

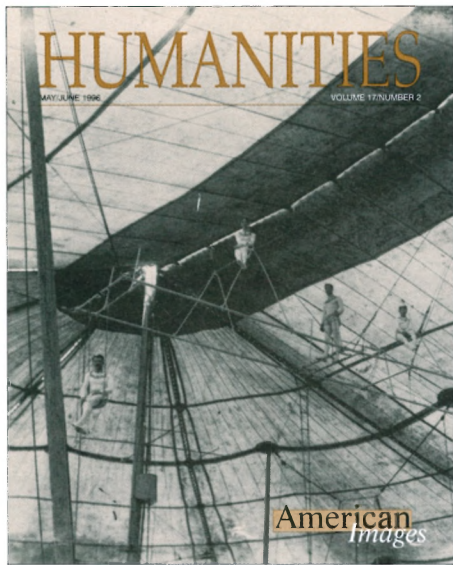
American  
Images

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HUMANITIES





*Under the Big Top at the Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey circus.*

—©The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida.

#### *Humanities*

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## EDITOR'S NOTE

### *American Images*

"America has always been a country with a lot of different kinds of people in it. There's always been conflicting views about American life and what being an American means. And it's kind of unavoidable when you consider we're the only country in the world that's founded on an ideal."

The voice is that of author Rosemary Bray. She is one of many voices we hear in this issue of *Humanities* as we examine the idea and ideal of democracy.

Listen to another: "I think too often we're bewildered by the factionalism, by the fragmentation of American life. . . . This business of contention, which we shy away from in our sentimentality about our nation, is what we should be looking at and accepting."

Or another: "We need to be able to live with our history—with all its pockmarks, with all its possibilities. When you honor the ghosts, when you honor history, then you can think about the future and live your life."

Michael Lind believes national identity requires more than a founding idea. Lind, the author of *The Next American Nation*, talks with Endowment Chairman Sheldon Hackney about the shape of present-day society, discussing among other things, the weight given race versus class. The prevailing mistake, Lind says, has been to treat white and black not as castes but "as though they're separate nationalities." The next stage he sees in America would be something he calls Trans-America—without quotas for entry to school or work, but nonetheless color-blind and gender-neutral. The road will not be easy, Lind says.

That notion of the road keeps recurring. The road as metaphysical journey. Dorothy's yellow brick road. Kerouac's *On the Road*. It reappears as a metaphor in a new Endowment-funded film called *A More Perfect Nation: Americans in Conversation*, which will debut later in the year and serve as a springboard for conversations and study groups around the country that will discuss who we are, what we hold in common, where we are on this adventure called democracy.

In this issue, we remind ourselves of some times and places that were formative moments in our history. We stop at the 1904 St. Louis world's fair for the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase, and then head southwest to the turn-of-the-century heyday of the railroad, when the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe met the Navajo and Hopi.

And finally, we make a side trip to Sarasota, Florida, to visit a nostalgic piece of our culture—the circus. Although memories of childhood make this seem quintessentially American, like most of us it had its roots elsewhere. Through the eyes of photographer Frederick Glazier, we recapture a moment when America and its verities seemed more secure. Perhaps if the images on the glass plates could speak, though, they would tell a different, more complicated story.

—Mary Lou Beatty



# HUMANITIES

The Magazine of the National Endowment for the Humanities

May/June 1996

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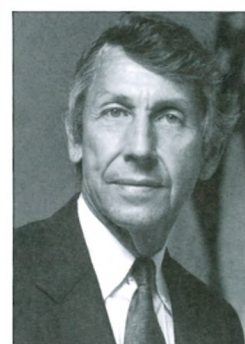


—Photograph by Sigrid Estrada © 1995.

Michael Lind

## A CONVERSATION WITH MICHAEL LIND

*Endowment Chairman Sheldon Hackney talked recently with Michael Lind about the concept of a transracial America and what he sees as a new American revolution. Lind is a senior editor of The New Republic and the author of The Next American Nation.*



Sheldon Hackney



# THE NEXT AFRICAN NATION

**SHELDON HACKNEY:** Your book, *The Next American Nation*, is very vividly written and iconoclastic and quite stimulating. It seems to set forth a new view of American liberalism, a reformulation or restatement. Is that fair?

**MICHAEL LIND:** Actually, I see myself in two traditions: those of New Deal liberalism and the race-neutral or color-blind liberal integrationism of the 1950s and '60s. The two were sometimes separate because the New Deal, since it coexisted with segregation in the South, tended to exclude black Americans. On the other hand,

not all of the civil rights reformers were necessarily partisan New Deal Democrats. I think Bayard Rustin in particular (cochairman of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute) managed to synthesize the American version of social democracy with this race neutral approach to civil rights and to what I call liberal nationalism or transracial nationalism.

**HACKNEY:** Early in your book, you have a succinct statement of your thesis. Let me read that. "In TransAmerica, a color-blind, gender-neutral regime of individual rights would be combined

with government activism, promoting a high degree of substantive social and economic equality." I think the question that some people would have immediately is whether you can promote equality in America without doing something special to defeat racial discrimination.

**LIND:** Well, I think you have to continue antidiscrimination efforts. I think Shelby Steele has proposed making racial discrimination a criminal and not merely a civil offense. There might be problems with that, but I'm in favor of even stricter



enforcement of the law in cases of discrimination.

**HACKNEY:** You make a great distinction between antidiscrimination laws and racial preferences.

**LIND:** There's a profound distinction. It only undermines the rule of law if we get these two blurred.

Antidiscrimination law penalizes individuals who have committed discrete acts of discrimination against other individuals. Racial preference simply assumes that white Americans as a category are to be judged guilty—without trial—of racism, and therefore have this penalty of quotas or numerical goals imposed on them. The two things are quite distinct. Now, one can be in favor of both, of antidiscrimination law and of racial preference.

**HACKNEY:** Right.

**LIND:** One can also be opposed to both, as are some conservatives, such as Richard Epstein and Dinesh D'Souza.

I take the line of people like Hubert Humphrey and Daniel Patrick Moynihan in the 1960s, and Bayard Rustin, in favoring a strict regime of antidiscrimination law while opposing any kind of racial preference or gender preference. The first reason is the principled reason that quotas are unjust. White and black Americans are not primarily members of categories who can be assigned on the basis of their categories. They're actual individuals with particular histories, particular places in the class system, in the social order. Treating them as units to be interchanged according

to some abstract mathematical goal runs against basic principles of justice.

In addition, politically, support for racial preferences is suicide for any kind of progressive force in the United States. One of the reasons, in my view, that Democrats have crumbled as the majority party since the 1960s is the defection of the white working class, which used to be the core of it. The white working class perceives, accurately in my view, that the leadership of the Democratic Party is more concerned with particular minority groups and single-issue groups than with a kind of broader commitment to economic justice for the lower orders of society.

Back in 1982, the Democratic Party officially recognized half a dozen caucuses: African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, gays, liberals, and, curiously enough, business professionals. If you look at that one act, that speaks volumes about the demise of modern American liberalism and the Democratic Party.

**HACKNEY:** You refer to McGovern Democrats.

**LIND:** Yes. This shows that this kind of McGovernite-left-liberalism is not some figment of Newt Gingrich's imagination. It is quite real. The major group left out was white workers.

**HACKNEY:** Would it be fair to say that for you, class is more important than race in America?

**LIND:** No; historically, race has been more important than class in the United States.

**HACKNEY:** I agree.

**LIND:** This was a caste society. Within the castes—that is, the racial groups—there was a class structure. But the highest class of black people—the most educated of black professionals in the caste system—were below the lowest, most ignorant whites. So caste is more important in the United States.

**HACKNEY:** Yes.

**LIND:** And my objection to the multicultural left as well as to the nativist right is that they confuse the white and black castes in the United States with immigrant ethnicities. Historically, there weren't that many Latin Americans and Asians. The basic caste system in the United States has been this bipolar one between white and black.

You have to distinguish a caste system within a single ethnocultural nationality from two separate nationalities living side by side within a single territory. There's a difference between high- and low-caste Hindus, who are still part of a Hindu nationality, and a multinational polity like that of Belgium where Flemings and Walloons live side by side.

The mistake of the right-wing racists and, sad to say, the black nationalists is to treat the white and black castes within this larger English-speaking North American nation as though they're separate nationalities.

**HACKNEY:** Your greatest argument in the book is with the multiculturalists who argue that there is no single American nationality.

**LIND:** Yes. It's an argument that's not just an argument about political strategy, but about definition. Fundamentally, it's an anthropological argument.

It seems obvious to Southerners like me that the black American population is better described as a Southern group than as an African diaspora. Its religion, its mores, even the dialect, go back to the Tidewater South in the seventeenth and eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. If you look at statistics about violence, about folkways, about religion, the group that they most resemble is white Southerners.

**HACKNEY:** That's true, but—

**LIND:** In fact, white Southerners resemble black Americans more than they resemble white Northerners or white



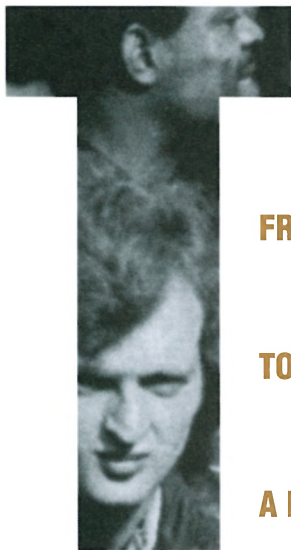
**IT SEEMS OBVIOUS TO SOUTHERNERS**

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TO THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY. RAP MUSIC WAS INTRODUCED

A FEW YEARS AGO FROM JAMAICA.

Midwesterners in terms of these basic anthropological criteria.

**HACKNEY:** But black Southerners have taken that culture with them to the Northern cities.

**LIND:** That's right, and a new culture has evolved. This is where I differ, too, with those people who treat black Americans as though they're a single group.

There was this original ancestral rural Southern black American culture which was common to all black Americans except for those—the free blacks in the North and in Canada—who were distinct from a very early period. What we've seen happening is the evolution of a distinct urban underclass or ghetto subculture, which is distinct not only from the mainstream national culture, but also distinct from the older Southern rural black culture. This urban underclass, which everyone persists in thinking has some kind of essentialist black subculture, is really a melting pot of elements from other urban groups. Take the phrase "yo."

**HACKNEY:** That's particularly Italian American.

**LIND:** Exactly. It was picked up in the North from the so-called white ethnics.

**HACKNEY:** Right.

**LIND:** The whole organization of gangs, which is very important in these poor black communities, was picked up from Mexican American gangs in Los Angeles, going back to the early twen-

tieth century. Rap music was introduced a few years ago from Jamaica.

Anyone who treats this black urban underclass subculture as the black culture misunderstands how relatively recent and novel it is. Most black Americans don't share that culture. Most black Americans are outside of the ghetto; they're members of the working class and middle class.

**HACKNEY:** One of the interesting facets of the book is an unabashed embrace for a liberal nationalism. You argue that there is an American ethnocultural identity that is real, and that it goes beyond the belief in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. That's really quite refreshing, and it also would cut across ideological lines. I think you would find friends on the left and the right there. What do you say, though—you use the term "transracial America"—what do you say to those Americans who see themselves as completely American, sharing in the broader American culture, yet who wish to preserve their identity as Irish Americans, Italian Americans, African Americans, Arab Americans, whatever?

**LIND:** This transracial American national culture that I described is perfectly compatible with what some sociologists have described as symbolic ethnicity. That's the Irishness of the person who's got one Irish grandmother and two German American grandparents and one Italian American grandparent, who celebrates St.

Patrick's Day by wearing green to the office and going to the pub. Now, if that's all that is meant by preserving one's ethnicity, then more power to it. Let's be honest. This is a diluted form of ethnicity that's not incompatible with membership in the primary national culture.

If by preserving ethnicity one means something like the Amish, keeping a separate *Muttersprache*, speaking a native tongue other than English, creating a network of institutions to insulate this community forever as an enclave distinct from the rest of society, then I think that's a terrible idea done on a large scale.

Now, the Amish are kind of quaint and we've had these benevolent feelings towards them because there are only a few tens of thousands or maybe a hundred thousand of them in Pennsylvania. What if they were 10 percent of the population or 30 percent or 40 percent? It would completely disrupt society to have a German-speaking minority.

**HACKNEY:** Would you translate that to a place like Miami, which is a bilingual city now?

**LIND:** I think we're seeing a backlash now against immigration, not only in the United States, but in other Western countries. There seems to be a tip-off point in terms of the anxiety of the native-born residents, whether it's the United States or France or Germany or wherever, that has to do with foreign-language enclaves. One can tell the



concerned natives that the number of immigrants is relatively low compared to, say, the 1850s. Still, there's a reason why there's a discomfort level when one is surrounded by people speaking a language one does not understand. It tends to stoke the xenophobic nativist feelings that your country is being taken away, even though this is an optical illusion.

**HACKNEY:** But that is the core of the problem, isn't it? One likes to see one's culture perpetuated in what your children and your grandchildren...

**LIND:** But the majority surely has as much of a right to have its culture perpetuated as minorities.

**HACKNEY:** Yes. I'm leading you on.

**LIND:** The discourse, at least to the left of center, has this kind of double standard where all these concessions will be made to minorities—the smaller, the better, you know, the Hmong tribesmen from Vietnam—in perpetuating their culture. But then the mainstream—which, as I argue, is not white, because the cultural majority includes almost all black Americans as well as a growing number of people of Latin American and Asian descent—they're not supposed to preserve their culture.

**HACKNEY:** Their pre-American culture, you mean.

**LIND:** Exactly. Any movement to value the national culture or to publicly perpetuate it is treated as hegemony, oppression. The identity politics that the left favored, which was the identity politics of minority subcultures, has created a backlash in the form of an identity politics of the majority, which has been stoked up by demagogues on the right and exploited, particularly by Republican politicians. That could have been predicted.

**HACKNEY:** Yes. One of the things you touch upon is the notion of hybridity. I'm not sure you use that word, but it is the notion that our culture is constantly being reformulated, changed, by various forces, by interaction.

**LIND:** It always has. This is why I object to the characterization of mainstream American culture as a white culture. It's never been purely white—that is, European—from the very beginning.

There are some white settler states where the culture is more or less a direct transplant from the European

metropolises: New Zealand. Canada to a greater extent. Canada is much more British than the United States is. But here, if you go back to the very beginning, to the dress of the Anglo-American frontiersmen, they got that from the American Indians. The log cabin they got from Scandinavian pioneers.

I'll just give you another example. If you think of the ultimate kind of old-fashioned white heartland middle American culture, it would be the Grand Ole Opry. Right? It would be Nashville.

**HACKNEY:** For some of us.

**LIND:** Here you have these lily-white performers—they're not entirely white, but the vast majority of them are—and they're standing there dressed in the costume of nineteenth-century peasants of northern Mexico. That's where all the cowboy stuff comes from; it's the Mexican vaquero. They're singing country music which is a blend of Scots-Irish folk tunes with rhythms picked up from black Americans in the South. Jimmie Rodgers, the father of country music, learned his blues yodeling, which became the basis for what was later called hillbilly music and then country music, from black workers in Mississippi. Now, the vast majority of the performers as well as the audience of the Grand Ole Opry may think that this is completely white culture, and black Americans and other people of color may agree. But the fact is it's just as much a mestizo, mulatto culture as anything in the Caribbean or Brazil.

**HACKNEY:** That is what the term hybridity now refers to. Would it be fair to say to those people who would say, "I don't want my own pre-American or special identity wiped out"—cultural genocide is the term one frequently hears—you would say to them—

**LIND:** I would say, "Stay home." You cannot move to the United States and preserve the culture and folkways of the old country unless you're going to move to some isolated rural region, like the Amish. It was easier in the nineteenth century when it was a mostly rural country.

**HACKNEY:** You would not, though, support any sort of government policy that would repress or suppress these alternative nationalisms.

**LIND:** No. In fact, that should be opposed. People should be permitted to

speak ancestral languages at home, to have their own customs. Particularly with regard to religious customs, a great effort should be made to accommodate them with regard to releasing children from school or people from work.

Back around World War I, there was a wave of persecution against German speakers in the Midwest. There were state legislatures which outlawed the teaching of German even at home. In retrospect, this seems very wrong-headed because, like most nativist measures, it underestimated the appeal of the mainstream American culture.

**HACKNEY:** Yes, it does.

**LIND:** What impresses me is the rapidity with which the new immigrants, since the 1960s, have been assimilating to the American national culture. It's happening much more rapidly than was the case with the European immigrants, if you look at how long German and Czech and Polish and Italian enclaves lasted. The possible exception is Mexican American communities in a few states, but that's because of the geographical proximity of Mexico, and it's also because these communities are constantly being refilled by new waves of immigrants. But I think if you actually tracked individual Mexican American immigrant families, you would see that they're assimilating to the mainstream as rapidly, if not more rapidly, than previous generations of European immigrants.

**HACKNEY:** That does bring up the issue of immigration, where you also take a position that is not standard liberal. Does it surprise you that Francis Fukuyama, in his essay in *The New Promise of American Life*, staunchly defends immigration, not only because of its economic benefits, but also, he argues, because it reinforces the American culture because of selective immigration.

**LIND:** Well, I'm skeptical about this. You know, there's an anti-immigrant cultural argument, which is the traditional nativist argument, that immigrants are non-American, and they're going to undermine the mainstream culture. You also get this peculiar inversion, the pro-immigrant argument, which says they're super-American.

**HACKNEY:** Right. That's his.

**LIND:** They're better than native-born Americans. I haven't read his essay,

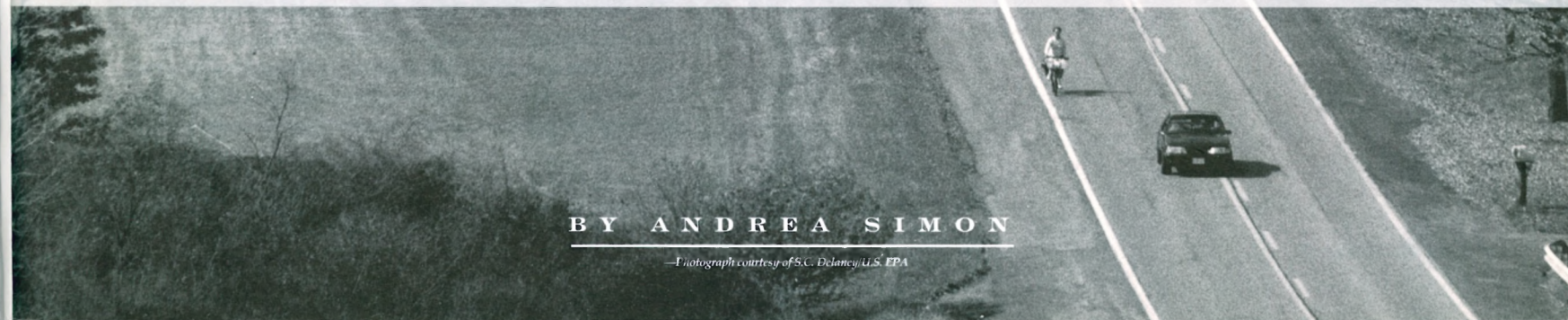
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# A MORE PERFECT UNION: AMERICANS IN CONVERSATION



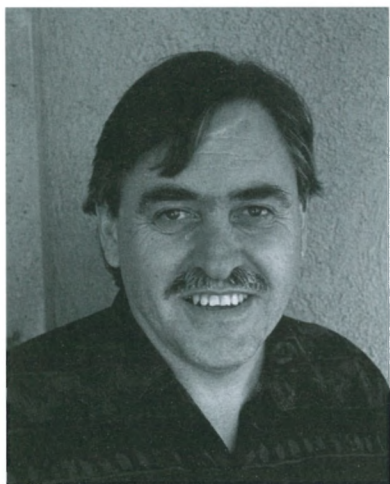
THE UNFOLDING OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA IS THE AMBITIOUS SUBJECT OF A FILM  
BY ANDREA SIMON WHICH WILL AIR LATER IN THE YEAR AS PART OF AN  
ENDOWMENT-SPONSORED NATIONAL CONVERSATION. IN THIS ESSAY SHE WRITES  
ABOUT THE THOUGHT BEHIND THE FILM—THE TENSION BETWEEN IDEAL AND REAL,  
BETWEEN THE IRRESISTIBLE SIMPLICITY OF WHAT SHE CALLS “THE AMERICAN  
ROMANCE AND THE COMPLEX HARMONIES OF OUR COLLECTIVE HERITAGE.”



BY ANDREA SIMON

—Photograph courtesy of S.C. Delaney/U.S. EPA





—Jag Manis

POET ESTEVAN ARELLANO

*There's a problem with  
American memory right now.  
The hard disk is frozen! So  
much is lost: We can't get hold  
of it all, as a nation, we don't  
have access. And we need that  
memory, we have to go and  
figure out how to retrieve it.  
Once we do that, there will be  
a place of meeting, a possibility  
of Resolana.*



IN THE PREFACE TO *Leaves of Grass*, the poet Walt Whitman addresses a theme that has only grown in importance in the last century and a half:

How crucial it is for a culture to possess a master narrative, a myth of origin that is also a symbolic proclamation of that culture's spiritual goals, its sense of itself and its mission.

In the cultural life of the fallen and exhausted old world, Whitman argues, people made use of art as an escape from the bleakness of their lives: Romance, fantasy, were necessary distractions from a fundamentally unsatisfying reality. The American, by contrast—a new creature, “cohered out of tumult and chaos”—embraces and celebrates the real. There is a pact in force between the nation and its artists, Whitman writes:

...the people of these states must never be demeaned to romances. As soon as histories are properly told there is no more need of romances.

The tension is built into the very foundation of our national identity. How do we honor and maintain the memory of our origins, while becoming part of the larger culture? How do we marry the loneliness of the backwoods hunter to the solidarity of the wagon trains that crossed the Great Plains, the autonomy of the individual to the very real collective responsibilities of social life? And, finally, how do we build from these contradictions a more inclusive, more generous, more historically inflected America, the “Trans-National America” boldly imagined by philosopher Randolph S. Bourne in 1916? The unfolding of American democracy over three centuries is a history of continuously revised and reimagined response to these questions.

In the old villages of northern New Mexico, there is a custom of people coming together in a corner of the plaza that catches the late afternoon sunlight to talk over the events of the day. They discuss politics, gossip, tell jokes and stories. Here, too, personal conflicts are resolved, community problems adjudicated, plans for the next festival worked out. This is referred to locally as *Resolana*: The philosopher Tomás Atencio translates this as “talking to each other in a place of light.”

The film, too, is envisioned as a place of meeting. The village square, the plaza, the agora, the souk... a theater of debate where different voices come together—sometimes in harmony, sometimes in dissonance, but always with some sense of generosity and delight in the continuing experiment of our national epic. Atencio relates the dynamic of *Resolana* to the Papago proverb: “The sun shines on everything, and everybody is seeing everything as it is at the same time.”

The film includes intimate portraits of individual thinkers, artists, community leaders; a clear sense of place, of the American landscape (rural and urban and everything in between) as the stage on which the drama of American identity has been played out. In



northern New Mexico and southern Illinois and metropolitan New Jersey, we chronicle the individual lives of Americans working out their survival against the backdrop of enormous social and political change. ("We're part of a dynamic system," says Paul Burtle, a sixth-generation Illinois farmer. "We adapt.") These are the elements we draw upon to get the many histories of America properly told.

"What do we value?" We value the fragment, the unanswered question, the open road, the American master narrative as jump cut, rag rug, patchwork quilt. "To live within the riddle," as poet Charles Simic says—that is America. It is where new patterns emerge, patterns that historian John Kuo Wei Tchen describes as "diasporic and creolized sensibility." We celebrate the art that it produces: the hundred suffering voices of Allan Gurganus's *Oldest Living Confederate Widow Tells All*, the mournful purity of the old Appalachian Baptist hymns, with their strangely modern vision of each individual as a "wayfaring stranger."

This is one way of using the medium of film to restore a sense of shared history and shared mission. It is a complicated and ambitious way, but as a documentarian I have found audiences to be hungry for serious programming on precisely those "difficult" moral and political issues that the mass media feel compelled to spare them. By invoking as a model the generosity and inclusiveness of the Resolana, the National Conversation can, perhaps, become an authentic forum for popular debate on issues of identity and community that face us as we move together into the new millennium.

#### DEMOCRATIC VISTAS

Toward the end of his life, Whitman insisted that America must soon formulate beyond "this present vagueness . . . the democratic ethnology of the future," calling this "a work toward which the genius of the land, with peculiar encouragement, invites her well-wishers."

Every national identity is a making, a process, an improvisation within certain fixed limits. As Arjun Appadurai wrote recently in an essay on postmodern patriotism, "nations, especially in multi-ethnic settings, are tenuous collective projects, not eternal natural facts."

America has always been polyglot, heterogeneous, a perpetual oscillation between seemingly irreconcilable opposites. Dissenters such as Anne Hutchinson have always been reined in by orthodox loyalists such as John Winthrop. The bitter civil strife of the mid-seventeenth century, the banishment of Roger Williams from Massachusetts, are as much a part of our heritage as Williams's inspiring words on religious tolerance. So is the painful debate over the inhumanity of the slave trade and its role in the rapidly expanding economy of the young republic.



—Arcadia Pictures

#### NEW JERSEY TEACHER DAVID SCHWARTZ

*The brighter kids sink their teeth into these documents, and start to question some of the motives of the Founding Fathers. What is a patriot, the kids now ask in class. Were they terrorists? The Boston Tea Party was clearly in some sense a terrorist activity. Or if you look at the Revolution—was that what it was, really?*

*Did the monied classes continue to rule, but through local upper classes instead of absentee landlords and governors in England? The slave question is also there: This great republic had slavery at its roots! The Declaration of Independence allowed slavery and excluded women—why?*

*And where are the Native Americans?*





—Arthur Hon

**HISTORIAN  
JOHN KUO WEI TCHEN**

*A Chinese banquet often looks to outsiders like total anarchy: everyone talking at once, reaching across the table, lots of noise, lots of mess, music, jokes. In fact, it's a perfectly functioning organic whole. The banquet dynamic is about the multiple roles we all play in our life, and the need to negotiate a strategy for moving between them intelligently, with discrimination, seeing how they fit in to the lives of our families and friends and community. That's why in China all tables are round.*

("I tremble for my country," Thomas Jefferson wrote, "when I reflect that God is just.")

From the very beginning our universalist principles have been, as historian John Higham writes, "cross-cut with memories of ancestral diversities." The Founding Fathers were deeply concerned with the problem of reconciling centralized authority and state and local rights: In the Constitution, they provided a matrix for resolving the underlying tension between minority rights and majority will that lies at the heart of the American political system. They did not envision the possibility that the waves of immigration they encouraged so enthusiastically might transform the nature of the population to the point where values and customs became so diverse, so heterogeneous that some segments of the public might feel a sense of threat—while others would feel disenfranchised, unrecognized, unheard.

This a difficult question for us in America right now: Diverse as we are, what, indeed, holds us together? What defines us as Americans? How do we establish a sense of trust in the genius of the land, in its ability to include and respect all this difference?

In an essay, historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. distinguishes between two opposing strains in America's ongoing effort at self-definition, which he calls the "messianic" and the "realist." Partisans of the messianic view see this country's history as destiny or fate; realists formulate it as a continuing experiment. The experimental point of view (which he identifies with Jefferson, Hamilton and other Enlightenment intellectuals), Schlesinger argues, is predicated on the importance of improvisation, of compromise, of *keeping people talking*. The pragmatism that gradually extended the Founders' limited notion of political citizenship to the cultural and economic spheres is at the heart of our national enterprise: America, Schlesinger concludes, "remains an experiment."

No one thought the Constitution was perfect when it was presented to the assembled deputies in the fall of 1787, least of all its authors, but a general sense prevailed that the Articles of Confederation were simply not enough to hold things together. By a margin of only two votes the delegates overcame their reluctance to step forward into a new era, and ratified the document that is now the foundation of our national life.

**THE HOUSE WE LIVE IN**

American popular culture, over the last ten or fifteen years, has accustomed its audiences to a steady diet of what Whitman calls "romance." Shadow images parade across film and video screens, interspersed with occasional brilliant subversions. It is a culture of ignorance proudly proclaimed—emancipation from the wearying complexities, of the past. ("Ahhh, he's *history*!" people say about someone, consigning him to the oblivion that it was once thought to



vanquish. "History is more or less bunk," Henry Ford famously observed: "It's tradition. We don't want tradition.")

A process of dissociation is taking place—Anthony Appiah calls it "a distancing of the ancestors."

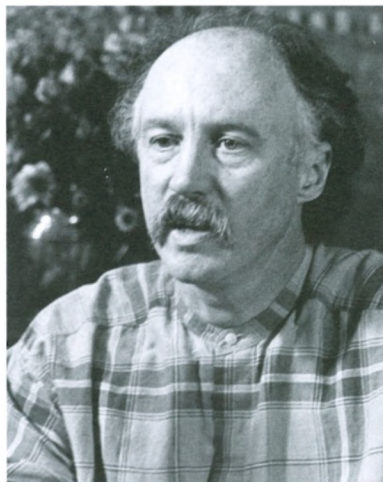
Ralph Ellison writes: "That which we remember is, more often than not, that which we would like to have been; or that which we hope to be. Thus our memory and our identity are ever at odds. . . ." Memory and identity, history and romance, the longing for home and the lure of the open road: how do we resolve these tensions?

The premise of America in its early years was the idea of this place as a kind of Eden, an erasure of the economic rigidity and religious wars of the old world. "To better their condition in an unknown land our forefathers left all that was dear," Jefferson said. Rejecting the ancestral pieties of the old world, the forefathers rejected its history as well: It was, for them, oppressively tied to the hierarchies of the *ancien régime*. In some ways that rejection was legitimate, and brave. There was something wrong with the linearity of the explanation, something suffocating about all those gray-misted villages in County Cork and Ukrainian shtetls and storm-tossed Aegean islands, and the Neapolitan Baroque churches fragrant with incense: "I like this plain room, this empty Protestant shell," Richard Rodriguez writes, even as he refuses its terrible solitude.

Yet, in our reluctance to explore our own conflict-ridden past, we have recreated much of what we meant to leave behind: the "savage inequalities" detailed by Jonathan Kozol in a recent study; the "culture wars" that rage through our national life; and the narrow group loyalties on both sides of the political spectrum which keep us from uniting in pursuit of larger goals.

We need to go beyond the false polarities that characterize most discussions of pluralism. Men and women of honor all over the country see clearly the necessity of moving on to something better. "Just maybe," Congressman John Lewis said recently, "we can lay down the burden of race. Maybe someone will emerge and say: 'We're one house: the American house. We're one nation: the American nation. We're one family: the American family.'"

Race and gender loyalties are being deployed to distract Americans both from our nation's greatest strengths, and from the very real problems that threaten to undermine those strengths. Author Rosemary Bray describes what is perhaps the most wrenching problem of all as a "synergy of race and class privilege" that excludes millions of potential citizens from the public space. It does so by depriving children of the education they need to become what the Germans call, in a wonderful phrase, *mundige Bürger*, "mouthy citizens," citizens who have mastered the public discourse and are able to speak their minds. It is through "common language,"



#### POET ALLAN GURGANUS

*One of the advantages of having a northern mother and a southern father—living with this inherent schizophrenic American conflict—is that the history of the country is your history.*

*This phrase from the Constitution, which is so magical—"toward a more perfect union". . . . It's so beautiful. It's matrimonial. I mean, in this culture where fifty-five percent of marriages fail, "toward a more perfect union"—nothing is guaranteed. . . . Not a perfect union. That's **not** the promise. But toward—perpetually—in our national lives and in our personal lives, toward this possibility of perfection.*





—Glenn Jussert

**AUTHOR ROSEMARY BRAY**

*America has always been a country with a lot of different kinds of people in it. There's always been conflicting views about American life and what being an American means. And it's kind of unavoidable when you consider we're the only country in the world that's founded on an ideal—not on what color you are, or whether you're a man or a woman, or whether you are as Episcopalian or an Anabaptist. We have an idea that is at the root of everything we're supposed to be doing here.*

poet Toni Morrison points out, that we create "shareable worlds."

Is this culture denying children an essential tool for spiritual survival—the chance to develop a language for discovering, reflecting on, and articulating to others who they are? The civic space, the polity, withers away. How do we reconstitute the civic space, the national center? Where is our place of light?

If I don't know who I am and where I come from, the Other becomes a threat. There is no room for a conversation on pluralism or anything else. Every encounter with difference is potentially destructive, because I have no sense of my own presence, my own strength. This, as much as anything, is the unifying theme: that memory is the root of community—that knowledge makes us whole.

**EXPECTING WHAT NEVER WILL BE**

"If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be," said Jefferson. The connection between education, self-respect, and political self-consciousness is profound. "Learning will spoil the best nigger in the world," Frederick Douglass quotes a slave owner as saying—(the slave owner is believed to be Douglass's paternal uncle).

A desire to explore what actually happens in American public schools right now, and how the teaching of history shapes individual and collective identity, led us to West Orange High School in metropolitan New Jersey. Here teenagers from an extraordinary variety of ethnic religious and racial backgrounds work together in what they have named a Unity Club to build a collective American identity they can all feel part of. What we found was extraordinarily inspiring, a communal effort that involved enormous bravery and hard work on the part of everyone involved.

Education is the laboratory where a complex alchemy transforms readers and critics of history into citizens: There, to quote John Higham, the "visionary identity" is born that allows them to imagine "a new and better way of being." The medium of film, with its peculiar emotional and aesthetic power, can provide a guiding vision in Higham's sense, a forum for debate, as we parse out new identities and imagine new communities in the polyglot landscape of difference that has begun to feel strangely like home.

Perhaps the American "master narrative" is not a drama, with a beginning, middle and end, but something more like an epic, many tales told in many voices. What holds it together is a Whitmanesque openness and generosity, a willingness to listen: to attend to the nuances of each individual history, and celebrate what is different as an enhancement or expansion of the self, rather than a threat to its sovereignty. □



## THE CONVERSATION CONTINUES . . .

ACTIVITIES OF THE National Conversation initiative continue around the country. Here is a sampling:

Four months of conversations among Oakland students, teachers, and parents culminate in a community-wide intercultural exposition in June. The California project, organized by the Center for the Common Good, kicked off in January with a dinner and orientation for approximately ninety participants. Results from the conversations will eventually be made into curriculum and training materials for dissemination within the Oakland school district.

The third and fourth workshops of Connecticut College's project, "Conversations with Young Children," take place May 11 and June 8 in New London. Fifty elementary schoolchildren and their families will read and discuss two books and participate in a hands-on activity. The workshop in May focuses on family conflict resolution by reading Mary Hoffman's *Amazing Grace* and Judy Blume's *The Pain and the Great One*, and by joining in dance. The June workshop explores family tradition through Ina Friedman's *How My Parents Learned to Eat* and Patricia Polacco's *The Keeping Quilt*. Families will talk about their own traditions and learn and sing American folk songs.

Discussions continue at the Nuveen Forum at the Field Museum in Chicago. On May 7, Alene Garnett and Mary Ann Bloom lead a discussion with teens on identity and culture, and on June 4, Michael Silverstein and Jessie Thymes discuss "The Packaging of Culture."

The conversations at the Field Museum involve anthropologists and ordinary citizens in dialogs on the meaning of culture and pluralism, using exhibitions at the museum as starting points for discussion. For information, contact Alaka Wali at 312/922-9410.

The Ames, Iowa, Public Library is sponsoring a series of book and video discussions and scholar-led conversations contemplating the melting pot as historical and social ideal. On May 14, participants will discuss Cheryl Latuner's *The Ballad of Sackman Street* and the film *A Place in the Sun*. On June 2, Theodore Dreiser's *Jennie Gerhardt* and the movie *Where Have All the Germans Gone?* will be featured, and on June 24, *The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit* by Charles Dickens and the movie *Made in Britain*. For information contact Nancy Bevin at 515/233-2115.

A national YMCA project, "Time Out to Talk," began last winter when time capsules developed by high school students around the country were to initiate public conversations in six communities: Scottsdale, Arizona; Tampa, Florida; Lexington, Kentucky; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Silver Bay, New York; and Billings, Montana.

The capsules contain everything from a book of Adirondack stories to music by the Grateful Dead to demonstrate the cultural identities of the students. Final conversations will be held in May and June at the six sites.

More than ten thousand immigrants lived in what is now the Tenement Museum in New York at 97 Orchard Street between 1863 and 1935, making it an appropriate setting for holding conversations about the immigrant experience in America. The museum hosted "Around the Kitchen Table" in March to discuss immigrant issues such as employability, mobility, assimilation, and citizenship. Videotapes from the series will be used as conversation starters for six more conversations during the summer and fall in New York City. For information contact Michael Sant Ambrogio at 212/431-0233.

—Amy Lifson

### VIDEO CONVERSATION KITS

A *More Perfect Union* is the media education component of the Endowment special initiative, a National Conversation on American Pluralism and Identity. In addition to an hour-long film to be aired on PBS, there will be a shorter version made available to the public as part of a Video Conversation Kit, enabling users to

organize their own conversations. Guides for the small group discussions were developed in conjunction with Study Circles Resource Center and the National Institute for Dispute Resolution. A *More Perfect Union* was funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Sundra Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation.

—M.H.







**P**AUSING IN THE MIDST of the 1904 St. Louis world's fair, three children face the photographer. A woman, perhaps their mother, in a Gibson-girl shirt-waist and elaborate hat, stands behind them. All four are holding ice cream cones, a most significant detail, because it is an article of faith in St. Louis that the ice cream cone was invented at the fair. This rare photograph, the only one that shows visitors eating ice cream cones, verifies that indeed that confection was sold at the fair.

Whether the legend is true or not—or which of several versions of the story is the real one—is one of the questions addressed in a long-term exhibition at the Missouri Historical Society, “Meet Me at the Fair: Memory, History, and the 1904 World’s Fair Exhibition.” The exhibition opens in June and will run for five years.

“In St. Louis, everything happened either before or after ‘the Fair,’” says Kathy Corbett, director of interpretation for the society. “St. Louisans consistently tell us that it is the one topic they want to know more about.” There is considerable satisfaction in reliving the city’s glory days, when St. Louis truly was “the Gateway to the West,” and had not yet been eclipsed by Chicago. Corbett notes that the fair was a huge and highly successful undertaking in which a lot of different people cooperated. “At the time, St. Louis was struggling with labor unrest and municipal corruption,” Corbett says. “In later years, whenever St. Louisans wanted to attack city problems, someone would be sure to bring up the example of the fair—‘we all worked together then and we can do it again.’”

David R. Francis was the chief organizer and promoter of the fair, which commemorated the centennial of the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory. A former gover-

nor of Missouri, mayor of St. Louis, and grain merchant, Francis combined financial and political power, a gregarious personality, and organizing skills. “He was a model of the civic booster of the period,” Corbett says. Francis’s image was everywhere at the fair; there was even a song in his honor, “Ode to David R. Francis”. Fireworks spelled out his name as the exposition ended in a blaze of glory on December 1, 1904.

The Ivory City, as it was called, was built on 1,270 acres in Forest Park, a large wooded tract on the affluent western edge of the city. Nearly twenty million visitors visited the one thousand buildings of the fair during the seven months of its existence.

Unlike the Chicago world’s fair, the plaster of paris beaux arts buildings of the Ivory City had little effect on architecture and city planning, Corbett says. While most of the structures were intended to be temporary, a few have survived: the Cass Gilbert-designed Saint Louis Art Museum and the bird cage built for a Smithsonian Institution exhibition that is still used by the St. Louis zoo. The Jefferson Memorial Building, which now houses the Missouri Historical Society, was built in 1913 with profits from the fair on the site where the entrance gates had been.

“Meet Me at the Fair” is the Missouri Historical Society’s third exhibition about the St. Louis fair. A 1979 exhibition on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the fair was celebratory and descriptive and a 1988 exhibition placed the fair in the context of the Progressive Era. The current exhibition focuses on how the fair is remembered by different elements of St. Louis society.

Panels with life-sized images of fifteen people who participated in the exposition tell about the fair from the viewpoint of each. Frank Sims, a construction worker at the fair, is depicted, as is Florence Hayard, one of the few women

# Meet me at the

By Ellen Marsh

*The photograph at left may prove what many St. Louisans firmly believe, that the ice cream cone was invented at the 1904 St. Louis world’s fair. Below: Jessie Tarbox Beals, the only female photographer licensed to take official photographs of the fair.*





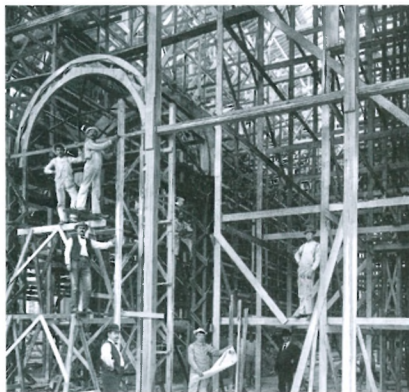
*"Perhaps a large part of the charm of the fair," muses Corbett, "is that this magical city has completely disappeared—but nothing else was built on its site. The landscape is still there and people can imagine the gorgeous Ivory City that stood there so many years ago."*

with an administrative position at the fair. Other featured individuals are George Coleman Poage, an African American athlete who won two medals at the Olympics that were part of the fair; Ferdinand Ernst Herr, a fourteen-year-old delivery boy; A. S. Mermod, a St. Louis retailer of silver, china, and crystal; and a young woman fairgoer.

One panel tells the story of Arzania Williams, a member of St. Louis's black middle class, who was in charge of a Negro Day celebration whose highlight would be a visit from Booker T. Washington. "For reasons that are unclear," Corbett relates, "Williams canceled Negro Day at the last minute." Possibly the organizers feared some kind of backlash. The Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company explicitly forbade discrimination on the fairgrounds, but it did not control the actions of private vendors. Despite incidents of racial prejudice, Corbett notes that many African American families attended the fair and enjoyed its pleasures.

Two of the more exotic features of the fair reveal the insensitive attitudes that were present even in the heyday of the Progressive Era. Ota Benga, an African pygmy, was part of a live anthropological display on "primitive" peoples. Ota Benga, who had been kidnapped and whose family had been killed, was rescued by a missionary and brought to this country. He did not want to return to his homeland, yet was unable to fit into American society. After the fair, he lived as an exhibit at the Bronx Zoo and eventually committed suicide.

The panel about Tugmena, an Igorot woman from the Philippines, tells



*Carpenters work on a scaffolding in preparation for the fair.*



*Festival Hall and Cascade Fountains alongside the Grand Basin.*



*Orphan child at the Belgium Pavilion.*

another unhappy story. The U.S. government brought more than one thousand Filipinos from several cultural groups to the fair to live in a forty-seven-acre Philippine Village. The Igorots were considered the most primitive of the Filipinos and received considerable notoriety because they ate dogs. The St. Louis dog pound reluctantly provided them with stray dogs, which the Igorots killed, roasted, and ate, for the edification of fairgoers. In fact, this exhibit was one of the most popular in the fair—which might say

something about the civilization of the audience. According to St. Louis folklore, "Dogtown," a poor Irish neighborhood south of the fairgrounds, was so-named because marauding Igorots supposedly invaded its streets to capture tasty puppies for dinner. Researchers have found "Dogtowns" in other parts of the United States, Corbett says, with no connection to canine eaters, so this myth is of doubtful authenticity.

The 1904 fair, with its mixture of lore and history, still captures the imagination of St. Louisans. "Perhaps a large part of the charm of the fair," muses Corbett, "is that this magical city has completely disappeared—but nothing else was built on its site. The landscape is still there and people can imagine the gorgeous Ivory City that stood there so many years ago." □

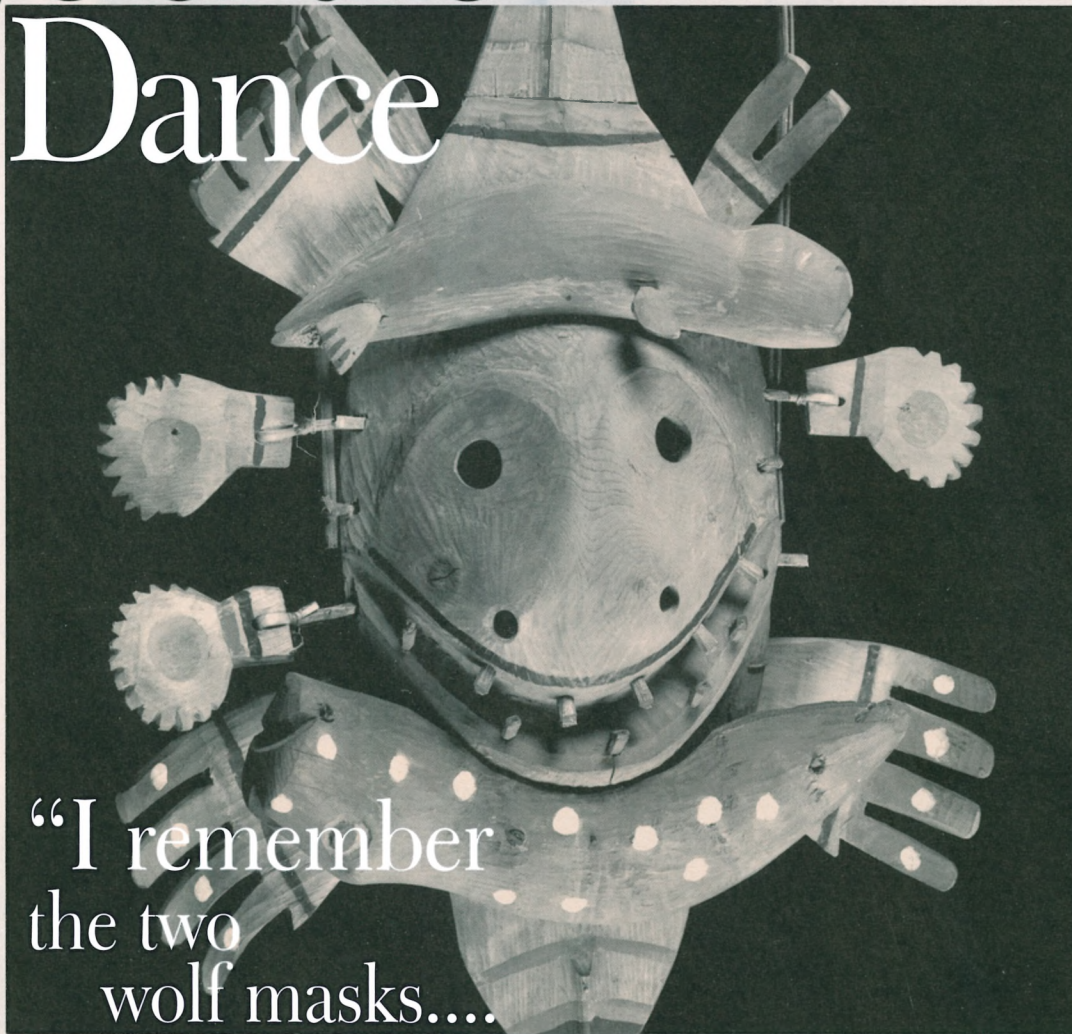
*Ellen Marsh is a freelance writer in Takoma Park, Maryland.*

*"Meet Me at the Fair" received \$350,000 in support from the Endowment's Division of Public Programs.*



# The Eye of the Dance

BY MICHAEL GILL



“I remember  
the two  
wolf masks....

Two men across from each other  
put them on . . . .

They went out and sounded like  
they climbed up on the qasgi,  
and it seemed like they weren't far  
from the skylight,  
and they began to howl . . . .”

—from THE STORY OF TWO WOLF MASKS,  
as told by Yup'ik elder Mary Mike of St. Marys



The familiar connotations of the word “mask” turn trivial in discussion of the masks of the Yup’ik Eskimo people. For the native people who live along Alaska’s southwestern coast between the Yukon and Kuskowim Rivers, masks are not for costume or disguise, but for prayer.

Within the ritual dances and ceremonies and stories for which the masks were made, they help to reveal the complex cosmology of the people who created them.

Years of collaboration between anthropologists and Yup’ik elders have culminated in “Agayuliyararput: The Living Tradition of Yup’ik Masks,” an exhibition that has been on view in the village of Toksook Bay and the regional center in Bethel and now opens May 9 at the Anchorage Museum of History and Art. The exhibition not only brings together an extensive collection of Yup’ik masks

but also puts them in context with the tools used to make them, narrative accounts of the masks’ stories, hands-on demonstrations, and other artifacts integral to the daily life of Eskimo peoples a century ago. A collaborative effort by the museum and the Coastal Yukon Mayors’ Association and the village of Toksook Bay, it is the first major exhibition of Eskimo material in which Alaska natives have played a substantive part.

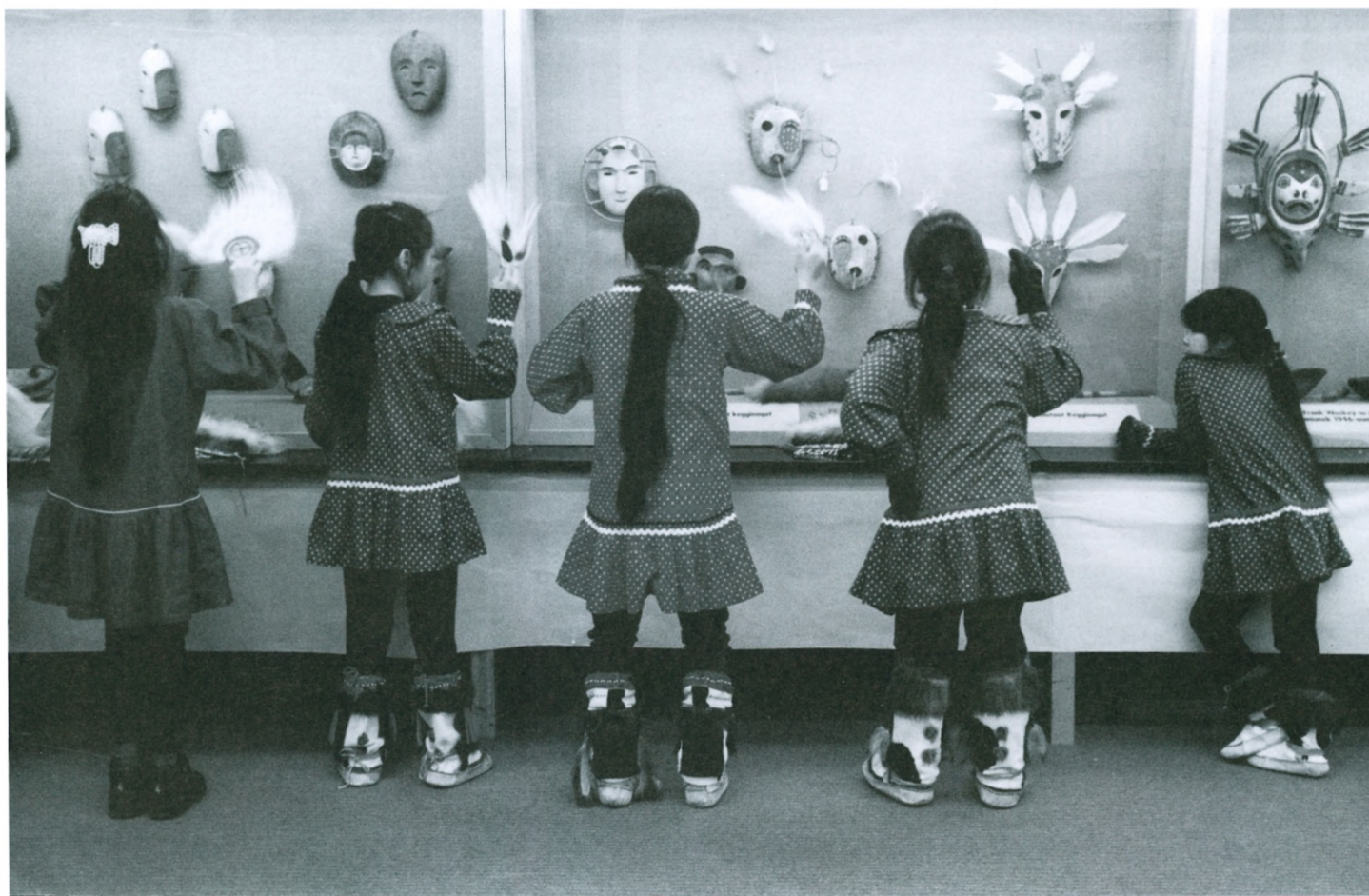
In naming the exhibition “Agayuliyararput,” the Yup’ik steering committee combined words meaning, all at once, “mask,” “to pray,” and

“songs of supplication.” The English subtitle is a simple translation: “Our Way of Making Prayer.” For Nick Charles, an elder who had seen masks made during his youth on Nelson Island in the early 1920s, the mask is “the eye of the dance.”

Ann Riordan, an independent scholar who has lived and worked with the Yup’ik people since 1973, began the collaboration by showing Yup’ik elders photos of masks she’d seen in east coast museums. Then, for a 1989 dance festival at Mountain Village, local elders visited the Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka and selected objects for exhibition at the four-day event.

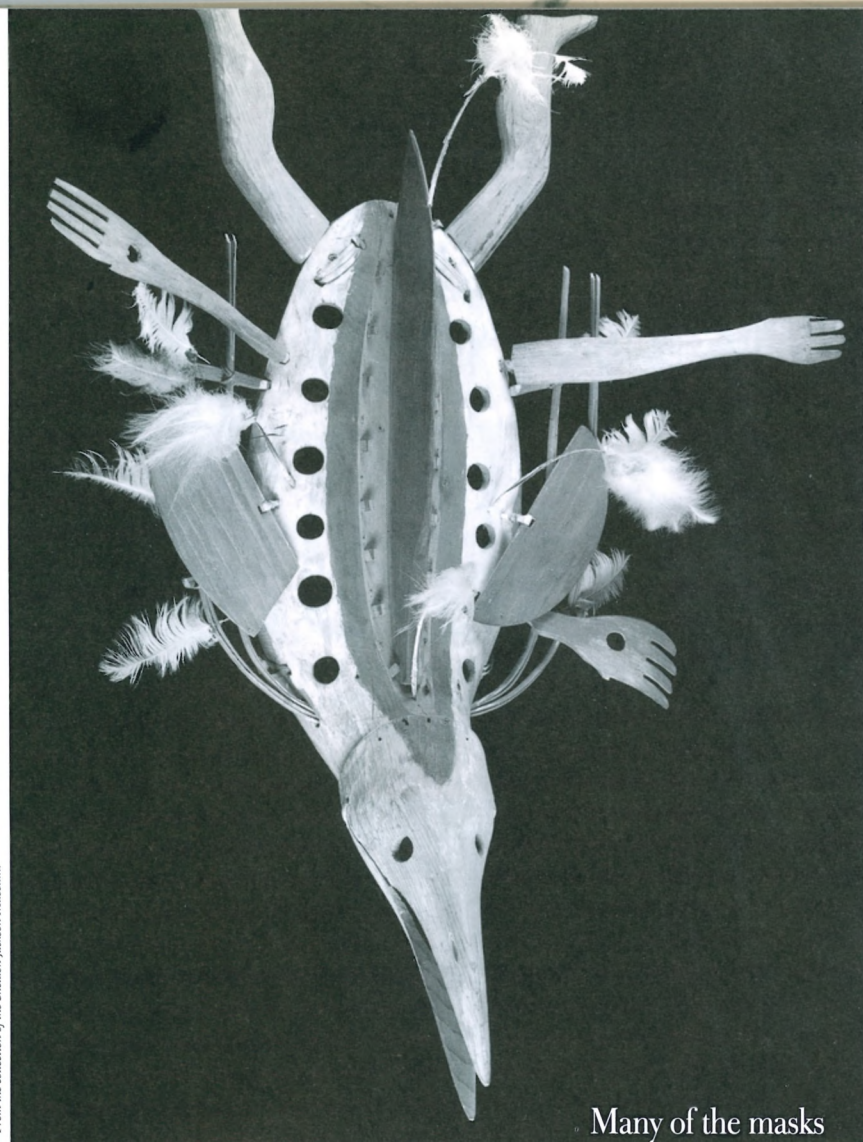
Since that beginning, a steering committee of Yup’ik elders, community leaders, and anthropologists has guided the selection of the masks to be brought to Alaska and assisted in the interpretation of both the mask-making process and the performances

*Before performing at the festival celebrating the opening of the exhibition, young Toksook Bay dancers (below) rehearse in front of the mask display cases. On page 19, Goodness Bay paddle mask. Diving loon mask, opposite.*



—Photo by Erik Hill, courtesy of the Anchorage Daily News.





Many of the masks

with which they are associated. In this sense, the exhibition confronts head-on the issues raised when the museum community exhibits the artifacts of non-western peoples.

Masks in the exhibition were gathered by traders and explorers who traveled up and down the Yukon River in the early 1900s. One of the earliest was the Russian explorer Lavrenti Zagoskin in 1841. Edward Nelson, who was stationed at St. Michael with the U.S. Army Signal Corps from 1878-1881, amassed a large collection for the Smithsonian Institution. Norwegian collector J. A. Jacobsen arrived the following year and acquired more than six thousand objects for the Berlin Museum. Other collectors included Sheldon Jackson, J. H. Turner, and anthropologist Otto Geist.

They often found discards; the shamans and carvers made new masks as rituals and ceremonies required them. At the turn of the century, the coming of Catholic and Moravian missionaries to the

use a circle and dot motif, called *Ellam Inga*, or “the eye of awareness.” The Yup’ik oral tradition repeatedly contrasts restricted human vision and powerful, supernatural sight.

region meant the suppression of the dances that were the occasion for the masks. By the early twentieth century, they had become recreational, in some cases play-things for the converts. Within a few generations, the mask-making tradition was lost.

Scholars had previously assumed that no living elders remained who

had seen the last dances performed with masks. They learned otherwise in their work with the Yup’ik steering committee. The village elders, they found, had been born into a world very much like that of their ancestors. In their childhood, though white explorers and missionaries had arrived, the facts of day-to-day life, especially the reliance on the harvest of fish and game to support life, were much the same as they had been centuries before. The masked dances, called *Kelek*, were performed in large part to attract and honor the animals on whom the people felt their future depended.

Many of the masks use a circle and dot motif, called *Ellam Inga*, or “the eye of awareness.” The Yup’ik oral tradition repeatedly contrasts restricted human vision and powerful, supernatural sight. Breath is another powerful element, synonymous with life among the Yup’ik people. Though masks are typically worn by men, one of the discoveries made during the research process was of four masks worn by women. Rather than being carved wooden coverings for the face, they are made of bent hoops, or “*ellanguat*,” literally, “pretend universe.”

In addition to the impressive collection of masks, photographs, dance sticks, tools, and other artifacts, the exhibition immerses visitors in the atmosphere of the *qasgi*—the men’s house, or the social space in which the masked dances occurred. Mask-making tools and materials are included. Panel text quote contemporary elders describing the choice of wood for a mask, how to hold the traditional crooked knife, and how nose blood is mixed to make paint.

Much of the information presented with the masks has only become available through the collaboration with the Yup’ik elders. Riordan puts the results simply: “By talking with Yup’ik people, we learned that people who had seen the dances are still alive and know the stories of the masks and could tell them in the original language. If you ask people questions, you get answers.” □

*Michael Gill is a freelance writer in Lakewood, Ohio.*

*The exhibition received \$351,065 in support from the Division of Public Programs.*



R

ail travelers of a certain age recall with fondness the Fred Harvey Company's chain of restaurants and hotels along the route of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, immortalized in the 1946 MGM feature film, *THE HARVEY GIRLS*.

Today, almost all of the original Fred Harvey facilities are gone, victims of the decline of passenger rail traffic after World War II.

Fred Harvey's name always stood for good food and lodging, but his company did far more than cater to the creature comforts of travelers. In partnership with the Santa Fe Railway, the company played a pivotal role at the turn of the century in creating and promoting the southwest's tourism industry. Through advertising, picture postcards, playing cards, scholarly publications, world's fair displays, and sales facilities, the company lured middle-class America to explore the native cultures of New Mexico and Arizona.



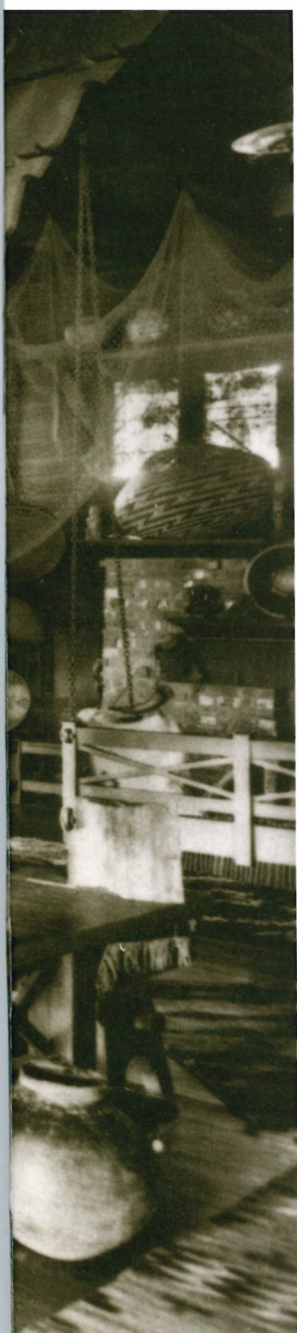
FRED HARVEY





# WESTWARD BY RAIL

By Martin Sullivan and Diana Pardue



—All photographs courtesy of the Fred Harvey Company Collection, The Heard Museum, Phoenix, Arizona.

It hired scores of Native American people, and it bought and sold vast quantities of goods, helping to establish a national appreciation and aesthetic standard for Native American art. In the words of southwest historian Frank Waters, "Perhaps more than any single organization, the Fred Harvey system introduced America to Americans."

Fred Harvey himself died in 1901. His daughter Minnie had developed a personal interest in Native American arts, and her influence contributed to the establishment in 1902 of the Fred Harvey Company's Indian Department, headed by her husband, John F. Huckel. Huckel and his Albuquerque manager, Herman Schweizer, quickly made the Indian Department into a flourishing enterprise. It collected and dealt in rare older items of Native American traditional art through a network of traders, such as J. L. Hubbell in Ganado, Arizona, and collectors, such as William Randolph Hearst and George Gustav Heye. The Indian Department also worked with dealers, scholars, and a number of collecting institutions, including the Field Museum in Chicago, the American Museum of Natural History in New York, the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh, and the U.S. National Museum (now the Smithsonian Institution) in Washington, D.C.

Huckel and Schweizer managed the Indian Department with an insistence on authenticity and quality. They engaged the services of scholars, such as George Dorsey, curator at Chicago's Field Museum and holder of the first Ph.D. in anthropology granted by a U.S. university, to write ethnographic guides and to locate choice objects. Dorsey and an informal cluster of field ethnographers, including Mennonite missionary H. R. Voth at Hopi, and physician John L. Hudson in California, maintained steady correspondence with Schweizer.

The Harvey system exerted tremendous influence on Native American artistic production by virtue of its large-scale purchasing (nearly four thousand Navajo textiles were bought by the Indian Department in 1908 and 1909 alone), and its preference for smaller, lighter pottery, baskets, and jewelry that made easily transportable souvenirs.

The Indian Department designed the facilities around encounters with Native American people whenever possible. Salesrooms and special displays resembled stage sets, with emphasis on interaction. In Albuquerque, for example, the Harvey Company's Alvarado Hotel complex stretched for seven hundred feet along the tracks. Arriving passengers were welcomed by Native American artist-demonstrators on the train platform, then steered through a museum-quality display of rare older objects to a salesroom where textiles, pottery, jewelry, and other items were available in a wide price range, all of this before the weary traveler could reach the dining room or hotel lobby.

The structure itself became an Albuquerque landmark, with distinctive architecture and sumptuous furnishings. Native American people who worked there in the 1920s and 1930s still have vivid memories. "It was like a palace," recalls Mildred Pradt of Laguna Pueblo.

The photograph at left shows the Alvarado Hotel's Fred Harvey Company Indian Department, circa 1902. Top: Noted Navajo weaver Elle of Ganado in front of the hotel. Bottom: Native Americans sell their artwork to passengers on the Santa Fe Railway.



Juana Sangre of Isleta Pueblo was on the house-keeping staff: "We used to clean all the things that were in the store inside. We used to get the potteries down and clean them and put them back, and when we got through with that, we start with the floors, clean them before the trains come in. And when they tell us a train is about to be here we used to quit so they wouldn't find us doing that, and after they take off we start over again."

Another famous Harvey facility is the still-standing Hopi House at the south rim of the Grand Canyon, constructed in 1905. Harvey Company architect Mary Jane Colter based her design on an actual structure at Oraibi. From the beginning, Hopi House featured artist demonstrations, as well as Hopi dancers who performed each evening on a regular schedule. Entire families, drawn mostly from Hopi's Second Mesa villages, took up residence in Hopi House from time to time.

As at the Alvarado, demonstrators were always in demand. A series of letters from Schweizer to Hubbell in 1905 urged the trader to send silversmiths to the south rim "at once" because, according to Schweizer, sales always improved when artists were present. Although the facility had a Hopi theme, the Indian Department stocked it with a wide variety of native-made items from throughout the West and the Plains. Deferring to tourist expectations, Hopi men at the site were often persuaded to don Plains-style feathered bonnets when being photographed with visitors.

The Fred Harvey Company also took its native southwest themes on the road. There was an award-winning Harvey Company display at the 1904 world's fair in St. Louis, and in 1915, the Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway collaborated on two huge exhibits at the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego and the rival Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco.

In San Diego, an elaborate multi-acre Painted Desert display was constructed under Harvey Company auspices. At the San Francisco fair, visitors boarded Disney-like passenger trams inside one of the fair buildings to traverse an enormous mural of the Grand Canyon painted on the interior walls, with stops at replicas of the canyon's famous vantage points. Just as in San Diego, Navajo families were placed in residence to add to the illusion of realism.

After World War I, as automobiles and paved roads multiplied, the Harvey Company initiated another means of direct contact between travelers and Native American communities. It established motorized excursions, called "Indian Detours," each accompanied by a young woman trained as a courier, to take travelers (always known as "dudes") into the pueblos and Navajo settlements. Although tourists and their cameras disrupted the privacy of communities, some pueblo residents recall a positive side. Gregorita Chavarria from Santa Clara Pueblo remembers: "After they started coming it seemed like the women were the ones who were the providers, the money-makers, and the men did their farming. . . . Children

would run to the buses. [The tourists] brought candy and sometimes apples and gave them to the children."

A number of Indian people found new sources of livelihood for themselves and their families. Among the most noted were the Navajo weaver, Elle of Ganado, and her husband, Tom, who were contract employees for twenty years or more.

Elle was photographed at the Alvarado with VIPs and movie stars, ranging from Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., to Mary Pickford. Elle's image was used extensively on postcards and other advertising and marketing devices, and she and Tom traveled under Harvey sponsorship to the Grand Canyon, to several expositions in Chicago, and to the 1915 San Francisco fair. While Elle of Ganado was often referred to as the most famous Navajo weaver of her time, she, like most weavers, did not sign her pieces, and sadly, none of them can be located today.

An artist who had achieved recognition on her own was the Hopi potter, Nampeyo, who also figured in Harvey's promotional activities. The company was buying pieces from her as early as 1901.

Nampeyo and members of her family were among the first demonstrators at Hopi House. Schweizer—always attentive to details—arranged to send for more clay from Nampeyo's traditional source at Hopi when customer demand depleted the supply she brought with

her. Unique among the potters of her era in terms of name recognition, Nampeyo was so marketable that the Harvey Company placed special black, white, and gold stickers with the legend "Nampeyo, Hopi" on her pottery as it was sold.

Viewed through the prism of nearly a century, the Indian Department's activities and literature seem a curious mix of hoopla, nostalgia, and manipulation. Schweizer and Huckel capitalized on the infant advertising and marketing professions to create enduring impressions of a romantic, exotic Southwest. The Harvey Company, like Buffalo Bill Cody's traveling shows, built audiences by paying Indian people to "play Indian" on demand. But the enterprise mingled salesmanship with serious educational purposes, and many of its techniques paved the way for native-managed tourism ventures such as today's Indian Pueblo Cultural Center in Albuquerque. The Indian Department's extraordinary collections were given to the Heard Museum in 1978 by the Fred Harvey Fine Arts Foundation, and they form the basis of a current traveling exhibition. □

*Martin Sullivan is director of the Heard Museum; Diana Pardue is curator of collections.*

*"Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art" is currently at the Heard Museum where the exhibition will continue through April 1997.*

*The exhibition received \$249,673 in support from the Division of Public Programs.*



Fred Harvey Company playing cards, circa 1911, one of the many marketing tools Harvey used to show travelers what they could expect on their journey.

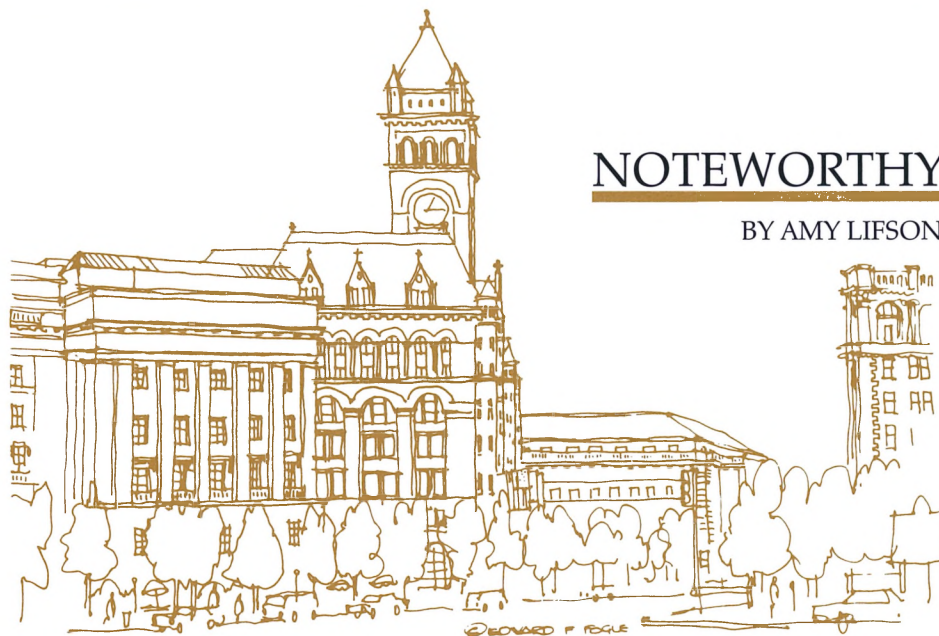


## COUNTING HEADS AT MUSEUMS

More than 325,000 people have seen the story of missionary Pierre De Smet and the Indians of the Rocky Mountain west since the exhibition, "Sacred Encounters," began its tour in April 1993. The exhibition, which is currently at the Oregon Historical Society in Portland through June 23, is extending its tour to the new Washington History Museum in Tacoma. It will be there from August 10 through January 6, 1997.

The two hundred artifacts in the exhibition document the exchange of ideas between the Nez Percé and Flathead Indians and Jesuit missionaries. In 1839, a delegation from the tribes sought out the "blackrobes" to increase the tribes' spiritual knowledge; in St. Louis, the travelers came upon Father Pierre De Smet. He agreed to follow them back to the Bitterroot mountains, where he founded St. Mary's Mission and began a cultural and spiritual exchange with the Indian communities.

As "Sacred Encounters" has traveled (Vancouver Museum and Planetarium from November 1993 to March 1994; Kansas City Museum at Rockhurst College—April-August 1994; the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County—September 1994-January 1995; and Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art in Indianapolis—March-July 1995), educational programs have accompanied it. The Eiteljorg Museum, for instance, sponsored a major lecture series, a chautauqua performance on the life of Father De Smet, sacred music performances, and native-artists-in-residence programs. In Oregon, the historical society is focusing on programs for elementary school children, using a range of tools that includes an interactive videodisc called *The Seasons of the Salish*, which won the Cascade Award for Multime-



## NOTEWORTHY

BY AMY LIFSON

dia. A version of the video and a study guide for teachers are now available to the public. An illustrated exhibition catalog is also available through the University of Oklahoma Press. Since its publication in September 1995, the book has sold more than thirty-five hundred copies.

### CRANKING UP DETROIT'S PAST

Where but in Detroit could you crank up a Model T, design your own dream car electronically, or see an actual Cadillac body drop into place on an assembly line? "Motor City," a permanent exhibition at the Detroit Historical Museum, offers visitors fifteen interactive exhibits in its eight thousand square feet of space. The exhibition opened in December 1995; its first month saw museum traffic increase by 60 percent over the year before. From the first car that appeared on Detroit's streets in 1896 (built by Charles Brady King) to speculation on the future of automobiles, "Motor City" traces Detroit's role in shaping the automotive industry and the industry's role in shaping the city of

Detroit. The museum's director, Maud Lyon, says the exhibition has an education component that includes curriculum development, tours for schoolchildren, and cooperative efforts with local Head Start programs.

### PICTURE-PERFECT NEW YORK

Luther White founded a photographic portraiture studio in New York City in the 1890s and is credited for the development of flash-pan artificial lighting—a technique that cut the time needed for studio and location photography. Between 1904 and 1936, the technique helped make the White Studio the premier photography studio for theater in New York; its photographers shot everything from musical comedy and Yiddish theater to experimental and international genres.

It is estimated that during its existence the White Studio photographed 85 percent of all theater in New York City—accumulating 175,000 individual images that include Nijinsky's *Petrouchka*, twenty-nine years of the *Ziegfeld Follies*, and the original production of *Show Boat*.

For years, scholars have been culling the White Studio Collection for insights into the theater and New York City in general during the early part of this century. With support from the Endowment, the New York Public Library is cleaning, repairing, and conserving the sixty-seven hundred key sheets (proof sheets) and updating the bibliographic information on the images. Once that step is completed, the library will re-create the images in digital form to make them more accessible and to save the original materials from overhandling. □

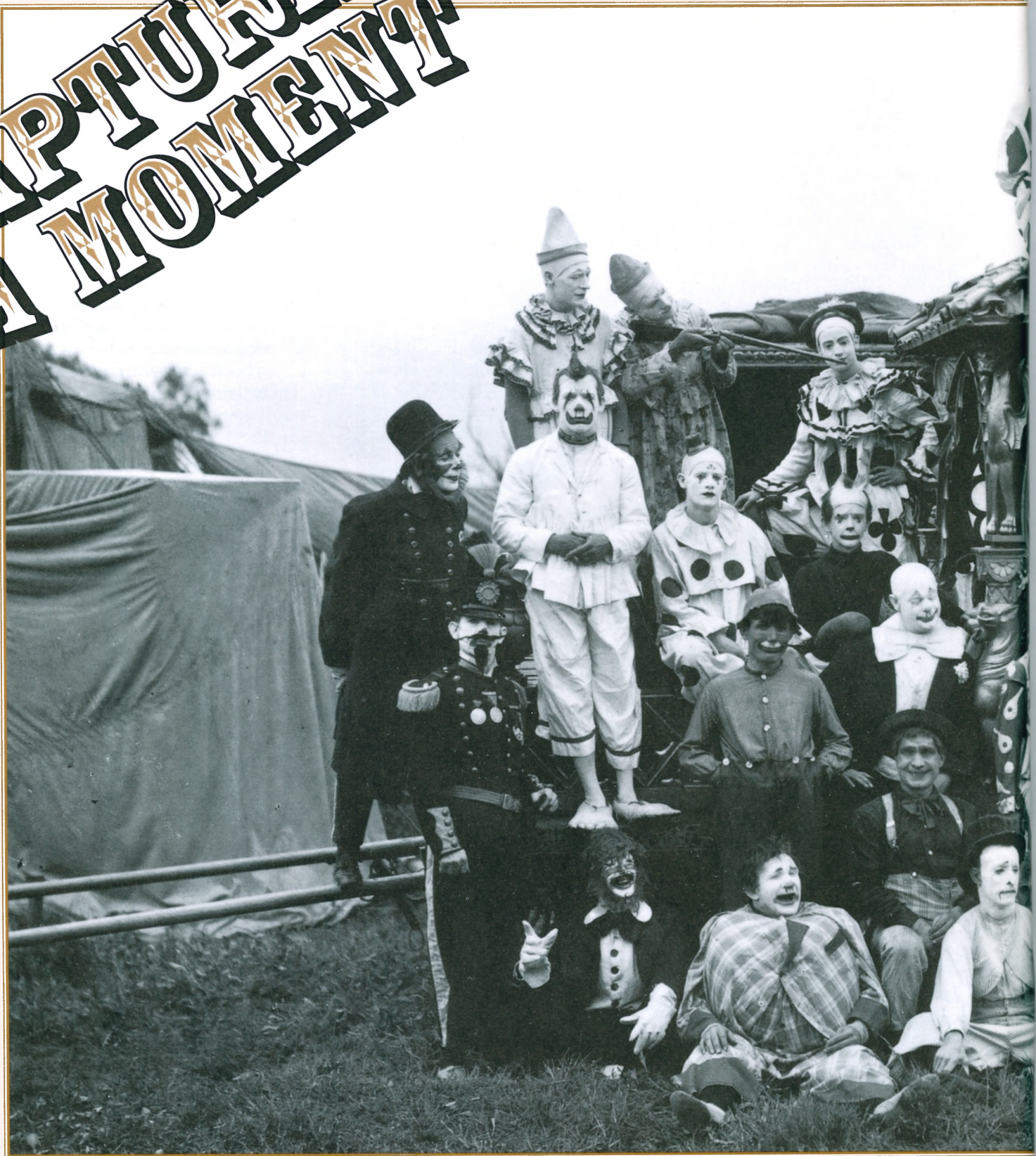


In March 1896 Charles Brady King's car was the first ever to appear on the streets of Detroit. It was never produced for the market.

Courtesy of the Detroit Historical Museum.



# CAPTURING A MOMENT







## THE RINGLING BROTHERS

and Barnum and Bailey circuses and Wild West shows reached heights of pageantry and spectacle at the turn of the century. These were national institutions that traveled from coast to coast by railroad and presented live performances, exotic beasts, and alien artifacts before hundreds of thousands of Americans. In many cities, "Circus Day" was the most important event of the year.

Frederick Glasier smelled the sawdust. "Bigger than the biggest and better than the best" is the way the

flamboyant circus photographer advertised his lectures and slide shows. He not only saw everything that went on at the greatest show on earth, he also immortalized it for the world on film. The members of the ladies' sewing circles, the town hall committees, and the men's clubs who were his customers

were treated to a "side of circus life that very few are ever privileged to see," according to the photographer himself.

Thanks in large part to this goateed entrepreneur from Brockton, Massachusetts, today's circus fans have access to all aspects of this centuries-old form of entertainment, from the most prominent performers primping in their dressing rooms to the loaded baggage wagons going on a night jump to the next town.

Frederick Glasier's images provide one of the few comprehensive documentary records of a classic form of American entertainment. The

majority of his collection of nearly 2,000 glass plate negatives is housed at the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota, Florida, and is a prime source of information for historians, scholars, writers, students, and curious visitors. The collection's popu-

### "CLOWNS."

PHOTOGRAPHS ©  
THE JOHN AND MABLE  
RINGLING MUSEUM  
OF ART,  
SARASOTA, FLORIDA.

# CIRCUS DAY

BY LAURA RANDALL



larity has tripled in the last few years, museum officials say. With the help of a grant from NEH, the museum recently undertook a major preservation effort to make the collection more accessible to the public.

Cracked glass, water damage, flaking emulsion, and faded colors plagued Glasier's once-glorious images for decades due to age, hurricane damage, and the rail transfer of the collection in 1963 from its previous resting place in Dearborn, Michigan. In 1986, the Ringling Museum conservator Michelle Scalera targeted the negatives as rare and important artifacts.

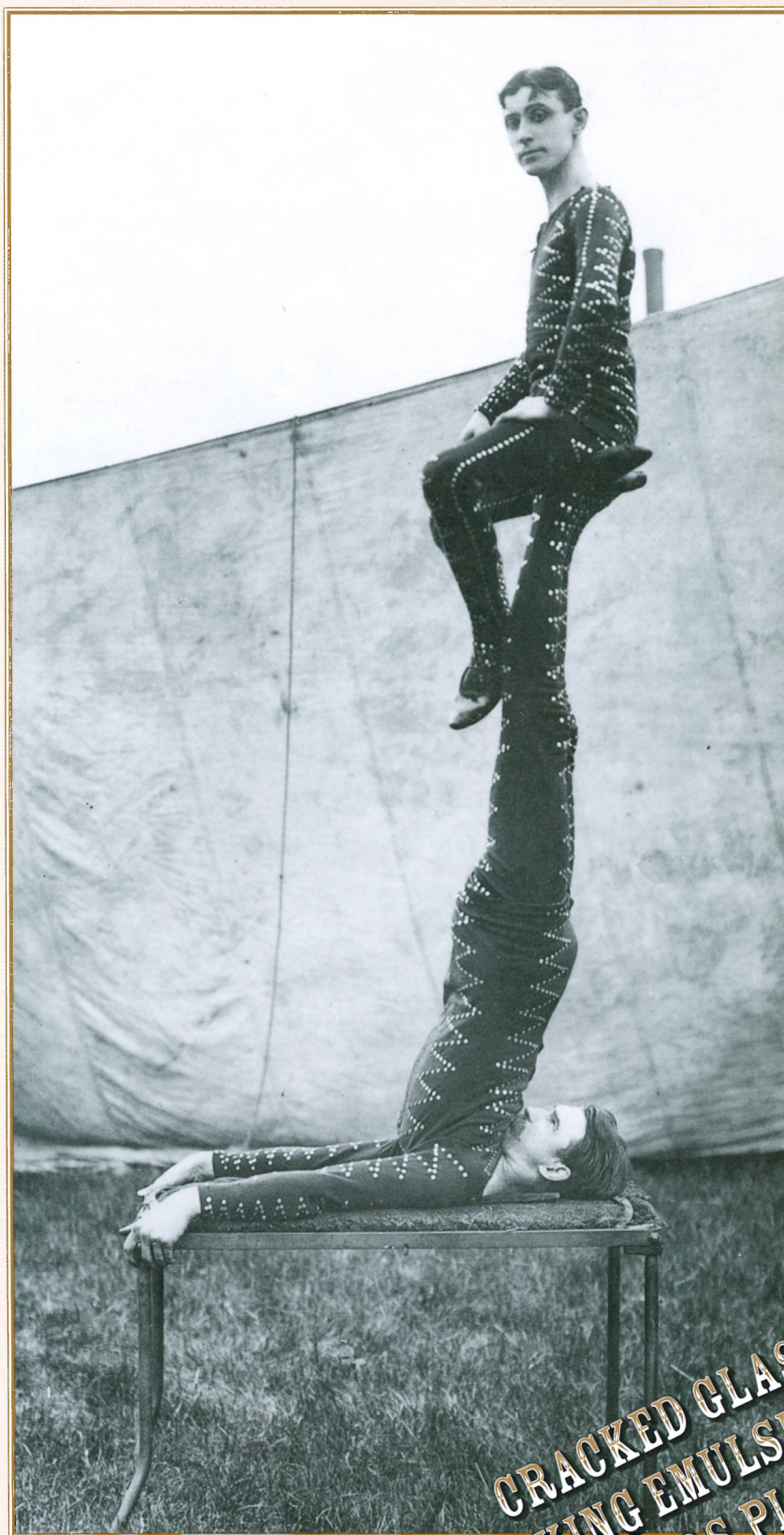
In the process of organizing the collection, Scalera found that some negatives were crammed into flimsy wax-paper sleeves, others broken, and still others water-damaged as a result of severe flooding in the Sarasota area by 1972's Hurricane Donna. The collection needed "to breathe," she said.

Preservation plans for the 1,800-piece Glasier collection, which are expected to be complete by June 1996, include registering each negative in an on-site computer database, shipping the negatives in increments to be duplicated by professional vendors, and, finally, storing the collection of negatives in acid-free boxes.

The indexes of plates that had not been charted previously will be printed and bound in-house into booklets, which museum officials plan to send to other interested archives, such as the Circus World Museum and Library in Baraboo, Wisconsin; the New York Public Library; the Smithsonian Institution; the Prints and Photographic Division of the Library of Congress; and the Massachusetts Historical Society.

This preservation effort on a grand scale befits Frederick Glasier's photography career.

THE  
MARVELLS,  
1903



CRACKED GLASS, W  
FLAKING EMULSION,  
COLORS PLAGU  
ONCE-GLORIOUS





**THE JOHN AND  
MABLE RINGLING  
MUSEUM OF ART,  
SARASOTA,  
FLORIDA**

A former textile designer, Glasier drifted into professional photography in the late 1800s and opened an art studio in his hometown of Brockton, Massachusetts, where he exhibited and sold his photos. When his interest in

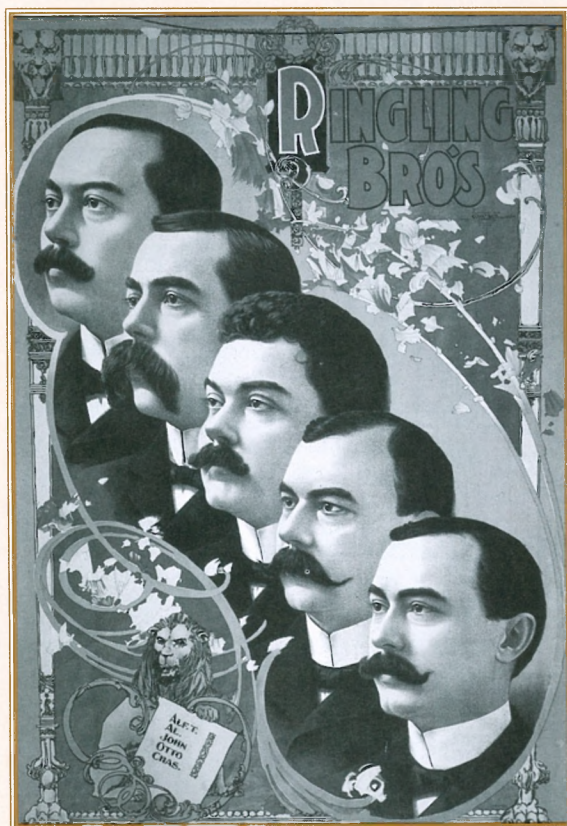
the circus began is difficult to pinpoint, but it is known that Glasier was an official photographer for Barnum and Bailey, Adam Forepaugh, Sells and Flot, and other major circuses of the time. Circus performers who were thrilled to see their images captured in such a way bought and then resold Glasier's photographs of their acts to eager fans.

Glasier's prescient use of high-speed photography enabled him to take action shots, unusual at the time, despite the fact that this technique was looked down upon as an interesting but impractical experiment. Today, his "high-tech" equipment would appear primitive and cumbersome.

Among some of his more famous images: the Ledgetts, a star riding act, awaiting their cue to prance into the Big Top in 1904; the sideshow's cootch dancer who—before male audiences only—"quivered and shivered like a bowlful of jelly on a frosty morning"; gunslinger Lulu B. Parr twirling her pistol for the camera; all-time great bareback artist May Wirth frolicking on her horse in Ringling-Barnum's backyard; and clown Dan Ryan, sans the makeup that made him a star, posing proudly with a young female trouper in 1906.

Glasier also captured the countless unknown faces that helped raise the Big Top: the people who manicured the elephants with a giant carpenter's rasp, who posted the billboard advertisements with "30-day paste," who delivered the mail to homesick per-

**AN 1898 CIRCUS  
POSTER SHOWING  
THE FIVE RINGLING  
BROTHERS**



**WATER DAMAGE,  
AND FADED  
GLASIER'S  
PAGES...**





**NOTHING BRINGS BACK THE  
AROMA OF SAWDUST, THE GLAMOUR  
OF RINGSIDE... BETTER THAN  
THE MUSEUM'S COLLECTION  
BY GLASIER.**

formers, and who handed out weekly paychecks through an opening in a glass cubbyhole.

He was also fascinated by Native Americans and their culture. Proud of his mixed Native American and New England heritage, he photographed performers, owners, and behind-the-scenes workers at Wild West shows, as well as Native American tribal customs. Buffalo Bill Cody, Pawnee Bill Lillie, and the Miller family were some of the famous Wild West names featured in Glasier's photos, which are also a part of the Ringling Museum's collection.

Glasier retired in 1942 at the age of seventy. He devoted his last years to recording on film the changing seasons of the Berkshires, but friends said he was always ready to share reminiscences about his glorious life under the Big Top.

In 1964, not long after the collection arrived at the Ringling Museum, the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* called it "one of the great spectacles that placed Sarasota on the map of the world."

The newspaper continued with its praise: "Nothing brings back the aroma of sawdust, the glamour of ringside and the smell of menagerie better than the museum's collection by Glasier."

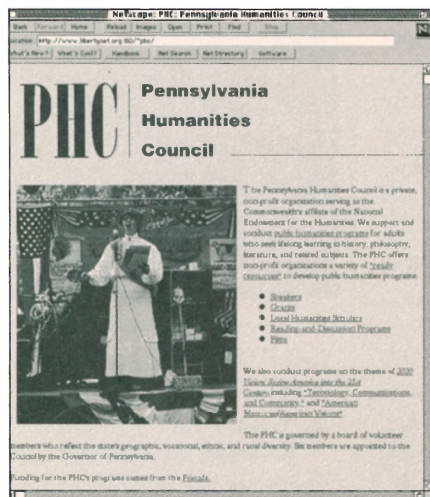
Frederick Glasier helped keep this vanishing form of American entertainment and the people who created it in the public eye. □

*Laura Randall is a writer in San Juan, Puerto Rico.*

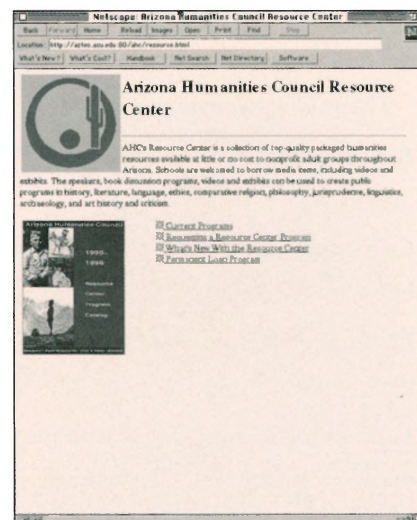
*The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art Foundation, Inc., in Sarasota, received \$91,730 from the Division of Preservation and Access to conserve the Frederick W. Glasier Glass Plate Negative Collection.*



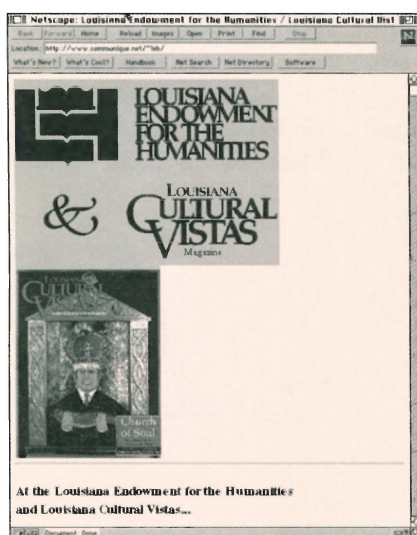
# STATES IN CYBERSPACE



State humanities councils are becoming technological. While almost all of the states are in



the process of developing and



planning their own World Wide Web pages, twelve already have sites up and running.

Each contains helpful resources and information about humanities activities in its state.



Most of the states' pages have calendars advertising upcoming events; speakers, seminars, and exhibitions that are sponsored or supported by the state or the NEH. They provide information on state humanities scholars as well as grant and funding information and applications.

The new locations include the California Council for the Humanities' World Wide Web page, which provides a link to an on-line humanities discussion group. The Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities' page contains sample pages of its humanities-related publication, Louisiana Cultural Vistas. Utah provides grant information through Southern Utah University's home page.

Most sites contain links to their state's home page or other related state locations, as well as to national sites such as the NEH, the Smithsonian, and the Library of Congress. In addition, all of the states provide e-mail addresses for questions or comments about the humanities councils or the web pages themselves.

The twelve state humanities web sites are as follows:

**Arizona Humanities Council:**

<http://aztec.asu.edu/ahc>

**California Council for the Humanities:**

<http://www.calhum.org/>

**Delaware Humanities Forum:**

<http://www.dca.net/delhf/dhc.htm>

**Humanities Council of Washington, D.C.:**

<http://www.thehermes.net/~hcwdc>

**Idaho Humanities Council:**

<http://www.state.id.us/ihc/ihc.htm>

**Kansas Humanities Council:**

<http://kuhttp.cc.ukans.edu/kansas/khc/mainpage.html>

**Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities:**

<http://www.communique.net/~leh>

**Maine Humanities Council:**

<http://www.mainelink.net/~scottc/mhlc.html>

**New Hampshire Humanities Council:**

<http://www.nh.com/historical/humcncl>

**Pennsylvania Humanities Council:**

<http://www.libertynet.org/~phc>

**Utah Humanities Council:**

<http://www.suu.edu>

**Wisconsin Humanities Council:**

<http://www.danenet.wictp.org/whc/>

—Abigail Jacobs

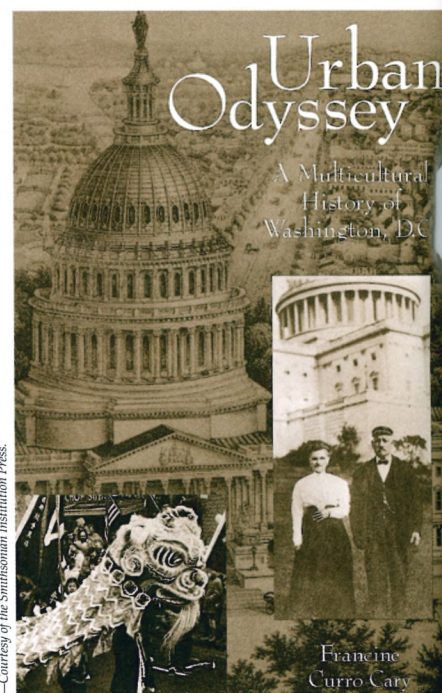
# A R O

**ALABAMA:** The Alabama Humanities Foundation hosts the 1996 meeting of the southern state humanities councils in Birmingham June 13-15.

**ARIZONA:** Dr. Benjamin Barber, author of *An Aristocracy of Everyone: The Politics of Education and the Future of America* (1992), covers this topic May 17 at 7:30 at the Franciscan Renewal Center in Scottsdale. Barber is the third speaker in a bimonthly series sponsored by the Arizona Humanities Council. The speaker series is part of a two-year project called "Voices from Communities in Transition," which explores how Arizona residents think about their communities.

Barber will be the guest lecturer the following day at Arizona State University in Tempe, as part of a National Conversation project on "Immigrant Culture, Values, and Identity." The project will link five communities in Arizona by interactive instructional television for a final conversation.

"Produce for Victory: Posters on the American Home Front, 1941-1945," a traveling exhibition from the Smithsonian, appears at the Bisbee Mining and Historical Museum June 1-July 31.



**CALIFORNIA:** Three exhibitions are touring the state in May and June:

"Between Two Worlds: The People of the Border" exhibits photographs about border life and migration by photojournalist Donald Barletti at the Museum of History and Art in Ontario through May 12;

"Gum San: Land of the Golden Mountain" explores the role of Chinese in the history of the west at the Grace Hudson Museum in Ukiah through June 16;

"Produce for Victory: Posters on the Home Front, 1941-1945" stops at the Corona Public Library May 1-June 16.

# N A

## A R O U N D U P O F A C T I V I T I E S



# U N D E R

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:

*Urban Odyssey: A Multicultural History of Washington, D.C.* is now available from

the Smithsonian Institution Press.

Edited by Francine Curro Cary, executive director of the Humanities Council of Wash-

ington, D.C., the book tells the story of Washington's inhabitants beginning with the Piscataway Indians, slaves and free

blacks, early immigrant groups, and more recent settlers such as Korean, Caribbean, and Ethiopian peoples who make up the multi-ethnic population of the nation's capital.

**FLORIDA:** Florida Humanities Council continues its 1996 speakers bureau throughout the state. This year's bureau features a performance and discussion with legendary congressman Claude Pepper (portrayed by Kelly Reynolds); presentations on Florida's role in the woman suffrage movement; and other events. Call 813/272-3473 for information about the bureau.

**IDAHO:** Continuing the speakers bureau presentation are two events: Jeff Anderson discusses "Islam and the West" at the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship in Twin Falls May 12; and Lauren Fins speaks on "Idaho Women and the Land" at the Boise Public Library May 23.

**INDIANA:** "Produce for Victory" appears at the Indiana Museum in Vincennes May 8-July 8.

**KANSAS:** Scholars portraying literary greats Kate Chopin, Stephen Crane, W. E. B. Du Bois, Jack London, Mark Twain, and Zitkala-Sa will appear in Colby (June 21-25) and Arkansas City (June 28-July 2) as part of the 1996 Great Plains Chautauqua, "American Writers of the Gilded Age." The scholars playing the writers are Anne Bail Howard, Doug Watson, Charles Everett Pace, Carrol D. Peterson, George Frein, and Jeanne Oyawin Eder. Programs included in the six-state tour include workshops, breakfast discussions, and musical performances. Later this summer, "Writers of the Gilded Age" will visit Iowa, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, and Oklahoma. For information call 913/357-0359.



Courtesy of Syracuse University

AMERICAN WRITERS OF THE GILDED AGE: STEPHEN CRANE (LEFT) AND W.E.B. DUBOIS (BELOW).



Painting by H.K. Miller

# T I O N

BY STATE HUMANITIES COUNCILS DURING MAY AND JUNE.  
—COMPILED BY AMY LIFSON



**MAINE:** The Edwin Arlington Robinson Memorial Poetry Festival is being held in Gardiner, Maine, May 16-19. Robinson (1869-1935), winner of three Pulitzer Prizes for poetry, was raised in Gardiner, and the "Tilbury Town" in his poetry is based on Gardiner and its inhabitants. Events include poetry readings, a symposium, an original theater piece about Robinson's life, a walking tour of Gardiner, and readings and discussions with area students.

Other programs in Maine include an exhibition open-

ing June 2 on American impressionist painter and illustrator Charles D. Hubbard at the L. C. Bates Museum in Hinckley, and a festival of Franco-American traditions, part of the House Island Project opening in Portland June 22.

**MARYLAND:** Several events examine Maryland and world history this spring:

Interpreting a site where more than twenty thousand artifacts were uncovered behind Baltimore's Carroll Mansion is the topic for a symposium May 11 at the

Morton K. Blaustein Exhibition Center Gallery;

A one-act play about western and Chinese map making will be performed in the midst of an exhibition on maps at St. John's College in Annapolis, which runs through June 21. Performances for the public are on May 3, 5, 8, 10, and 12;

King David established Jerusalem as the capital of Israel three thousand years ago. The Jewish Community Center of Greater Washington in Rockville marks the anniversary with

a folk music performance on May 16, and an exhibition through May 19;

A free seminar, "Classical Giants: Haydn and Mozart," precedes a May 19 concert at St. Ignatius Church in Baltimore;

A series of forums for scholars, local history organizations, and African American community groups to exchange information about the African American experience in Maryland continues at Allegany Community College in Cumberland on June 8.

## SINGING THE Literacy BLUES

**I**N ADULT LEARNING CENTERS throughout Vermont, new readers are getting ready for discussions and preparing new work—maybe a poem or a song—for presentation at the eighth annual Adult Literacy Conference, "Country Music: Its Roots and Heart," on May 4 at Randolph Union High School. For many of the three hundred prospective participants, this will be the first conference they ever attend.

Months before, participants received a novel by Katherine Paterson about a country music family, *Come Sing Jimmy Jo*. This book will be the center of group discussions at the conference. They also received a picture book by Helen Griffiths called *Georgia Music*, and a tape of country music classics to add insight into the genre.

At the conference, Paul Miller and Coco Kallis will give a lecture-demonstration on the roots of country music. No stranger to the musical landscape in Vermont, Miller, who was transplanted there from New York City about

twenty-five years ago, discovered for himself the versatility and lure of country music. "We say here, it's just as country as Dixie," replies Miller to questioning of

authentic country music in New England. "Country music is, simplified, a mix of music from the British Isles and African music from the plantations. In fact, African slaves brought the banjo to this country. It was originally a type of drum," explains Miller.

The lecture sequence includes an audio test during which the audience guesses who is singing what. For example,





**MINNESOTA:** The Minnesota Humanities Commission gets a new center. See page 36.

**MISSOURI:** The 1996 Heartland Chautauqua takes place this June in Springfield and Joplin. Cosponsored by the Missouri and Illinois Humanities Councils, the tent shows bring performances of statesman William Jennings Bryan (1860-1925), sociologist and civil rights leader W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), industrialist-philanthropist

Andrew Carnegie (1835-1902), women's rights pioneer Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902), and reformist Rabbi Isaac Wise (1819-1900).

The fusion of history and myth in the writings of William Faulkner will be examined at a two-week summer seminar for schoolteachers at Southeast Missouri State University June 17-28.

**NEBRASKA:** A Japanese culture conference marking the fiftieth anniversary of Ruth Benedict's book

*The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* will take place May 17-18 at the University of Nebraska in Omaha.

Forty-three schoolteachers will study Nebraska history and literature and take a six-day tour of the state on the Trails and Tales Tour June 10-22 at Peru State College.

"Produce for Victory" appears at the Filmore County Historical Society in Fairmont May 10-June 21.

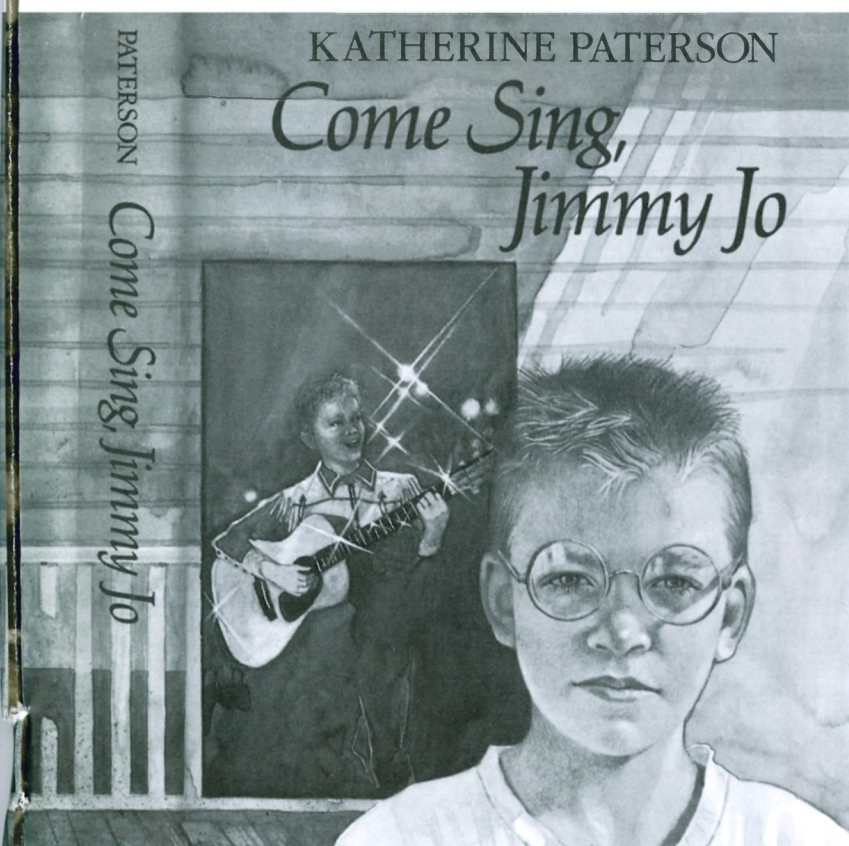
**NEVADA:** "Asia and Nevada," an ongoing program, continues with

exhibitions and a teachers' institute:

"Beyond Gum San: The Story of the Chinese People in Nevada" opens at the Nevada State Museum and Historical Society in Las Vegas May 18;

"Strength and Diversity: Japanese American Women from 1885 to 1990" appears with a companion exhibition on Japanese American women's experiences in the Silver State at the state library in Carson City;

A summer institute in Reno, June 10-14, brings schoolteachers from around



Miller may play a sound clip and ask the audience to tell him who is singing: gospel great Thomas Dorsey or credited founder of country music Jimmy Rogers? Although fifteen years apart, Miller says the two performers have almost an identical sound. Later that day, Miller and Kallis and the Lonesome Road Band will play backup for participants presenting their own work.

"It's not the kind of mood you'd find at a typical academic conference," says Susie Wizowaty of the Vermont Council on the Humanities. According to Wizowaty, the conference is based on participation: from the demonstration on the history of country music, to the reading discussions, to the gala performance by the students and the Lonesome Road Band. "The conference is a validation of the students' experiences. It's a celebration for them," says Wizowaty.

Wizowaty says that national statistics suggest there are as many as seventy thousand functionally illiterate people in the state. Approximately five thousand are learning to read through adult basic education in Vermont all year round. For those who have the time, the Vermont Council on the Humanities makes it possible for them to attend the conference—providing transportation, food, and materials.

At the end of last year's conference, "Poetry: Putting Your Life on the Line," participants voted two to one to have country music as this year's theme. "There are a wide range of abilities, but this year's topic is something the students themselves chose and everyone's excited about," remarks Wizowaty.

"Just finishing the novel will be a big challenge for many," she says. Those who have not finished reading the novel will still be able to take part in the small-group discussions because of audiotapes made available to the learning centers. Everything to do with the conference—the discussions, the music, the gala, and the months of preparation—are to spark excitement about reading for many who got a late start.

—Amy Lifson



the state to study twentieth-century Chinese history and culture.

**NEW HAMPSHIRE:** "Sport and the American Experience," a yearlong project with Maine and Vermont, continues in May and June at libraries and public spaces throughout New Hampshire. May's reading is *Laughing in the Hills* by Bill Barich, a story about a man who finds America itself in the closed society of the horse racetrack, and June's selection is *My Old Man and the Sea: A Father and Son Sail Around Cape Horn* by David and Daniel Hays.

June 26-29, Portsmouth will host the "Democracy in America" chautauqua bringing portrayals of Alexis de Tocqueville, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Horace Greeley, P. T. Barnum, Maria Stuart, and others in workshops for adults and children.

**NEW JERSEY:** Two series examine American reactions to our history and culture:

"American Lives in Progress" is a five-part reading and discussion series at the Camden County Library that approaches American social changes through the writings of Willa Cather, Flannery O'Connor, William Faulkner, Isaac Bashevis Singer, and Maxine Hong Kingston;

"Legacies of the Sixties" reappraises the myths and realities of that decade in a nine-part lecture and discussion series at Ocean County Community College.

**NEW MEXICO:** "Death with Dignity: The Real Issues" is the topic addressed by attorneys, physicians, activists, and the public at a discussion session May 7 at 7:00 p.m. at the University of New Mexico Law School in Albuquerque.

**NEW YORK:** "From the Land of Eagles: Eastern European Communities in Columbia County, 1890-1990" opens at the Columbia County Historical Society in mid June. This is the third in a series exploring immigrant experience in Columbia County between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries.

**OREGON:** "Imperial Tombs of China" is a major treasures exhibition at the Portland Art Museum through September. The Oregon Humanities Council, in cooperation with the museum, will have scholars present a sixty-minute slide program exploring the exhibition's historical and cultural context in several cities. Presentations are already scheduled in Pendleton, Portland, The Dalles, Hillsboro, and Stayton.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Pennsylvanians commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of women's suffrage with two exhibitions: "Do Everything: Women and Reform in Chester County" documents women-led reform movements there from the mid-nineteenth century through the Depression—at the Chester County Historical Society in West Chester through August 15; "A Woman Votes" appears at the Jefferson County Historical and Genealogical Society in Brookville through the end of May.

A Scots-Irish festival in Elizabethtown May 3-5 focuses on eighteenth-century settlers of the Susquehanna Valley with lectures, exhibits, and historical demonstrations.

**SOUTH CAROLINA:** "Still Worth Keeping Symposium" focuses on the challenges of community preservation and conservation of works by self-taught

**M**INNESOTA WILL HOLD the grand opening of its new Humanities Education Center on June 8 in St. Paul. The center is a \$2.5 million renovation of a building once scheduled for demolition.

"We want to honor the neighborhood because they are the people who saved this building," said Cheryl Dickson, president of the Minnesota Humanities Commission. "If it hadn't been for them, it wouldn't have been here for us to restore."

The building had been Dowling Memorial Hall, which was boarded up when the old Gillette State Children's Hospital moved away in 1977. The twenty-four bed residential center, the first facility of its kind in the United States, will house the MHC's Teacher Institute, which brings in groups of educators for week-long studies and professional seminars. The center will also provide training for leaders of Motherread and Fatherread programs. The highly popular programs help parents and children read together and discuss the values and meanings found in children's books.

Renovation of the vacant building began last August with funding from the state of Minnesota, the city of St. Paul,





# GRAND OPENING IN MINNESOTA

Minnesota's new Humanities Education  
Center will open on June 8.

and private donors. Local banks, the Minnesota Non-Profits Assistance Fund and the housing and redevelopment authority of the city of St. Paul have provided financing.

The new use of the Dowling building follows a tradition of education, Dickson points out. The hospital itself had been established in 1897 by the Minnesota legislature to provide care for disabled children; in 1925, Dowling was added to offer patients instruction in academic subjects and training in occupational work such as watch repair, bookkeeping, shorthand and typewriting, millinery, sewing, and toy making.

When the hospital moved, the other buildings were razed and Dowling boarded up. In 1991, after fourteen years, the city council voted to get rid of it, but groups such as the Gillette Heritage Association formed, and it and other civic groups persuaded the city to hold on to the property until a good use could be found. The East Side Arts Council took it upon itself to identify prospective tenants and invite them to tour the boarded-up site. One of those to visit was the Minnesota Humanities Commission. Cheryl Dickson remembers going into the dim, deserted interior. "Then somebody struck a light and we could see this beautiful building," she said, "and I knew we were home." —MLB



—Photo courtesy of the Minnesota Humanities Commission.



artists. The symposium at the College of Charleston May 9-11 will revisit a 1981 exhibition of local Carolina artists to evaluate what works have been saved, lost, or need immediate attention.

**SOUTH DAKOTA:** "Elders of the Faiths: Portraits and Interviews" appears May 5-18 in the rotunda of the Cannon House Office Building of the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington, D.C., before it returns to tour South Dakota. The exhibition features fifteen older South Dakotans and the role of religion in their lives.

Three speakers and a conference round off activities in the state:

Sally Roesch Wagner speaks on "Issues of L. Frank Baum" at Northern State University in Aberdeen May 23 at 7:30 p.m.

The twenty-eighth annual Dakota History Conference commences May 30 at Augustana College in Sioux Falls.

Joanita Kant Monteith portrays Mrs. A. C. Melette, the wife of South Dakota's first governor, June 8 at 9:00 a.m. at Oldham Lutheran Church.

Darryl Patten discusses the poetry of cowboy poet Badger Clark, the state's first poet laureate, at the American Creek Campground in Chamberlain June 26.

**UTAH:** Elders of the Goshute Indian Tribe in Utah's western desert have teamed up with anthropologists and scientists to study native plants and their traditional uses by indigenous peoples. The Sego Ethnobotany Project will be featured in June at the grand opening of the new herb, medicinal, and fragrance gardens at the Red Butte Gardens State Arboretum.

**VERMONT:** The eighth annual statewide conference for adult literacy students takes place May 4 on the Vermont Technical College campus in Randolph. See page 34.

Another project, originally developed to celebrate the bicentennial of Vermont statehood in 1991, "Schools and Schoolbooks in 1791," continues as one of the popular presentations available through the Vermont Council on the Humanities's speakers bureau.

Henry Bissex gives this slide show/talk about Vermont's history for the North Hero Historical Society May 22 at 7:00 p.m. in the North Hero Methodist Church.

Elsewhere in the state, Jeanne Brink, co-author of a dictionary of the Abenaki language, presents a program on western Abenaki culture and language at the Bennington Free Library May 23 at 7:00 p.m.

**VIRGINIA:** Irish cinema is the topic for a three-day

conference at the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities Center for Media and Culture in Charlottesville May 9-11. The conference brings together Irish filmmakers, poets, and international scholars to look at themes of Irish culture and national identity in film. Films to be featured include Stephen Burke's *After '68*, Pat O'Connor's *The Ballroom of Romance*, Thaddeus O'Sullivan's *December Bride*, and others.

**WASHINGTON:** A symposium on "Issues in Traditional Filipino Culture and Identity" will be held May 25 during the twenty-fifth annual Northwest Folklife Festival in Seattle. Washington has the second-largest Filipino population in America.

Twenty instructors are gearing up for the state's new family literacy program with a training institute in Seattle in June.

The Commission's new Humanities Media Center is growing and the center is planning an Irish film Festival for May 12-14.

A tour of "Mining Days in Old Roslyn" features a

GOSHUTE  
WOMAN AND  
CHILD.



Courtesy of Utah State Historical Society.



Mark W. McGinnis.

"My religion is the core of my life," says eighty-five-year-old social worker Beryl Blake, one of the fifteen elders interviewed and painted by Mark W. McGinnis. McGinnis chose elders with deep roots in one of the many faiths—Methodist (Blake), Lakota, Mennonite, Baptist, Catholic, Jewish, African Methodist Episcopal, Hutterite, Shoshone, Unitarian, and Lutheran—present in South Dakota. Through the interviews and portraits, McGinnis hopes to show the beauty and wisdom of aging. "Elders of the Faiths" will travel throughout South Dakota beginning July 1 in Martin.



mine-site tour, visits to a cemetery and historical house, and a dinner dance June 21-23.

The Washington speakers bureau has a full schedule this spring:

May 2—Tames Alan presents "From the Streets of Shakespeare to the Court of Elizabeth" at Manson Secondary School in Manson at noon. She will repeat this talk May 10 at 9:00 a.m. at Montesano Junior High in Montesano;

May 4—Elaine Parnow presents "Hispanic Women Speak" at the Centralia Timberland Library in Centralia at 2:00 p.m.;

May 7—Sara Edlin-Marlowe talks about the life of Georgia O'Keeffe at Eastern Washington University in Cheney at noon;

May 7—Walt Crowley presents "Rites of Passage: Revisiting the Sixties" at Edmonds Community College in Lynnwood at noon;

May 7—Playworks, a touring performance group, presents a theatrical exploration of aging at the Woman's Century Club House in Yakima at 1:00 p.m.;

May 8—Tese Wintz Neighbor lectures on "Journey to the Roof of the World: Can Marx and Buddha Be Friends?" at the Medical Lake Community Library in Medical Lake at noon;

May 8—Marilyn Berger presents "Literary and Cultural Images of Women as Reflected in Law" at Highline Community College in Des Moines at 5:00 p.m.;

May 8—Raymond Egan portrays Father Luigi Rossi, an Italian priest who settled in the Washington wilderness in the nineteenth century, at the Orcas Center in Eastsound at 7:30 p.m.;

May 9—Doug Mishler portrays P. T. Barnum at the Jefferson County Library in Port Hadlock at 2:30 p.m.;

May 11—Tames Alan presents "The Intrepid Victorian Traveler" at the Hoquiam-Timberland Library in Hoquiam at 1:00 p.m. She will repeat this talk May 25 at the Shaw Island Community building in Shaw Island at 4:00 p.m. and June 15 at the First Baptist Church of Kent in Kent at 10:00 a.m.;

May 15—Sara Edlin-Marlowe tells the story of Sacagawea at Centralia College in Centralia at 7:30 p.m.;

May 16—Dr. Edward Vajda talks about the political history of women in Russia at the First Methodist Church in Anacortes at 7:30 p.m.;

May 18—Elaine Parnow gives "A Visit with Emily Dickinson" at the Ocean Park Timberland Library in Ocean Park at 2:00 p.m.;

May 23—Tese Wintz Neighbor discusses recent reforms in China and how they affect women's lives, at

Clark College in Vancouver at 2:15 p.m.;

May 23—Anita Endrezze presents "Song Maker: An Encounter with a Poet" at the Steilacoom Tribal Cultural Center in Steilacoom at 7:30 p.m.

June 5—Gordon S. Jackson discusses ongoing controversies in media ethics at the Confluence Gallery in Twisp at 7:00 p.m.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** A summer seminar for teachers held June 16-28 at Fairmont State College examines Appalachian folklore and folk literature, and how to use folklore in the classroom.

**WISCONSIN:** A symposium examining the writings of Wallace Stegner in the context of conservation and environmental movements will be held on the University of Wisconsin campus in Madison May 3-5. □

STREET  
SCENE  
FROM  
STEPHEN  
BURKE'S  
"AFTER '68."



—Virginia Foundation for the Humanities



# Calendar

MAY ♦ JUNE

BY STEVEN SNODGRASS



The lives, customs, rituals, and myths of women as depicted in art from fifth-century Greece are the focus of the Walters Art Gallery's "Pandora's Box."

After exhibitions at Baltimore's Walters Art Gallery and the Dallas Museum of Art, it is making its final stop at Switzerland's Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig.

—Julia Tietz Glasgow, courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz



—Three Village Historical Society

When commercial expansion forced ships to sail on longer voyages, many wives and daughters joined their husbands and fathers. "The Sailing Circle: Nineteenth-Century Seafaring Women from New York," produced by the Three Village Historical Society and the Cold Spring Harbor Whaling Museum, looks at these women's lives.



## ENDOWMENT EXHIBITIONS

The traveling exhibition "Recycled, Re-seen: Folk Art from the Global Scrap Heap" explores the creation of art from discarded articles. It opens May 19 at the Museum of International Folk Art in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

—Blair Clark, Museum of New Mexico

Temple adornments, texts, textiles, and sculptures are on display in their ritual context in "Object as Insight: Japanese Buddhist Art and Ritual."

Organized by the Katonah Museum of Art, the exhibition is at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

—Katonah Museum of Art



—McKissick Museum

"Jubilation! African American Celebrations in the Southeast" examines celebrations since Emancipation and their importance in sustaining the culture. The traveling exhibition was organized by the University of South Carolina's McKissick Museum and opens June 2 at the Wayne Center for the Arts in Wooster, Ohio.



Continued from page 8

but there's an implicit kind of, if not racism, then cultural chauvinism in reverse. Usually this implies that we'd rather have middle-class East Asians, who have a superior educational background and culture, dominating the professions and politics than black Americans; and, for that matter, poor white Southerners or Mexican Americans. I think that's the subtext.

You could see a version of this in the nineteenth century. It had to do with German and Scandinavian Americans. You'd have the nativists saying, "We don't want Irish Catholics coming to this country. They can't assimilate." "They're poor and shiftless." "We would prefer a German any day to some poor white Scots-Irish family in the South." I'm very suspicious of that argument.

What it does is tend to legitimate the fact that the United States is the only industrial democracy which, instead of training its own native-born poor in order to fill positions as engineers, physicists, scientists, and so on, simply imports the products of foreign educational systems. The question you have to ask yourself is, who benefits from this? Clearly the middle-class and working-class and poor Americans, who might have had these jobs had they been trained for them, don't benefit. At most, they'll go to work as menial servants for some immigrant professional.

Who's benefiting? I think it's what I call the white overclass, the manager or professional oligarchy. It's cheaper to import specialized professionals. It's

the approach of a traditional empire instead of a nation-state. If you look at a nation-state like Japan, the Japanese would never imagine that if there's a shortage in physicists, that they would just simply bring in hundreds of thousands or millions of North American and Europeans to do all the physics jobs. They would train Japanese to be physicists. So the fact that conservatives like Fukuyama make this argument suggests to me they see the country as a kind of imperial structure where particular ethnic groups are specialized for particular professions.

**HACKNEY:** What about the importation, though, of cheap labor?

**LIND:** I'm opposed to this for economic reasons, not for cultural reasons. I see no reason to believe that Mexican Americans should be any different in terms of their inherent abilities, or Haitians or whoever, from any group of European immigrants. It's mainly a matter of what the educational system in the culture makes of people.

We've had wages going down for everyone except for the top 20 percent since the 1970s. The business class of the United States, which entered into a social contract with the unions that lasted from World War II up until the 1970s, has been using its political power to obliterate protections, to lay people off, to replace full-time workers with contract labor, to eliminate pension and health-care plans.

There was a study that came out recently which showed that of the people who have gotten new jobs in the

past couple of years, a majority of these new jobs pay less, and only a minority of the new jobs have health plans. What I see happening is the business class in the United States pursuing its own interest with no regard for the long view of society. Part of its interest is having the largest possible labor pool relative to the number of job openings, because it's just basic economics. If you have more workers competing for fewer jobs, then wages are going to fall. The *Wall Street Journal* wants to have a Constitutional amendment saying there shall be open borders in the United States. There can never be too many poor people competing for jobs from the view of the business class.

**HACKNEY:** Would you hold the overclass, as you term it, responsible also for the politics of identity, the multiculturalism that has held sway in the last twenty years?

**LIND:** It's a little more complicated. The white overclass did not invent black nationalism and black power. This goes back to the eighteenth century. It's one of the major options for black Americans trying to describe their place in America. It's a very old tradition which the white establishment responded to, but it did not invent it.

I think you can make a different case, though, for Hispanic and Asian Americans, so-called. Some of the liberal foundations in the late sixties actually sought out what was then a very tiny cadre of Hispanic activists and volunteered to help them organize a Hispanic movement that was the



**HAT I SEE HAPPENING IS THE BUSINESS CLASS**

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LANGUAGE AND CUSTOMS, LIKE THE AMERICAN CHRISTMAS

AND THANKSGIVING, THE WAY WE STRUCTURE BIRTHDAYS, SPORTS—

IS REALLY WHAT DISTINGUISHES AMERICA AS A NATION FROM OTHER

ENGLISH-SPEAKING NATIONS.

equivalent of the NAACP. Black power became the model for Hispanic power, and even an Asian and Pacific Islander identity. That's when things really got messed up.

**HACKNEY:** Back on the shared culture and the American nationalism, you use the phrase at several points in your book about American nationalism being defined by a common language and a common culture. You don't get very specific about what's in the common culture, conventional ways of believing and behaving, as the anthropologists would say. Isn't that common culture being constantly renegotiated?

**LIND:** It changes over time, just like a natural language. But even though the vocabulary of English is different now from what it was in the nineteenth century, at any given time one could say, "Well, this is English," and "This is Polish," or, "This is Chinese." The mere fact that something changes doesn't mean that it doesn't have an identifiable character. It would take another book to describe the details of this common culture.

The vernacular culture . . . that is, language and customs, like the American Christmas and Thanksgiving, the way we structure birthdays, sports—is really what distinguishes America as a nation from other English-speaking nations. There really is an American English, which is different not only from the French and Portuguese but also from English and Australian English.

**HACKNEY:** But it's more. This common culture is much more than a belief in the political principles in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

**LIND:** I guess this is where I'm the most heretical. I don't understand people's objection to my statement that the nation is different, older than, and morally superior to the state. This is not something that I dreamed up. This is the older American constitutional theory, that the American nation was the principal which created the United States in 1776 as its agent. The nation existed before the state. If you read Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, it does not say, "We hereby create a new people." It says that this group, the American people, already exist, it has already been living under the British crown.

**HACKNEY:** Yes, but you have a problem with inconsistency. If you argue, as you do, that colonial Americans saw themselves simply as Englishmen with all the rights of Englishmen, and it was the king's violation of those rights that led them to revolt, then you have a hard time arguing that the American nation existed before the Revolution.

**LIND:** My first republic, remember, is Anglo-America, so that the Anglo-Americans distinguish themselves from the French Canadians and from the American Indians.

**HACKNEY:** Yes, but the Anglo-Americans were created as Anglo-Americans distinct from British Americans by the Revolution.

**LIND:** They had some consciousness of a common identity, at least people like Benjamin Franklin, who started off thinking of themselves as just Britons overseas.

**HACKNEY:** He was slow to see it coming.

**LIND:** Yes. But the whole theory of the Declaration of Independence is that it's not a civil war within the British empire. That is, there were some people within the colonies who said, "We're really objecting simply to this tyrannical ministry, and therefore we're going to collaborate with our countrymen in Scotland and Ireland and Wales and in London itself." But that was not the theory of the Declaration by the time the Revolution came.

**HACKNEY:** Well, that was the definitive moment, when they shifted their complaint to the king, who is the head of the state. That was different from complaining about the ministers.

**LIND:** Even if there had not been a Revolutionary War, one could argue there would have been this Anglo-American nation. The alternative to breaking with London was creating a federal empire, that is, a distinct American legislature.

**HACKNEY:** A Canadian solution.

**LIND:** Yes. It's what the white dominions in the British empire did around 1900.

**HACKNEY:** Yes. But then the Anglo-America would not have had the democratic and equalitarian . . .



**LIND:** Exactly, exactly. The way I define American nationality now, the particular political culture we have is part of it, but you don't define a nation by its political culture.

Let's look at France. There's been a French nation since the eighteenth century, if not earlier, defined by culture and language and so on. It's been under dictatorship, monarchy, republicanism, fascism. Nevertheless, that doesn't affect the fact that there's a French nation there. If tomorrow the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff leads a military coup and the United States becomes a military dictatorship, does that mean the American people cease to exist? No. They're oppressed by tyranny, but the American people are still there.

**HACKNEY:** I agree. The question here is only whether they existed before the revolution. I would say part of the common culture that is shared is our history, and that history really could go back to Jamestown and Plymouth, but it also...

**LIND:** This is a question you have, though, with all modern nations—when they were first politically organized, when they become politically conscious and become incorporated into a modern nation-state. Let's take Germany, which arguably becomes a nation-state for the first time only in 1867.

**HACKNEY:** That's right.

**LIND:** At least juridically, German national unity usually dated to Prussia's confederation with the West German states. Does that mean that the German nation was invented in 1867? No. On the other hand, the other extreme is going too far, to say that there was this stateless German nation which existed as a distinct entity all the way back to ancient Roman times.

What most nations do is postdate their identity before they become politically incorporated. The Russians celebrate the foundation of Russia by Orthodox missionaries in 1000 A.D. Well, no one at that time imagined that they were laying the foundations for the Russia of the future as a cultural entity, much less as a political entity.

**HACKNEY:** I think the argument here, though, is with Americans who think that America is a bit different because it was not a people before it was cre-

ated politically. It was a part of the British empire.

**LIND:** Well, I may have a regional bias here because my ancestors lived under a number of governments: Britain, the United States. They were part of the Texas republic. They were part of the United States again. Then they were part of the Confederacy. Then they were part of the United States.

As I see it, from 1836 to about 1846, you had a single English-speaking cultural nation, which to my mind includes the Western Canadians, who were engaged in an abortive rebellion against Britain at the same time they wanted to join the United States. You get this pattern where there were actually three separate governments in North America—British Canada, the United States, and the Republic of Texas—over what is, arguably, the same people.

I think if you went back in a time machine to the 1830s and you'd go to these Anglo-American Texans and you asked them, "Well, what's your nationality?" they'd say, "American." Their citizenship just happens to be Texan. So, how could you be an American if you no longer had U.S. citizenship?

**HACKNEY:** By that time, it existed. That's when Tocqueville was there. It had evolved.

**LIND:** There's a lot of sympathy, you know, for this melting-pot idea being updated. The most objectionable part of my book, it turns out, is my attempt to demote Thomas Jefferson.

**HACKNEY:** Yes, right, and promote Alexander Hamilton.

**LIND:** Again, maybe this is just my perspective as a liberal Southerner. To us Southerners, when these right-wing reactionary Republicans from the South get up and say, "We're in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson," our impulse is to say, "Well, they're right." Thomas Jefferson was Strom Thurmond's great-granddad, metaphorically. He believed in states' rights, the natural right of revolution, the pseudo-scientific theories about black inferiority, and an agrarian economy. He hated cities. So, he looks pretty much like a classic conservative Southern reactionary from the modern point of view. The response when I say this is, "Well, but we don't want to destroy our image of Thomas Jefferson."

**HACKNEY:** Right. It's the mythic Jefferson.

**LIND:** I had underestimated the extent to which he's up there with Gandhi and Albert Schweitzer. They don't see this guy as a kind of cranky Virginia governor. He's this demigod.

**HACKNEY:** There are historians who would argue that all Americans are Jeffersonians now, left and right.

**LIND:** All Americans but one.

**HACKNEY:** Good.

**LIND:** It goes back to the fact that social democracy and civil rights in the United States in the twentieth century were carried out not by the party that really should have carried them out, which was the Republicans, but by the Democrats, who were this peculiar ramshackle coalition of Southern segregationists and Northern workers and Western farmers. You had the so-called "consensus" historians, who had to come up with a version of history in which you could get a Democratic genealogy for modern statism and the powerful federal government in the commitment to civil rights for blacks, all of which really came out of the Northern-Hamiltonian-Federalist-Whig-Republican-Progressive tradition.

**HACKNEY:** I'm surprised that your activist government thesis has not created more opposition on the right.

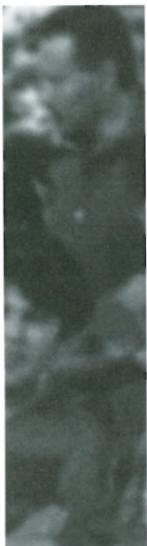
**LIND:** Well, the right, of course, is now denouncing me as a "Marxian."

**HACKNEY:** Ah, well, because of your emphasis on class.

**LIND:** Yes, yes, although my emphasis on class doesn't come out of Marxism at all; it comes out of the Progressive historians like Charles Beard, and out of the Founding Fathers. If you read the Federalist papers, the view of class conflict between the propertied and the debtors is central. I think there's going to be a backlash in favor of activist government. After all, what we've seen so far is the American electorate—which we should distinguish from the American people, because the electorate tends to be disproportionately white and fairly educated and high income—rebelling against spending programs for the poor.

Somebody said this conservative mood stands for social democracy for the affluent and the free market for the poor, and I think that's what's going on.





**F YOU LOOK ONLY AT THE PRIVATE SECTOR, WHAT YOU FIND  
IS SOMETHING LIKE THE *NOMENKLATURA* IN EAST GERMANY AND IN THE FORMER  
SOVIET UNION . . . THERE ARE MORE PRIVATE POLICE NOW IN THE UNITED STATES THAN  
THERE ARE POLICE ON THE PUBLIC PAYROLL.**

**HACKNEY:** You pick up Lewis Lapham's phrase, the new feudalism, and argue it very hard, that America is retreating into enclave communities.

**LIND:** That's the disturbing thing about this group I call the white overclass, which is not just the rich. There have always been the rich, and the overclass certainly doesn't include entrepreneurs.

**HACKNEY:** Define it more precisely.

**LIND:** The overclass is what James Burnham calls the managerial elite. These are college-educated individuals with M.B.A.s or J.D.s or Ph.D.s who owe their status in society to advanced education instead of to family wealth or inventive genius or athletic prowess. This is the group that since the early twentieth century has replaced the bourgeoisie as the dominant economic elite in all of the industrial democracies. By bourgeoisie, I mean the old-fashioned robber barons who not only owned but actually ran their companies.

This new white overclass—and it's mostly white; down the road it may very well be a mixed-race overclass—is following a quite different strategy from the northeastern Protestant establishment or the older bourgeoisie that came to power in the Civil War and dominated the government and American society up until about World War II.

If you go back to the 1890s, you see these upper-class families frightened by what they see as labor violence, the wave of immigration, and so on. They

take it upon themselves to prove that they're a responsible elite. So, the tycoons endow public museums and they organize Central Park in Manhattan, and they lead municipal campaigns. Again, it's for the enlightened self-interest of their class. It's not out of any particular personal virtue. You don't see the affluent elite in the United States these days out in public leading municipal reform campaigns or endowing universities and museums and so on. What you see is the majority of them trying to wall themselves off from crime and from poverty in gated communities.

**HACKNEY:** The disassembly of the federal government is going to add to that, is it not, by throwing more and more things into the private sector?

**LIND:** Yes. If you look only at the private sector, what you find is something like the *nomenklatura* in East Germany and in the former Soviet Union, where the Communist Party elite created its own separate network of villas with its fleets of cars, its own private guards. They lived in luxury.

Something like this is happening with this kind of private-sector *nomenklatura* of ours. There are more private police now in the United States than there are police on the public payroll.

**HACKNEY:** I saw that in the book. That's a startling figure.

**LIND:** If you're a member of the white overclass, you're living in First World conditions. You have your welfare state. Although it's in the form of cor-

porate pension plans, it's technically private, but it's a whole welfare-state network. If you live in some of these new planned, gated communities, you live in these wonderful fifties-type villages or suburbs, protected by your own private mercenary armies. If you're a member of this elite, then you're better off in the United States than you are even in Northern Europe or Western Europe.

The problem is, the conditions outside of this elite are deteriorating, and there's going to be a backlash in some form. And unless you get enlightened members of it who are the equivalent of people like Theodore Roosevelts . . .

**HACKNEY:** Ah, I knew you'd get to Teddy Roosevelt sooner or later.

**LIND:** Well, Roosevelt is fascinating to me, because he was haunted by the fear that reaction on the part of his social class would lead to revolution. He wanted to preempt social revolution from below by a program of reform from above.

In a way, this is what I'm advocating. If you have a completely predatory oligarchy that lets the country gradually deteriorate around it, then the vast majority of the people are going to find champions who may destroy the system. There's going to be some kind of populist and possibly authoritarian backlash.

**HACKNEY:** That's not a good note to end on, but an appropriately challenging one. □



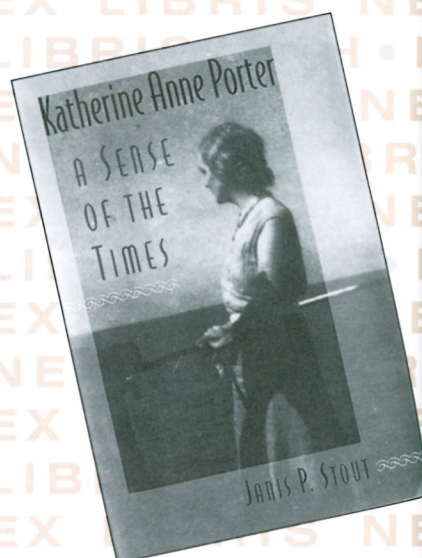
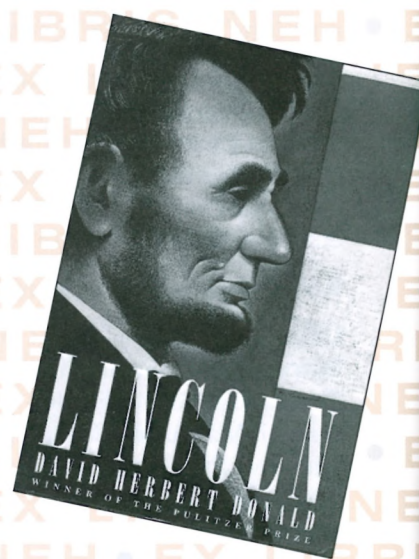
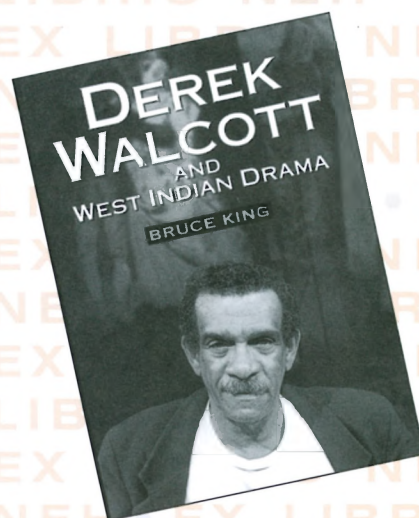
# BOOKS

## PUBLISHED RECENTLY WITH NEH SUPPORT



### Award Winners

- **American Academy of Religion, Best First Book in the History of Religion**  
**DeWeese, Devin.** *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tukles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.
- **American Association for State and Local History, Award of Merit** for outstanding contributions to the research and history of colonial New Mexico:  
**Kessell, John L., Rick Hendricks, and Meredith D. Dodge,** eds. *To the Royal Crown Restored: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1692-1694.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995.
- **American Historical Association, Albert J. Beveridge Award** for the best book written on American history from 1492 to the present:  
**Douglas, Ann.** *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s.* New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1995.
- **American Historical Association, Helen and Howard R. Marraro Prize** for the best work on any epoch of Italian history or culture or Italian-American relations:  
**King, Margaret L.** *The Death of the Child Valerio Marcello.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- **American Historical Association, J. Franklin Jameson Prize** for outstanding editorial achievement in last five years:  
**Ryerson, Richard Alan,** et al., eds. *Adams Family Correspondence.* Vols. 5 and 6. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1993.
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**Felstiner, Mary Lowenthal.** *To Paint Her Life: Charlotte Salomon in the Nazi Era.* New York: Harper-Collins, 1994.
- **American Historical Association, Littleton-Griswold Prize** for the best book on the history of American law and society:  
**Keller, Morton.** *Regulating a New Society: Public Policy and Social Change in America, 1900-1933.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- **American Historical Association, Wesley-Logan Prize** for the outstanding book on some aspect of the history of the dispersion, settlement, and adjustment or return of peoples originally from Africa:  
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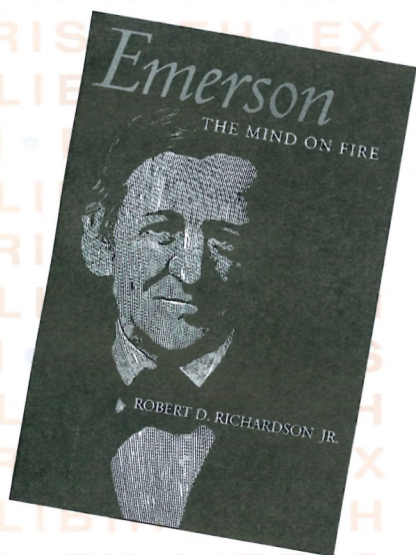
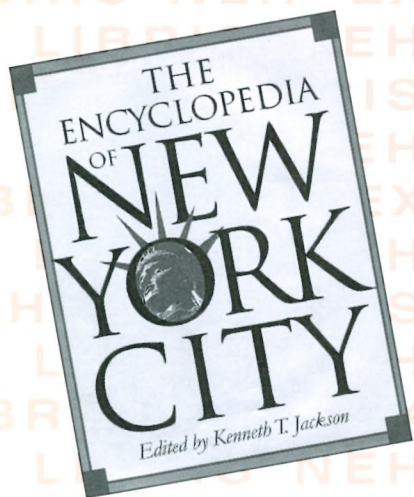
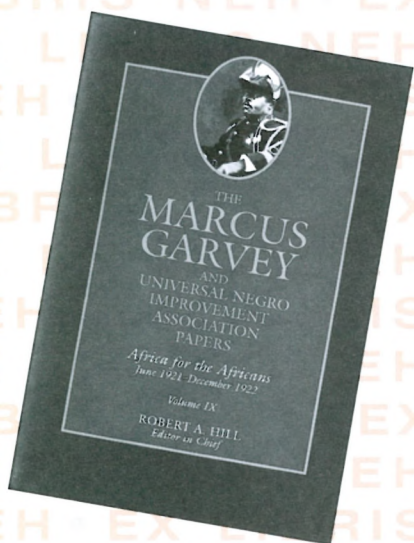
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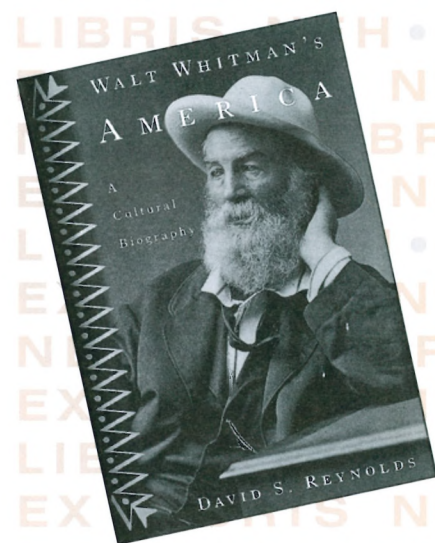
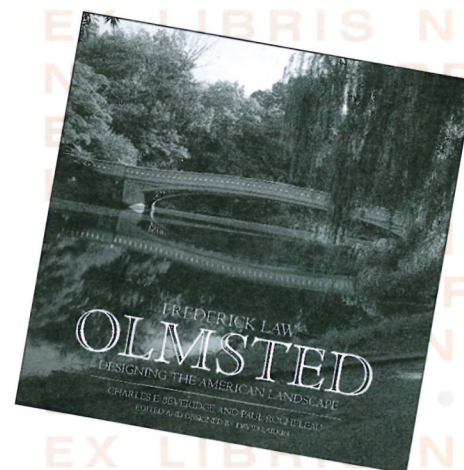
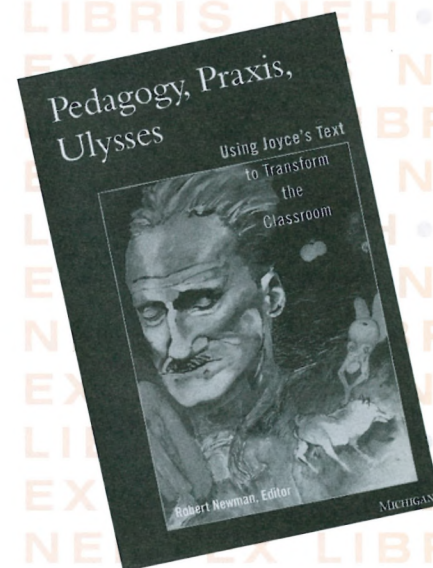
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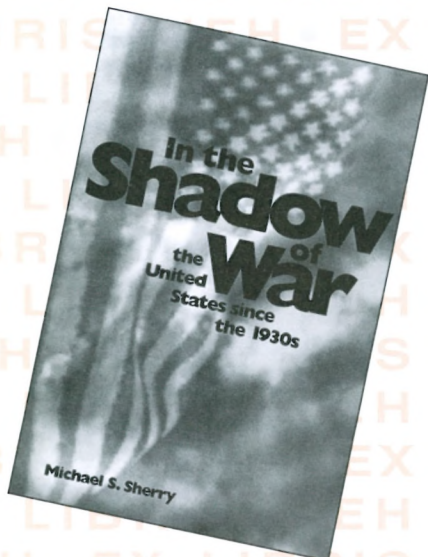
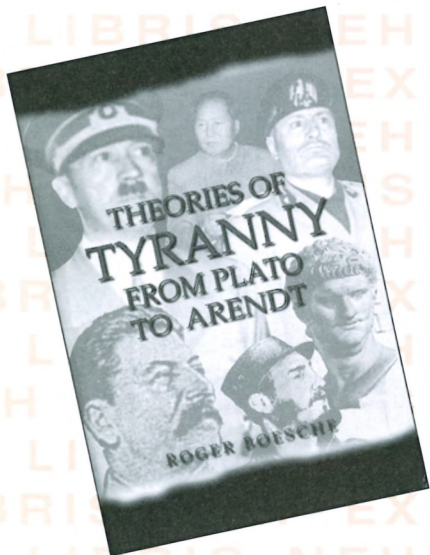
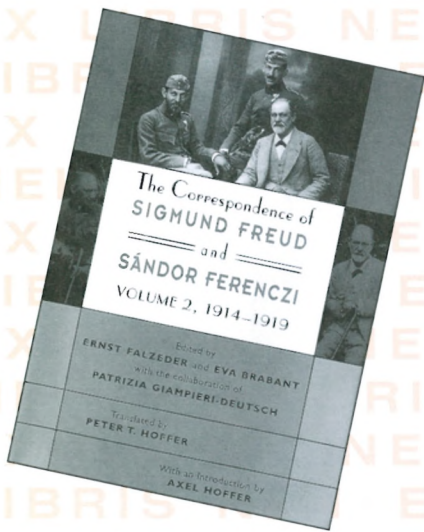
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