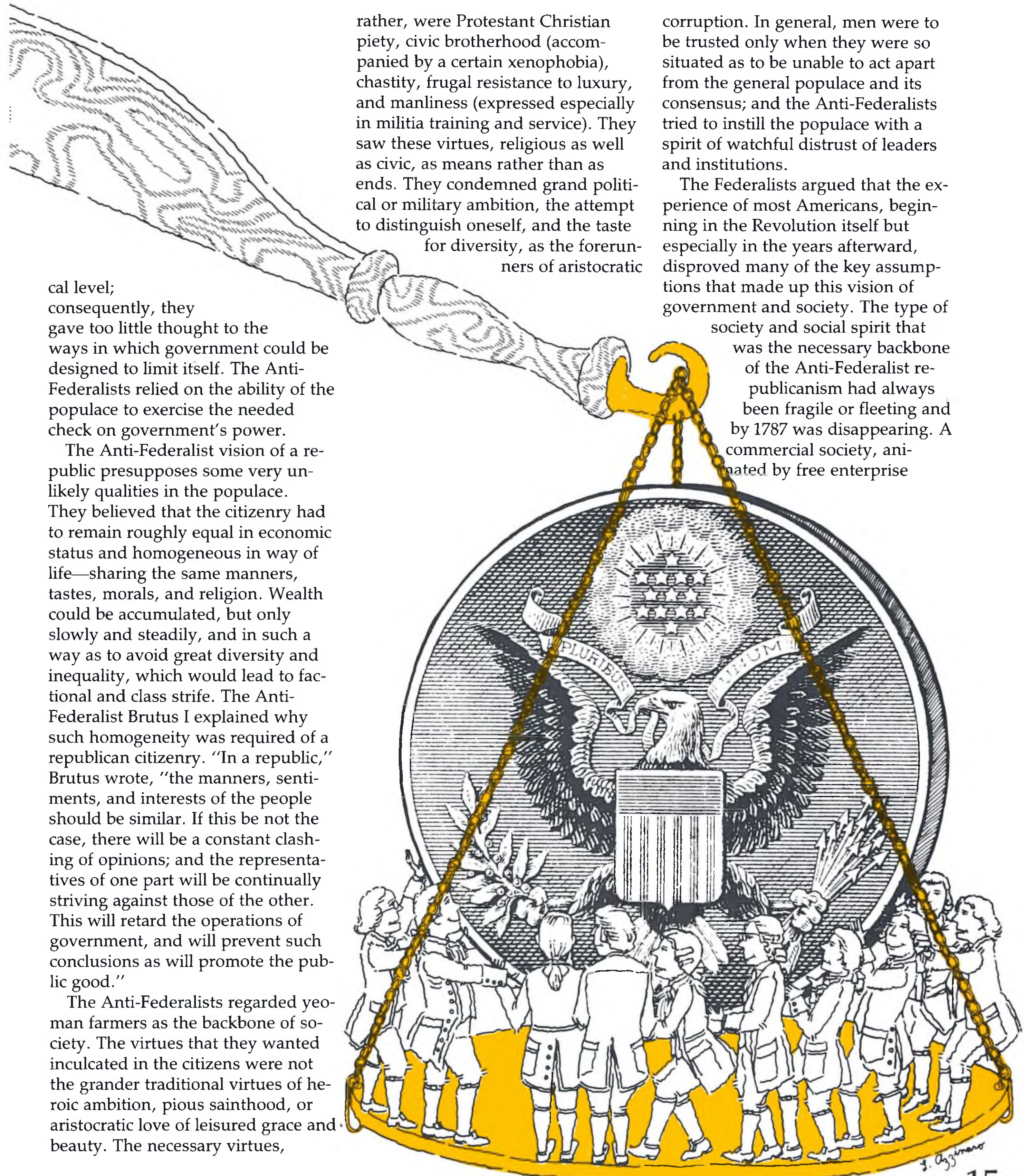
The Federalists agreed with their opponents for the most part over the ultimate goals of politics and over the fundamentals of political philosophy. Both sides continued to look for inspiration to the biblical and classical heritages, but both had come to reinterpret those older strains of thought in the light of the new conceptions of God, nature, and politics derived from the great political theorists of the Enlightenment. From this modern perspective, Federalists and Anti-Federalists alike viewed government as an artificial construction, contrived to defend against the hostility of the natural human situation. In their "state of nature," Enlightenment philosophers taught, human beings are thrown into a hostile environment of frightful economic scarcity. Only human labor, science, and commerce can overcome the natural condition of bare subsistence, and members of society will expend such efforts only when they are confident that they will own the fruits of their labor: their homes and property. In the absence of government, scarcity tempts and even compels human beings to threaten and usurp one another's property.

In this modern understanding, the role of government is less the promotion of human fulfillment or perfection, and more the protection of private interests. Human beings are characterized by overwhelming natural drives, which express the inescapable need to overcome or minimize insecurity, poverty, oppression, and humiliation. In order to escape such suffering, members of a society are driven to make certain claims, expressed as "inalienable natural rights." Legitimate government, both Federalists and Anti-Federalists believed, is simply the instrument by which the governed secure and promote these rights.

The real debate began when the founders had to specify how government was to be designed so as best to perform this limited function. The Federalists charged the Anti-Federalists with an exaggerated tendency to see government as a necessary *evil*, posing almost as many threats as it held promises of security. Because of its distance from the mass of the people, the Anti-Federalists feared a centralized, national government. They argued that government could be kept within safe bounds only if the chief locus of power remained at the state and local level, for only then, they contended, could representatives be jealously watched by the populace and made to resemble their constituents, sharing and thus sensing immediately the people's needs. Yet the Anti-Federalists distrusted government even at the lo-

The Federalists

BY THOMAS L. PANGLE



cal level; consequently, they gave too little thought to the ways in which government could be designed to limit itself. The Anti-Federalists relied on the ability of the populace to exercise the needed check on government's power.

The Anti-Federalist vision of a republic presupposes some very unlikely qualities in the populace. They believed that the citizenry had to remain roughly equal in economic status and homogeneous in way of life—sharing the same manners, tastes, morals, and religion. Wealth could be accumulated, but only slowly and steadily, and in such a way as to avoid great diversity and inequality, which would lead to factional and class strife. The Anti-Federalist Brutus I explained why such homogeneity was required of a republican citizenry. "In a republic," Brutus wrote, "the manners, sentiments, and interests of the people should be similar. If this be not the case, there will be a constant clashing of opinions; and the representatives of one part will be continually striving against those of the other. This will retard the operations of government, and will prevent such conclusions as will promote the public good."

The Anti-Federalists regarded yeoman farmers as the backbone of society. The virtues that they wanted inculcated in the citizens were not the grander traditional virtues of heroic ambition, pious sainthood, or aristocratic love of leisured grace and beauty. The necessary virtues, rather, were Protestant Christian piety, civic brotherhood (accompanied by a certain xenophobia), chastity, frugal resistance to luxury, and manliness (expressed especially in militia training and service). They saw these virtues, religious as well as civic, as means rather than as ends. They condemned grand political or military ambition, the attempt to distinguish oneself, and the taste for diversity, as the forerunners of aristocratic corruption. In general, men were to be trusted only when they were so situated as to be unable to act apart from the general populace and its consensus; and the Anti-Federalists tried to instill the populace with a spirit of watchful distrust of leaders and institutions.

The Federalists argued that the experience of most Americans, beginning in the Revolution itself but especially in the years afterward, disproved many of the key assumptions that made up this vision of government and society. The type of society and social spirit that was the necessary backbone of the Anti-Federalist republicanism had always been fragile or fleeting and by 1787 was disappearing. A commercial society, animated by free enterprise and dedicated to the protection of property and the means for creating wealth, was mankind's most reasonable response to its natural situation in a world of scarcity. Alexander Hamilton summarized the view in *Federalist* 12, "The prosperity of commerce is now perceived and acknowledged by all enlightened statesmen to be the most useful as well as the most productive source of national wealth, and has accordingly become a primary objective of their political careers."

Admitting this, the Anti-Federalists failed to understand or accept that such a society could not possibly remain an insular, homogenous society in which yeoman farmers predominated. But commerce and trade necessarily introduced cosmopolitanism, competition, luxury, and conspicuous consumption. This development was inevitable, and the Quixotic attempt to prevent it, the Federalists believed, would only bring oppressive interference in private life by social censors of one sort or another. The lawlessness produced by the prohibition amendment, the enormous difficulties encountered in the administration of rationing during World War II, and the unworkability of the attempts to fight inflation through wage and price controls all illustrate how resistant the commercial spirit is to government restrictions on consumer freedom.

What is more, the Federalists correctly predicted that commercial growth would result in economic diversity rather than homogeneity. Merchants, lawyers, manufacturers, and laborers, would increasingly outnumber farmers, and would divide into competing classes, factions, and interest groups. Based on this perception, the Federalists contributed an entirely original concept to political history: a new vision of healthy republican society that faced up to, rather than tried to ignore or overcome, the future nation's inevitable diversity of clashing private interests. James Madison explained the benefits of such a republic in the brilliant *Federalist* 10. It is true, he argued, that in any restricted locality or even within a single state, one faction could predominate. But this situation would not breed true fraternity or homogeneity; rather, this was a recipe for majority tyranny.

More often than not, Madison continued, the active majority—especially when whipped up by demagogues who played on the people's distrust of "aristocrats"—would move against the few who had become most prosperous, through their own or their parents' industry and frugality. The resulting discouragement to work, accumulation, and investment would retard prosperity for all. Moreover, the majoritarian impulse (especially when armed by sanctimonious appeals to virtue) would threaten minorities defined as such by their religion, way of life, ethnic origin, or opinions.

The new vision offered by the Federalists built on a great insight of David Hume. A *large-scale* commercial republican society, Hume believed, with a multitude of cross-cutting factions and cleavages, would be less likely than a small homogenous community to allow for the coalescence of a single majority faction and more likely to compel groups and factions to compromise by forming coalitions in which the zeal and power of each group would be moderated. Compromise among multiple interests implied, however, that the locus of political power should be shifted from the more homogenous local level to the more heterogeneous, moderate, and compromise-prone national level. In fact, politics at the national level could and should be used to police and mitigate the tendencies to majoritarian excess at the local and state levels. But if politics at the national level were to be the arena in which factions of all sorts clashed, bargained, compromised, and moderated; if national government were to protect minority factions and individuals from local oppression, then the national government could not remain simply a federation of the states. The national government must directly represent the people—the diverse individuals engaged in their faction-ridden pursuits of happiness. Moreover, the success of the republic would depend on granting this national government power—the freedom of action, the taxing capacity and financial resources—that would allow it to set and manage a full agenda for the nation. The government would need power not only in foreign policy (power the Anti-Federalists accepted) but in finance and monetary policy, interstate commerce, law-enforcement, civil and criminal adjudication, and national improvements (canals, roads, harbors).

The Federalists did not for a moment deny that a national government endowed with such extensive powers must be carefully watched and rigorously limited; and they agreed that the balance of power between state and national governments could play an important role in this respect. They also agreed that public opinion, rooted in and expressing a spirited love of individual liberty that pervaded the entire populace, was the final, irreplaceable barrier against tyranny. Yet they insisted that the Anti-Federalists failed to appreciate the most important intermediate barriers, devised by what the Federalists called their "new science of politics." Building on and extending the insights of previous modern theorists, the Federalists devised a new, complex plan whereby governmental power was separated, focused, checked, balanced, and therefore limited—*from within*. The new institutions of the Presidency, Supreme Court, and Senate, along with the less innovative House of Representatives, formed a governmental power in such a way that it achieved two distinct and essential goals. Each of the great institutions was designed so that it could most effectively carry out its tasks—of deliberation, action, or adjudication—while at the same time it checked and balanced the other institutions to prevent their overstepping or abusing their legitimate authority. There would be, therefore, much less need to rely, at least in a regular or routine way, on the dangerous threat of popular uprisings, or on the potentially disintegrative appeal to states' rights, in order to keep a powerful national government within bounds.

To be sure, the Anti-Federalists also espoused the separation of powers. But, the Federalists complained that the Anti-Federalists were too obsessed with the recent transgressions of monarchic and aristocratic England. They failed to see that in an essentially popular or democratic regime, there was at least as much danger of tyranny by the popularly elected legislative assemblies as there was by the executive branch or the national judiciary. The Federalists perceived the need and importance—insufficiently recognized by the Anti-Federalists—for such devices as bicameralism (with one house of the legislature elected indirectly and for longer terms than the members of the other house), judicial review, and executive prerogative (the presidential veto power).

But perhaps no disagreement was so revealing as that touching the nature and function of representatives. The Anti-Federalists sought in representatives a mirroring of the people and the popular will. They taught distrust of elected officials, and worried that national representatives would be too independent and distant from the people. The Federalists, in contrast, sought in representative government a filtering and refining, a sobering elevation and broadening, of the popular will. They saw in the great enterprises of national government a magnet that would attract the energies of the most talented, ambitious, and public spirited among the citizens. They applauded some degree of independence and distance for representatives, as a way of promoting leadership that was not simply subservient to popularity and majority whim. And they hoped that a well-administered national government would induce in all Americans a certain degree of respect or even reverence for great statesmanship that would echo, in a dim or faint way, a very old republican tradition that saw politics as much more than the tool for the advancement of collective private interests. In this crucial respect, the Federalists showed themselves to be more idealistic, aristocratic, or classical in their republicanism than were the Anti-Federalists.

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(ANTI-FEDERALISTS, *continued from page 13***)**

state, individuals are more likely to feel that they matter. The small country allows one's rulers to hear one's voice and recognize one's uniqueness, so that an individual is not treated simply as a member of some group or statistical class. And, as the Anti-Federalists repeatedly pointed out, government in a small state is easier for citizens to oversee and control. Its activities are likely to be simple and comprehensible, and citizens, as Richard Henry Lee observed, "can unite and act in concert and with vigor" with relative ease, while in large states, those advantages belong only to the few.

As Madison hinted, the daunting scale and complexity of our giant republic makes most of us "timid and cautious," content to have a choice between private governments and to enjoy our private liberties. To the Anti-Federalists, our civic life would have seemed tepid if not sickly; they preferred a good deal of political turbulence to a citizenry grown "languid" or "cool and inattentive."

In a healthy republic, speech and law rule private force and interest, and the Anti-Federalists regarded the right to participate in civic deliberation as indispensable. The force of deliberation, however, turns on willing and attentive listeners, and hence, on public forums that respect the dignity of citizens, where, able to speak if one wishes, one listens from choice. Republican deliberation, the Anti-Federalists would have told us, demands local meetings and forums.

Anti-Federalists also held that, to be a proper school for civic virtue, a state should be stable as well as small. When Roger Sherman told the Constitutional Convention that the "habits, usages and manners" of each state "constitute its happiness," he was contending that the customs and attachments of a small regime can help to redefine the passions of an individual, building happiness on common and public foundations. "The good old way" is valuable because it orders and limits, but also because it engenders security and makes it easier for us to trust one another. Stability makes it seem safe to invest oneself in one's fellows and worthwhile to work for the public good: Orderliness is the foundation of the arts of association and civic participation. "If it were not for the stability and attachment which time and habit give to forms of government," Samuel Bryan declared, "it would be in the power of the enlightened and aspiring few, if they should combine, at any time to destroy the best establishments, and even to make the people the instruments of their own subjugation."

All of this implies, of course, the propriety of limits to individual liberty and, especially, of restraints on acquisition. Commercial life engenders greed and disunity, the Anti-Federalists observed, because it appeals to passions that are universal and low. The division of labor brightens human life and frees our best talents, but it tends to make common interests subtle and even invisible. Creditor and debtor do not often think of their commonalities. Specialization can destroy the sense of the common life, hence Mercy Otis Warren's alarm at "restless passions" which create a "rage for project, speculation and various artifices to support a factitious dignity."

On the other hand, internal commerce, can unite a people—and the Anti-Federalists sometimes spoke as if commerce alone would be a sufficient bond for the Union. External trade, however, can only divide them, because it creates dependence on outsiders. Foreign commerce weakens the civic bond and self-government alike, giving foreign markets and policies power over domestic life. The daily newspaper attests to this, as we listen for the decisions of foreign central banks and OPEC conclaves. Of course, the Anti-Federalists knew that a commercial regime may seek, through imperialism, to reassert political control over economic life, but they recognized that an imperial regime is ruled by its empire and gradually becomes, like ancient Rome, more imperial and less republican.

The Anti-Federalists did not shrink from the conclusion that a republic must be willing, in principle, to accept austerity, sacrificing economic growth for the common good. They regarded frugality as a virtue, but like most of us, they wanted material prosperity, consistent with their higher goals. But they insisted that there *are* higher goals and that, because the allure of money is so great, one must be fully prepared for sacrifice. Sam Adams caught this view in a phrase when he spoke of his hope that Boston might become a "Christian Sparta," an austere republic of heroic spirit.

Yet despite their admiration for the small state and their suspicion of commerce, the Anti-Federalists were not advocates of the classical *polis*. In the first place, the need to survive in what was soon to be a world of nation-states demanded larger political societies. And second, the Anti-Federalists were products of a Christian culture even when they were

not, like Patrick Henry, ardent Christians. They believed in human equality and in obligations to humanity as a whole, and they rejected the xenophobia of the closed community. The Articles of Confederation, for example, guaranteed the "free inhabitants" of all states both "free ingress and regress" and the "privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states." Sam Adams's Boston was to be Spartan in austerity, but Christian in charity, patriotism joined to philanthropy.

The Anti-Federalists relied on representative government, but in a form different from that envisaged by the framers. They wanted a much larger Congress and much smaller districts, so that representatives would be tied by bonds of friendship and feeling to relatively small communities, and so that citizens would feel as though they had been present and given their consent in person. Representatives were to be rotated frequently to safeguard their ties to the home community: "exactly in the ratio of their removal from the people," Cincinnatus maintained, "do aristocratic principles infect the minds of men." Expert legislators were less important than representatives able to convey strong and genuine assent. And in any case, George Clinton argued, the chance of election should be dispersed widely, so that the "desire of rendering themselves worthy" might encourage civic virtues among the largest number. No legislature practicable for the Union would be large enough, Melancton Smith observed, but we might "approach a great way toward perfection."

The broad side of Anti-Federal thinking was most evident in the championship of a Bill of Rights, a battle Anti-Federalists both won and lost. They had hoped for a statement of natural rights—probably augmented by those common law rights Americans held almost equally sacred—as a preface to the Constitution. Instead, the Bill of Rights materialized as positive law restrictions, theoretically subject to repeal. In the Anti-Federalist view, the civil liberties to be guaranteed would have been binding on all legitimate governments, including the states. Later, in *Barron* v. *Baltimore*, Chief Justice Marshall was to argue that the Bill of Rights was intended to restrict and apply only to the federal government. For the most part, however, the Anti-Federalists were not concerned to deny to the central government rights that the states retained, but rights that no government possessed.

The Anti-Federalists envisioned a country made up of deliberative communities in which freedom of speech and assembly would be the rule, linked by internal commerce and "adequate" representative institutions. The sort of republic they hoped for—slow-moving, austere, and talky—was suited, as they knew, for the ordinary routines of political life, in which custom is an adequate guide, and for the great crises of politics which demand a public-spirited willingness to make great sacrifices. The framers, by contrast, designed a regime suited to a middle range of political events, those in which change is required but which are not so taxing that speed of decision and expertise may not substitute for strong assent. But in *Federalist* 49, Madison acknowledged that there *are* "great and extraordinary moments" in which a "recurrence to the people" is necessary. If those moments are likely to be frequent, we would do well to rebuild the local deliberative forums that were the foundations of the Anti-Federalists' America.

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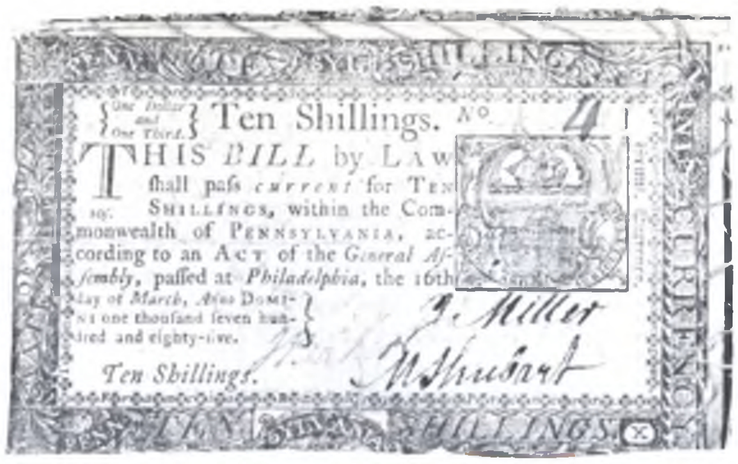

American Numismatic Society

The Economics of the Constitution

BY S.A. SPITZ

American Numismatic Society

A number of sections of the Constitution including the Bill of Rights, focus on individual economic freedoms and property rights. Article I, section 10, for example, prohibits states from impairing the obligation of contracts. Article IV, section 2, guarantees citizens of each state the same privileges and immunities enjoyed by citizens of all other states; and the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments proscribe government from depriving persons of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law," and forbid government denying any person "equal protection of the laws." Such concepts and phrases reflect the influence of various philosophical, political, and economic theories and trends current at the time the Constitution was framed: from English and European theories of natural law and natural rights, to politico-economic ideas of laissez-faire entrepreneurship, to America's structure as an essentially agricultural society with a growing commercial sector.

With the two-hundredth anniversary of the Constitution, the American public has a unique opportunity to reacquaint itself with philosophical and legal issues that are inherent in the Constitution and vital to the nation's economic welfare—issues the Social Philosophy and Policy Center (SPCC) at Bowling Green State University is bringing before the public in Ohio with a three-year bicentennial project "Economic Rights and the Constitution," supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities. A conference consisting of lectures, panels, and workshops, held on the Bowling Green campus in October 1985, was the first of a series of events for public education. At the conference nationally recognized scholars from a variety of disciplines discussed the relationship of the Constitution to economic rights.

Professor Ellen F. Paul, SPCC deputy director and director of the conference, points out that Supreme Court interpretations of key constitutional sections involving the clash between individual economic rights and society's police power to enforce its own needs have followed definite trends. The "due process" clause in the Fourteenth Amendment, for example, was at first rejected as a vehicle for adjudicating state economic regulation. "In the key 1873 *Slaughterhouse* cases," she explains, "New Orleans butchers brought suit against the state of Louisiana because of a law creating a monopoly of one firm for all slaughtering of animals. The butchers charged that the monopoly created a situation that infringed on their ability to stay in business, and they invoked their economic rights under Article X, section 1 of the Constitution and also the Fourteenth Amendment." The Supreme Court ruled that there exist two sets of privileges and immunities—federal and state—and the federal government does not concern itself with individuals' economic activity within a state. Furthermore, the Fourteenth Amendment should be interpreted narrowly to apply only to the rights of newly freed slaves. According to the ruling, a narrow interpretation of the due process clause should also obtain, and the right to pursue a particular vocation is of no concern to the federal government. From the 1890s to the mid-1930s, however, the due process clause was regularly invoked to declare unconstitutional legislative regulation that seemed unduly to hinder individuals' rights to engage in economic activity. Yet by the mid-1930s—the start of the New Deal's "constitutional crisis"—the due process clause had again lost its power as a legal argument against state regulation, now generally upheld against individual economic claims—a trend continuing today.

The conference, entitled "Liberty, Property, and the Foundations of the American Constitution," focused on the concept of economic rights as understood at the time the Constitution was written. Historical interpretation of the concept was offered by nine noted scholars. Some 175 people attended the keynote address, in which historian Gordon

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Wood of Brown University discussed the conflict of interest between the Federalist framers of the Constitution, intent on a strong central government controlled by a wealthy, educated, landed elite who would rise above the multiple, clashing demands of state legislatures to create a model republic, and the less economically and socially powerful Anti-Federalists, represented by such men as Pennsylvania legislator William Findley, who called for a government of "ordinary" men openly representing their individual economic and political interests. Wood contended that the Anti-Federalist ideology essentially prevailed, that today we are "in Findley's world, not Madison's."

Andrew Reck, professor of philosophy at Tulane University, maintained that the system of government established by the Constitution reflected human nature as it was perceived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Federalists sought to establish a government that would regulate "natural" human passions—ambition, pride—in order to benefit society as a whole. Checks and balances, the separation of powers provided for in the Constitution, would constrain individual interests within government administration while the central authority regulated and channeled the clash of individual passions without.

Political scientist Jean Yarbrough of Loyola University discussed Jefferson's preoccupation with agricultural land as "property." Viewing America as ideally a middle-class republic of small freeholders, Jefferson too saw no ideological conflict between personal and property rights. But expanding on the thought of eighteenth-century moral philosopher Lord Kames, Jefferson considered the right to labor even more fundamental than stable ownership of property, because labor—the *use* of property rights—applied more directly to an individual's right to life.

Consideration of Madison's career reveals that, as a congressional delegate, Madison supported state and regional sovereignty with constraints on central authority, moderated temporarily only to prevent national financial collapse. But by 1787, Madison had come to view a strong central government as essential to preserve the republic won by the Revolution. Productive use of property by small farmers would promote the civic virtue needed to maintain an economically and politically independent nation. Central authority would coordinate America's commercial development, sponsoring free trade to provide markets for agricultural surpluses, thus staving off what Madison foresaw as an inevitable progression toward concentration of wealth in the hands of a few large manufacturers.

Law professor Michael McConnell of the University of Chicago discussed an apparent anomaly in the Constitution's protection of *property* rights against federal, but not state, government intervention ("just compensation" clause in the Fifth Amendment) and its protection of *contract* against state, but not federal, government interference ("contracts clause," Article I, section 10). Granting that the framers understood "contract" as a subcategory of "property"—following Blackstone's tenet that contract is "property in action"—McConnell argued that the Constitution's authors were most concerned with a strong national economy (the "commercial republic"), and were therefore careful to guard against the possibility of states interfering with interstate commerce by impairing the obligation of contracts from state to state. The clause was one of the Supreme Court's main justifications for striking down state laws that discriminated against interstate commerce in the classic 1949 case, *H.P. Hood & Sons* v. *DuMond*. In this case, milk distributors in New York State had been denied a license to ship milk to Massachusetts on the grounds that the milk was needed in New York. The distributors brought suit and the Court ruled that the state of New York was hoarding milk, thus interfering with interstate commerce. The decision reflected a broadening of federal power in interpreting the contracts clause as it pertains to interstate commerce, McConnell said. Because intrastate "takings" of property would have less effect on a national commerce, there seemed little need to regulate it, yet the very remoteness of federal government, seemed to necessitate protection of individual citizens' property against undue "takings" by this distant authority for its own purposes.

American Numismatic Society

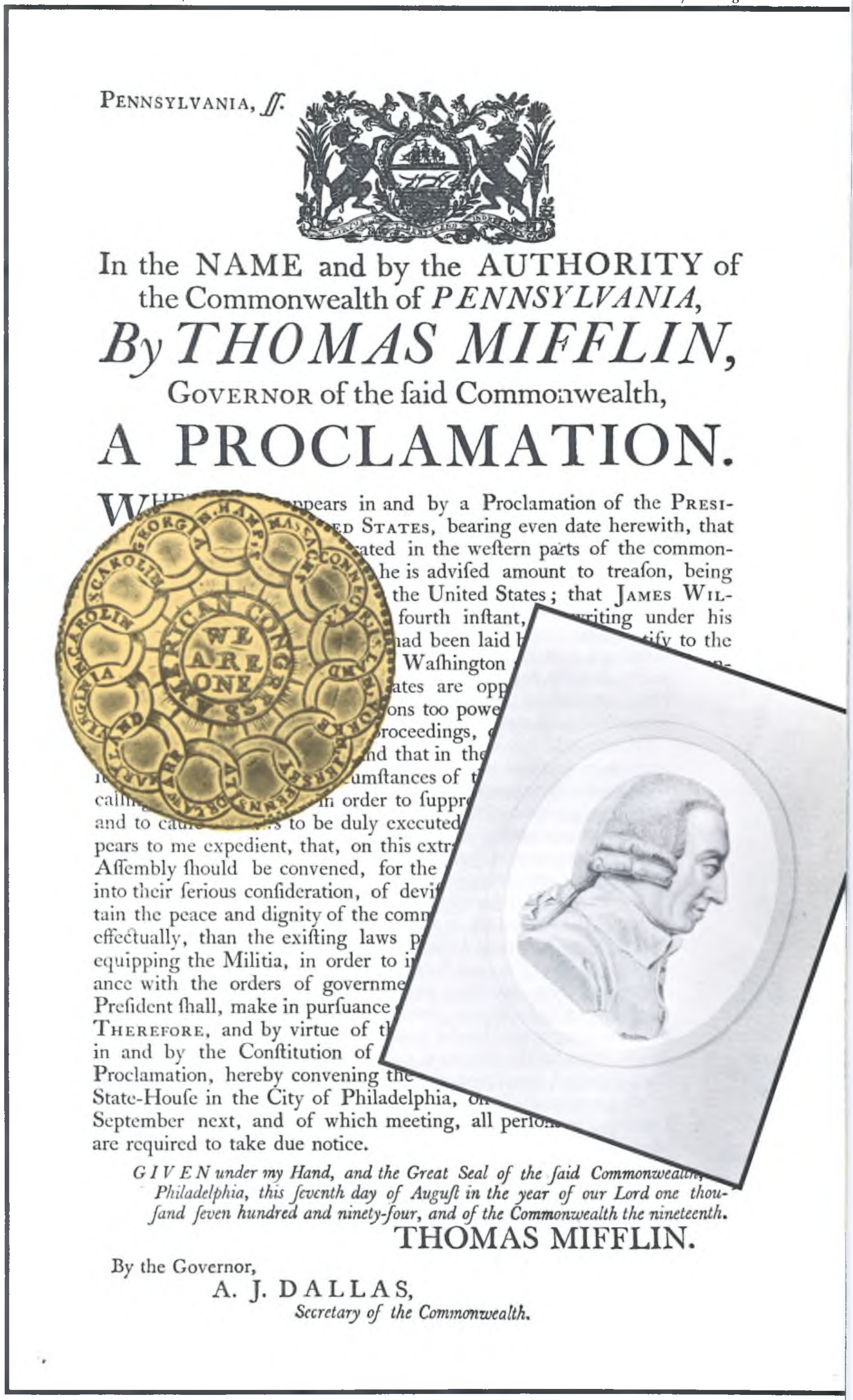
The intertwining of "contract" and "property" has remained a problem of constitutional interpretation since the eighteenth century and has formed the basis of two notable Supreme Court cases. In the first case, *Fletcher* v. *Peck*, (1810), the central question was whether the state, in this case Georgia, could rescind title to land previously granted to private individuals if the state itself had been the original grantor. In his decision, Justice Marshall ruled that a grant was a contract within the meaning of the Constitution and that the Constitution included a general prohibition against impairing the obligation of contracts. Thus, state seizure of land could be condemned following the contract clause. In the second case, *Bowen* v. *Public Agencies Opposed to Social Security Entrapment* (1986), the Court separated the concepts of "contract" and "property." The Supreme Court ruled that the federal government, in reneging on a written contract that allowed states to withdraw from the Social Security system, was not "taking" property.

The conference concluded with a lively interchange between political scientist William Letwin and Bernard Siegan, professor of law at the University of San Diego, on the role of capitalist ideology in the Constitution. Letwin argued from relevant constitutional clauses and *The Federalist* that there is no evidence the Federalists intended to enshrine either capitalism or a laissez-faire economy—indeed, that these terms were not even in general use until the nineteenth century. He continued that the framers of the Constitution assumed that most productive property would be in private ownership but that public bodies would own and operate some property (notably unsettled lands) and that private ownership of land would be subject to some public regulation, and that the Constitution's "economic neutrality" has been a large factor in its "durability." Professor Siegan argued from Article I, section 10, subsection 1, which protects owners and entrepreneurs against *ex post facto* laws understood to be *civil* as well as penal, that securing of private property to owners to use as they wished was of vital importance to the Constitution's framers, and that this can be interpreted as espousal of a laissez-faire, capitalist economic system.

As Robert Utley, a political scientist from Wake Forest College, pointed out, the U.S. Constitution is the oldest of any still active written constitution in the world. For this reason alone, it is a document of unique significance and the Social Philosophy and Policy Center expects even greater interest in its next two conferences, to be held in May 1987 and April 1988. Moreover, Americans from all parts of the country will benefit from a three-volume compendium of the lectures, panels, and workshops, revised and edited for national distribution by a leading publisher. A reader that combines an introductory essay, annotated bibliography, edited excerpts of relevant Supreme Court cases, and background essays in history, law, and philosophy for use by college political philosophy, law, history and government courses will also be published. One-hour overview videotapes of the conference discussions will be broadcast over WBGU–TV and distributed at cost to, among others, secondary school civics and social studies classes, college political science instructors, community groups and educational cable systems. In addition, newspaper essays by the conferees, analyzing and commenting on the conference will appear over the next two years.

In 1986 Dr. Ellen F. Paul of Bowling Green State University was awarded $376,990 through the Bicentennial Projects Program for "Economic Rights and the Constitution."

American Numismatic Society U.S. Library of Congress



The Whiskey Rebellion, referred to in this 1794 proclamation, was one of the first challenges of the economic order established by the Constitution and inspired by Adam Smith.

Miracle at Philadelphia

BY CAROLINE TAYLOR

THE NUMBER OF HOSTAGES being held for ransom in the Middle East reaches twenty-one, yet the country remains powerless either to declare war or to pay ransom. As the trade deficit increases, new trading partners are required. At home, farmers who are threatened with the loss of their land for non-payment of debt organize an armed rebellion when their pleas for relief are ignored. Inflation is rampant. State legislatures are torn by factionalism. A leading cabinet officer warns that the destruction of American liberty can be prevented only by a strong national government.

"If some of these issues do not seem to be two hundred years old, their similarity to contemporary concerns may spark the interest of visitors to our exhibition," says Peggy Duckett, chairman of the "Miracle at Philadelphia" exhibition, sponsored by the Friends of Independence National Historical Park in association with the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Library Company of Philadelphia. The exhibition is supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the J. Howard Pew Freedom Trust. "Our greatest challenge," says Duckett, "was the problem of presenting in exhibition format the complex abstractions of the constitutional debates in ways that would connect immediately with the world of the twentieth-century museum visitor.

"Of course, further reading about the period will reveal that the issues are not at all parallel with those in contemporary life, but that extended investigation is precisely what we hope to encourage," says Duckett. The exhibition, which runs through December 31, 1987, is housed in the eighteenth-century Second Bank of the United States in Philadelphia. There visitors will find original documents and art of the period, contemporary audiovisual programs, sculpture, illustrations—even a word processor screen depicting how the Constitution would have been edited by the Committee on Style if the technology and been available at the time.

"Because we had four extraordinary institutions—three predating the Convention itself—with great expertise among their staffs," says Duckett, "we were able to use their expertise and documents from their collections in constructing a story chronology that runs from the end of the war until the ratification of the Constitution and the attachment of the Bill of Rights.

"Our scholars were remarkably helpful at providing the entry points and helping with revision of the research and documentary materials into a strong narrative whole," says Duckett. "The scholars saw clearly that the focus of the story itself should be on the work within the Convention. We could then build onto this central exhibit sections showing why the nation's leaders came together and depicting key events that followed the Convention."

Friends of Independence National Historical Park

A modern Ben Franklin looks on as students sign the Constitution.

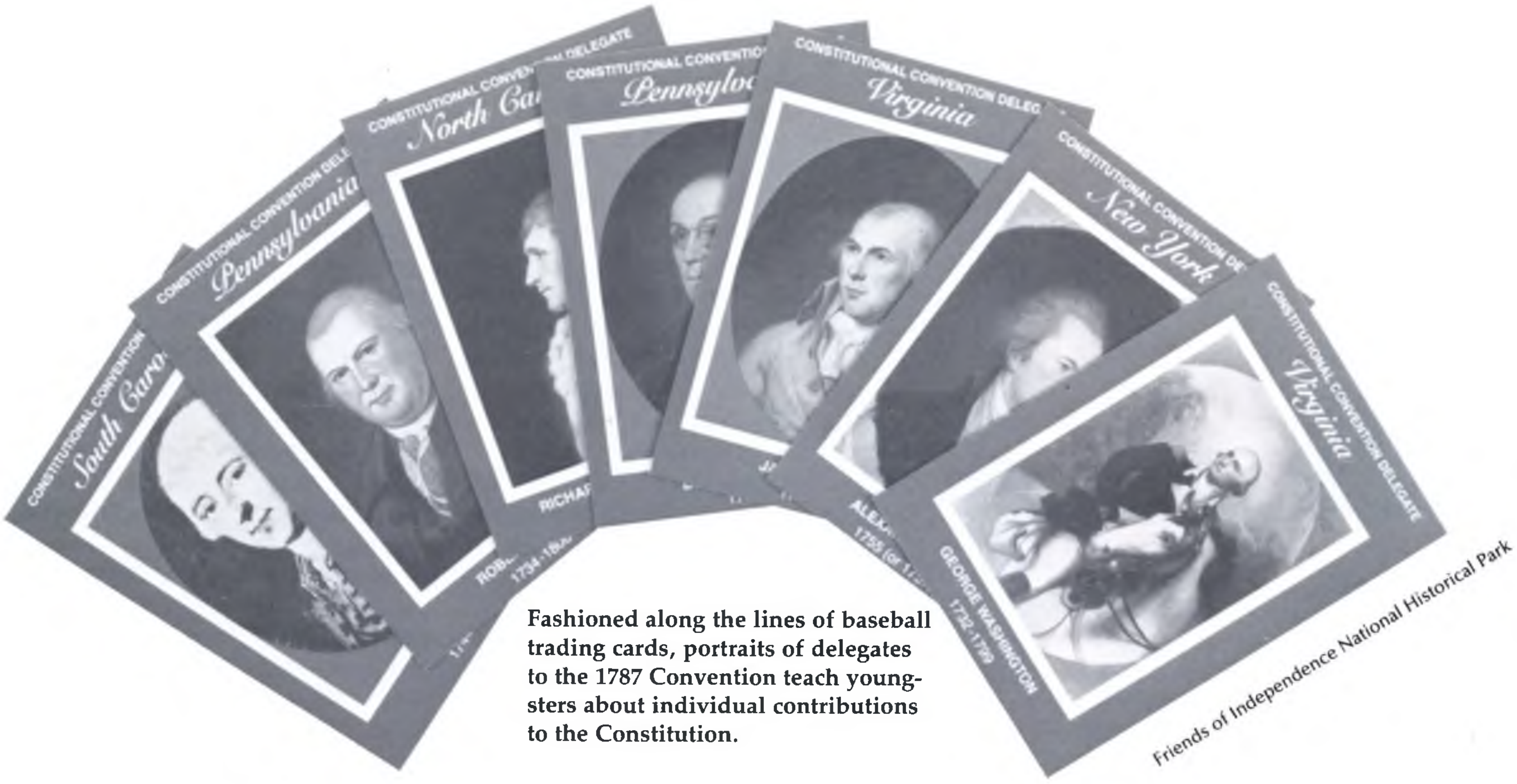
A portrait of Washington by Rembrandt Peale dominates the first three galleries, which describe events leading to the Convention. The painting, completed in 1820, hangs above the exhibits to symbolize Washington's overriding, though often quiet, influence on the proceedings.

Pages from personal letters written by John Jay, Henry Knox, George Washington, and James Madison, portray their anguish and expectations for the fledgling country. In a 1783 letter to Governor Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, George Washington declared: "I am decided in my opinion, that if the powers of Congress are not enlarged, & made competent to all *general purposes,* that the Blood which has been spilt—the expense that has been incurred—& the distresses which have been felt, will avail nothing and that the bond already too weak which holds us together, will soon be broken, when anarchy & confusion will prevail."

A display case in the central gallery presents a folio from Madison's notes taken from his front-row seat at the Convention, the nearly microscopic, though readable handwriting filling the page from edge to edge.

Exhibits in the central gallery focus on the convention itself—the debates over composition of the

Caroline Taylor is assistant director for publications in the NEH Office of Publications and Public Affairs.



Fashioned along the lines of baseball trading cards, portraits of delegates to the 1787 Convention teach youngsters about individual contributions to the Constitution.

Friends of Independence National Historical Park

legislature, sectional compromises with respect to slavery and trade, and finally the delineation of the powers of government, the checks and balances portrayed by an intricate, synchronous system of weights and measures, viewed through the lens of a microscope representing the judiciary.

To depict the major sectional compromises achieved during the debates, a map correlated with the regional disputes can be manipulated by levers to show which compromise eventually ensured unity among the states. Another exhibit explains how one compromise—that on slavery—failed and how only after the Civil War could amendments to the Constitution finally offer equal protection of the laws. Two books published through the exhibition—*The Delegates Library: Intellectual Heritage of the Constitutional Era,* and *Bicentennial Bookshelf: Historians Analyze the Constitutional Era,* both by Jack Greene—provide opportunities for further reflection and follow-up reading.

The scholars also reviewed drafts of the conceptual chronology of the exhibition design, as well as documents, label copy, and educational materials designed to allow teachers to connect the Philadelphia Convention, as nearly as possible visually, with students in the classroom. The most popular of these materials has been the "Delegate Cards," a packet of cards designed to resemble baseball trading cards. "The cards use contemporary museum-quality portraiture of each delegate who participated in the discussions, debates, confrontations, and compromises," says Duckett. A shadow silhouette had to be used for the five delegates for whom no portraiture existed. In place of the usual RBI's or batting averages, the cards provide detailed biographical data on the delegates, including information about their education, families, backgrounds, and major contributions to the Convention.

To show why these delegates came to the convention, a newspaper datelined April 1, 1787, headlines the major issues of the period—piracy off the Barbary coast, Shays' Rebellion, a tempest over the states' paper money, a do-nothing Congress. "This newspaper can add an immediacy to the problems and perhaps some sense of being present as the 1780s issues emerge," says Duckett.

To give a sense of the city to which the delegates came, a vivid map shows the houses where people lived, the markets where they shopped, the rivers where they went for recreation or transport or to see John Fitch give a demonstration of his new paddle steamboat. The map is dotted with personal vignettes and notations about the open sewers and other conditions that contributed to the sights and smells of an eighteenth-century city.

A series of activities have been suggested for understanding the Convention itself—ways of analyzing the various primary issues the delegates debated—and suggestions for classroom approaches that can involve students more immediately in this process. For example, to show the care and precision with which the draft was executed, there are reproduced documents of the drafting process, beginning with the handwritten first draft by James Wilson.

Duckett is hoping for a 1987 miracle—something not quite as trivial as swapping a "Jacob Broom" for a "Jonathan Davidson" or knowing which delegate later disappeared from a New York hotel and was never seen again. She hopes that the 1987 "Miracle at Philadelphia" will spark a revival of interest in the people who forged a document that has, through twenty-six amendments and thousands of court rulings, survived to remain a living charter from the people to their government.

"Miracle at Philadelphia: The Constitutional Convention Bicentennial Exhibition" received $250,000 in outright funds and $275,000 in matching funds through the Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations Program of the Division of General Programs. The award was made in 1984 to the Friends of Independence National Historical Park. Margaret Duckett is the project director.

Remapping the World

BY MATTHEW KIELL

Maps may be called the light or eye of history.

—Hulsius
sixteenth-century geographer

"What is a map?" The answer seems obvious. It is something that shows you where places are—countries, rivers, towns, and on a smaller scale, highways, streets, trains, etc.—and how to get from here to there. But, as T. B. Harley and David Woodward, editors of the six-volume *History of Cartography*, see it, a map is much more: It is a man-made representation of the world—not the world itself but how human inhabitants interpret it.

Maps were first drawn in prehistoric times. But cartography, the study of maps, is very young. As an academic discipline, it did not exist until the nineteenth century. Not until 1839 did a Portuguese student named Santarém coin the word "cartography." Traditionally, cartography has not even been a single discipline but a combination of many arts and sciences, a mixing of history, history of science, art history, archaeology, linguistics, and geography.

This spring, a major step toward unifying and redefining the field will be taken when the University of Chicago Press, with long-standing support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, publishes volume 1 of *The History of Cartography*, a series that spans Western and Mediterranean cartography from prehistory through the fifteenth century. The 600-page volume will include thirty-nine color plates and 200 black-and-white photographs. Volume 2—slated for publication next year—explores the cartography of Asian cultures up to the seventeenth century.

Over the ages, maps—how they have been created, what significance they have had in a society, and how they have been studied—have played many roles. They have enabled cultures to demonstrate how they understand their surroundings, their philosophies, their religions. A map is not only practical; it is symbolic.

"Until very recently the idea of a map was that it simply showed locations," explains David Woodward of the University of Wisconsin, Madison. "It told how to get from one place to another. In the *History*, we've tried to enlarge that definition so that the symbology of the map as a whole—as an iconographical or cosmologic symbol—is also included. Before the twentieth century, cartographers always considered such items as medieval world maps to be marginal because these maps functioned mainly to teach the Christian faith, not to show locations."

Woodward and Harley took the medieval world map not as a deviation from what maps normally are, as most scholars before them had, but as a point of departure. "We said, 'If we include these, then we also have to include Asian or Renaissance cosmographical diagrams. We even have to include the modern use of national maps in advertising.'" This broadens the perspective of cartography far beyond the parameters where many people, especially geographers, will feel comfortable. Woodward realizes that, taken to its extreme, temporal graphs can be included under their definition of map. "We tried to be inclusive rather than exclusive concerning what a map is," he says.

Why do we make maps? "Maps are fundamental tools aiding the human mind in making sense of its universe at various scales, "writes J.B. Harley of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, in the series introduction.

"There is a mapping impulse in the human consciousness," Woodward explains. "Humans are interested in the physical environment and what their place is in relation to it. The map is a natural outgrowth of that."

On a more complex level is the need to share knowledge. Mapmakers and users can communicate about places or spaces they have experienced. Even before people developed written language, maps served as a form of written communication. "They are undoubtedly one of the oldest forms of human communication," Harley writes. And even with the development of sophisticated written language, they "speak across barriers of ordinary language" because they are more broadly representational and symbolic.

A familiar way of sharing and communicating knowledge among citizens of many early cultures, maps showing the range of the Empire were on public display in Rome. They were mentioned in classical Greek drama. Aristophanes in *The Clouds*, for example, mentions property maps and world maps. The masses neither designed maps for their own purposes nor produced them themselves until the Renaissance. How they were made, how they were used, and who used them were matters controlled by the elite classes. Maps were invaluable tools for wielding power.

In ancient China, for example, hydrologists developed and studied detailed charts that permitted them to predict and therefore control

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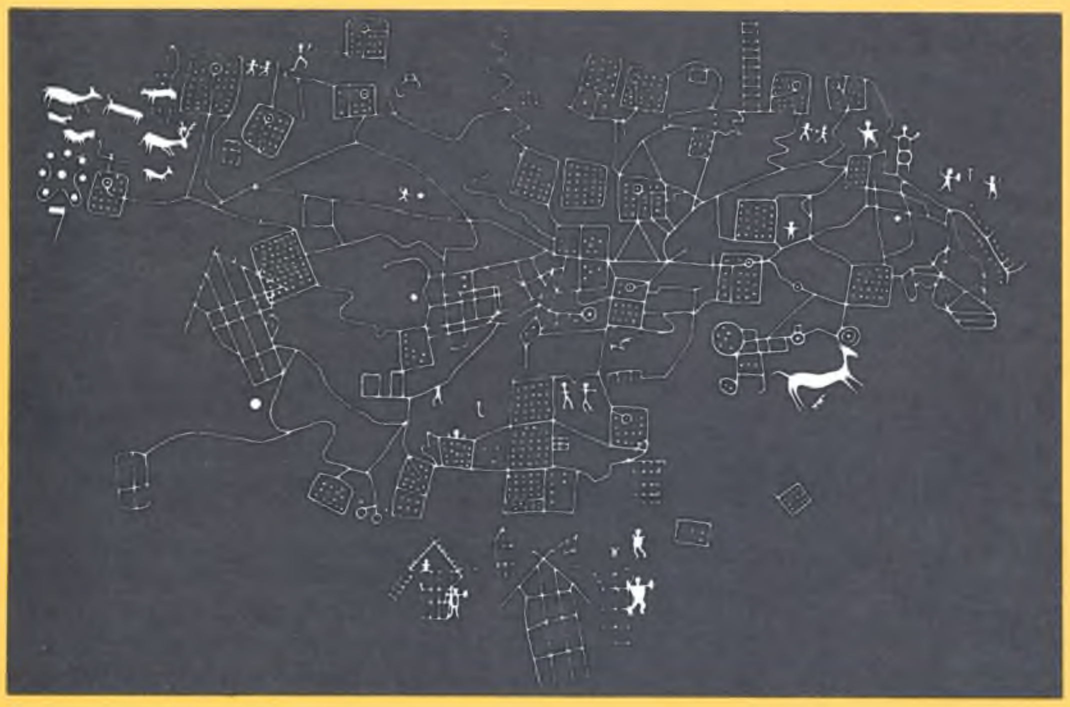
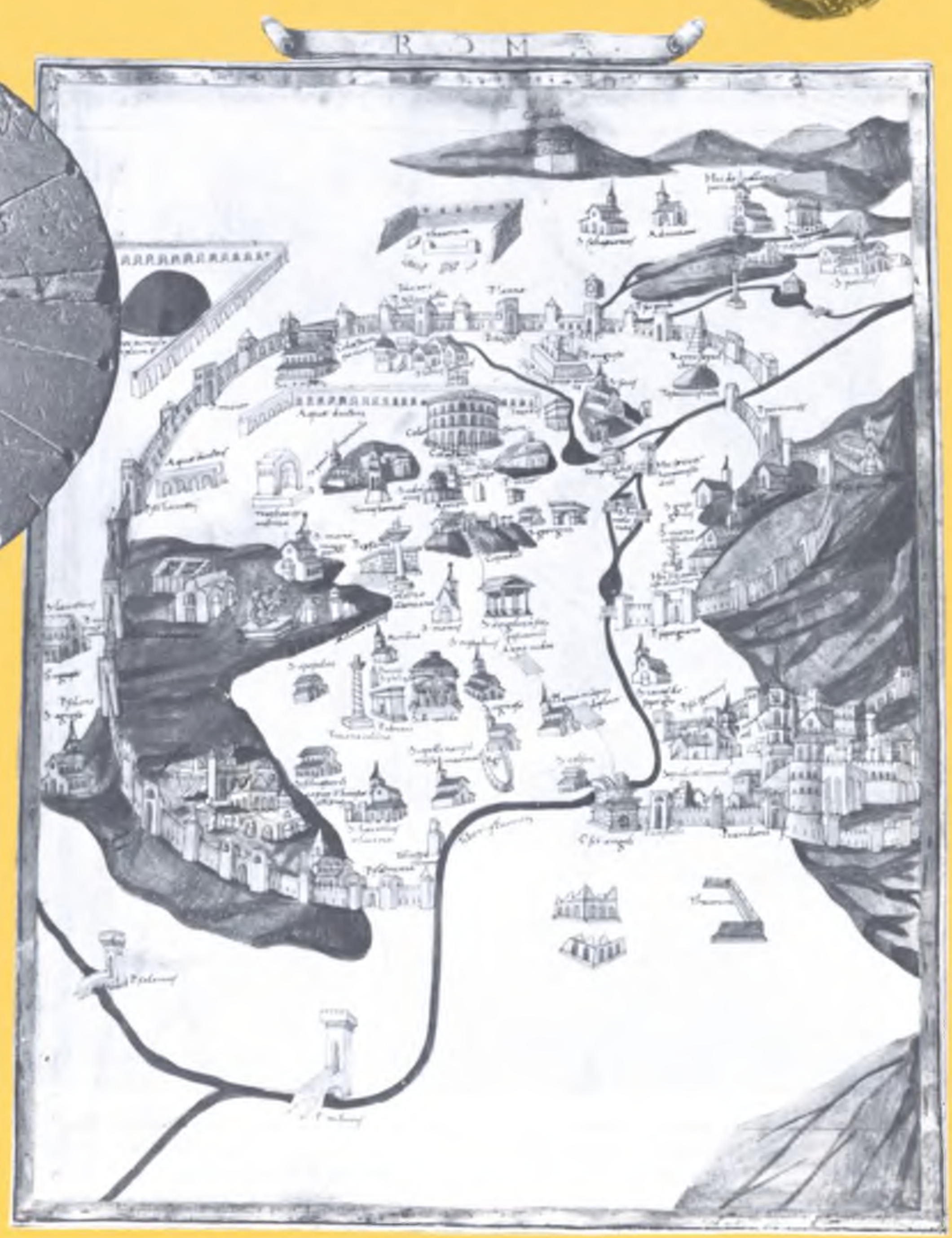
Matthew Kiell is an editor and freelance writer in Chicago.

Illustrations courtesy of Dr. David Woodward





(clockwise from above) A diagram of winds engraved on a cylindrical marble block, ca. A.D. 200; composite drawing from an early to middle Bronze Age petroglyph, 2000 to 1500 B.C., showing ritual sites; Roman coins depicting the globe of Crates, an early Roman geographer who used crossbars to represent the oceans; city plan of Rome drawn by a 15th-century Florentine artist.

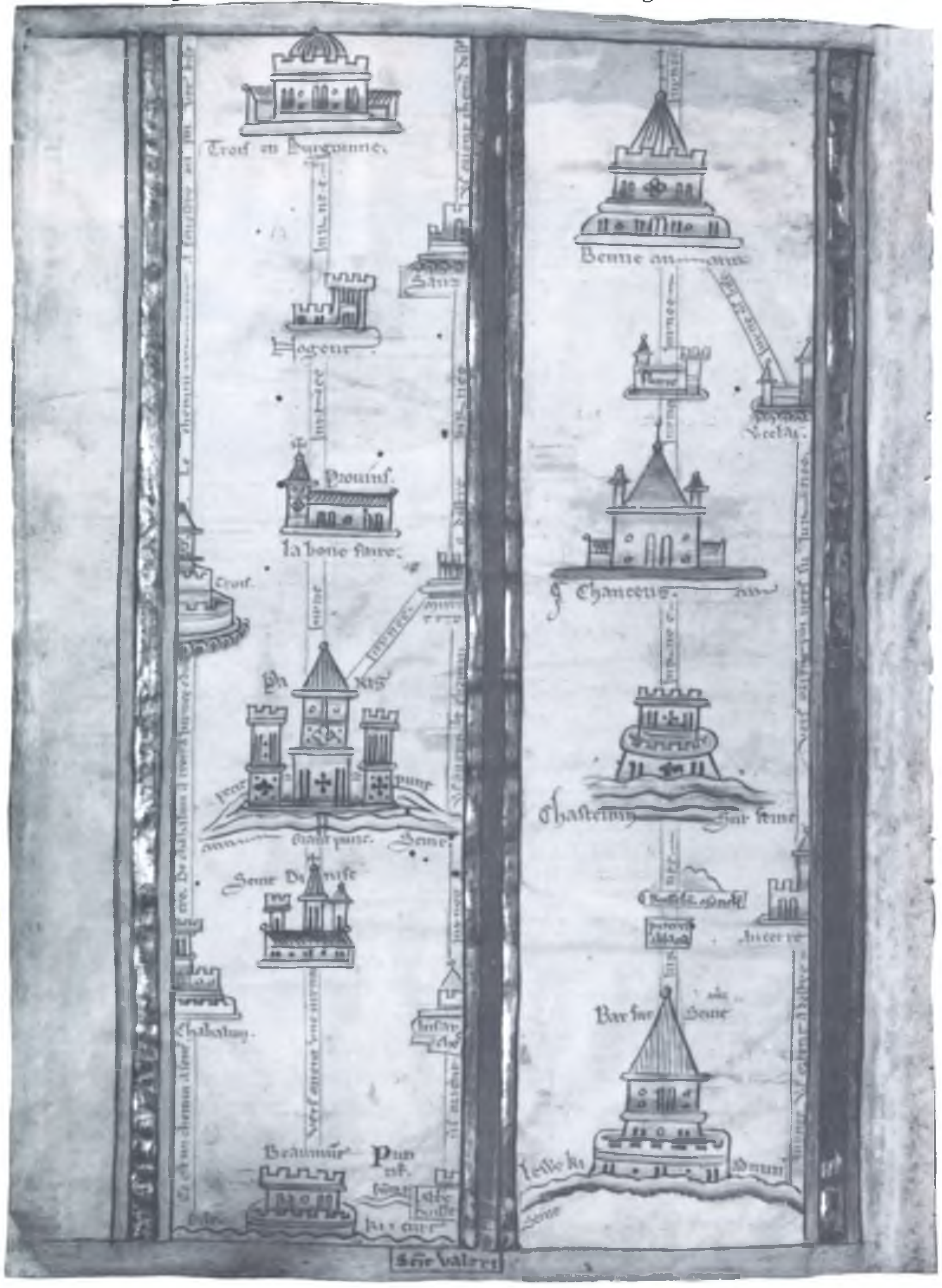
floods. Such skills and knowledge were only parsimoniously and partially shared.

What Woodward has found most surprising in the course of his work on the six-volume history is that maps have had universal and unchanging functions across the centuries and across cultures. Almost all the types of maps have been available in every period: town plans, property maps, military maps, sea charts, iconographic (as showing the extent of a nation's or group's power) or political maps, world maps, cosmographical maps showing the extent of the world and the heavens.

Almost every culture used maps to control water—irrigation, flood control, aqueducts, water rights. Cultures that have required such control through civil engineering—Italy, Holland, England, China—have highly developed cartography.

Town plans were long considered to be a Renaissance invention. But very good town plans were drawn in the Roman period, and one town plan has been discovered that shows a Turkish settlement from 6000 B.C.

Not only are the similarities striking between periods of history; they are striking between East and West. "The roles of maps in the West and in the Orient don't differ very much," Woodward says. "In the maps of the West in volume 2 you will see the same map functions as in the Asian maps in volume 1 in the different periods we deal with. There are examples of Chinese property maps, topographical maps, sea charts, world maps. What emerges is the need for all of these kinds of functions in all kinds of societies."



Itinerary map of the route from London to Apulia, Italy, mid-13th century. Successive stopping points are thumbnail sketches, some based on actual appearances of sites. Intermediate distances are marked with days of travel time.

Although function has remained remarkably consistent, perspective in maps has shifted over the centuries, from the personal to the objective.

The personal is seen in the instinctive, egocentric tendency to set the proportions of a map according to the mapmaker's perspective. As a result, the area around the mapmaker's home appears larger than more distant regions. The map is geographically distorted, but it speaks clearly about the psychology of the individual mapmaker or the culture. (The now-famous Steinberg *New Yorker* cover of New York City and beyond is an excellent example of a throwback to this instinctual approach to map proportion.) Maps of indigenous cultures reflect this tendency, as do those created before the Renaissance. The procedure of laying out a grid, assigning positions to places on the basis of this grid, and giving each place equal importance is seen first in the second-century work of Ptolemy.

Also important is the present-day mapmaker's rapidly expanding ability to gather and present data. It is in this sphere, with the development of ever more powerful computer technology, that David Woodward sees radical changes in cartography. The greater detail and accuracy made possible by new technology will revolutionize mapmaking. In important ways maps have remained constant over time; technological improvements have not changed the need for and uses of them.

The University of Chicago Press was awarded $12,657 in 1985 through the Publication Subvention category in the Division of Research Programs for "The History of Cartography, Volume I" Drs. J.B. Harley and David Woodward are the editors of the volume.

The Best Young Men Go West

BY JEAN LAWRENCE

Having acquired a parcel of land, a wealthy Virginia civil servant asked a family friend to explore and map the new territory.

The parcel of land was the Louisiana Purchase, the Virginian was President Thomas Jefferson, and the family friend was a soft-spoken Army officer named Meriwether Lewis.

To accompany him, Lewis thought of William Clark, a fellow soldier and formerly his superior. Assembling a band of about fifty men, Lewis set off from Pittsburgh in 1803 for the trackless outback beyond the Missouri River. Clark joined them near Louisville, and the historic partnership was formed. (Although the two men are enshrined in history as captains, Clark never attained a rank higher than lieutenant, a fact that was concealed from the men on the expedition for the sake of discipline.)

Jefferson, believing knowledge begat power and faced with geopolitical competition from land-hungry Great Britain, instructed his youthful emissaries (Lewis was twenty-nine, Clark thirty-three) to keep meticulous notes on every aspect of the newly acquired acreage—from the geography, to the weather, to plant and animal life, to the characteristics of Indian tribes along the way.

Referring to themselves as the Corps of Discovery, the tiny band felt its way across America, guided by greasy maps scrawled by fur traders and the good counsel of Indians they encountered.

The result was thousands of pages of maps, notes, and drawings that form a vivid portrait of a continent virtually unknown to the inhabitants of its eastern seaboard. In the process, only one member of the corps perished—of appendicitis—despite matter-of-fact accounts of rampaging bears, starvation, and cold.

To preserve and expand on the accomplishments of the two explorers and their crew (four of whom also kept journals), the National Endowment for the Humanities has funded the third installment of a project to produce a definitive, annotated version of the original

Jean Lawrence is a Washington freelance writer.

of small fish which now begin to run and are taken in great quantities in the Columbia R. about 40 miles above us by means of skiming or scooping nets. on this page I have drawn the likeness of them as large as life; it as perfect as I can make it with my pen and will serve to give a general idea of the fish. the rays of the fins are boney but not sharp tho' somewhat pointed. the small fin on the back next to the tail has no rays of bone being a membranous pellicle. the fins next to the gills have eleven rays each. those of the abdomen have eight each, those of the pinnavani are 20 and 2 haff formed in front. that of the back has eleven rays. all the fins are of a white colour. the back is of a bluish duskey colour and that of the lower part of the sides and belley is of a silvery white. no spots on any part. the first bone of the gills next behind the eye is of a bluis cast, and the second of a light goald colour nearly white. the puple of the eye is black and the iris of a silver white. the under jaw exceeds the upper; the mouth opens to great extent, folding like that of the herring. it has no teeth. the abdomen is obtuse and smooth; in this differing from the herring, shad anchovey &c of the Malacapterygious Order & Class Clupea

"... a species of small fish which begin to run and are taken in great quantities in the Columbia River about 40 miles above us by means of skimming or scooping nets."

—*Lewis, Fort Clatsop, February 24, 1806* journals, maps, and herbarium of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Cosponsoring the project are the University of Nebraska Center for Great Plains Studies and American Philosophical Society, where many of the documents are preserved.

The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition will span eleven volumes, at the rate of approximately one a year.

The first volume, an *Atlas* of maps created primarily by Clark and, for comparison, the maps they had available to them, was published in 1983 (University of Nebraska Press, $100).

Volume 2, taking the Corps of Discovery from the jumping-off point in Pittsburgh through its first winter encampment, near St. Louis, and on to the Nebraska–South Dakota border, was published in December 1986 (University of Nebraska Press, $40).

Volume 3 is due out early in 1987; the rest of the volumes are in planning and production.

The director of the project, Gary E. Moulton, an associate professor of history at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln, stresses that the inclusion of new documents and his emphasis on the many ancillary findings differentiate this work from an earlier and still respected transcription produced by Reuben G. Thwaites in 1905.

"Thwaites was working alone and quickly," Moulton points out. "He did not have the resources to annotate the portions of the journals pertaining to such matters as geology, linguistics, botany, and a host of other disciplines. I am on the telephone constantly with experts in more than a dozen fields," Moulton adds.

Moreover, new documents have been discovered during the last eighty years. "In an attic in the pigeon hole of a rolltop desk, sixty-seven pages of Clark's field notes were found in 1953," Moulton says. "In another case, a man went into a bookshop and asked to see any Americana they might have. He was handed the fair copy of a diary of an enlisted man from the journey."

...about 8 A.M. we fell in with two brown or yellow [grizzly] *bear ... one of them made his escape, the other after my firing on him pursued me seventy or eighty yards, but fortunately had been so badly wounded that he was unable to ... prevent my charging my gun ... and [we] killed him.*

—Meriwether Lewis, April 29, 1805

Included in Moulton's treatment of the expedition will be the diaries of four enlisted men. This material will be carried separately in a later volume, while Lewis and Clark's observations will be interwoven in chronological order in the earlier volumes.

As with most handling of handwritten material, guidelines were necessary. Demonstrating what one investigator termed "dazzling virtuosity in his approach to punctuation, capitalization, and simple sentence structure," Clark had no less than twenty-seven ways of spelling "Sioux."

Even though he has been reading their innermost thoughts for years, Moulton says he has not been able to form an idea of the personalities of the two men.

"The conventional wisdom goes that Lewis was introspective and aloof, and Clark was more outgoing," he says, "but that doesn't necessarily come through in their writing."

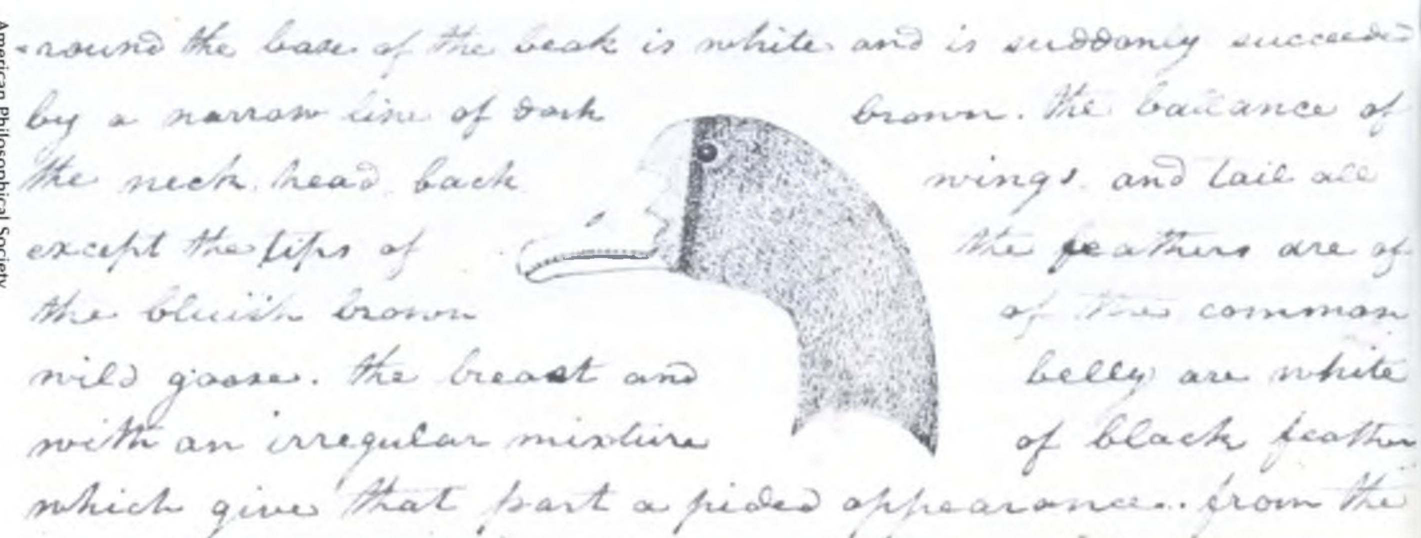
Such characterizations might have been applied in retrospect, reflecting the dissimilar fates of the two men. Lewis became involved in political squabbles and suffered personal financial setbacks, finally committing suicide in 1809. Clark lived to be nearly seventy as the "grand old man of St. Louis," according to Moulton.

"I found it interesting that the two rarely disagreed on anything," Moulton adds. "One liked dog meat and the other didn't; and one liked salt and the other didn't. But that was about all."

Whatever the chemistry, an eager audience awaits Moulton's efforts. There is an organization called the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation that has a thousand dues-paying members and publishes regularly on the expedition. The group sometimes reenacts segments of the trip at annual meetings.

"Two men went out there," observes Moulton with scholarly understatement, "and it is taking twenty of us over ten years to find out what they did."

Dr. Gary E. Moulton of the University of Nebraska was awarded $210,032 in 1985 through the Editions category in the Division of Research Programs for "The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition."



American Philosophical Society

Head of a Brant duck sketched by Lewis on March 15, 1806.

Etching of Caliban by John Hamilton Mortimer, 1741–79.

The Folger Shakespeare Library

Indiana Brushes up Its Shakespeare

BY JOSEPH H. BROWN

THE INDIANA COMMITTEE for the Humanities (ICH) is reviving the traveling Chautauqua, nineteenth-century America's successful experiment in popular education. Explains Michael Jones of the ICH, "chautauquas once traveled the Midwest and the western parts of the country, bringing a host of educational opportunities, culture, and festivities to the communities they visited." The ICH is putting together an old-fashioned chautauqua as a way to "saturate the state with Shakespeare."

Called "An Elizabethan Kaleidoscope: Shakespeare's *Tempest* and the New World,"the chautauqua's focal point will be a new production of *The Tempest* by the Indianapolis Shakespeare Festival (ISF), and its "New World"theme will pay tribute to the tenth Pan American Games hosted concurrently in Indianapolis. The chautauqua will bring Shakespeare to five Indiana communities this summer.

"Shakespeare was very much aware of discoveries in the New World at the time he wrote *The Tempest*," notes Elizabeth Ware, producing director of the ISF. "There were reports of the New World as a garden utopia inhabited by strange beasts and savages, and we are using that as a stepping-off point for our production."

"We know that Shakespeare had access to these writings because some of the lines from *The Tempest* parallel descriptions sent back by explorers from the New World," elaborates David Edgecombe, the Festival's artistic director. "What I'm doing is using the Elizabethan's landing in the New World as a metaphor for the confrontation between the people of Western Europe and the natives of the Americas."

As an expresion of the contrast between Old and New Worlds, "the shipwreck survivors will be representative of Renaissance England," explains Ware, "and the inhabitants of the island and the island itself will reflect the indigenous American cultures of the period." For example, according to Edgecombe, "We'll be matching many of the characters with native gods and imagery. Caliban will still be a monster, but his costume will be drawn from some native American source. John Gates, our music director this summer, is researching music composed in the Spanish colonies, pieces that borrow from both the Spanish and the Indian cultures."

Elizabethan conceptions of the New World will also be explored in the chautauqua's Great Debate, a personae performance featuring such prominent Elizabethans as Queen Elizabeth, William Shakespeare, and Sir Walter Raleigh. The performers in the debate will first deliver monologues about their lives, then debate one another. Finally, the discussion will open to the audience.

"One of the issues we'd like to discuss," says Edgecombe, who is producing the debate for the ICH, "is that of class in Elizabethan England. After the magical elements of *The Tempest*, the notion of class difference and suitability of people to share space is a recurring question."

The chautauqua will open with a free lecture and a program of music from the Elizabethan period. "Festivities on the green" will follow, recreating the feeling of an Elizabethan street scene. The day's activities will culminate in a procession into the tent for the Great Debate, the evening's main feature.

The second day of the chautauqua will begin with a series of workshops on various aspects of the Elizabethan age led by scholars from local colleges and universities. The workshops will cover such topics as religion and morality, government and justice, theater, utopian literature and several historical utopian experiments, censorship, the occult and its role in everyday life, and costumes and clothing. The workshops will be followed by a panel discussion of *The Tempest* as a way of preparing an audience unfamiliar with Shakespeare for the performance that will follow in the evening.

Each community will also host Elizabethan activities of its own choice, under the direction of local steering committees.

"Our revels now are ended," says Prospero in Act IV of *The Tempest*. "These our actors,/ As I foretold you, were all spirits and/ Are melted into air, into thin air . . . / And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,/ Leave not a rack behind." But after the chautauqua in Indiana has faded, those actors and scholars will leave behind students and adults who understand more about Shakespeare and the Elizabethan vision of the New World.

Joseph H. Brown is a manuscript editor at the University of Chicago Press.

Programs of the Indiana Committee for the Humanities are supported through the NEH Division of State Programs.

The author argues that interdisciplinary studies should arise from research not from social concerns.

The Dialectics of Interdisciplinarity

BY HAROLD DORN

THERE IS AN ineluctable tension between the commitment to intellectual discipline and the commitment to social betterment. The "disciplines" are seen to be intellectually insular, their insularity reinforced by the structure of academic departments. Disciplined study evokes the image of the reclusive scholar sequestered in an ivory tower in apparent indifference to worldly affairs. Conversely, in the name of generating socially relevant knowledge, mission-oriented interdisciplinary studies have been prescribed as an antidote to the detachment and social aridity of disciplinary research. In fact, however, interdisciplinary studies have arisen in both traditions—spontaneously from the normal play of ideas that characterizes research along disciplinary lines as well as from the intervention of an urgent quest for the solution of social or political problems.

Ever since the origin of rational inquiry in the ancient Aegean world, investigations that have appeared to be useless and meaningless, driven only by the desire to know, have aroused uncertain responses, albeit sometimes tinged with grudging respect and utilitarian hopes. And, if the scholar, secluded in his laboratory or study, happened to enjoy the largesse of public support, his efforts have also provoked demands for accountability and for evidence of relevance to the public interest. History records many anecdotes that display this tension. Thales, the first philosopher-scientist for whom even a perfunctory biography can be constructed, was reported by Aristotle, who described him as the "founder" of natural philosophy, to have come under criticism for the uselessness of his investigations:

> *There is the anecdote of Thales the Milesian and his financial device, which . . . is attributed to him on account of his reputation for wisdom. He was reproached for his poverty, which was supposed to show that philosophy was of no use. According to the story, he knew by his skill of the stars while it was yet winter that there would be a great harvest of olives in the coming year; so, having a little money, he gave deposits for the use of all the olive-presses in Chios and Miletus, which he hired at a low price because no one bid against him. When the harvest-time came, and many were wanted all at once and of a sudden, he let them out at any rate which he pleased, and made a quantity of money.*

Aristotle added that, "Thus he showed the world that philosophers can easily be rich if they like, but that their ambition is of another sort." Three hundred years after Thales is supposed to have dabbled in olive oil futures the antithesis between abstract learning and social utility was evident at the state-supported Alexandrian Museum. Euclid is reported to have snapped when a student questioned the utility of studying geometry: "Give him three obols, since he must needs make gain out of what he learns." The public stipends received by the scholars who worked at the museum added still another dimension of resentment and criticism. According to a contemporary commentator:

> *Timon of Phlius, the satirist, calls the Museum a bird-cage, by way of ridiculing the philosophers who got their living there because they are fed like the choicest birds in the coop: "Many there be that batten in populous Egypt, well-propped pedants who quarrel without end in the Muses' bird-cage."*

The higher learning in the modern world reveals the same tension. Newton is said to have laughed only once during his long life—when he was asked to what benefit the study of Euclid could be turned. In the eighteenth century, the French chemist, Claude Berthollet, rebuked James Watt for proposing that they commercialize a chemical discovery: "If one loves the sciences one has little need of wealth." And Louis Pasteur's tribute to the life of science reflects the full force of the ambiguity over the delights of research, on the one hand, and service to society, on the other: "To him who devotes his life to science, nothing can give more happiness than increasing the number of discoveries, but his cup of joy is full when the results of his studies immediately find practical applications."

Especially in troubled times, the pursuit of learning ostensibly for its own sake provokes critical and searching inquiry, and sometimes agonizing self-scrutiny. In 1939, a particularly troubled year, Bertolt Brecht gave voice to the dilemma, with obvious mixed feelings, in one of his poems:

> *A conversation about trees is*
> *almost a crime*
> *Because it implies silence about*
> *So many misdeeds.*

This apprehensive desire to foster useful, rather than "pure," knowledge has driven the fields of

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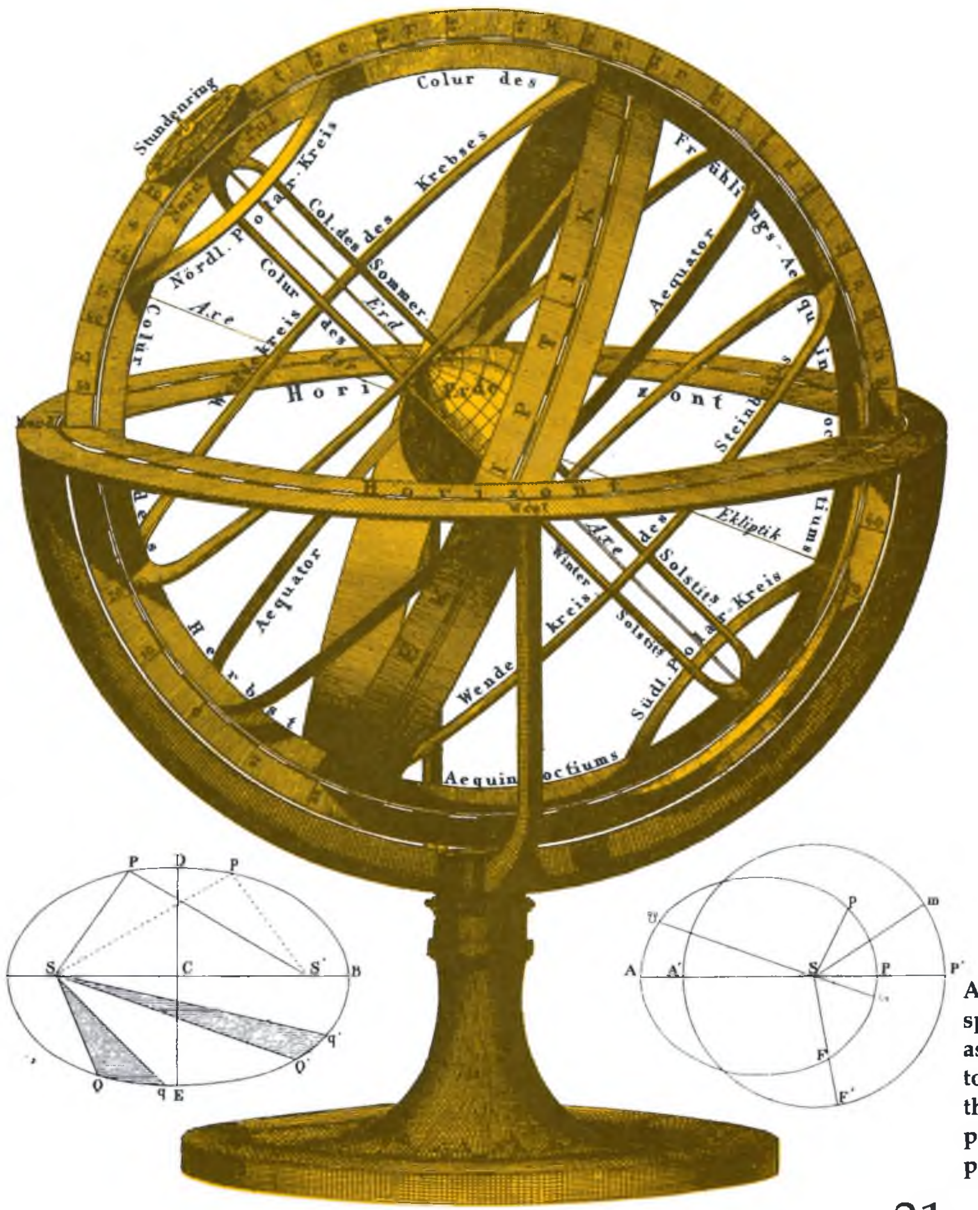
learning into many interdisciplinary misalliances.

Attempts to produce socially relevant cross-disciplinary studies often seek to fulfill their social mission by devising some combination of the humanities and the sciences in order to achieve the holistic understanding that disciplined inquiry allegedly conceals. "Scientific literacy," the attempt, through interdisciplinary curricula, to provide students in the liberal arts with a significant understanding of the sciences, has been promoted as one remedy for the remoteness of the traditional humanities from the distress of the contemporary world. And, more recently, "technological literacy" and "computer literacy" have joined the bandwagon. An implication of these slogans is that humanities scholars cannot properly indulge themselves in refined humanistic tastes for their own sake; they must be stiffened by a knowledge of science and technology in order to produce a citizenry capable of participating in democratic governance in a highly technical world.

Conversely, the sciences and the professions have all too often sought their social certification through academic cartels with the humanities. In the face of anxieties about the social effects of what is sometimes called (with more histrionics than history) the scientific and technological revolution, ethics courses have been introduced into medical training, and appropriately "relevant" humanities courses are constantly being dreamed up for engineering students. Quite apart from the fact that ethics instruction is not known to change behavior, these efforts repudiate the traditional and abiding mission of humanities education to study the cultural treasures of the world's civilizations and to confront the issues of man's place in nature. (And if it should be found that ethics courses do, in fact, produce an effect on behavior, we must steel ourselves for the possibility that they may make the student more cagey rather than more godly.) In general, these pressures to merge the "two cultures" strain the university along its weakest fault line—between its need to respond spontaneously to the inner logic of inquiry and society's desire to derive benefits from the institutions it sponsors. Externally induced programs of what amounts to interdisciplinary contraband—attempts to produce moral edification and behavior modification—shift the burdens traditionally carried by programs of social and political action onto an institution whose greatest strength has been unfettered research and teaching.

Another defect of these socially and politically inspired schemes of interdisciplinary studies springs precisely from their social and political urgency. There is no time for the long, unpredictable process of undirected and unforced study and discovery. "So many misdeeds" must be addressed and corrected expeditiously. The result is that in many cases the pressure is transformed, not into genuine interdisciplinary studies, but merely into improvisations of team-teaching, often by scholars in widely separated disciplines. The mechanical engineer describes the various oxides that pollute the atmosphere; the sociologist lectures on the class-differential effects of environmental degradation; and the student is left to produce the synergism that has escaped his mentors.

To recognize fully the defects of interdisciplinary programs prescribed by objectives other than the accumulation and dissemination of knowledge and, conversely, to appreciate the potential of intellectually legitimate interdisciplinary studies, it may be useful to review some recent interdisciplinary triumphs. These efforts have interwoven the humanities and the sciences, not to promote any program of social action, but rather in response to the enticements of learning and discovery. Some of these ventures have resulted in new fields within the humanities (including the humanistic social sciences); others in new fields within



Armillary sphere, an astronomer's tool showing the relative positions of planetary orbits.

the sciences. In both cases they display the most telling contrast with interdisciplinary programs that are the result of direction and intervention. And one of their definitive earmarks is that they begin with research, not with teaching.

The application of civil engineering, specifically the methods of structural analysis, to the study of historic buildings has reopened and resolved several questions that have puzzled historians of architecture since the middle of the nineteenth century. As a result, we have a better understanding of the interplay between aesthetic sensibility and technical requirements in the art of building. We have also, incidentally, gained undergraduate courses which embody the insights that have emerged from the research.

But the flagship field of such interdisciplinary studies is the history of science; it displays the process of merger in its most complete form. Prior to the 1930s it was a field of interest to a few solitary scholars trained in one of the traditional disciplines. Then, in 1931, a Soviet philosopher of science provoked a tempestuous controversy by claiming that Newton's *Principia* is to be understood in terms of the social and economic conditions of seventeenth-century England. Battle lines were drawn and redrawn, and the intellectual combat has been fierce, spilling over into several established fields of research. Coinciding with (and, in some measure, contributing to) the demise of positivism, with its guarded insistence on the strictly logical and empirical rules of science, the controversy sparked a renewed interest in the correlations among science, ideology, and society. It led from research and the play of ideas to new university programs and to new courses of instruction. In the process, a new discipline emerged from the interdisciplinary matrix. This development was quite the reverse of the socially or politically programmed interdisciplinarity, which begins with team-teaching and ends with the team teachers returning to their posts to await another call to duty.

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Sir Isaac Newton, 1642–1727.

The patterns of spontaneous interdisciplinarity are manifold and diverse. In the case of the history of science, the new discipline has found its home among historians and is generally studied and taught in departments of history. Conversely, the history of art is housed in art departments and the history of music in conservatories. These affiliations probably reflect some inner structure of the fields whose histories are studied. There may, at present, be some fundamental incompatibility between the sciences, with their appealing commitment to the "truth,"and their histories, which find as much interest in, and attach as much importance to, discarded and discredited theories as to those currently regarded as correct. The miasma of ideas that historians of science find so salubrious and congenial are more appropriately studied in conjunction with wars, plagues, deception, and decay than in an intellectually sanitary department of scientific research.

The history of science has produced a new field of the humanities. In the reverse process of affiliation, when the humanities or the humanistic social sciences are assimilated by science, still other issues arise. Are not the humanities incorruptibly humanistic, not to be decomposed into forces or molecules? The clamor of *reductionism* and *determinism* may be heard—reducing human affairs to the level of physical or biological processes. An especially instructive case is the recently renewed interest in sociobiology, the systematic study of the biological basis of all social behavior. In its most extravagant expression it foresees even the traditional humanities being cannibalized by biology. Edward O. Wilson, one of its leading investigators, has stated: "Scientists and humanists should consider together the possibility that the time has come for ethics to be removed temporarily from the hands of the philosophers and biologicized." Such a program, or even its recommendation, is bound to raise a few hackles; it excites passionately held philosophical convictions about what it means to be human. But there is a further, and more menacing, implication whenever, in the course of cross-disciplinary studies, the fields of social analysis are subjected to the methods of the biological or physical sciences. The concern is understandably aroused, particularly since the 1930s, that the study of human affairs in biological terms may accentuate physical differences, insulated from cultural variables, among human ethnic groups. Sociobiologists have quite unfairly felt the sting of this accusation; unfairly, because there is no inherent connection between sociobiology, with its impeccable scientific pedigree and its complete dissociation from any ethnic animosity, and the beer-hall raciology of the twenties and thirties which sprang from a political, not a scientific, tradition.

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Louis Pasteur, 1822–95.

Still another area of interdisciplinary combinations, this one centered in the humanistic social sciences, is related, at least distantly (but not fraternally), to sociobiology. It is sometimes designated ecological materialism, and it is, in a sense, derived from a revision of Marxism (actually a reversion, inasmuch as Marx himself occasionally cited ecological factors). To the mode of production—the technological and economic underpinnings of society the importance of which Marxists consistently stress—are added ecological, including demographic, considerations. (The mode of production is joined by the mode of reproduction.) Anthropology, archaeology, ecology, and history are the major contributing disciplines, and its chief objective is the explanation of cultural and historical processes in terms of material variables. Less polemical formulations simply stress the importance of material and ecological factors in social change without attempting to impose a specific research strategy on the emergent field of analysis. In a recent study of pastoral nomadism, for example, the Soviet historian A. M. Khazanov stressed the relevance of ecological and cultural conditions to macrohistorical explanation:

The entire temperate zone of Eurasia subdivides more or less neatly into areas favourable for agriculture, areas favourable for extensive pastoralism, and marginal areas in which both these forms of economic activity are possible. In the latter areas the predominant economic activity depends on specific historical circumstances and is not determined directly by ecology.

In true dialectical fashion, a final comment is futurological. An interdisciplinary merger of great interest would be a revival, on a higher level, of what was at one time a common grade-school combination—history and geography. It would integrate, on global and macroanalytical scales, institutional and intellectual history with ecological and anthropological studies as well as the histories of technology and agriculture. According to one of its pioneers, Joseph Needham, it even conveys an ecumenical message. It will surely make us more learned; and it might also make us a little better.

The author argues that medical ethics provides a model for interdisciplinary studies.

Ethics in a Science Curriculum

BY EDMUND D. PELLEGRINO

HIROSHIMA AND Auschwitz brought home, more forcefully than any learned discourse, how complex the ethical dilemmas in the uses of scientific knowledge can be. They left no doubt that science cannot act as its own moral arbiter and proved that the world urgently needs scientists who combine competence with moral sensitivity. The practical challenge is how the necessary fusion of science and morality can best be effected.

Clearly a major responsibility falls upon the universities, the spawning grounds of new knowledge and new scientists. Until recently their response has been incomplete and uncertain. The one exception has been in medical education. Here the ubiquity and complexity of moral choices are all too direct and personal to be ignored—prolonging, engineering, and terminating human life, transplanting organs, treating patients with AIDS—the whole panoply of moral questions that make up medical ethics today.

Medicine, as it was in Plato's time, is again the paradigm of the ethical use of knowledge. For the past twenty years, medical educators and ethicists have cooperated in a pioneering effort to integrate ethics into a medical curriculum. Their experiences are important to science educators—not just those in medical science—because all the sciences need an ethical perspective. Their experiences are also controversial and are criticized by philosophers and scientists alike.

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The experiment began twenty years ago in an unexpected way. A small group of ministers on half a dozen medical campuses and a smaller group of medical educators saw the moral dilemmas accompanying medicine's unprecedented progress. Anticipating the enthusiasm for medical techniques that sometimes dehumanizes patient care and submerges human values, they gathered informally to foster the teaching of ethics and values in medical schools and to encourage the establishment of programs on their own campuses. On two campuses, they were successful. In 1968 two new medical schools, at Pennsylvania State University and at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, established the first formal teaching programs in ethics and the humanities. In 1969 the group founded the Society for Health and Human Values and in 1970 the Institute of Human Values in Medicine.

With a decade of support by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Institute of Human Values in Medicine gathered momentum in the effort to teach ethics in medical schools. Under its auspices, eighty faculty institutes were held at medical schools across the country to acquaint faculties with the objectives, content, and methodologies relevant to teaching ethics and humanities to medical students. The institute also offered summer fellowships to humanists and physicians to help each group become familiar with the other's discipline. Many of the participating faculty members started programs in ethics on their own campuses.

Today formal instruction in ethics is available in almost every medical school in the country. Some programs emphasize medical ethics; others combine ethics with history, literature, or philosophy. Others link ethics with the humanistic social sciences or with religious studies. Frequently these courses combine humanities, human values, and ethics in proportions that vary, depending on the interest and capabilities of the local faculties.

Despite the differences in content, a pedagogic pattern with certain definable characteristics has evolved. The usual objective of teaching ethics is to impart the skills necessary to recognize and analyze ethical dilemmas that arise in clinical situations. The aim is to show students that the analysis of moral issues cannot be separated from clinical decisions and that ethical analysis is part of being a competent physician. A second objective is to help each student recognize his or her own ethical and moral values, how these values influence clinical decisions, and how they might conflict with those of the patient.

In most instances, ethical problems—starting and stopping treatment, allocating resources, managing economic conflicts—are illustrated in case presentations. In several schools, this teaching is later supplemented by case presentations in the hospitals and clinics, in ethical "rounds," and in continuing education for practicing physicians.

Medical ethics is developing a body of knowledge and a scholarly apparatus approaching that of other university disciplines. An enormous body of literature is being produced by ethicists, physicians, philosophers, economists, and moral theologians. Last year more than 2,000 articles appeared in English alone.

Graduate programs now prepare an increasing number of students to be teachers and consultants in hospitals, health care organizations, medical schools, and liberal arts colleges. The latter are significantly expanding their offerings in biomedical ethics. More than a hundred centers now exist in the United States alone devoted to teaching or research in biomedical ethics. Increasingly, ethicists act as consultants to hospitals, ethics committees, legislative bodies, the courts, the Congress, and federal agencies. In effect, a whole new academic discipline and a new profession have emerged in response to the multiplicity of ethical issues that are now of daily concern in medical education and practice.

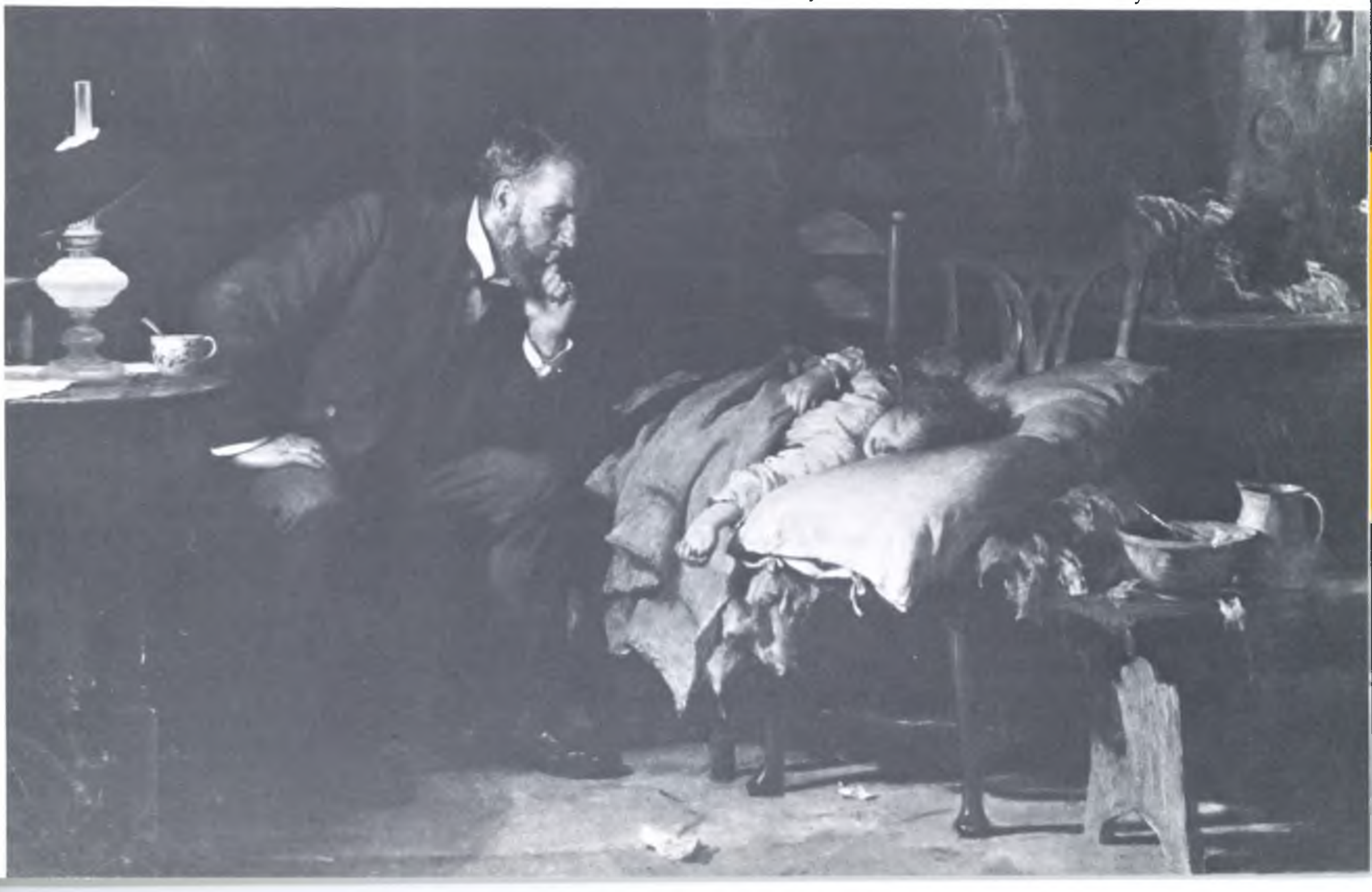
Despite these obvious successes, the teaching of ethics as part of a medical curriculum has not escaped criticism both by ethicists and medical faculties. Professional ethicists assert that such teaching is doomed to superficiality, that too much emphasis on cases leads to casuistry at the expense of principles, and that scholarship in medical ethics is shallow. Medical faculty members, both clinical and basic scientists, question the need, lament the time taken from technical subjects, and hold either that ethics cannot be taught or that moral education belongs to home and church, or that it is too late to teach ethics in medical school. The more positivistic medical faculties deny any value to ethics as a discipline because it is not subject to experimental validation.

There is some truth in these criticisms. Some courses are superficial; others are badly taught by inadequately trained or poor teachers; much scholarly effort in the field is repetitive and trivial. But, on balance, the criticisms are not sufficiently well founded to negate the value of ethics as an academic subject in a science curriculum. Some of those criticisms are, themselves, suspect. They suggest either a lack of acquaintance with what is being done, or an attitudinal bias about the intellectuality of one discipline versus another all too common in academia.

The criticisms of professional philosophers do not take fully into account the objectives being sought. No one argues that teaching ethics in a medical school can substitute for college or graduate courses in moral philosophy, nor that it will make each doctor an ethicist, or a scholar. The aim is modest, practical, and achievable—to impart the skills of ethical analysis and a spirit of moral introspection and reflection to future physicians.

The case method is essential to that end. It captures student interest and illustrates the practical necessity of an analytical framework. The charge of superficiality centers on the emphasis on cases rather than theory. But good teachers easily move from concrete cases to the examination of principles and theories. Indeed, properly conducted, such a move is more effective in teaching theory than starting with the abstract. The most effective teachers are professionally trained ethicists who are secure in their own discipline and who are committed to imparting it to medical students. Their presence introduces an atmosphere of critical reflection and

The Doctor **by Sir Luke Filbus, nineteenth century.**



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dialogue on moral issues unparalleled in any other professional activity.

Many ethicists collaborate with clinicians. They usually spend a year or more becoming acquainted with the customs and procedures characteristic of hospital teaching. Thus, they come to respect the urgency and complexity of clinical ethical decisions. Many become proficient in medical terminology, teach at the bedside, and act as ethical consultants for their clinical colleagues. Their own research is usually stimulated by the cases they observe. These ethicists, now full-time medical school faculty members, like Socrates are literally bringing philosophy into the marketplace.

Like any new scholarly endeavor, some research in medical ethics is spotty in quality and sophistication. Papers of substance, however, are numerous. Indeed, some philosophers believe that involvement in medical problems has infused the study of ethics with new life. Even their research has been stimulated by the wrenching moral choices doctors and patients face daily. These choices focus on the classical and perennial problems of ethics.

Medical ethics also has stimulated the teaching of ethics in colleges and even in some high schools. The climate is now set for a continuum of education in ethics—from high school and college to medical school and post-graduate education. What professional ethicist would decry such a flourishing of his discipline?

Finally, is it not the aim of a liberal arts education, and of ethics within that context, to prepare citizens who can make thoughtful moral judgments? Teaching medical ethics points the way for similar endeavors not only in the sciences but in the nonscientific professions.

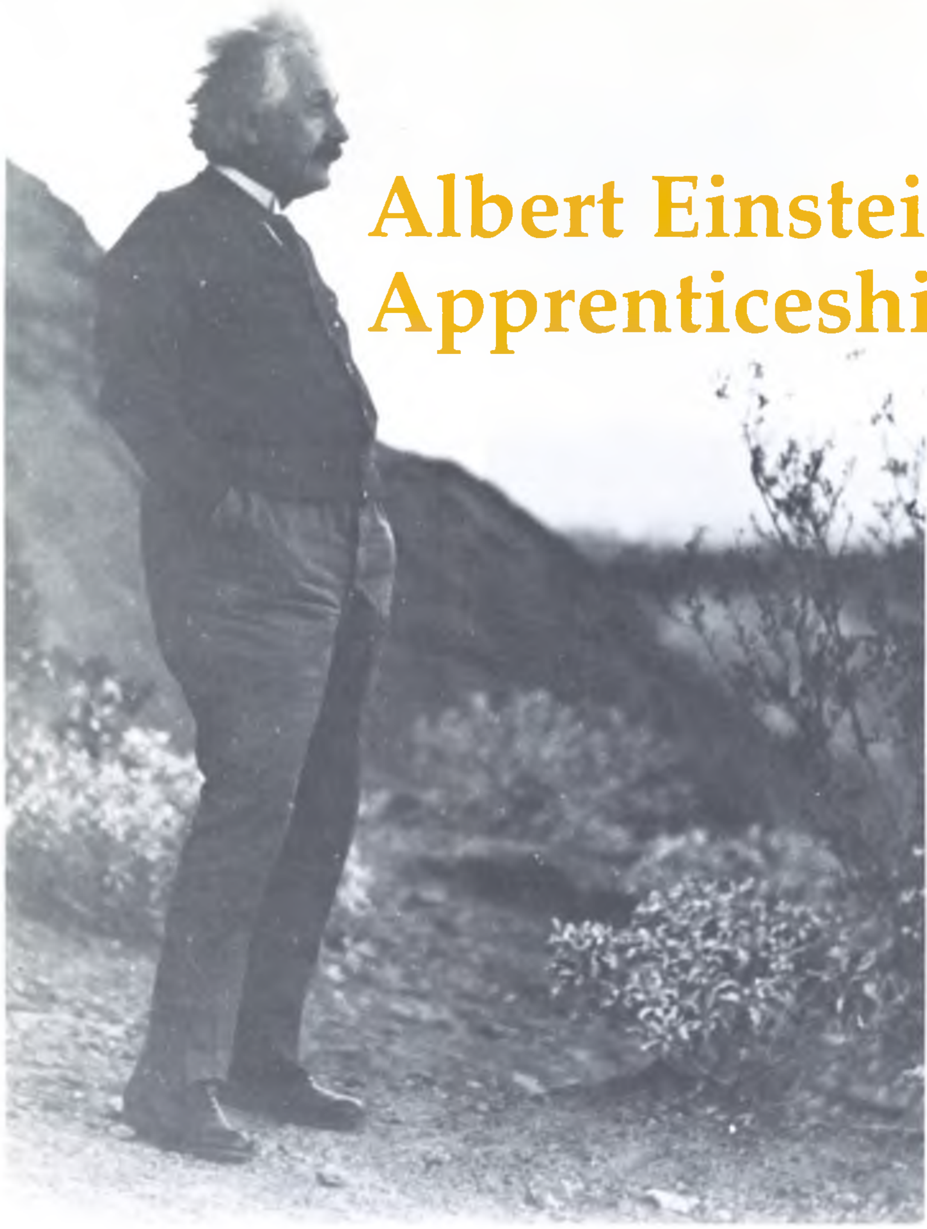
The criticisms of medical educators and scientists come from a different quarter. They usually express skepticism about ethics as an intellectual discipline. They doubt that ethics can be taught at all, thus confusing ethics as a discipline with the commonplace definition of ethics as a set of beliefs. Ethics is a branch of philosophy, a discipline with a method and content, and is, therefore, as teachable as biochemistry.

Courses in ethics will not automatically make physicians virtuous people anymore than a course in biochemistry automatically makes them scientists. But such courses make students aware of ethical issues and give them skills that increase the probabilities of better moral choices. Because those choices are unavoidably part of being a physician, medical faculties have an obligation to assure that some minimum proficiency in ethics is attained by all their students.

At the heart of these criticisms is the scientist's disdain for endeavors not susceptible to experimental validation. Ethics seems to some scientists little more than vain musing or frustrating debate. This positivistic stance is too complex to be countered in this brief essay. We can point only to the uncertainties of science, itself, and the fact that, like it or not, moral choices must be made. If ethics cannot give infallible answers, it can at least add a critical perspective on morals not indigenous to the scientific method.

We can expect that the quality and the rigor of teaching ethics will improve, that more physicians, nurses, and other health professionals will take formal and advanced study in biomedical ethics, and that new intersections between ethics and law, economics, and public policy will be intensively developed. Biomedical ethics formerly concentrated on one-to-one clinical situations, but, today, it increasingly embraces the larger issue of social ethics. The international and cross-cultural aspects are just beginning to be explored. Medical ethical problems are universal, but the ethical solutions are different in different cultures. Understanding these differences and establishing communication between them is a main challenge for the years ahead.

In short, the pioneering efforts of ethicists and medical educators are still in progress, and still in need of development. They provide a model for teaching ethics in a scientific curriculum that engineers, basic and applied scientists, scientific administrators, and bureaucrats—all who face moral questions in the use of knowledge and expertise—must examine. If our unprecedented technological progress is not to overwhelm us and make us its servants, we must resort to the ancient discipline of ethics.



Photograph by William A. Smith

Albert Einstein: The Apprenticeship of Genius

BY MARY T. CHUNKO

In his scientific autobiography, Albert Einstein wrote, "... the essential in the being of a man of my type lies precisely in *what* he thinks, not in what he does or suffers. Consequently, the 'obituary' can limit itself in the main to the communication of thoughts that have played a considerable role in my endeavors."

Understanding how a man of Einstein's type comes into being is a question that the five-member staff of the Einstein project at Boston University will be contemplating for the next thirty-five years. During that time, they will be collecting, transcribing, annotating, and publishing all of Einstein's writings, both public and private. "In the public mind, 'Einstein' is synonymous with 'genius,'" says physicist John Stachel, editor of the papers. Yet understanding of Einstein's genius remains as elusive to most people as an in-depth understanding of the theory of relativity.

An antidote to our limited knowledge of the young Einstein and of the early stages of his scientific development will soon be available in the form of an annotated collection of Einstein's early correspondence and writings. The first volume of *The Collected Papers of Albert Einstein* will be published this spring by Princeton University Press, cosponsor of the series with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Stachel hopes that publication of volume 1, which contains Einstein's correspondence and writings during the period 1879–1902, will help to dispel the popular notion that "Einstein was born old." The volume, entitled *The Early Years,* covers the period of Einstein's attendance at the Swiss Federal Polytechnical School in Zurich, his graduation and subsequent difficulty in finding employment in his field, and his engagement to Mileva Marić, a fellow physics student he had met at the polytechnical school.

"The story of Einstein's difficulty in finding a job teaching physics has been known in a general way for a long time," says Stachel, "but what hasn't been well documented is just how dire his situation was at the time." Stachel believes that the foundation of the older Einstein's reticence and the emotional distance that he placed between himself and others, even members of his family, can be traced to his early experiences.

New material relating to this period in Einstein's life surfaced, quite unexpectedly, just as the first volume was going to press last year. Stachel and his staff had completed editing that volume, which then covered the years 1879–1901, when they received information from one of Einstein's relatives indicating the existence of a substantial number of letters from Einstein to Marić, who became his wife in 1903. The staff stopped work on the volume until it could obtain permission from the Einstein Family Correspondence Trust, which owns the letters, to publish the several hundred letters written by Einstein to Marić, and to their sons, Hans Albert and Eduard as well as a small number of letters from Marić to Einstein.

"Our preliminary evaluation of the significance of these letters for the first volume was fully justified," says Stachel. "The wealth of personal information and scientific discussion in the new letters will constitute a windfall for Einstein scholars." Through these letters, the years 1899–1902 have become the best documented period of Einstein's youth. In order to include all but two of the early letters in

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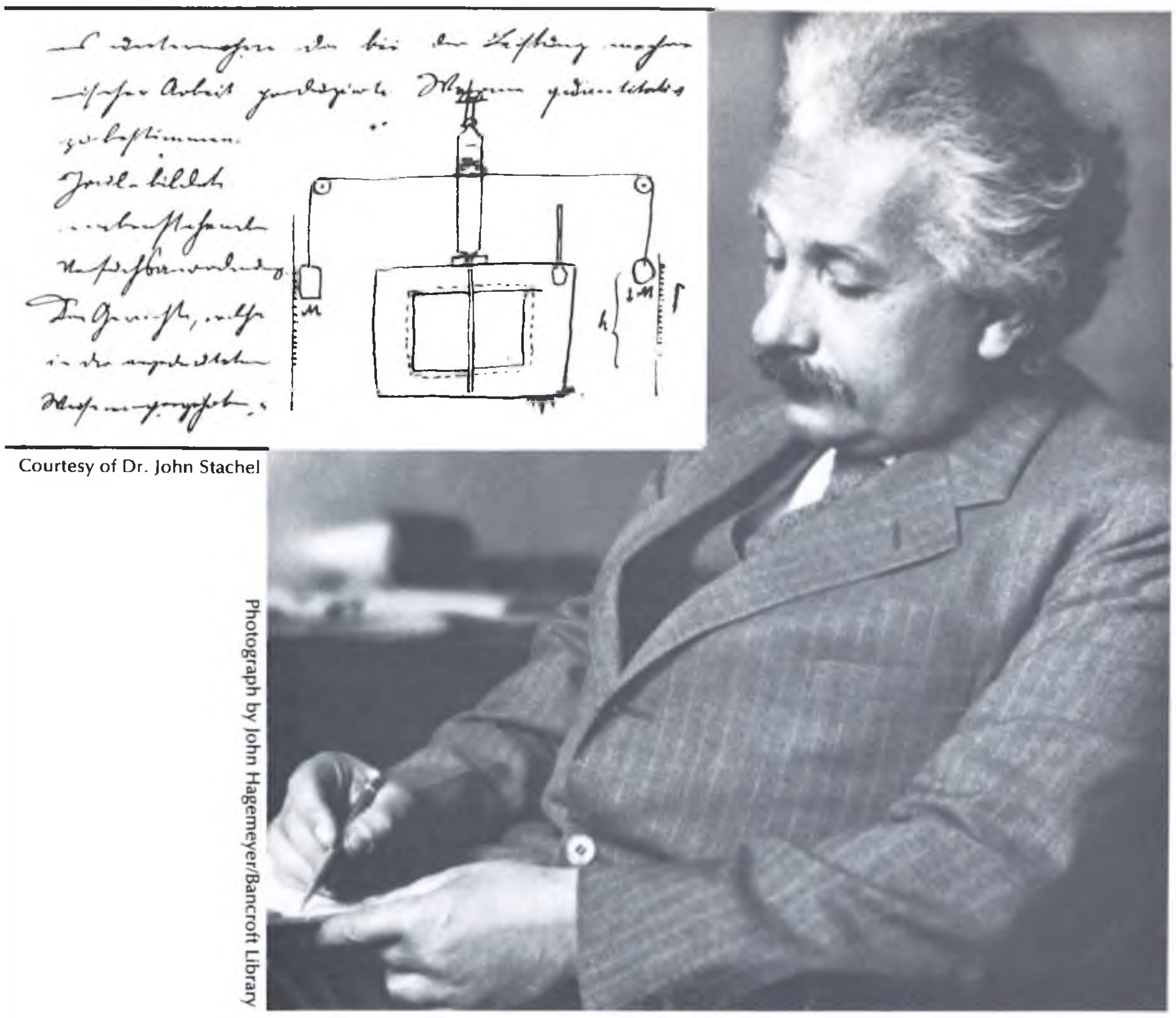

Courtesy of Dr. John Stachel

Photograph by John Hagemeyer/Bancroft Library

Drawing from the notebook Einstein kept of the lecture course given by his professor of physics at the Swiss Federal Polytechnical School in Zurich, which he attended from 1896 to 1900.

the first volume, Stachel and his colleagues decided to extend the period covered by that volume to June 1902, when Einstein started work at the Swiss Patent Office. The volume now contains seventy-three letters by Einstein and sixteen to him, compared with twenty-nine by him and two to him in the previous version.

The new letters are undoubtedly among the most interesting in the volume, according to Stachel. "The letters offer us a picture not only of Einstein's character and ideas as a young man, they also give us a much more complete idea of what scientific articles he read during the period." He adds that many scholars have believed that Einstein did not pay much attention to the work being done in physics during this period. This is partly attributable to the fact that, in his early papers, Einstein cited few works by other physicists. Stachel believes that "a human tendency to want to believe that a mind like Einstein's emerged full blown" helped the myth of his early intellectual isolation to persist. "People often like to disregard what might be called the 'apprenticeship' period in a great man's life." Publication of these letters, he adds, should settle the debate among scholars as to how closely Einstein followed the work of the scientific community during his early years. His letters to Marić prove that Einstein was an avid reader of the *Annalen der Physik,* the leading physics journal of the day.

If many of the letters in the first volume contradict the notion of Einstein's intellectual isolation from the scientific community, believers in the precocity of genius can take heart from an 1899 letter in which Einstein discusses "the electrodynamics of moving bodies," thus preempting by six years his use of the phrase in his famous relativity paper of 1905.

Publication of the series, which is divided into volumes of correspondence and of writings, will allow scholars to examine the entire corpus of Einstein's work and "will also help to establish connections between documents that otherwise might easily escape notice. For example," Stachel explains, "even an attentive reader of a paper on the nature of intermolecular forces that Einstein published in 1911 might not realize that, in this paper, he silently corrects a fundamental error he made in his first paper, published a decade earlier. Because Einstein generally acknowledged his errors quite freely . . . this oversight may be taken as evidence of how much he wanted to forget—and wanted others to forget—what he referred to in 1907 as 'my worthless beginner's works.'"

Stachel plans to include in this edition all of Einstein's writings, published and unpublished, that can be located. All texts will be published in their original languages (in most cases, German), and English translations will be given for all texts not written in German, French, or English. (Einstein's correspondence was international.) English translations of all previously untranslated items will eventually be available in a microform edition. After the first volume, the papers will be divided into volumes of "correspondence" and "writings" and arranged chronologically into three periods: "The Swiss Years" (1902–14), "The Berlin Years (1914–33), and "The Princeton Years" (1933–55). Cross-references between the volumes of correspondence and writings will allow the individual items to be read in a strictly chronological sequence, which will enable readers to trace the evolution of Einstein's thought, both public and private, during any given period. Stachel hopes that the series will lead to a better understanding of the man who, in a 1945 letter to Hermann Brock, wrote, "I sold myself body and soul to science—the flight from the I and the We to the It."

Princeton University Press was awarded $280,150 in 1984 in matching funds through the Editions category in the Division of Research Programs for "The Collected Papers of Albert Einstein." Dr. John J. Stachel is the project director. Einstein's writings are quoted with permission from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

On Writing a Fellowship Proposal

BY RONALD HERZMAN

At just about the time I was leaving the National Endowment for the Humanities to return to full-time teaching, a long-time civil servant asked me in passing whether my experience made me think more or less highly of the government. Pretty much without hesitation, I answered "more." My answer surprised me as much as anyone else. The least I expected from my sojourn in Washington was to be able to go back to academe with horror stories about the bureaucracy, and here I was talking about the government with a good deal of respect. When I reflected on the reasons for my answer, I realized that one of the most important was the fairness of the system whereby NEH awards grants. It is a good system, tough but fair, and it is a system that is well administered.

I think it is important to begin an essay that deals with how to win a grant by a strong statement to the effect that the system is eminently fair—not because I want to make some points with my old buddies, but because that removes what is perhaps the most undermining misconception about the process of getting a grant: that success depends on being the right kind of person (political or scholarly) or, alternatively, that success depends on knowing the right gimmick or having the right contacts. It's amazing how honest panelists get, even when they are judging those whose work they know well. ("I really like Professor X, and I respect his work very much, but this doesn't seem to be at the level of his best stuff.")

How wide that misconception is I have come to learn in my post-NEH civilian life. My experience with NEH has of course made me a marked man, and I am often sought out by my colleagues for advice for their fellowship proposals. (More often than not, if truth be told, I volunteer.) In some form or another, the many who have asked me to look at their proposals before sending them in seem to be asking "Do I have the right slant?" rather than, "Is this a worthwhile project?" But the hard yet ultimately comforting truth is that there is no substitute for having a worthwhile project, and presenting that project with clarity. Without that, one shouldn't bother to apply. Awards are made for projects of some significance that are presented to best advantage.

What is there that needs to be said about whether a project is of significance or not? Perhaps one thing to be said is that we scholars are not always the best judges of our own work. We tend quite naturally to assume that if we have spent months or even years thinking about a particular project, it must be important by definition. We must remind ourselves that this is not necessarily so and that consequently we must take the time to deal with the question of significance in the proposal. We must convince a panel of our peers, and for that reason, assumptions which may be self-evident to us will need to be spelled out to others.

Assuming that our project is of some importance, and that we can make a case for its importance, what about the question of presenting an application to best advantage? How should we think about this? One truism that I learned in my time at NEH is that the Endowment does not fund ideas. Or better, because I don't want to suggest that the Endowment is against ideas, it is vital to realize that ideas by themselves are not enough. A project must be at a significant stage of development before it can gather to itself enough trust to be funded.

It is of course equally true that the Endowment does not wish to fund mop-up operations, and we can surely imagine a proposal that is too far along to merit funding.

One fairly effective means of convincing the panel that you have achieved that delicate balance between work done and work still to be done is to make sure that you supply as part of your grant narrative an account of how you plan to spend your time that is thoughtful, specific, and realistic. One need not go into excessive detail: I have seen proposals come through panels that were criticized and ultimately not funded because they were too obsessive in spelling out how time would be used.

Another truism is that an application should be free from jargon. That this is a counsel not always honored should come as no surprise to anyone who has perused a few scholarly journals lately. But I think it might help to point out precisely why jargon is a hindrance in a grant application. I emphasize this need because I consistently meet with a good deal of skepticism, not to say disbelief, when I mention this criterion. One needs to remember that the panel is

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composed of scholars in the field—but this does not mean scholars in the specific area of the proposal. For a proposal in early seventeenth-century British literature, an applicant can expect that the panel members will all be trained in literature, but she cannot and should not expect five experts on the early seventeenth century to be there. What if five panelists, a cross-section of some very bright and very energetic academics, look at your proposal *and they can't understand it very well.* How likely is it that four of them will be especially impressed if they have to turn to the one real expert on the panel and ask: "What does this mean"? They may rightly want to know from the expert whether you are correct when you say the project has not been done before, or whether it is as significant as you claim. But they are not likely to award money to an application that they themselves can't follow.

Grant applications should be carefully written. This too doesn't exactly qualify as shocking advice. For one thing, as those of us who are teachers know, the quality of one's writing is taken as a clue to the quality of one's mind. And in that vein it is perhaps not too trivial to point out that even as most teachers—deny it as we might—are subconsciously influenced by such grubby things as spelling and punctuation errors (even when they are typos), so also will a panel be influenced, however subconsciously, by anything that speaks of a messy application. It's very hard for a panelist to block out those minor errors that make it seem as though an application were written in great haste. So write an application the same way you would write an article. This is to say it should not only be well-written, it should be well rewritten. Show your application to a colleague.

Finally, one should think of the process of applying for a grant in much the same way that one thinks of submitting an article: one sends it out with great hope—another NEH truism is that very few grants are awarded unless one first applies for them—even while recognizing the fact that it is a highly competitive process. One also sends it out knowing that, like a rejected article, one can profit from what are the Endowment's equivalent of readers' reports. One can and should ask for the panel reports for a rejected application, and use them as a serious commentary on the proposal. This is not easy to do. Rejection hurts, and one way of cutting down on the hurt is to look for all the flaws in the panelists' comments—how they misread your application, how they clearly didn't know enough about the field, how they just didn't want to fund anything in your area. It takes a certain amount of humility, a commodity in notoriously small supply when we have just been rejected, to look at the comments of the panelists as though they do in fact have something valuable to tell us about why our application was not funded. And it is a curious fact that there are very few scholars who do not almost automatically resubmit their rejected article to another journal (usually taking into account what their readers have had to say), but there are not that many who will likewise think of resubmitting a grant application after taking into account what the panelists have to say. The fact is, a good application can be made better, and persistence can pay off. Once again, it takes a certain amount of humility to discern the difference between an application which is a near miss from one which is a near disaster.

When I was at the Endowment I used to be surprised by the fact that quite often unsuccessful applicants would tell me how glad they were that they took the time to apply, despite the results. (This is not the only thing unsuccessful applicants have had to say to me, but it happened often enough to give me pause.) At first I thought this was merely because they wanted to end our conversation on a happy note. But in fact what they were telling me was that the project itself was clarified for them by the very process of writing a careful application. In some ways, this phenomenon could serve as a nonmechanical formula for deciding whether the application you are about to submit is a good one: You know you have done a good job if your project is more clearly in focus than it was before.

Questions and Answers about Interpretive Research

THROUGH THE Interpretive Research Program, the Division of Research Programs supports analytic and interpretive scholarship. Typically, a project supported through the program requires more than a year to be completed and the collaborative efforts of a team of scholars. Moreover, like most projects in the Division of Research Programs, an Interpretive Research application usually describes the ultimate product of the research in very specific terms. When the product is a book, for example, details on format, publisher, and market are usually provided in the proposal.

Analytic, interpretive, and synthetic scholarship can be supported by both the Interpretive Research Program and the Division of Fellowships and Seminars. Fellowships are granted to scholars in the humanities who work individually. The Interpretive Research Program exists especially to nurture large-scale projects requiring assistants or collaborators.

Two categories of support are available. The Projects category is open to a wide range of projects in the humanities, but the Humanities, Science and Technology category supports only research that examines the place of the sciences and technology in human affairs and uses the disciplines and methods of the humanities to inquire into scientific developments. The Projects category offers the only support from the National Endowment for the Humanities for archaeological research projects.

One new development in the Interpretive Research Program this year is the possibility of obtaining support for the establishment and development of research centers that are based on the universities' distinctive strengths in faculty, library holdings, or other resources. Universities may receive initial grants in support of these centers for a maximum of three years. In order to be competitive for support, however, the proposed center must build upon demonstrable strengths at the university and possess considerable financial and other support from the university. In other words, the possibility of NEH support for university-based centers is designed to enhance a university's ability to exploit its recognized priorities and strengths, rather than to subsidize ventures that do not otherwise command institutional resources. As with many other grant categories in the Division of Research Programs, support for centers is expected to lead to a series of significant publications.

For additional information about the kinds of projects that are eligible for support through the Interpretive Research Program, prospective applicants should consult the Division of Research Programs guidelines, which are available from the NEH Office of Publications and Public Affairs, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20506, 202/786-0438.

The following commonly asked questions may also clarify the program's purposes and goals.

Q. How can a prospective applicant determine whether a project, in which the bulk of work is to be carried out by one scholar, should be submitted to the Endowment's Interpretive Research Program or to the Division of Fellowships and Seminars?

A. In addition to the simple identifying characteristics of an Interpretive Research application—namely, it takes longer than a year to complete, involves a team effort, and promises a specific product at the end of the grant period—prospective applicants should keep in mind the differences in the review criteria used by the two divisions. In the Division of Research Programs, the criteria for judging proposals are almost all concerned with the quality of the final product. For example, are the scholars involved the best possible ones to conduct the project? Is the topic conceived in a way that is fully informed by the state of research on the topic throughout the world? Is the work plan designed to make a high quality product likely? Is the product described in a way that assures its publication, adequate dissemination or marketing, and intellectual and educational influence? By contrast, criteria for judging applications to the Fellowships programs emphasize the quality of the applicants' work in their capacities as teachers, scholars, or interpreters of the humanities.

Q. What is the difference between the centers supported in the Interpretive Research Program and those funded by the Centers for Advanced Study category in the Research Division?

A. Grants made in the Centers for Advanced Study category consist of blocs of fellowships that are awarded to independent scholarly research centers (for example, the National Humanities Center and the Newberry Library). The Interpretive Research Program's new opportunity for support of university-based centers focuses on the cost of developing the centers, rather than on the support of fellowships at a center that is already established.

Q. Does the program ever award "start-up" grants to enable scholars to undertake basic research or special studies preparatory to work that could result in publication?

A. Pilot or planning grants cannot be requested by applicants, but occasionally, if a review panel or the staff thinks that a good idea ought to be given small-scale encouragement, a recommendation might be made for the award of a small pilot grant.

Q. Can the program's staff advise applicants early in the application process?

A. Yes—and this is another difference between Interpretive Research and the programs of the Fellowships Division, which because of their volume of applications cannot offer preliminary advice. Applicants may send a four- to five-page description of the project or a full first draft (including tentative budget) at least eight weeks before the annual deadline for comments by the Interpretive Research Program staff. The staff will try to anticipate the questions that are likely to be raised by specialist reviewers and panelists and will give the best advice possible in order to help the applicant make the proposal more competitive.

Q. How are proposals reviewed in the two categories of the Interpretive Research Program?

A. Proposals undergo a two-stage review process in the program, before being presented to the National Council on the Humanities and to Chairman Lynne Cheney. First, proposals are sent to at least eight specialist reviewers outside the Endowment. Subsequently, program officers convene a panel whose members are familiar with the subjects and types of projects represented by the applications. A new panel is put together for each cycle of applications. Each panel is chaired by a member of the staff. Competitive proposals must satisfy the criteria imposed at the two stages: Specialist reviewers are primarily concerned with sound research design and the importance of the project to the discipline, whereas panelists are broader in their concerns, and make comparative judgments among a group of proposals, ranking them in terms of their significance to the humanities.

Prospective applicants should consider carefully whether their proposals respond to the questions beginning on page 21 of the Division of Research Programs guidelines. These questions are sent to reviewers along with the proposals that they evaluate and are often used by them as guides for evaluation.

Q. Do panelists ever determine or recommend certain levels of funding for a project or the individual components of a project?

A. Panelists and reviewers occasionally recommend funding levels different from those requested if they believe, based on their own

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RECENT NEH GRANT AWARDS

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

Archaeology and Anthropology

Film Arts Foundation, San Francisco, CA; Patricia J. Amlin: $15,000. To produce a 30-minute animated film on the Popol Vuh, the creation myth of the Maya. *GN*
Indiana U., Bloomington; Raymond J. DeMallie: $113,078 OR; $10,000 FM. To complete a cultural history of the Sioux and Assiniboine Indians of North America. *RO*
InterCultura, Inc., Fort Worth, TX; Gordon Dee Smith: $15,000. To revise a script for a 60-minute film synthesizing for the general public the knowledge contained in the written literature of Classic Maya civilization. *GN*
Northern Arizona U., Flagstaff; Elizabeth N. MacDonald: $37,715. To implement a high school student project on the cultural anthropology of the Colorado Plateau. *GM*
Partners for Livable Places, Washington, DC; Robert H. McNulty: $15,000. To plan for a series of public programs on underwater archaeology. *GP*
Pennsylvania State U., Main Campus, University Park; William T. Sanders: $500,000. To produce two programs, "New Worlds" and "The Artisans," for an eight-part series about the discipline of archaeology and the way that archaeologists analyze ancient societies. *GN*
U. of Chicago, IL; John Comaroff: $50,000. To produce an anthropological study of the role of evangelical Christian missionaries in colonial and post-colonial southern Africa. *RO*
U. of Iowa, Iowa City; E. Paul Durrenberger: $5,860. To implement an international conference on the anthropology of Iceland. *RX*

Arts—History and Criticism

Boston U., MA; Anne D. Emerson: $65,000. To implement a series of post-performance discussions led by humanities scholars. *GP*
Broude Trust, Williamstown, MA; Ronald Broude: $7,865. To publish an edition of the Latin works of Antoine Busnoys. *RP*
Calliope Film Resources, Inc., Somerville, MA; A. Christine Dall: $325,000. To produce a 90-minute television documentary about the origins and evolution of the classic blues and the generation of great women vocalists who made this musical form popular. *GN*
Hobart-William Smith Colleges, Geneva, NY; Michael Ann Holly: $149,500. To conduct a six-week institute for 25 participants which will focus on major theoretical issues in the study of art history. *EH*
National Public Radio, Washington, DC; Frank Tavares: $20,000. To plan a series of five radio documentaries on the life and work of Brazilian composer Villa-Lobos. *GN*
New York U., NYC; Kay K. Shelemay: $100,000. To conduct an investigation of the relationship between oral and written means of musical transmission through a study of Ethiopian Christian chant tradition. *RO*
Songwriters Hall of Fame, NYC; Robert S. Levi: $48,765. To script a film analyzing Duke Ellington's early career. *GN*
Phoebe B. Stanton: $25,000. To complete a two-volume study of the lives and work of A.C. Pugin and A.W. Pugin, pioneers and popularizers of Gothic Revival architecture in the 19th century. *RO*
Tufts U., Medford, MA; Madeline H. Caviness: $100,905 OR; $75,000 FM. To complete the descriptive checklists and a series of supplements of catalogue of medieval and Renaissance stained glass in America. *RO*
U. Community Concerts, College Park, MD; Rose Ann C. Fraistat: $77,365 OR; $21,000 FM. To conduct a series of public symposia on early music and to develop a new series of lecture/demonstrations on the theory and practice of keyboard instruments. *GP*
U. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill; Lewis A. Bateman: $7,500. To publish volume 3 in a four-volume history of the oratorio from the Baroque era to the present. *RP*
U. of Notre Dame, IN; Calvin M. Bower: $15,000 OR; $1,000 FM. To conduct conference on the development of musical theory in antiquity and the Middle Ages. *RX.*
U. of Washington, Seattle; Naomi B. Pascal: $10,000. To publish a work that analyzes and describes the symmetrical and repetitive patterns that compose decorative motifs. *RP*
WGBH Educational Foundation, Boston, MA Peter S. McGhee: $175,000 OR; $65,000 FM. To produce a film about Thomas Hart Benton. *GN*
Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, MN; Margaret O'Neill-Ligon: $100,000 OR; $50,000 FM. To produce a three-year, multidisciplinary educational program examining images of American culture. *GM*
Westfield Center for Early Keyboard Studies, Easthampton, MA; Lynn D. Edwards: $12,000 OR; $4,000 FM. To hold a conference on 17th-century German music. *RX*
Yale U., New Haven, CT; Vivian Perlis: $12,640. To catalogue, transcribe, and duplicate oral histories of key figures in American music and to collect interviews of contemporary composers. *RC*

Classics

Dallas County Community College District, TX; Nanette R. Pascal: $107,258. To integrate materials from the classical heritage of Western culture into general education courses. *EL*
Oklahoma State U., Stillwater; Robert E. Graalman, Jr.: $75,000. To conduct a summer program on classical Greek civilization for students in the seventh to tenth grades. *GZ*
U. of Arizona, Tucson; (John) Norman Austin: $113,463. To conduct a four-week institute for non-classicists, focusing on major issues in Homeric scholarship. *EH*
U. of Georgia Res. Fdn., Inc., Athens; Richard A. LaFleur: $9,228. To publish and distribute a book of essays on the shortage of qualified Latin teachers at the pre-collegiate level. *EH*
U. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill; Lewis A. Bateman: $8,384. To publish a study of the comic perspective in Aristophanes' plays. *RP*
Whittier College, CA; Michael Praetorius: $43,581. To develop a new year-long freshman course on the civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome. *EK*

History—Non-US

Educational Broadcasting Corporation, NYC; Robert Kotlowitz; $75,000. To write a script for one program and the preparation of treatments for four programs in a 12-part series that examines the impact of Christianity on Western civilization. *GN*
Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC; Lena C. Orlin: $20,000 OR; $4,000 FM. To conduct an international conference on 18th-century Dutch history and culture. *RX*
Fordham U., NYC; Joseph F. O'Callaghan: $97,000. To conduct a six-week institute for 20 historians who will study the history and society of medieval Spain. *EH*
Jewish Heritage Writing Project, Inc., NYC; Alan M. Adelson: $235,000 OR; $100,000 FM. To produce a 60-minute documentary film adaptation of the *Chronicle of the Lodz Ghetto,* the only existing account of an entire Jewish community's experience under Nazi domination from 1941 to 1944. *GN*
Muskingum College, New Concord, OH; James R. Nichols: $95,068. To conduct two seminars led by outside scholars to engage faculty in the reading of seminal documents in the history of Western civilization in order to strengthen the core courses in the civilization sequence. *EK*
Past America, Inc., Miami, FL; Robert S. Morgan: $15,000. To plan for a series of programs on the great non-European empires flourishing at the time of Columbus's voyages of discovery. *GN*
Princeton U., NJ; Norman Itzkowitz: $116,300. To conduct a five-week institute on the history of the Ottoman Empire for 24 teachers of European history. *EH*
Princeton U., NJ; Paul E. Sigmund: $121,856. To conduct a six-week summer institute for 24 participants on the philosophical and historical connections between religious thought and Western ethical and political thought. *EH*
Purdue U., West Lafayette, IN; Edith W. Clowes: $18,000 OR; $4,000 FM. To conduct a conference on Russian social history from 1890 to 1917 focusing on the development of a "middle class." *RX*
Unicorn Projects, Inc., Washington, DC; Ray A. Hubbard: $250,000. To produce a 60-minute television film based on and expanding David Macaulay's book, *City. GN*
U. of Minnesota, St. Paul; Rudolph J. Vecoli: $15,000 OR; $22,000 FM. To conduct a conference on European migration to America, 1830–1930. *RX*
U. of North Carolina Press, Chapel HIll; Lewis A. Bateman: $6,414. To publish a study of

property law in medieval Normandy. *RP*
Yale U., New Haven, CT; William Peters: $50,000. To script a film about Joseph Stalin. *GN*
Yale U., New Haven, CT; Paul A. Bushkovitch: $20,000 OR; $15,000 FM. To conduct an international conference on the history of Russia, 850–1700. *RX*

History—U.S.

American Library Association, Chicago, IL; Peggy Barber: $270,172. To conduct a tour of three facsimiles of the New York Public Library's exhibition on the drafting and ratification of the U.S. Constitution. *GL*
Calliope Film Resources, Inc., Somerville, MA; Randall Conrad: $10,100. To produce additional scripting work on a television drama about Shay's Rebellion (1786–87). *GN*
Central Wyoming College, Riverton; Sharon M. Kahin: $75,000. To produce a lecture series a slide-tape show, and photo exhibitions on the history of the Wind River Valley. *GP*
Civil War Film Project, Walpole, NH; Ken Burns: $1,000,000 OR; $350,000 FM. To produce a documentary series on the history and meaning of the American Civil War. *GN*
Delaware Div. of Historical & Cult. Affairs, Dover; John R. Kern: $15,000. To revise a script for a 90-minute film dramatizing the life of John Dickinson (1732–1808), a significant political essayist of the 1760s. *GN*
Indiana U. Alumni Association, Bloomington; Frank B. Jones: $150,000. To promote educational programs for the general public and a scholarly conference on the history and significance of the Northwest Ordinance. *GB*
KCET/Community TV of Southern California, Los Angeles; Stephen Stept: $45,000. To write a 60-minute script for the first program in a three-part dramatic television series on the life of American lawyer Clarence Darrow (1857–1938). *GN*
Made in U.S.A. Development Corporation, NYC; Elsa A. Rassbach: $600,000 OR; $400,000 FM. To produce a two-hour historical drama depicting the evolution of the Lowell, Massachusetts, textile mills from 1839 to 1846. *GN*
Ohio U., Athens; Gary A. Hunt: $111,843. To produce two exhibitions, a symposium, an interpretive catalogue, and an exhibition guide on the history of education in the old Northwest territories as a result of the Northwest Ordinance. *GL*
Oklahoma State University, Stillwater; Carolyn J. Bauer: $150,000. To conduct a four-week residential institute on the origins and principles of the U.S. Constitution for elementary and junior high school teachers. *ES*
Rutgers U. Press, New Brunswick, NJ; Marlie P. Wasserman: $4,627. To publish a monograph that examines family inheritance and the evolution of capital in the United States from colonial times to the present. *RP*
U. of California, San Diego, La Jolla; Robert C. Ritchie: $50,000 OR; $35,000 FM. To produce, for secondary school teachers, a series of six lectures, a scholarly symposium, a major exhibit,and a workshop on the subject of constitutionalism and nation building in the United States and Latin America. *GB*
U. of Illinois, Urbana; Harriet P. Stockanes: $2,694. To publish a study of the growth and decline of the San Francisco Building Trades Union during the Progressive era. *RP*
U. of Missouri, Kansas City; Richard McKinzie: $44,191. To conduct a study of World War I propaganda posters in the Liberty Memorial Museum by high school students. *GM*
U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Michael Zuckerman: $105,099 OR; $120,000 FM. To conduct research projects which investigate the transformation of Philadelphia from a preindustrial small town to industrial metropolis. *RO*
U. of Utah, Salt Lake City; J.D. Williams: $30,000. To conduct a lecture and debate series led by distinguished historians, constitutional lawyers, and political scientists. *GB*
U. of Washington, Seattle; Naomi B. Pascal: $4,000. To conduct a political and historical study of the Washington State Supreme Court. *RP*

Interdisciplinary

Alamo Navajo School Board, Inc., Magdalena, NM; William O. Berlin: $54,909. To implement a project to train Alamo Navajo youth to assist with the collection, documentation, and interpretation of materials to be part of a community archive of their tribe's history and culture. *GM*
American Council of Learned Societies, NYC; Jason H. Parker: $150,000 OR; $300,000 FM. To continue the activities of the Joint Committee on Chinese Studies promoting American scholarly research in the humanities. *RI*
American Council of Learned Societies, NYC; Allen H. Kassof: $300,000. To continue advanced research exchanges and related grant activities in the humanities with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. *RI*
CUNY Res. Fdn./Bernard Baruch College, NYC; Paula S. Berggren: $93,698. To improve a required course which introduces students to great works in world literature. *EK*
Carnegie-Mellon U., Pittsburgh, PA; John Modell: $10,000. To conduct a conference on the historical study of child development. *RX*
Colby College, Waterville, ME; Peter B. Harris: $61,049 OR; $100,000 FM. To develop a Freshman Humanities Program organized in thematic clusters. *EK*
Columbia U., NYC; David J. Rothman: $75,000 OR; $75,000 FM. To investigate the changing experiences of the chronically ill in the United States from 1850 to 1950 through patient memoirs, diaries, letters, sanitarium records, and physicians' personal and professional writings. *RO*
Connecticut College, New London; R. Francis Johnson: $22,950. To implement planning to enable professors from the humanities and the social sciences to develop courses based on an interdisciplinary approach to the study of human nature. *EK*
Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; Martin O. Harwit: $44,253 OR; $250,000 FM. To provide three tenure-track assistant professorships in the history and philosophy of science and technology. *EL*
Dundalk Community College, Baltimore, MD; John R. Low: $56,589. To develop a multidisciplinary course that will be required for graduation in Arts and Sciences. *EK*
Exiles Project, NYC; Richard Kaplan: $15,000. To write treatments for two 60-minute documentary films about the European scholars who came to the United States prior to and during World War II. *GN*
Hava Kohav Theatre/Dance Foundation, NYC; Hava Kohav Beller: $20,000. To write a script for a 90-minute film exploring the motivating principles and activities of a small group of individuals within wartime Germany who comprised the anti-Nazi underground. *GN*
Indiana U. Alumni Association, Bloomington; Frank B. Jones: $125,000 OR; $100,000 FM. To provide for an interpretive exhibition, catalogue, brochures, and public lectures during the bicentennial of the Northwest Ordinance and the U.S. Constitution. *GL*
International Federation of Library Assn., Washington, DC; Robert B. Harriman, Jr.: $19,224. To conduct an international meeting on newspaper preservation and access to be held at the British Library (London). *PS*
Kartemquin Educational Films, Chicago, IL; Michael J. Hyde: $8,002 OR; $12,000 FM. To plan for a documentary film and a dramatic film investigating the dilemmas posed by the success of "high-tech" medicine and its impact on the doctor/patient relationship. *GN*
Marymount College, Tarrytown, NY; Elisa A. Carrillo: $74,950. To develop a curriculum and help faculty members to improve humanities offerings. *EM*
Mount Senario College, Ladysmith, WI; Paul F. Meszaros: $27,777. To plan for a two-term honors course examining the medieval and Renaissance periods. *EL*
National Academy of Sciences, Washington, DC; Mary B. Bullock: $340,000 OR; $110,000 FM. To continue scholarly exchange and related activities in the humanities involving the People's Republic of China. *RI*
New York State Education Department, Albany; Connie L. Brooks: $9,479 OR; $131,859 FM. To implement a statewide program for the preservation of library research materials by adding one full-time professional staff member plus secretarial support for the program's staff. *PS*
Newberry Library, Chicago, IL; Frederick E. Hoxie: $15,000. To conduct a conference on introducing quantitative methods to studying the history of American Indians. *RX*
Public Research, Syndicated, Montclair, CA; James J. Barlow: $50,000 OR; $100,000 FM. To syndicate a series of newspaper articles commemorating the bicentennial of the Constitution. *GB*
Rutgers U., New Brunswick, NJ; Reese V. Jenkins: $20,000. To plan for a 60-minute documentary about Thomas Edison and the nature and process of invention analyzed in a historical and interdisciplinary context. *GN*
Saint Vincent College, Latrobe, PA; Ronald E. Tranquilla: $203,066. To implement faculty development activities to improve the core curriculum. *EM*
Stanford U., CA; Grant Barnes: $2,959. To write the first comprehensive biography in any language of Shen Congwen (1902–), one of the few Chinese writers to portray regional life, to remain apolitical, and to abandon writing after the Communist Revolution to preserve his artistic freedom. *RP*
U. of Chicago, IL; Penelope Kaiserlian: $22,618. To purchase a word processing system and five personal computers that will improve procedures for converting electronically prepared manuscripts to type. *RP*
U. of Massachusetts, Amherst; Bruce G. Wilcox: $6,458. To publish an interpretive history of the Afro-American novel over the past 132 years. *RP*
U. of Mississippi, University; Ronald W. Bailey: $82,239. To implement an interpretive exhibition and symposia in Chicago and 12 other cities and towns on the history of Mississippi and the migration of black Mississippians to Chicago and other urban centers. *GP*
U. of New Mexico, Albuquerque; Gilbert W. Merkx: $30,548. To renew an emergency grant made jointly by NEH and NEA for a newsletter, *Encuentro,* which provides information on arts and humanities events relating to the Columbus Quincentenary. *RO*
U. of North Dakota, Grand Forks; Gerald Lawrence: $206,891. To implement faculty development and the use of a coordinator for an integrated studies program. *EM*
U. of Southern Indiana, Evansville; John H. Gottcent: $20,000. To develop a new humanities sequence which will be required of all students. *EK*
Yeshiva U. Museum, NYC; Sylvia A. Herskowitz: $27,892. To conduct an educa-

tional program for junior high school students in conjunction with the Yeshiva University Museum's exhibition "Ashkenaz: The German Jewish Heritage." *GM*

Jurisprudence

Ramapo College of New Jersey, Mahwah; John Robert Cassidy: $222,195. To create a major in law and society. *EL*

Language & Linguistics

College of Saint Scholastica, Duluth, MN; Sr. Mary R. Boo: $115,479. To implement a new program in French and in Spanish. *EL*
Hamline U., St. Paul, MN; Carole O. Brown: $110,829. To conduct a faculty development seminar on literary criticism. *EL*
Radio Road Gang, Inc., Washington, DC; Pamela Brooke: $87,344. To produce a children's introduction to history, etymology, literature, and the English language. *GN*
U. of Chicago, IL; William F. Hanks: $90,940. To study the linguistic expression of spatial, temporal, and other relationships in a contemporary Mayan language. *RO*
U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia: V.S. Rajam: $160,000. To compile a historical reference grammar of Tamil. *RT*
U. of Texas, Austin; Kathleen M. Jamieson: $20,000 OR; $3,000 FM. To conduct an international conference on the classical rhetorical theories of India and China, including comparisons with Western traditions. *RX*

Literature

American Council of Learned Societies, NYC; Douglas Greenberg: $85,000. To implement a program of fellowships for recent recipients of the Ph.D. degree in the humanities. *RR*
Berkshire Theatre Festival, Stockbridge, MA; Gordon Hyatt: $19,500. To implement planning and research for a dramatic screenplay about the interaction of Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville. *GN*
Carolina Wren Press, Inc., Chapel Hill, NC; Judith F. Hogan: $34,000. To implement a series of workshops and lectures that would encourage the disciplined reading, study, and interpretation of literature. *GL*
Community College Humanities Association, Philadelphia, PA; Julio Ortega: $152,600. To conduct a four-week institute for 40 participants on four major Spanish-American authors. *EH*
Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; Bernhard Kendler: $4,290. To publish volume 4 in the edition of the letters of Margaret Fuller. *RP*
Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; Bernhard Kendler: $3,715. To publish full transcriptions of all the manuscripts of "The White Doe of Rylstone" and a reconstruction of the original version of the poem. *RP*
Duke U. Press, Durham, NC; Joanne Ferguson: $16,880. To publish three volumes in a comprehensive edition of the letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle. *RP*
Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, OH; Herbert H. Paper: $82,590 OR; $5,000 FM. To prepare a 20-volume edition of the complete Yiddish works of Sholem Aleykhem. *RE*
Indiana State Library, Indianapolis; Arthur S. Meyers: $38,226. To implement a series of reading and discussion programs based on the books and themes developed by the American Library Association. *GL*
Johns Hopkins U., Baltimore, MD; Eric F. Halpern: $8,210. To study the novel in terms of its capacity to represent social and moral problems. *RP*
Library of America, NYC; Daniel Aaron: $160,000. To edit the first complete and authoritative edition of the plays of Eugene O'Neill. *GL*
Massachusetts Library Association, Wakefield; Sarah S. Getty: $34,721. To implement a series of reading and discussion programs. *GL*
Modern Poetry Association, Chicago, IL; Joseph A. Parisi: $66,251. To conduct a conference and lecture-discussion series marking the centenary of Marianne Moore. *GL*
New York Center for Visual History, NYC; Lawrence Pitkethly: $325,000 OR; $25,000 FM. To produce one 60-minute documentary film on Marianne Moore. *GN*
Oklahoma Library Association, Oklahoma City; Margaret A. Studer: $114,608. To implement reading and discussion programs in 24 Oklahoma libraries. *GL*
Princeton U. Press, NJ; Margaret H. Case: $3,500. To publish a study of the Chinese poet and literary critic Wu Wenying. *RP*
Stanford U., CA; Grant Barnes: $3,664. To publish a study of the medieval German epic, the *Nibelungenlied*. *RP*
Stanford U., CA; Grant Barnes: $2,205. To publish a reassessment of Wordsworth's poetry in terms of its historical context. *RP*
U. of Massachusetts, Amherst; Sarah N. Lawall: $129,735. To conduct a six-week summer institute for 24 participants on the teaching of world literature. *EH*
U. of Nebraska, Lincoln; Willis G. Regier: $4,629. To publish a companion volume to a translation of Jacques Derrida's *Glas* that will contain translator's notes, commentary, and explanatory essays on the Derrida work. *RP*
U. of Nevada-Las Vegas; Christopher C. Hudgins: $68,527. To conduct a six-week summer seminar for 14 faculty members who teach an introductory course, "Masterpieces of World LIterature." *EK*
U. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill; Lewis A. Bateman: $2,262. To publish a study of the important Tudor poet and priest John Skelton. *RP*
U. of Wisconsin, Madison; J. Thomas Shaw: $21,000 OR; $4,000 FM. To conduct a conference on scholarship dealing with Alexander Pushkin. *RX*
Wellesley College, MA; Jean H. Slingerland: $28,153. To complete manuscript preparation of volume V of the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*, containing cumulative bibliographies for Volumes I–IV, along with corrections and additions. *RT*

Philosophy

American Philosophical Association, Newark, DE; Baruch A. Brody: $75,410. To conduct a series of regional weekend workshops to strengthen the teaching of philosophy in two- and four-year colleges and universities. There will be three workshops a year, each with ten participants. *EH*
Stanford U., CA; Eckart H. Forster: $16,000 OR; $1,000 FM. To conduct international conference on Immanuel Kant's *Opus Postumum*. the conference will concentrate on the significance of this work for the entirety of Kant's philosophy. *RX*
Temple U., Philadelphia, PA; David M. Bartlett: $3,150. To publish a philosophical study of Kant's solution to the problem of human self-awareness. *RP*
U. of California, Berkeley; Clara Sue Kidwell: $94,500. To conduct a summer institute on American Indian philosophy. *EH*
U. of Massachusetts, Amherst; Richard J. Martin: $6,967. To collect the papers and essays of the German logician Paul Lorenzen. *RP*
Vanderbilt U., Nashville, TN; Alasdair C. MacIntyre: $88,935. To implement a comparative study of the liberal arts curriculum in 13th-century Paris, in 18th-century Scotland, and in 20th-century America. *RO*

Religion

U. of California, Berkeley; William M. Brinner: $30,000 OR; $4,000 FM. To conduct an international conference on saints and sainthood in Islam. *RX*
U. of Georgia, Athens; Frederick Ferre: $135,500. To conduct a six-week institute for 25 participants on Western concepts of nature and God. *EH*
Whittier College, CA; Joseph L. Price: $40,314. To reorient the college's approach to the teaching of religion through the development of three new introductory courses that address comparative, cultural, and humanistic questions. *EK*

Social Science

Middlebury College, VT; Richard H. Dollase: $95,515. To conduct a three-week institute for teacher educators. *EH*
Palmer R. Chitester Fund, Coudersport, PA; Robert R. Chitester: $296,000. To produce a documentary on Karl Marx. *GN*
U. of Minnesota, St. Paul; Geri H. Malandra: $122,616. To conduct a week-long national institute to explore the impact of recent developments in humanities scholarship on courses and curricula for nontraditional students. *EG*

Capital letters following each grant amount have the following meanings: FM Federal Match; OR Outright Funds. Capital letters following each grant show the division and the program through which the grant was made.

Division of Education Programs
EB Central Disciplines in Undergraduate Education
EK Improving Introductory Courses
EL Promoting Excellence in a Field
EM Fostering Coherence Throughout an Institution
ES Humanities Instruction in Elementary and Secondary Schools
EH Exemplary Projects in Undergraduate and Graduate Education
EG Humanities Programs for Nontraditional Learners
Division of General Programs
GN Humanities Projects in Media
GM Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations
GP Public Humanities Projects
GL Humanities Programs in Libraries
Division of Research Programs
RO Interpretive Research Projects
RX Conferences
RH Humanities, Science and Technology
RP Publication Subvention
RA Centers for Advanced Study
RI Regrants for International Research
RT Tools
RE Editions
RL Translations
RC Access
Office of Preservation
PS Preservation
PS U.S. Newspaper Program

INTERPRETIVE RESEARCH, continued from page 41

experience, that the requests are unrealistic (often inflated, occasionally too modest), or if they also suggest substantial modifications in the work plan. As a rule, however, the funding levels included in grant offers are left to the discretion of NEH staff. After the NEH Grants Office has determined that all proposed costs are allowable according to federal regulations, the program staff will also try to ascertain that the budget is cost effective in terms of the work plan submitted. Normally, the program also expects at least 20 percent institutional cost sharing on a first-time grant and at least 30 percent on a renewal. Most competitive applicants volunteer higher levels of cost sharing. The Endowment may also offer part of the grant in federal matching funds—that is, the grantee will be matched, dollar for dollar, by the Endowment. It has been the Endowment's experience that NEH matching offers often engender unexpected support for a project where none had existed before.

Q. How soon after the deadline for proposal submissions is a decision made on a proposal submitted to either of the two program categories?

A. The annual deadline for Interpretive Research applications is October 1 for projects starting July 1 of the following year. Applicants are notified by early June.

Area Code for all telephone numbers is 202	Deadlines in boldface	For projects beginning
Division of Education Programs—*Jerry L. Martin, Director 786-0373*		
Humanities Instruction in Institutions of Higher Education—*Lyn Maxwell White, Thomas Adams, Jean D'Amato, Barbara Ashbrook, Frank Frankfurt, Judith Jeffrey Howard, Edward Miller, Elizabeth Welles 786-0380*		
Projects to Strengthen the Humanities in a Single Institution	**April 1, 1987**	October 1987
Projects to Strengthen the Humanities in a Number of Institutions	**May 1, 1987**	January 1988
Humanities Instruction in Elementary and Secondary Schools—*Carolynn Reid-Wallace, Stephanie Quinn Katz, Jayme A. Sokolow, Thomas Gregory Ward 786-0377*	**May 15, 1987**	January 1988
High School Humanities Institutes at Historically Black Colleges and Universities—*Jayme Sokolow 786-0377*	**March 15, 1988**	September 1988
Division of Fellowships and Seminars—*Guinevere L. Griest, Director 786-0458*		
Fellowships for University Teachers—*Maben D. Herring 786-0466*	**June 1, 1987**	January 1, 1988
Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars—*Karen Fuglie 786-0466*	**June 1, 1987**	January 1, 1988
Fellowships on the Foundations of American Society—*Maben D. Herring, Karen Fuglie 786-0466*	**June 1, 1987**	January 1, 1987
Summer Stipends—*Joseph B. Neville 786-0466*	**October 1, 1987**	May 1, 1988
Travel to Collections—*Kathleen Mitchell 786-0463*	**July 15, 1988**	December 1, 1987
Faculty Graduate Study Program for Historically Black Colleges and Universities—*Beatrice Stith Clark, Maben D. Herring 786-0466*	**March 15, 1988**	September 1, 1989
Younger Scholars—*Leon Bramson 786-0463*	**November 1, 1987**	May 1, 1988
Summer Seminars for College Teachers—*Kenneth Kolson 786-0463*		
Participants	**March 1, 1988**	Summer 1988
Directors	**March 1, 1988**	Summer 1989
Summer Seminars for Secondary School Teachers—*Steven S. Tigner 786-0463*		
Participants	**March 1, 1988**	Summer 1988
Directors	**April 1, 1987**	Summer 1988

Guidelines are available from the Public Affairs Office two months in advance of the application deadline.

Telecommunications device for the Deaf: 786-0282

Area Code for all telephone numbers is 202	**Deadlines in boldface**	For projects beginning after
Division of General Programs—*Donald Gibson, Director 786-0267*		
Humanities Projects in Media—*James Dougherty 786-0378*	**September 18, 1987**	April 1, 1988
Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations—*Dudley Varner 786-0284*	**June 12, 1987**	January 1, 1988
Public Humanities Projects—*Wilsonia Cherry 786-0271*	**September 18, 1987**	April 1, 1988
Humanities Projects in Libraries—*Thomas Phelps 786-0271*	**September 18, 1987**	October 1, 1988
Division of Research Programs—*Richard Ekman, Director 786-0200*		
Texts—*Margot Backas 786-0207*		
Editions—*Charles Meyers 786-0207*	**June 1, 1987**	April 1, 1988
Translations—*Martha Chomiak 786-0207*	**June 1, 1987**	April 1, 1988
Publication Subvention—*Margot Backas 786-0207*	**April 1, 1987**	October 1, 1987
Reference Materials—*Robert Winans 786-0358*	**November 1, 1987**	July 1, 1988
Tools—*Helen Aguera 786-0358*	**November 1, 1987**	July 1, 1988
Access—*Jane Rosenberg 786-0358*	**November 1, 1987**	July 1, 1988
Interpretative Research—*Dorothy Wartenberg 786-0210*		
Projects—*David Wise 786-0210*	**October 1, 1987**	July 1, 1988
Humanities, Science and Technology—*Daniel Jones 786-0210*	**October 1, 1987**	July 1, 1988
Regrants—*Eugene Sterud 786-0204*		
Conferences—*Crale Hopkins 786-0204*	**July 1, 1987**	April 1, 1988
Centers for Advanced Study—*David Coder 786-0204*	**December 1, 1987**	July 1, 1988
Regrants for International Research—*Eugene Sterud 786-0204*	**February 15, 1988**	October 1, 1988
Regrants in Selected Areas—*Eugene Sterud 786-0204*	**February 15, 1988**	October 1, 1988

Division of State Programs—*Marjorie A. Berlincourt, Director 786-0254*
Each state humanities council establishes its own grant guidelines and application deadlines. Address and telephone numbers of these state programs may be obtained from the division.

Office of Challenge Grants—*Harold Cannon, Director 786-0361*	**May 1, 1987**	December 1, 1987
Office of Preservation—*George Farr, Senior Preservation Officer 786-0570*		
Preservation—*Steven Mansbach 786-0570*	**December 1, 1987**	July 1, 1988
U.S. Newspaper Program—*Jeffrey Fields 786-0570*	**June 1, 1987**	January 1, 1987

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