

Humanities

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THE EISENHOWER CENTENNIAL



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Dwight D. Eisenhower on the campaign trail in 1952. October 14, 1990, is the centennial of his birth. (Dwight D. Eisenhower Library)

Humanities

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Editor's Note

The Eisenhower Centennial

General, college president, thirty-fourth President of the United States—Dwight David Eisenhower, whose hundredth birthday is being celebrated this October, carried many illustrious titles. But the moment that was to make him an American hero forever is described by his biographer, Stephen E. Ambrose:

"His place in history was fixed as night fell on the Normandy beaches on June 6, 1944. Hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, of men and women contributed to the success of Operation Overlord, and 200,000 soldiers, sailors, and airmen participated directly on D-Day itself, but the operation will forever be linked to one man, Dwight David Eisenhower. From inception to completion, it bore his personal stamp. He was the central figure in the preparation, the planning, the training, the deception, the organization, and the execution of the greatest invasion in history. At the decisive moment, he was the commanding General who, standing alone, weighed all the factors, considered all the alternatives, listened to the views of his senior subordinates, and then made the decision to go."

The choice of Eisenhower as supreme commander of Allied expeditionary forces in Europe held a particular irony for General George C. Marshall, who was both Eisenhower's mentor and the leading choice himself to direct the invasion. In this issue marking the Eisenhower centennial, historian Forrest C. Pogue describes that particular passage of history.

We follow Eisenhower through the postwar years, as chief of staff, president of Columbia University, commander of NATO, and then President of the United States. His place in history as President, continues Ambrose in his Eisenhower Centennial Foundation essay, is inevitably less clearcut: "He did not meet the challenges that George Washington did, nor Abraham Lincoln, nor Franklin Roosevelt. How he would have responded to a civil war, or to a depression, or to a world war, we cannot know." Since 1965, scholars at Johns Hopkins University have been putting together original source material in *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower*, with the volumes 14 to 17 on the early years of his presidency soon to be published.

The role of hero as President is a curious one—the closest parallel may be U. S. Grant, West Pointer, hero of the Civil War, and the youngest man to become President at the time of his election in 1868. His presidency was star-crossed. "If he had served only one term," says John Y. Simon, editor of *The Papers of U. S. Grant*, "I think he would be remembered as one of the better Presidents of the United States." Eisenhower is expected to fare better with the historians. When Eisenhower left office, historians ranked him near the bottom of the Presidents; in the early 1980s, a new poll ranked him ninth. "His reputation is almost certain to continue to rise," maintains Ambrose, "to the point that he will soon be ranked with Wilson and the two Roosevelts as one of the four truly great presidents of the twentieth century."

—Mary Lou Beatty

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Photo by Teresa Zabala

Lynne V. Cheney



Courtesy of Catharine Stimpson

Catharine R. Stimpson

A Conversation with . . . Catharine R. Stimpson

Lynne V. Cheney: I opened your new book and came across the idea that there isn't anything called the human spirit or the human condition. It might be helpful for those of us of a more traditional mind-set if you could explain what you mean.

Catharine R. Stimpson: Did I say it so bluntly, Lynne?

Cheney: You talk about "human nature" and "immortal works," and then you say, "these words are about illusions."

Stimpson: What I mean when I ask us to be suspicious of the term "human universal" or "immortal work" is this. You and I have things in common other than the fact that we were both born in the West. Obviously, all people have had things in common. We were all born; we were born of man and woman; we all die. In between, we eat and we speak, we hope, we love, and we take care of children.

Cheney: But isn't that the human condition?

Stimpson: There is a difference between saying there is a human condition that refers to a specific set of needs and saying that there are values that tie us all or there are transcendent truths that exist outside of our construction of them. Are there commonalities? Yes. But can we read from commonalities into the existence of metaphysical forms that we ourselves have not constructed through our speech and our thought? There I am skeptical.

Cheney: I suppose I'm not. Just in that list of things you mentioned—the idea that we do seek love, we do dream, we do hope, we are often disappointed—those are the condi-

tions that literature explores that I call part of the human spirit. Maybe what's troubling to me is not that you and I would disagree, but that I keep again and again coming across this idea among people in literary studies that the matter has been solved and that I'm wrong and you're right, so to speak.

Stimpson: I think that to be a humanist is by definition to reject rigidity and fixity; that to be a humanist is to respect what a hard process it is to reach any understandings. My back goes up whenever anybody says, "This is the truth and you are a liar." X and Y may be fine for a mathematical formula, but not for my understanding of the difficulty of ethical and aesthetic judgments. Once, Lynne, I tried to teach myself logic. I had an introductory logic book and I was going through it and doing elementary truth tables, and there was a sentence to the effect that ambiguities are for poetry. At that point I threw the logic book down and went back to poetry.

Where you and I are in agreement is in what are the things that people do. Of course we dream, and of course we hope, and of course our hearts break, and of course we hope that our hearts heal. But when I say those things I am conscious of being within a structure of speech that has given me my language. You and I together can look at an automobile and we'll both say, for example, "steering wheel," but our entire understanding of how that steering wheel works within the car as a machine and how that steering wheel works metaphorically is given to us through structures of language that exist prior to my consciousness.

When Endowment Chairman Lynne V. Cheney talked by telephone recently with Catharine R. Stimpson, president of the Modern Language Association, the conversation turned to approaches to literature and criticism. Stimpson is dean of the graduate school at Rutgers University/New Brunswick and former chair of the New York State Humanities Council. She is the author of *Where the Meanings Are: Feminism and Cultural Spaces*.

Cheney: That's a whole different thing from the structure of the human heart.

Stimpson: The very phrase "structure of the human heart" was given to me. I speak because the language was given to me.

Cheney: Let's just say that we disagree on this, but—

Stimpson: But it's not a personal disagreement. It's a difference from the history of philosophy.

Cheney: Exactly. I suppose my main complaint is this notion that somehow my view is illegitimate. I don't hear you saying it, but I do hear it often—that my view is simply not an accepted way of thinking and that is not a way that is admitted in literary studies anymore. I think of myself as a pluralist. I mean, why can't we have this *and* that? Why can't we have traditional approaches and cutting-edge approaches? Are we different there?

Stimpson: I am a pluralist, and I say that in quotation marks because, as you know, there is a critique of pluralism that sees it as a kind of closet imperialism, that is, the pluralist often permits various points of view to coexist and the result is peaceful coexistence rather than a deeper critique of the structures of knowledge. But would I provisionally call myself a pluralist? Yes, insofar as both you and I respect a multiplicity of perspectives and believe there's no single royal road to truth.

Cheney: So you think it is all right to approach literature in a more traditional fashion, even though that's not the way that you happen to read and think about novels and poetry and plays?

Stimpson: Well, I don't know if I'd call you a traditionalist. You could be something else, Lynne. You could be a strict formalist.

Cheney: Well, I could, but I don't think that what I do when I read a novel, a poem, or a play is the only interesting thing to do. I do find it interesting when people read Shakespeare to try to understand the nature of imperialism, for example. I just object when I'm told that it's only by reading Shakespeare in terms of hegemony of one kind or another that I can have any proper understanding of it.

Stimpson: I think that our conversa-

tion has to be placed in a context of the debate about the humanities since 1965. It has become a contestatory zone, as you know so well. Often the attacks on the new approaches have not been done in a pluralistic spirit, and often the attacks on the new approaches have seemed, at least to me, to be attacks on larger social changes. This is not you—you don't do this. But it has often seemed to those who have been on the receiving end of the attacks that what came under an awfully belligerent scrutiny was not a new way of looking at literature, not a new way of looking at the humanities. Rather it was an attack on new people doing it and new ways of looking at education as a whole. To my regret, it has often become very difficult for people to sit down and look at all the approaches there are and to think through them in a sense of genuine mutuality and dialogue.

Cheney: I do find it really troubling that when I suggest reading *The Great Gatsby* for what it tells us about human obligation that someone leaps to suggest that I therefore don't have a proper appreciation of feminist studies or Asian studies or African studies. In my mind, an absolutely illogical chasm has been crossed. It's not rational dialogue.

in the last twenty years in which people do feel that not only their arguments but also their very presence is under attack.

Cheney: I suppose the feeling I do have frequently is that people who are disagreeing with me are building a whole field full of straw women and running through it with a torch.

Stimpson: It's a great metaphor.

Cheney: Somehow if I believe that it's important to read Dante and Homer and Shakespeare and the Brontës and Walt Whitman—if I believe that—then obviously I believe in a fixed canon that is never, ever going to change. That's my favorite straw woman, so to speak, because I run into it so frequently.

There is an article in a recent *Chronicle of Higher Education* in which an MLA spokesperson is quoted as saying: "It is very hard for a person doing traditional work to send in an abstract [to MLA] and have it look attractive." Now, why is that? Why is it that we can't be supportive of traditional work, or why is it that the Modern Language Association finds it difficult? Is it what you were telling me before, that somehow traditional work is perceived as part of a larger agenda that people don't like?

Stimpson: No. In that case, I think the quote was taken out of context.

I think you can't do good teaching unless you can do good research. The problem. . . is how do you define good research?

Stimpson

Stimpson: I could see why you would feel misunderstood.

Cheney: Oh, please, Kate, I'm not trying to cast myself in the role of the poor misunderstood person here. I'm a puzzled person. Let me put it that way.

Stimpson: Again, let me go back. You and I are having this conversation in a context of often very ferocious quarrels about the humanities

Of course we have to define what we mean by traditional work. By traditional work, do we mean, philological criticism?

Cheney: Sure.

Stimpson: Do we mean new criticism in the reading of single texts?

Cheney: Sure. We mean anything besides postmodernist theory.

Stimpson: Well, the word "tradition" is expanding and expanding.

Cheney: While on the other hand postmodernist theory is very precise! (*Laughter*)

Stimpson: That's right. But one thing we have to be careful of, no matter what our particular critical school is, is not to say when our work is rejected, this is because of our methodology. There is boring work in every method, and there is a certain kind of semantic criticism which can be boring. The question then becomes: Is work being turned down by a program committee for the MLA or the AHA [American Historical Association] because it represents the blasphemy of tradition? Or is it being turned down because it's just not very good of its kind?

Cheney: You don't think that there is a bias in favor of innovation and the cutting edge? I see it in panels here all the time, frankly.

Stimpson: Let me put it this way. The word "trendy" is also used as a bad word on certain panels, and it is a part of our mutual suspicion that the word "trendy" can be seen as a put-down and the word "tradition" can be seen as a put-down simultaneously. What do you look for when you read a proposal, especially in a highly competitive situation like a disciplinary program committee or an NEH panel? Surely one of the things is a kind of textual tautness.

Cheney: Well, I would call it rigor of thought, maybe.

Stimpson: These are words for the same things. You're looking for a sense of rigor; you're looking for a sense of excitement; you're looking for a combination of solidity and newness.

Cheney: Freshness.

Stimpson: Freshness. You want to read something you haven't read before. Now, every approach has its vice. One of the vices of feminist criticism has been overgeneralization about women. One of the vices of the thematic approach can be going over old texts in old ways. Yes, we should all understand that *The Great Gatsby* is a study of human obligation, but how many times do we need a paper for peers about that?

Cheney: But you do make an interesting distinction here and one that I worry about a lot, because though it may be desirable for scholars to want to read something they haven't read before, what I fear happens all too

often is that we don't want to read with students things we've read before even though they haven't. Going into the classroom and talking about *Gatsby* becomes boring because it's not part of our professional concerns. It sets professional concerns against good teaching in a way. Do you know what I'm saying?

Stimpson: When that happens it bothers me too. And here's something we ought to be thinking about. It's the question of faculty burnout. We mystify research; we mystify teaching; and one of the errors we make when we mystify them is to assume that they are incompatible. I once wrote a letter to the *Chronicle* where I said, "We're making a mistake. We're calling research and teaching the Montague and Capulet of higher education." And I think you can't do good teaching unless you can do good research. The problem, as you know and as you've spoken about so eloquently, is how do you define good research.

Cheney: That's right. It doesn't have to be defined in terms of publication.

Stimpson: It can be a presentation in a public humanities forum. It can be the construction of a new syllabus. The thing that publication gives, and one reason why I trust it, is that you put your ideas out there into the world. You just don't keep them close to you in the classroom where you've got a bunch of eighteen- or nineteen-year-old kids whom you're going to grade and over whom you've got some authority. If you're in the classroom teaching *Gatsby* for the thirty-fifth time, no matter how committed you are, no matter how much you love teaching, no matter how much you love the kids, a certain ennui may set in. It's the dullness of repetition of any task.

Cheney: In which case you should be teaching *Tender is the Night*.

Stimpson: That's right. Or *Tender Buttons* [by Gertrude Stein].

So you have to switch from subject to subject. I would like us to be much more inventive than we are about faculty-exchange programs so that faculty goes into a new environment. I would like us to be much more inventive than we are in helping faculties teach nontraditional students. When I moved from Barnard, a private Ivy League women's college, to Rutgers, a public research

university, I had to change many of my teaching techniques. I remember driving down on the turnpike and saying to myself, "Now I have to teach. At Barnard I was able to talk." And I wished I'd had some help learning how to teach, for example, a working-class, Catholic young man whose only experience of a woman teacher was a sister in a parochial school and who disliked and feared female intellectual authority.

Cheney: But when you teach you do just talk to the young man and you sort of understand how he thinks and insofar as you think he's in error you nudge him a bit—always giving him the chance to nudge back.

Stimpson: But here was the mistake I made. I made the mistake of thinking that my rational discourse was going to be heard in the same way. What I really had to teach myself was that in teaching you have to do not only content, but also the nature of the student. I thought content would carry the day.

Cheney: You know, one of the things I worry we do to ourselves as professional humanists by the way we publish for only specialized audiences is rob ourselves of the ability to reach different groups of people. I think one of the most valuable things I ever did was spend years as a journalist, because you absolutely have to seek out audiences or the article doesn't get published. You don't get it published because this is a new approach to something and nobody has thought of it before. There's a market system and either you reach people or you lose.

Stimpson: It's not only a market system, but an active respect for the student.

As a graduate dean I set up a teacher-assistant training project. Our TAs are often from various parts of the world and our undergraduates represent the vast multicultural nature of the United States. One of the things we work on with the TAs is the lesson I had to teach myself, which is, "Understand your students." One, it's in your self-interest, so they will hear you. And, two, teaching is an act of profound respect, which involves learning who they are in a nonstereotypical way.

Cheney: Let's talk about Rutgers for a minute, since we're being specific. I know that in the past you have ar-

gued against core curricula, and one of your deans did it in rather grumpy fashion in the May/June 1990 issue of *Change* magazine. It would seem to me that Rutgers is exactly the kind of place that might truly need to provide students an organized and rigorous plan for general studies simply because you have students who come from so many different backgrounds and many, I would guess, who have never been exposed to the humanities in a systematic way.

Stimpson: Well, I argue against the core curriculum as a metaphor. I do not argue against the idea of a common experience. This may seem like a distinction without a difference, but I don't think it is. Do I believe the undergraduates need a common experience? Yes. Do I believe that they need to understand what has shaped their intellectual heritage in all its complexity? Yes. Am I fearful that there is a lack of basic literacy that will help them read these texts and write about them? Yes. Do I believe the universities and colleges have to work with the high schools to have greater preparation for such a common experience? Yes. Do I believe that given the departmental structure of higher education it's difficult to put together a large general education course and a major? Yes.

Cheney: I think the common experience is important, but when I look at a catalogue—and I was looking at Rutgers' this morning just briefly—and I see that you can earn a bachelor's degree without ever taking a history course, or you can earn a bachelor's degree without ever taking a literature course, it does seem to me that you haven't offered as coherent a plan as you might.

Stimpson: Lynne, we have four undergraduate liberal arts colleges on our New Brunswick campus alone. This is Jim Reed's college, right? I haven't seen his piece yet. But in terms of the common experience, it's important to me, and I think to you too, that we teach not simply the text but an understanding of how these texts became historical reports.

Cheney: Sure. Okay.

Stimpson: You've heard me say this, and I will say it again, that if I were to select one text, it would be the Bible, Old and New Testaments.

Cheney: And would it be the King

James or the revised edition as opposed to, say, Elizabeth Cady Stanton's Bible?

Stimpson: It would be all of them. That would be part of showing the historical complexity of the text.

Cheney: I see.

Stimpson: In fact, when I do teach the Bible, I have students bring in whatever text is in their home. Some of them don't have a text, which is

course, been societies that were racist and sexist, but insofar as they have been, they have erred. Those are transcendental values. It is always and ever wrong to be sexist.

Stimpson: But not all cultures have such a term, such a concept.

Cheney: Now, Kate, are you going to tell me there are times when it's okay to be sexist?

Stimpson: I may be ironic, but I nev-

There have, of course, been societies that were racist and sexist, but insofar as they have been, they have erred. Those are transcendental values.

Cheney

not surprising if they haven't been raised in a Judaic or Christian home. We will look at the various translations, and they then will begin to understand through seeing the various translations of specific passages something about the act of translation and the instability of language. Teaching the Bible is more than this, but it's a wonderful exercise in seeing how fertile language is.

Cheney: But, Kate, would you never find a transcendental value when you were doing this?

Stimpson: Well, Lynne, you're going to have to treat me like an audience and give me a blunt definition of the transcendental value.

Cheney: Let me give you an example. How about "do unto others as you would have others do unto you."

Stimpson: I would say that that is a useful moral law that has been given to us through a specific ethical tradition, the efficacy of which has been shown again and again.

Cheney: Can you think of a society which would not be the better for recognizing it?

Let me approach this from another angle. Sometimes when I'm asked to specify transcendental truths, I suggest these: Racism is wrong. Sexism is wrong. Now, there have, of

er go that far. As you know, the word "transcendental" carries with it a certain kind of philosophical freight, an assumption that there is a value beyond our experience.

Cheney: Well, if we called them enduring values, would we agree?

Stimpson: Enduring, as a synonym for cross-cultural? Yes, we would agree then.

Cheney: This is so easy, Kate. I can't imagine what all the arguments are about.

Stimpson: Some of the arguments are about language, and there are some philosophical arguments.

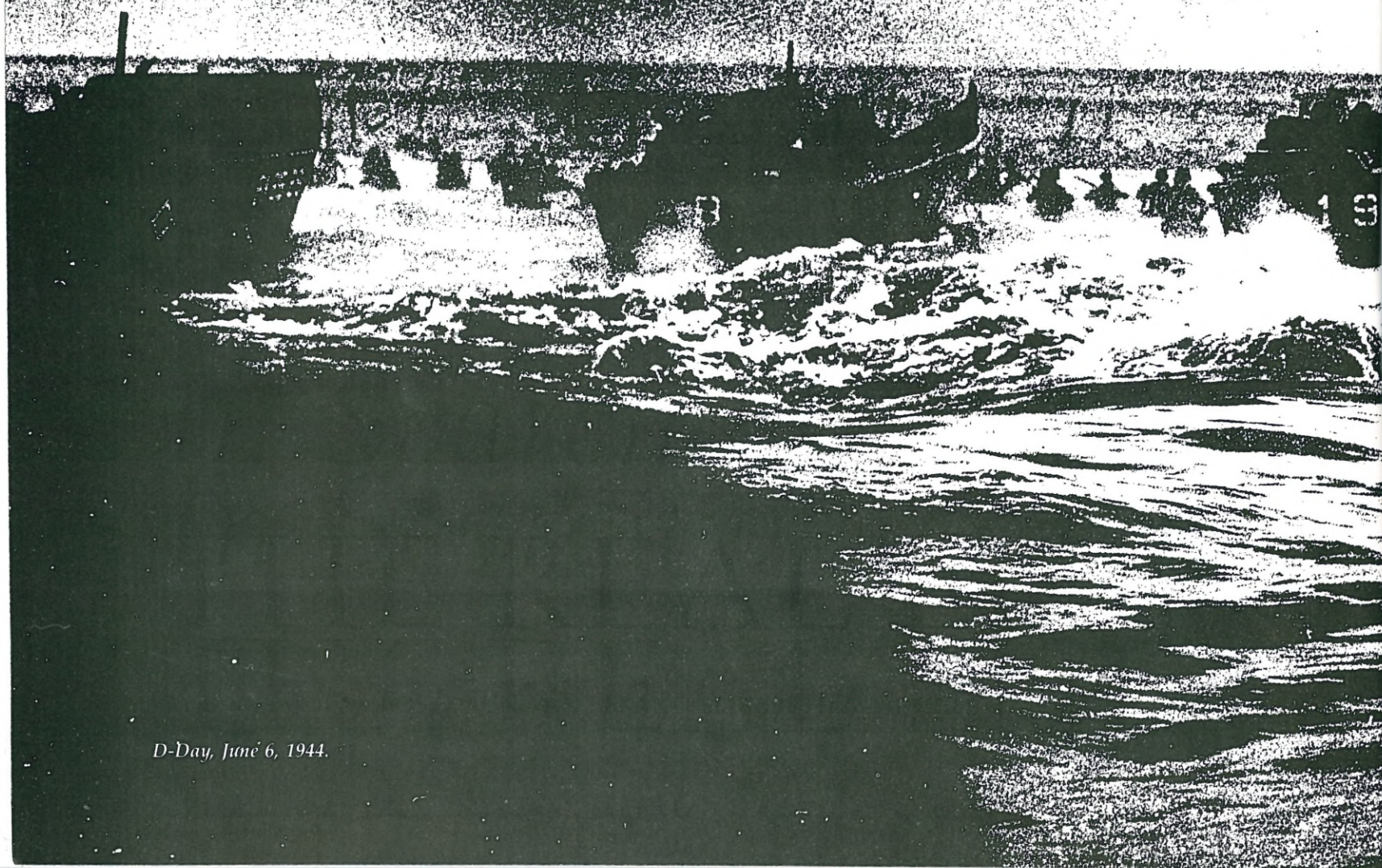
Cheney: Well, you were going to talk to me about feminism. You said something interesting a minute ago when you mentioned that one of the past errors of feminism has been overgeneralization about women. What do you mean by that?

Stimpson: The assumption that women in all times and all places have more in common than they do have. And this was not only intellectually untrue, it also obscured crucial differences among women, such as power differences. When my grandmother was twelve and went into domestic service in Iowa, I hope the

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In Search of THE REAL EISENH

BY LOUIS GALAMBOS, DAUN VAN EE, AND ELIZABETH S. HUGHES



D-Day, June 6, 1944.

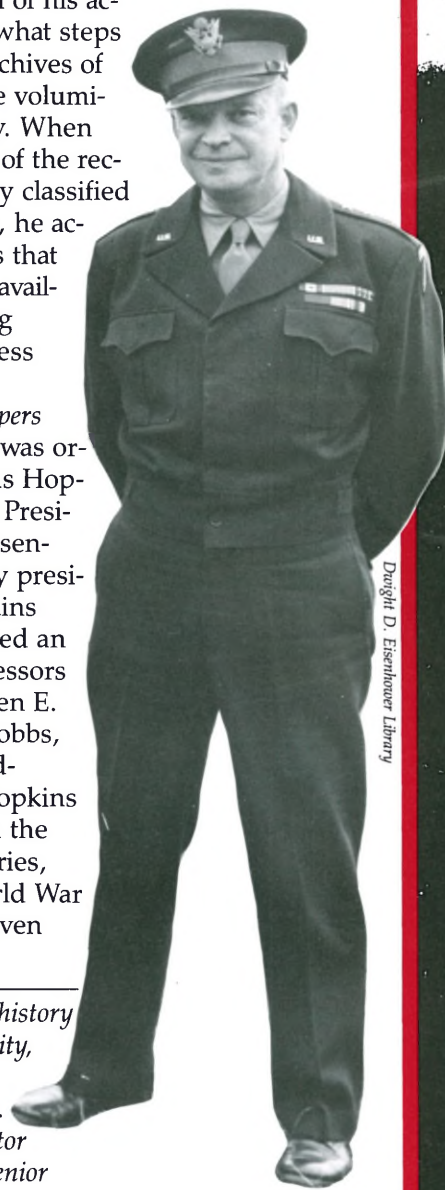
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AFTER DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER left office as thirty-fourth President of the United States, the initial assessments of journalists and historians were not kind. Critics noted that he had presided over an era of relative inactivity, a valley between Harry S. Truman's ambitious Fair Deal and John F. Kennedy's exciting New Frontier. A famous editorial cartoon from the 1950s showed an elderly and ineffectual Ike asking his advisers, "Well, men, what'll we refrain from doing now?"; to the side was a wall chart recording a steady degeneration in America's domestic situation. A survey indicated that many scholars felt that Eisenhower had been one of the worst Presidents in American history.

The man himself was not overly concerned with evaluations such as these. A quietly confident person, Eisenhower felt that history would judge him fairly—and favorably—so long as reputable scholars could gain access to the complete record of his actions. To this end he took what steps he could to open up the archives of World War II and, later, the voluminous files of his presidency. When he saw that the sheer bulk of the records—many of them highly classified—might delay this process, he acceded to scholarly requests that he make his papers readily available to the public by having them published in letterpress volumes.

The publishing of *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower* was organized at Baltimore's Johns Hopkins University, where the President's brother, Milton S. Eisenhower, had been university president since 1956. The Hopkins history department recruited an editorial team, led by professors Alfred D. Chandler, Stephen E. Ambrose, and Joseph P. Hobbs, and work began in the mid-1960s. In 1970 the Johns Hopkins University Press published the first five volumes in the series, covering Eisenhower's World War II service. The reception given

Louis Galambos, professor of history at the Johns Hopkins University, is editor of The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower. Daun van Ee is executive editor and Elizabeth S. Hughes is senior associate editor.



Dwight D. Eisenhower Library



Eisenhower (second from right) in the West Point color guard, 1915.



Eisenhower and Mamie Doud Eisenhower, 1916.

the books indicated that Eisenhower's personal prediction of what would happen to his historical reputation had been accurate. The reassessment that began with *The War Years* continues.

The first and greatest misconception to be abandoned as a result of the work done at Johns Hopkins was the idea that Eisenhower was more of a chairman of the board than a true wartime commander. Proponents of this view, which owes at least some of its popularity to British accounts of World War II, had pointed to Eisenhower's lack of battlefield experience at the time he took command of the Anglo-American force that invaded North Africa in the fall of 1942. He had, it was said, never heard a shot fired in anger. But the cables, memos, letters, and diary entries in *The War Years* show that Eisenhower was much more than a military administrator, a mere coordinator. The documentary record demonstrates that he was a forceful and energetic commander who could control such headstrong and dynamic subordinates as George Patton and Bernard Law Montgomery. He formulated and executed the strategy that the Allied armies employed to crush German resistance in the West. In doing so Eisenhower firmly resisted British Prime Minister Winston Churchill's pleas to adopt British alternative proposals. Eisenhower was able to exercise command effectively without jeopardizing his greatest achievement—the creation and maintenance of a unified and

truly workable Allied command. He held together his coalition by suppressing divisive tendencies within his headquarters while successfully projecting the openness of his personality. By the time of the German surrender in May 1945, he had won both the respect and affection of the British, the French, and the other forces of the alliance.

Although the end of the war in Europe brought a host of new challenges that many military men were not prepared to meet, these years did not see Eisenhower's personal stature (or his sense of proportion) diminished. As commander of the American occupation forces in Europe (May–November 1945), he was responsible for disarming the conquered enemy and helping to rid Germany of national socialism. He also had to allocate massive amounts of relief aid for much of Europe and, even more important, for those who had suffered most from Nazi depredations. The effort required to accomplish these tasks was complicated by the necessity for redeploying most of his forces to the Pacific in order to fight the Japanese and by global shortages of food and shipping. Eisenhower and the troops under his command came under severe criticism, which has continued in some instances to the present day, but the documents presented in volume 6 of the Eisenhower papers (*Occupation, 1945*) indicate that Eisenhower was doing the best possible job amidst scenes of agonizing devastation and dislocation. The docu-

ments also make clear that he was surprisingly successful in his efforts to build a working relationship with the Soviets, and in particular with his Russian counterpart, Marshal Georgi Zhukov.

Indeed, the results of Eisenhower's willingness to meet the Soviets halfway and to recognize legitimate Soviet interests were so favorable that one is led to wonder whether the cold war was inevitable after all.

In November 1945, Eisenhower returned to the United States in order to succeed his wartime mentor, General George C. Marshall, as chief of staff of the army. He was not enthusiastic about his new post, which heretofore had always been considered the pinnacle of an army career. His misgivings were in some respects well-founded, for it was his unhappy task to preside over the demobilization of the great military organization that he and his predecessor had helped build. Convinced that the United States should not forget the lessons learned in World War II, Eisenhower also took on the difficult job of attempting to introduce fundamental changes in the nation's military establishment. He was, first, determined to effect a true unification of the nation's armed services and to end divisive and inefficient interservice rivalries. Second, he wanted to establish a program for universal military training so that America would never again enter a war unprepared. Finally, Eisenhower was faced with the not inconsiderable task of restructuring the U.S.

army to meet the demands of the emerging cold war while dealing with the powerful and popular desire to demobilize. These themes are documented in volumes 7 through 9, a set titled *The Chief of Staff*.

Although Eisenhower himself grew frustrated over the obstacles that prevented him from accomplishing these goals, his record in retrospect seems very positive. After an initial period of soldier demonstrations and popular protests (the "Bring Back Daddy" movement), demobilization and redeployment proceeded smoothly. Eisenhower accomplished this by convincing anxious soldiers and their relatives that he cared about their welfare and that he would impose no unnecessary hardships on the men and women for whom he was responsible. His deft public relations touch was less successful in convincing Congress to enact a universal training program, but he apparently managed to educate some segments of the public about the virtues of having a large pool of citizen-soldiers. Eisenhower was more successful in

his drive to unify the services. His efforts contributed to the formation of a single national military establishment under a secretary of defense. While the navy's rearguard actions forced him to compromise and to accept federation rather than a true unification, he helped lay the groundwork for a more rational defense structure by the time he left office early in 1948. As chief of staff, Eisenhower demonstrated that he could work effectively with Congress, the bureaucracy, and the media without becoming embroiled in partisan infighting. Nor did he lose the affection of the public.

In February 1948, Eisenhower temporarily retired his army hat for an academic mortarboard. When he became president of Columbia University, he said he was looking to do "something useful" and also to be able to "relax a bit." He should have known that in trying to restore financial and academic health at Columbia, there would be little time for relaxation. He had, in fact, just completed—in only seven weeks—his highly praised wartime memoir, *Cru-*

September 20, 1944

To Bernard Law Montgomery
Top secret

Dear Monty: Generally speaking I find myself so completely in agreement with your letter of 18 September (M 526) that I cannot believe there is any great difference in our concepts.

Never at any time have I implied that I was considering an advance into Germany with all armies moving abreast.

Specifically I agree with you in the following: My choice of routes for making the all-out offensive into Germany is from the Ruhr to Berlin. A prerequisite from the maintenance viewpoint is the early capture of the approaches to Antwerp so that the flank may be adequately supplied.

Incidentally I do not yet have your calculations on the tonnage that will be necessary to support the 21st Army Group on this move.

There is one point, however, on which we do not agree, if I interpret your idea correctly. As I read your letter you imply that all the divisions that we have, except those of the 21st Army Group and approximately nine of the 12th Army Group, can stop in place where they are and that we can strip all these additional divisions from their transport and everything else to support one single knife-like drive toward Berlin. This may not be exactly what you mean but it is certainly not possible.

What I do believe is that we must marshal our strength up along the Western borders of Germany, to the Rhine if possible, insure adequate maintenance by getting Antwerp to working at full blast at the earliest possible moment and they [then] carry out the drive you suggest. All of Bradley's Army Group, except his left Army, which makes his main effort, will move forward sufficiently so as always to be in supporting position for the main drive and to prevent concentration of German forces against its front and flanks.

I have already directed the Chief of Staff to arrange for the earliest possible meeting with all Army Group commanders and with supply people. I am quite confident that we see this thing almost identically. I merely want to make sure that when you start leading your Army Group in its thrust onto Berlin and Bradley starts driving with his left to support you, our other forces are in position to assure the success of that drive. Otherwise the main thrust itself would have to drop off so much of its strength to protect its rear and its flanks that very soon the drive would peter out. . . .



Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

Ceremony welcoming General Douglas MacArthur (foreground) to the Philippines in 1935. His chief of staff, Eisenhower, wearing straw boater, stands behind him.

sade in Europe. Thus an energetic and very popular war hero came to head a great university without benefit of any experience in academic administration. His critics would have us believe that the Columbia presidency was, for Eisenhower and for the university, a great mistake. Yet the letters he wrote from 1948 to 1950 reveal quite a different experience. By the time he left Columbia to don a military hat once again, Eisenhower had brought about significant changes at Columbia and in himself.

In order to give himself more time to develop new programs for the school and to raise the funds necessary for those programs, Eisenhower worked to decentralize the administration and to develop tighter accounting and budgetary systems. He was a tireless and appealing fundraiser among business and alumni groups nationwide. His administrative and leadership skills are clearly seen in the creation of his favorite project, the American Assembly, a conference program designed to bring together academic, business, and government leaders to discuss national and international issues. He was instrumental in establishing the coordinated studies of human potential called the Conservation of Human Resources Project; the Institute for the Study of War and Peace; and the Citizen Education Project, which sought to enhance civic pride among high school students.

During this time, Eisenhower began to establish important relationships with the nation's political and financial leaders and to develop his own political ideology—a blend of moderate internationalism and such basic American values as individualism and patriotism. No longer holding to the professional soldier's apolitical stance, he began to prepare himself to be a candidate for the presidency of the United States.

There was a down side to the Columbia years. Eisenhower was uneasy with scholars, impatient with paperwork, and stressed at the demands on his time. After Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal asked him to serve as his adviser and informal chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, he had to commute between New York City and Washington, D.C., to face tense sessions at the Pentagon on issues of defense strategy and interservice rivalry. From De-



U.S. Army



Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

Top: Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery, General Eisenhower, and Marshal Georgi Zhukov toast victory, June 10, 1945. Below: Eisenhower installed as president of Columbia University, October 12, 1948. President Truman greets Eisenhower on his return from a tour of NATO nations, 1951.

GETTYSBURG COMMEMORATION

From October 11-14, scholars, political leaders, and military leaders will gather at Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania to discuss "Eisenhower and the Future of the Presidency."

On October 14 itself, the centennial of his birth, there is to be a wreath-laying ceremony under the sponsorship of the National Park Service, the Dwight D. Eisenhower Society and Gettysburg College. The theme of the day will be "Eisenhower as Soldier, President, and Statesman," with D. David Eisenhower II as guest speaker. Bob Hope, Gettysburg Centennial Chairman, has invited the four living ex-Presidents of the United States to participate.

The four-day event, which receives support from the Pennsylvania Humanities Council, will be videotaped to circulate to educational institutions and libraries.

ember 1948 until July 1949, he kept a pace that was exhausting and that prevented him from making a full commitment to Columbia.

Still, for Columbia University, Eisenhower's presence brought a significant increase in funding, a new style of administration, important new programs, stronger relations with the world beyond academe, and national attention because of his celebrity. For Eisenhower, these years were an essential preparation for the presidency.

Eisenhower's career as university president ended in January 1951, when he took leave to serve as supreme Allied commander in Europe for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He was the ideal man to organize the Allied command in Europe—the returning hero, now more sophisticated politically. He had never really lost touch with international issues. As his correspondence shows, he was deeply involved in the battle with those at home who opposed U.S. participation in the defense of Europe. At the same time he worked to soften national animosities in Europe and to inspire leadership and a sense of unity among the NATO member nations. Once again, he had to reach down deep, calling on his unusual ability to persuade people to work together for a common cause.

Eisenhower sharpened his own political philosophy during the NATO experience. He became even more of an internationalist in foreign relations, while remaining conservative about most domestic issues. His was the middle ground. He championed foreign trade as a key to U.S. economic survival, and he fully articulated his belief that U.S. commitment to the defense of Europe was constrained by the health of the nation's domestic economy. Lacking experience in several areas of domestic policy, he sought advice from the experts at home. Some of his letters are, in fact, position papers on the domestic and foreign issues of the early 1950s. He educated himself through deliberate correspondence with people who were qualified to advise him and who were honored to be asked.

At the same time, Eisenhower was fully engaged in the delicate business of selecting personnel and creating an organization to achieve his

goals in Europe. He was able to build an effective command structure and a workable system of mobilization, rearmament, and war plans. But his pleasure at seeing NATO members agree on German rearmament was dampened by continuing national animosities and the rejection of a European army. Even so, he managed to preserve the unity of NATO.

He did so while wrestling with his own political monster—pressure from home to declare himself a candidate for the presidency. He had maintained a good relationship with President Truman, and he made a point of meeting with the seemingly endless stream of visiting congressmen. Finally, he faced up to the call of duty, pride, and ambition, and in the end, it was not so much a matter of what he would do, but how he would do it. In January 1952, Eisenhower declared himself a Republican, and throughout the spring his every move was calculated to produce a triumphant return home—the hero-candidate ready to do battle again, this time in politics.

All did not go so well at first. After he returned from Europe in June 1952, his kickoff speech was a flop. There were other problems: his failure in a speech to defend General Marshall from an attack by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, and the shock of the Nixon secret-fund exposé.

But his natural charm and warmth pulled him through two grueling campaigns. First he took the nomination from Taft in July. Then he developed an effective presidential campaign. He called for greater controls on federal spending; for lower taxes after, not before, a balanced budget; and for foreign aid to our allies. Always, on domestic matters he stood for the "middle way." On foreign matters, he was internationalist of mind. His was a sweeping victory over Adlai Stevenson in November, and with that victory Eisenhower emerged more self-assured among the professional politicians who had heaped advice on him. He was, as well, more committed to the traditional values that had captured American hearts and votes.

In December 1952, the President-elect went to Korea to investigate firsthand our position there—a campaign promise he was determined to keep. He then brought his adminis-

Columbia University
June 24, 1949

Memo to Provost Albert C. Jacobs

We must, in our organizational and procedural practices, emphasize decentralization as the basic principle of Columbia administration. Decentralization consists in clear delegation of responsibility with comparable authority. It is possible only when organization is clear-cut, and the functions of each responsible official stated in precise terms.

I realize that, due to a certain checkboarding resulting from maintenance of both schools and departments, the decentralization principle cannot always be applied with the same facility as in a simpler organization. Nevertheless, this circumstance cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the firmest possible adherence to the general idea. A specific annual budget, for example, should be, so far as may be practicable, worked up by each of the various School and College heads. While central administrative authority will have to prepare those proportions of the budget which apply to the University as a whole, we must insist that in each School cost estimates be balanced against anticipated revenues, set forth in detail. In this way we will inspire renewed interest on the part of Deans and other responsible officers in the financial problems of the University, including the problem of increasing revenues.

This same principle of decentralization must be applied in delineating the functions and authorities of the several principal administrative officers and heads. For example, you are well aware of my purpose of relieving the Provost of all possible details so that he can be, in effect, the internal administrator of the University.

It is my understanding that we are following fairly closely the recommendations of the Booz, Allen & Hamilton report submitted to the Trustees more than a year ago. I desire that wherever any significant departure from those recommendations is made, except where such departures have been accepted and directed by the Trustees, they be brought to my attention before promulgation as directives.

As quickly as the basic directive is completed, it will be necessary that all interested persons are promptly informed so that the administration of this University may go forward smoothly, efficiently and economically. Columbia has wasted a very great deal of time in getting this accomplished—in spite of the fact that all principal subordinates, who have reported to me, have expressed their earnest opinions that improvements are possible. I can see no reason for any further postponement of such corrective measures as my advisory staff may deem applicable.

November 26, 1952

To Alfred Maximilian Gruenther
Personal and confidential

Dear Al: By this time you have probably seen in the papers my list of appointments and you will know that I didn't follow your advice in the case of the Secretary of Defense. This does not mean that I do not share your high opinion of the executive abilities of the two men you name. In many ways Dewey would make an ideal man for the spot. One thing you could not know, however, is that strong as he is in certain areas of the country, he likewise has the choicest bunch of bitter political enemies that any one man could possibly accumulate. I am learning many new things these days— one of which is that in politics fitness for a job is only one of the factors to be considered in making assignments. Incidentally, I learned most of the above from Mr. Dewey himself, who, as you know, is my good friend and one of my trusted advisors.

I should like to talk to you one of these days about the hopes I have for an organization of the Defense Department headed by an industrialist. We have tried two investment bankers, a lawyer and a soldier — and we are not yet unified. I believe it takes a man who is used to knocking heads together and who is not easily fooled.

With respect to military aides, I have decided to have none in the rank of flag or general officer. It seems to me it is high time we returned to a little bit of common sense in some of these things and I simply cannot see the use of having three aides in the grade of general officer (each of whom I understand has three assistants) hanging around the White House. Maybe I am wrong but I would very much appreciate an opportunity to make a slight return towards simplicity. . . .

As for Douglas MacArthur, I share your enthusiasm about him and I have already called him to the attention of Foster Dulles. I agree also that he would be lost in Indo-China. His fine experience has not been gained in that region and it seems to me he would be wasted out there. . . .

My love to Gracie and my warm greeting to all my old friends.

Cordially

P.S. : You will have to send a check for \$15 to Cliff. Someday I shall tell you of the disasters that overtook your old bridge partner. But I can tell you this now—for once I have no bitter complaints against myself. I stayed awake and worked hard in your interests, but I am carrying in my memory (possibly forever) a few of the hands and a few instances of the kind of treatment I had from some of my so called partners. These will cause you to wonder why your check does not have to be for one hundred and fifty bucks.



Chief Justice Frederick M. Vinson administers the oath of office to President-elect Dwight D. Eisenhower on the steps of the United States Capitol, January 20, 1953.

trative skills back into play and began to gather around him the people who would become his advisers. The stage was set for Eisenhower to embark on a new course of leadership—no longer purely military, nor academic—but presidential.

As the Eisenhower editorial project moves into the mid-1950s, a number of impressions have begun to emerge from the work of selection and annotation of documents. One of the most striking is Eisenhower's skill at writing. After reading *The War Years* volumes, political economist John Kenneth Galbraith was surprised to find them "irresistible," in part because they were "firmly and unpretentiously literate." These qualities are also present in Eisenhower's presidential correspondence, as readers of volumes 14 through 17 (*The Presidency: The Middle Way*) will discover. Eisenhower took great pride in his writing skills and often edited and reedited his drafts in order to achieve the virtues of precision, simplicity, and clarity.

The correspondence of the presidential years gives an excellent view of Eisenhower's leadership qualities. The documentary record of the first years of his presidency—an abundant resource of the magnificent Eisenhower library at Abilene, Kansas—clearly demonstrates that Eisen-

hower, contrary to popular belief, was firmly in control of his administration. While encouraging free-ranging discussion and tolerating dissent, he employed persuasion and discipline to make sure that the administration spoke with one voice and that once a policy had been decided upon it would be carried out wholeheartedly. Eisenhower was not afraid of having past or potential rivals in the White House or in the cabinet. He welcomed the strength and energy such Republican leaders as Harold E. Stassen, Nelson A. Rockefeller, and Richard M. Nixon could provide, and he was confident that he could control any destructive or divisive impulses that might surface. He also was able to employ the talents of John Foster Dulles as secretary of state. The documentary record makes it very clear that Dulles served Eisenhower as point man or lightning rod, absorbing the criticism that would otherwise have been directed at the President. Eisenhower made the decisions; Dulles carried them out.

Eisenhower's strong organizational style came to the fore early in 1953. In assembling his White House staff, he surrounded himself with trusted associates from business, government, and academe, including a number of wartime colleagues who

understood his manner of thinking. He chose as his chief of staff tough, laconic Sherman Adams, an assistant who was not popular but who effectively guarded the President's interests. Eisenhower's long experience as an army commander left him with a predilection for order, structure, and logic, reflected in his memos of instruction to his staff and advisers.

From the beginning, and under pressures from all sides, the newly elected President refused to take on Senator McCarthy in public. He was adamant in his conviction that he should not permit McCarthy more public exposure than he already enjoyed. Simply put, presidents don't fight senators in public. McCarthy was but one of the problems facing him, and he quickly developed several techniques for keeping abreast of the national situation. Regular meetings with legislative leaders and private breakfast talks helped him to keep in touch with the delicate balance in the Congress between Republicans and Democrats. His frequent stag dinners at the White House for prominent friends and administrative leaders kept him informed on current views about controversial foreign and domestic issues, such as the nettlesome Bricker amendment and the question of return to the gold standard.

One might say the jury is still out for the editors of the Eisenhower papers, who have thousands more documents to study. Research and annotation for selected papers of the first presidential term is just under way. The sense is that Dwight Eisenhower will not disappoint. In the 1950s, he emerged as a strong leader and administrator—disciplined, moral, and much beloved by the American people. He and his accomplishments as President have come to be appreciated during the past decade. In the years ahead, the process of reappraisal will continue, and one of the most important sources of information on Eisenhower for scholars, commentators, and the general public will be *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower*. □

Since 1981, the Eisenhower Papers project at Johns Hopkins University has received \$46,448 in outright funds and \$631,658 in matching funds from the Editions category of the Division of Research Programs.

THE CHANGING perspective on Dwight David Eisenhower's leadership will be explored in a three-hour documentary series as part of programs and events that mark the Eisenhower centennial this year.

"Time is running out on the effort to get a complete portrait because so many of the principals are disappearing from the scene," says Peter S. McGhee of WGBH-TV in Boston, which produced the series. Among the key participants who have yet to tell their stories are Ann Whitman, Eisenhower's secretary; Andrew Goodpaster, his defense liaison; and Fred Morrow, special projects administrator and the only black official in the Eisenhower White House.

One of the advisers on the series, Eisenhower biographer Stephen Ambrose, describes Eisenhower as "a general and politician of the first rank, a statesman who kept this country out of war in the 1950s, an administrator who almost balanced the budget, kept down the cost of the arms race, managed crisis superbly, and gave his country eight years of peace and prosperity." Counterbalancing Ambrose is historian Arthur Schlesinger, who views the 1950s as a decade of drift and Eisenhower as a President who ignored or mishandled pressing issues such as McCarthyism, civil rights, and relations with the Soviets.

The first of the programs to air will deal with the war years. While many World War II documentaries have featured Eisenhower, says McGhee, they have not focused on him. More recent series, he contends, have treated controversies over Eisenhower's wartime performance from a British point of view. "We feel," says McGhee,

Susanne Roschwalb is assistant professor in the School of Communications at American University.

IKE: THE MOVIE

"He lacked greatness as a soldier, but he could not have been matched as Supreme Commander. His behavior at moments of Anglo-American tension, his extraordinary generosity to his difficult subordinates proved his greatness as Supreme Commander."

Max Hastings
Author, *Overlord*

"I can remember when we used to call him 'old bubble head' and we referred to the White House as 'the tomb of the well-known soldier.' Now I think he is the greatest president I ever covered."

Frank Holeman
New York Daily News

BY SUSANNE
ROSCHWALB

logical importance to Europeans. Eisenhower, whose view ultimately prevailed, took the position that holding back on entering Berlin would result in fewer Allied casualties and would free up the maximum number of U.S. troops for deployment to the Pacific war.

Later programs in the series will focus on Eisenhower's two presidential terms. "The documentary format," says McGhee, "will allow us to see the real Ike behind the public pose. By studying the diaries of Eisenhower and his close associates, scholars have uncovered an Eisenhower far more complex and calculating than his public, statesmanlike posture, as revealed in newsreels and public addresses."

For the documentary on Eisenhower, WYES-TV in New Orleans received a planning grant of \$19,331 in 1987 and WGBH-TV in Boston received a production grant of \$300,424 in 1990 from the Humanities Projects in Media program of the Division of General Programs.

"a rigorous assessment by Americans is due."

A major debate of the war was whether there should be a single thrust toward Berlin—advocated by both Britain's Field Marshall Bernard Montgomery and America's General George Patton—or a broad-front strategy. Eisenhower's solution was to give command over supplies to Montgomery and operational control over airborne troops to Patton—neither had enough strength for a single thrust. The question for historians is whether Eisenhower's compromise was good generalship, good politics, or both.

At the end of the war, the great controversy pitted Eisenhower against British Prime Minister Winston Churchill over the strategy of racing the Russian armies to Berlin. Churchill believed the Allies should neither concede Berlin to the Russians nor overlook the city's psycho-



The Politics of Command

BY FORREST C. POGUE

FOR MONTHS BEFORE the meeting of the Allied leaders at Cairo and Tehran late in 1943, U.S. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson had pushed for General George C. Marshall to direct the British-American forces in the assault against German-held Europe in the spring of 1944. Stimson insisted to anyone who would listen that only by placing Marshall at the head of such an effort would the cross-channel attack be launched. He repeatedly urged the general to press his request for the command.

Stimson, who had been secretary of war since 1940, knew how much the concept of the cross-channel attack owed to Marshall, then U.S. chief of staff. It was Marshall who had carried the plan to London in the spring of 1942 and urged it on Prime Minister Winston Churchill and the British chiefs of staff.

Before the attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor, which led to America's entry into World War II, Roosevelt and his chiefs of staff had agreed that if the United States should find itself at war against Germany and Japan, it would follow the concept of "Europe First" in planning and operations. The President and joint chiefs began carrying out that policy soon after war began in the Pacific. Almost at once, the United States began the buildup in the United Kingdom of supplies for a future invasion. Hard-pressed by months of war, the British were reluctant to hasten into a direct attack on the continent. Conscious of American pressures for greater activity in the Far East, Marshall and the other chiefs stressed the importance of hastening the attack on Germany.

Marshall went to London in April 1942, to sell his concept. In June, he appointed Major General Dwight D.

Eisenhower, chief of his operations division, to head the U.S. theater command in Europe. Eisenhower, promoted to his first star in the summer of 1941, had been brought by Marshall to the war department the week after Pearl Harbor as an expert on the Philippines. Marshall made him head of the plans division in February and promoted him to a second star.

The British welcomed the buildup but resisted the idea of a direct attack at a time when the chief burden of the operation would fall on them. In July, Roosevelt sent Marshall and Admiral Ernest J. King, chief of naval operations, to London to get agreement, if possible, on what was to be called Operation Overlord. He warned them that it was essential to have Allied forces in action in that part of the world before the end of the year. Public opinion in Britain and the United States was already demanding results, and Russian ability to hold out against the enemy seemed to depend on an invasion to reduce pressure on the Eastern European front.

When the British declared that a direct attack was impossible for 1942, the Americans accepted the British proposal for an Allied invasion of North Africa that November. Hoping to reduce French resistance to an Allied attack on Morocco and Algeria, the British suggested that an American lead the Allied forces in the attack. Marshall proposed Eisenhower for the assignment.

The peripheral approach was accepted as the best alternative, although it obviously meant that the logic of events would draw the Allies more deeply into the Mediterranean. After the Germans were driven from North Africa, an attack on Sicily followed and then other invasions into the south of Italy. Throughout it all, Marshall continued, at Casablanca, Washington, and the first Quebec Conference, to lead the fight for a major invasion across the channel. A combined bombing offensive was launched in 1943 to help prepare the

way and a special staff (COSSAC—Chief of Staff to the Supreme Allied Commander) was set up in London to outline a plan for Overlord. While the landings in the south of Italy were in progress, the British and Americans, meeting at Quebec, took a serious look at a cross-channel attack for the spring of 1944.

At Quebec, Churchill recognized the increasing preponderance of U.S. strength in the fighting by announcing to Roosevelt that an American should command Allied forces in Overlord. Roosevelt made clear that he had Marshall in mind for that assignment, and Churchill registered his agreement.

No definite appointment was announced at Quebec, but U.S. newspapers were soon debating Roosevelt's proposed action. Some of the antiadministration press charged that by putting forward Marshall for the command in London, the President was trying to get rid of the one military leader who would oppose his political schemes. It was alleged that Marshall would be replaced by a political general who would use his control of military contracts to ensure Roosevelt's reelection in 1944. General John J. Pershing, under whom Marshall had served in World War I and as personal aide for five years after the war, was persuaded to urge Roosevelt to keep Marshall in Washington. Some newspapers even charged that the proposed change was a British plot to diminish Marshall's authority. Roosevelt kept assuring protesters that he wanted Marshall to be the Pershing of World War II. No one, he insisted, remembered who had been chief of staff in World War I or any other war.

General George C. Marshall participates in the Quebec conference in August of 1943. (Rear row, second from right.) Seated, Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill.

Forrest C. Pogue is the author of the authorized four-volume biography of General George C. Marshall, for which Pogue received the Francis Parkman medal in 1988. The book project received \$232,622 in support from the Interpretive Research program of the Division of Research Programs.

Secretary of War Stimson left no doubt about Marshall's superior claim to the post. Taking office on the very day war had begun in Europe, September 1, 1939, Marshall had worked untiringly to build the U.S. army and the army's air forces from some 200,000 men to an awesome strength of 8.3 million before the end of 1944. He had been the determined advocate of the cross-channel operation from the spring of 1942 and had battled Churchill and the British chiefs of staff for the concept since the earliest conferences. Appearing frequently before congressional committees, he pressed unceasingly for more arms and men. He demanded realistic training and was tireless in improving leadership and in coordinating military efforts around the world.

The rosy prospects for his patron left Eisenhower somewhat glum. He was pleased for Marshall, but he was unhappy that Marshall's shift to the supreme command in Europe would be accompanied by Eisenhower's own return to Washington as chief of staff. He felt ill-prepared for a political role and urged that he be allowed to have a field command in the European theater under Marshall, but visitors from Washington gave him no hope that he could escape the chief-of-staff position.

As a good soldier, Eisenhower knew from his Mediterranean experiences which members of his staff Marshall should have in building his invasion force. "You should have Bradley," he said in an early message. It was advice scarcely needed by Marshall: He had put Bradley on his staff as an instructor at the Infantry School for four years, had assigned him to his personal staff early after becoming chief of staff, had jumped him from lieutenant colonel to brigadier general, had successively given him two divisions, and had sent him to North Africa to be Eisenhower's "eyes and ears." Another name on Eisenhower's suggested list was George Patton, to whom Marshall had given a task force in the North African invasion.

Marshall, meanwhile, sent over a few officers from Washington to London and brought General Sir Frederick Morgan, head of the COS-

SAC planning staff, to Washington to familiarize him with American staff methods in case Marshall should pick him for a key post at supreme headquarters.

Marshall's colleagues on the joint chiefs of staff continued to plead to Roosevelt that they could not spare Marshall. A plan was worked out for presentation to the British in which Marshall would be supreme commander but would continue as a member of the U.S. joint chiefs of staff. Marshall himself opposed it, declaring that the British would never accept it at the Cairo conference. Perhaps, by then, Marshall realized that it was the only way he would be picked for the appointment he strongly desired. Stimson himself in the fall of 1943 predicted that Marshall's innate modesty would cost him the command.

When President Roosevelt's party stopped to see Eisenhower en route to Cairo, the visitors spoke only of Eisenhower's return to Washington in the near future. The diary kept by his naval aide reflected Ike's mounting gloom.

The first phase of the Cairo meeting passed without any word of a final decision by Roosevelt. The British, as Marshall predicted, declined to accept the strange proposal that the Americans had advanced.

It was Josef Stalin at Tehran who forced the issue. He had long been promised a second front on the continent of Europe. Now, he wanted to know, who would command the Overlord operation? The President still temporized but finally promised to announce his decision after his return to Cairo. Perhaps he was stalling to weigh the problem of losing Marshall from the joint chiefs of staff. At the early meetings aboard ship, at the early sessions in Cairo and Tehran, he saw Marshall's leadership in the making of high-level decisions. He also saw how well Eisenhower had developed as an Allied commander. Ike was now accustomed to dealing with the British, French, and American military and political officials with whom a commander would have to work in the Overlord operations.

By the time of his return to Cairo, Roosevelt was no longer firmly set on giving Marshall the opportunity to lead into combat the force that he had prepared for Overlord.

From Marshall's account of his talk with Harry Hopkins, the presidential adviser whom Roosevelt sent to see Marshall on the return to Cairo, it seems clear that Hopkins mentioned Roosevelt's qualms. Hopkins' statement that Roosevelt wanted to know Marshall's wishes indicated that the President was troubled over the decision. Marshall replied that he wanted no consideration of his personal wishes: The main consideration should be the good of the country.

Marshall had put the ball back in the President's court. Roosevelt then asked the general to come to his villa. According to Marshall, the President went back and forth on the subject and then again asked for Marshall's personal reaction.

Keeping in mind what had happened at home and what Hopkins had told him, Marshall recalled that he told the President: "I wanted him to feel free to act in whatever way he felt as to the best interest of the country and to his satisfaction and not in anyway to consider my feelings. I would cheerfully go whatever way he wanted me to go." The President apparently considered the matter settled and said, "Well, I didn't feel I could sleep at ease if you were out of Washington."

At the conclusion of his conversation with Roosevelt, Marshall rapidly composed the message that Roosevelt had promised to Stalin at Tehran. He wrote: "The immediate appointment of General Eisenhower to command Overlord operation has been decided on" and handed the message to Roosevelt to sign. Sometime after it was sent out by radio, Marshall retrieved the paper and sent it to the new supreme commander. He scrawled across the bottom of the original, "Dear Eisenhower: I thought you might like to have this as a memento. It was written very hurriedly by me as the final meeting broke up yesterday, the President signing it immediately. G.C.M." □

To develop a documentary film about Marshall, in 1989 New York City's Great Projects Film Company received a \$50,000 scripting grant and a \$455,502 production grant from the Humanities Projects in Media program of the Division of General Programs.

BEING THE HIGHEST-ranking general in the U.S. army was an unlikely circumstance for someone who as a youngster showed no military inclination.

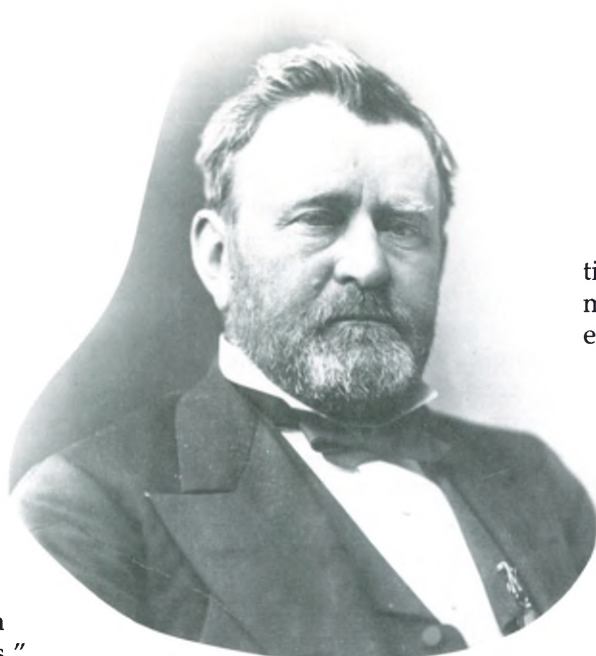
Born in 1822 in Point Pleasant, Ohio, Hiram Ulysses Grant reluctantly went off at his father's insistence to the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, in 1839. People called him "Ulysses," and the congressman who appointed him to the academy, assuming this to be the boy's first name and his mother's maiden name (Simpson) to be his middle one, affixed the misnomer "Ulysses S. Grant" to the appointment. It stuck.

Eventually the initials "U. S." came to combine the man and his cause until, some quarter of a century later, there he was—general in chief of all Union forces—offering surrender terms to his Confederate nemesis Robert E. Lee in the McLean house parlor at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, ending the most appalling war that Americans had ever known.

The victory at Appomattox made Grant a hero in the North, and he went on to become the nation's eighteenth President, serving two terms from 1869 to 1877—the youngest man ever elected to the presidency at that point in American history. Yet despite such fame, his personality remains a riddle.

"There's always been a mystery about Grant," says John Y. Simon, editor of *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* (Southern Illinois University Press) and director of the Ulysses S. Grant Association at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. "Both the military career and the presidency have

James S. Turner is assistant editor of Humanities.



National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant

BY JAMES S. TURNER

been controversial. In battle, he's been called a butcher, a man of great luck, someone who really didn't win the Civil War but was simply on the scene when the Confederates finally were forced to abandon it.

"In terms of the presidency, he's been looked upon as a man who did too much and a man who did too little. On Reconstruction, for example, he was viewed as a man who pushed too hard for black civil rights when he should have known better, and as a man who didn't do nearly enough." Moreover, says Simon, although Grant has been faulted as being the dupe of conniving politicians, much of the corruption associated with his presidency had flourished during the Civil War, had con-

tinued under Andrew Johnson's administration, and was finally uncovered during Grant's presidency.

The volumes of the Grant papers, first published in 1967 and prepared with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities since 1983, have become the essential resource in modern studies of Grant. To date, sixteen volumes of the Grant papers have been published. Volume 1 covers the pre-war years from 1837 to 1861; volumes 2 to 14 cover the war years from April 1861 to April 1865; and volumes 15 and 16, published in 1988, cover the early Reconstruction period during 1865 and 1866 respectively.

As these most recent volumes show, Grant in the first twenty months of the postwar period was occupied with military matters such as the reorganization of the army, the French attempt to establish an empire in Mexico despite the Monroe Doctrine, and trouble on the Canadian border caused by Irish nationalists who hoped to force England to grant Irish independence. The two volumes also shed light on Grant's commitment to the well-being of the South's freedmen, his view of Johnson's Reconstruction policy, and his political ambitions.

While Grant's urging of leniency toward former officers of the Confederacy, including Lee, is well-known, his determination to protect the South's freedmen has been disputed. In fact, says Simon, Grant never wavered in his desire to protect the former slaves. After a tour of several southern states in late 1865, Grant wrote in a letter of December 18, 1865, to President Johnson: "In some form the Freedman's Bureau is an absolute necessity until civil law is established and enforced securing to the freedmen their rights and full protection."

On the matter of Johnson's Reconstruction policy, Grant found himself caught politically between Johnson, who sought to restore state governments in the former Confederacy, replete with severe restrictions on black suffrage, as a means of hastening the South's reincorporation into the Union, and the North's "radical" Republicans, who sought much stricter exactions as a means of preserving the fruits of victory and ensuring the South's proper rehabilitation. Referring to Johnson's impol-

itic and truculent speeches delivered on the infamous "swing around the circle" electioneering tour through the Midwest in 1866, which ignited the impeachment sentiment that eventually led to Johnson's political demise, Grant, who accompanied Johnson, wrote in a September 9, 1866, letter to his wife, Julia: "I look upon them as a National disgrace. Of course you will not shew this letter to anyone for so long as Mr. Johnson is President I must respect him as such, and it is in the country's interest that I should also have his confidence."

About Grant's desire to become President, "it's just not true," says Simon. "Grant didn't like politicians and didn't want to be one himself. He was forced into the presidency—he used the phrase 'in spite of myself.'" So apolitical was Grant, Simon

points out, that he did not vote in a presidential election until 1856, and then for a Democrat, not because he favored James Buchanan, but because he deplored the candidate of the newly established Republican party, John Frémont.

Grant did not vote again until after he had served both of his terms as President—this time voting for a Republican. He did not make a political speech until 1880, when he had been out of the White House for three years.

BY incorporating the important letters and documents that played a role in Grant's thinking, the volumes present more correspondence that Grant received than material that he actually wrote. "As he advanced up the military ladder and entered the political arena, he was a magnet for correspondence from all sorts of people," says Simon.

"Through the Grant papers, we get a window on what people were concerned about at the time." The volumes include requests for appointments, which Grant called "begging letters"; letters from key military figures such as generals

Sherman, Sheridan, and Meade; and some letters from ordinary citizens, recounting their problems and difficulties. The project aims to publish all of Grant's letters and the important correspondence to him. A microform edition of all the less crucial letters to Grant will also become available.

One of the pleasures for Simon in his work with the Grant papers is the precision and grace of Grant's prose. Simon observes a direct correlation between Grant's literary ability and his capacity for leadership. An example is Grant's three-sentence letter of February 16, 1862, demanding Confederate commander Simon Buckner's surrender of the 15,000-man garrison of Fort Donelson in Tennessee:

Sir;

Yours of this date proposing Armistice, and appointment of commissioners, to settle terms of capitulation is just received. No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted.

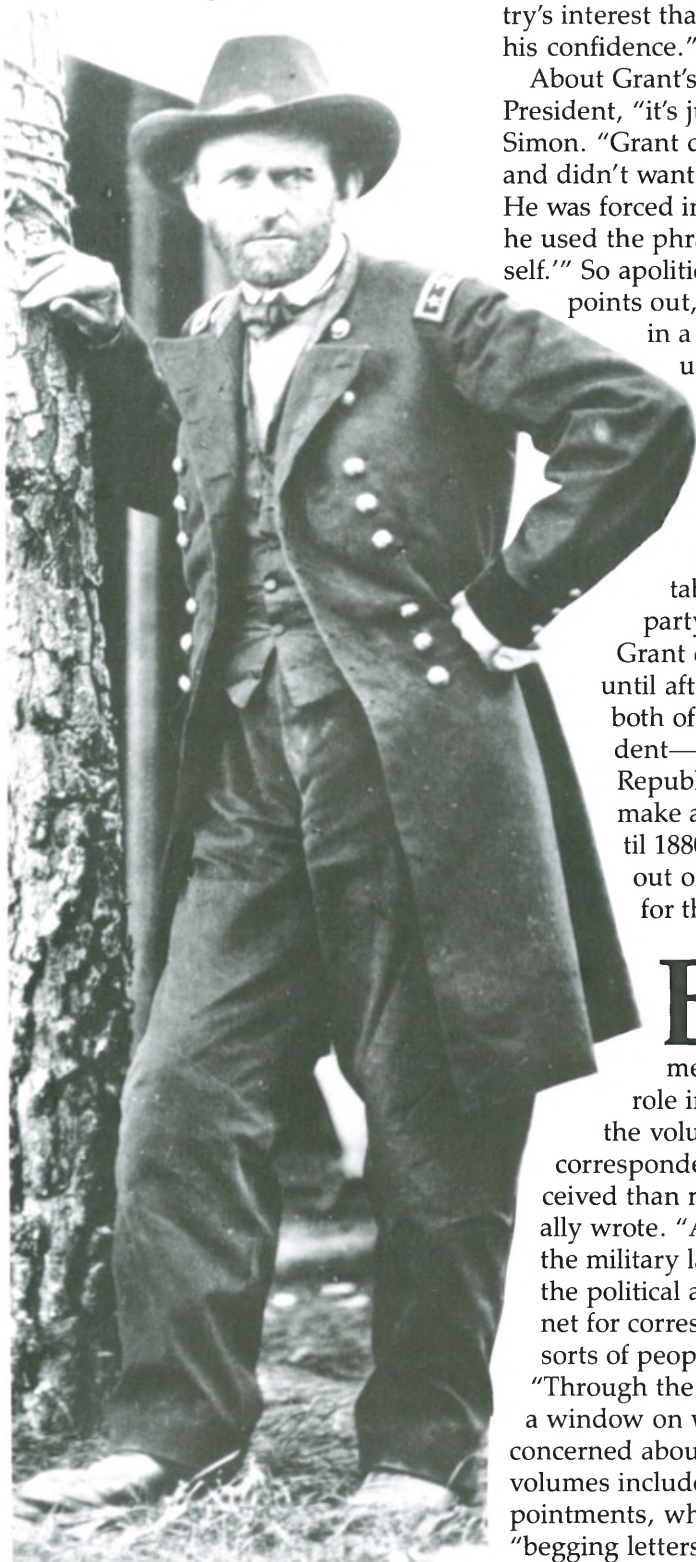
I propose to move immediately upon your works.

*I am sir; very respectfully
your obt. servt.
U. S. Grant
Brig. Gen.*

"The letter expressed exactly what Grant wanted with the greatest economy," says Simon. "It shows a man who is direct, clearheaded, and perhaps there's a glint of genius in his expressing things that others didn't see. No one has ever figured out the origin of his phrase 'unconditional and immediate.'"

What is clear, however, is that the coincidence of the initial letters of "unconditional surrender" with Grant's own first initials was not lost on his troops. The nickname of "Unconditional Surrender" Grant, which stayed with him through the remainder of the war, imbued the man with an even more inspiring aura of steadfastness than that implied by the patriotic sobriquet "Uncle Sam" Grant, which he had acquired at West Point.

Many readers of Grant's *Memoirs*, the first volume of which appeared in 1885, the year of Grant's death, wonder how Grant learned to write so well, says Simon. The Grant papers make it clear, he says, that Grant was a master of concise, forceful, and original prose from early in his career.



General Grant in 1864.

AS BOTH SOLDIER and President, Grant helped shape the United States as a modern nation. "The Civil War is absolutely the central experience of the American people," says Simon. "It had the force of transforming the United States from one country into another. The institution of slavery was a cancer that had been eating away at the American republic from its start, and its eradication through the Civil War created a new political society which vindicated the American experiment." Grant's role as the engineer of Northern victory places him indisputably among the great founders of the modern United States, says Simon.

As President, Grant also helped forge the new nation. "If he had served only one term, I think he would be remembered as one of the better Presidents of the United States, with a record marred only by his insistence on acquiring Santo Domingo. In domestic affairs, his record is quite remarkable." In 1870, with the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, blacks were voting more fairly and freely throughout the South than they did until Lyndon Johnson became President, says

Simon. While many scholars stress the failure of Grant's government to guarantee to blacks what was promised to them in legislation, Grant kept up the pressure for reform.

"What went wrong was Grant's reelection," Simon posits. "In his second term he tended to give in to his friends in Congress, weaken his support for Reconstruction, and to waver under intense pressure in the South for local control of the black population." In addition, the expanding nation faced daunting economic problems, such as the depression of 1873. "Grant's first instinct was to start public works to get people employed," says Simon. "But the conventional wisdom on Capitol Hill was that the government should economize rather than spend, and eventually Grant succumbed."

Even as Grant tried to preserve the ideals of the republic for which the Civil War was fought, the nation was moving in vertiginous new directions. Ironically, in 1876, at nearly the same time that General Custer and his men were being massacred in the last of the great Indian battles out West, President Grant was attending the U.S. centennial exposition in Philadelphia, which trum-

peted America's might and contributions to the industrial wonders of the world, including a demonstration of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell.

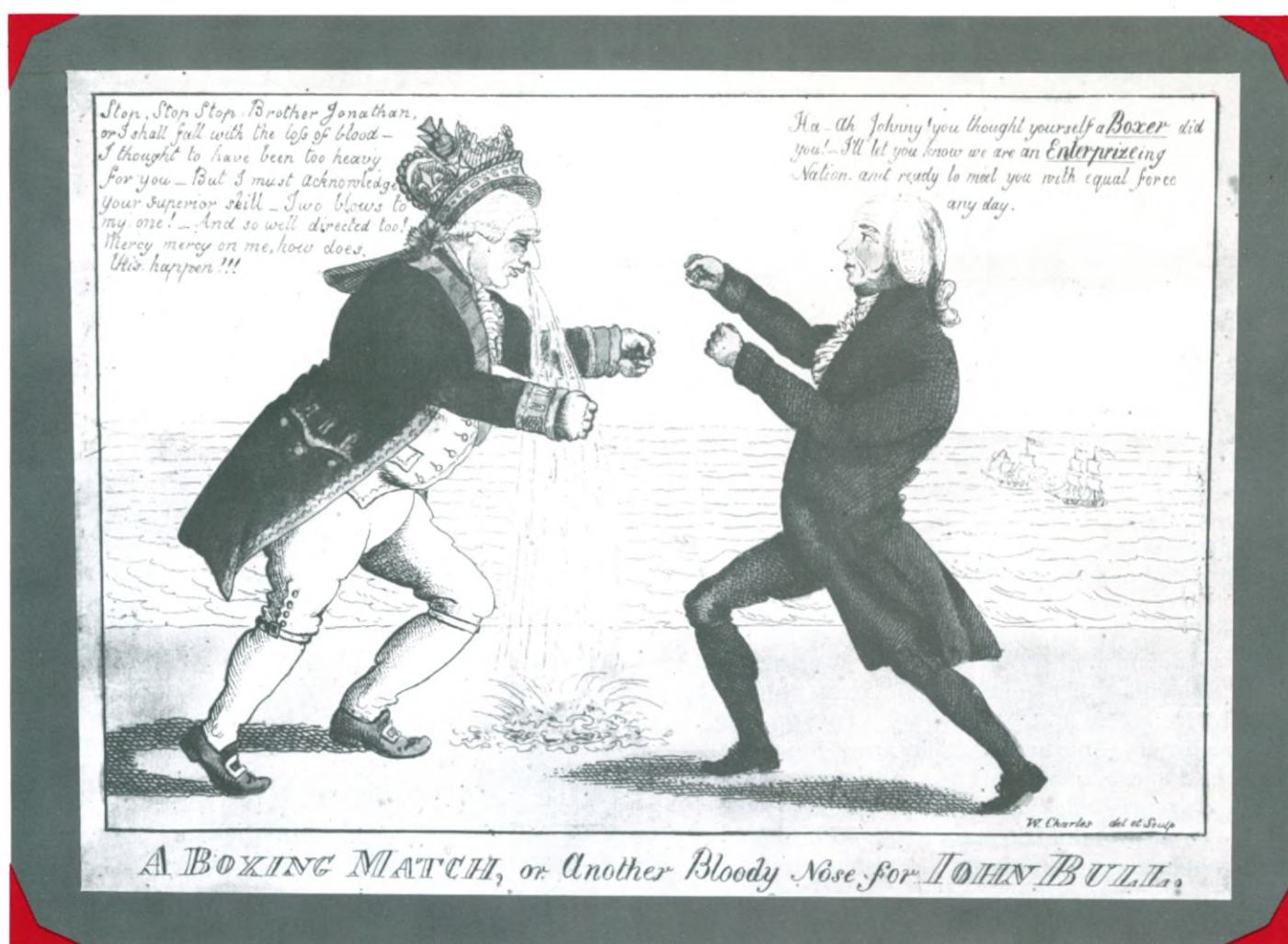
A subsequent trip around the world, a failed bid for a third term, a plunge into financial ruin that left him penniless, the onset of the throat cancer that slowly and painfully killed him—all the outward facts of Grant's life are well documented. Yet Grant's personality remains intriguing.

"If publication of the papers put all the controversies about Grant to rest," says Simon, "it would have a deadly effect on scholarship rather than the encouraging one that we'd rather achieve. I don't think there's an absolutely knowable past that's created through documentary editions. These are tools rather than final answers, and they are certainly going to raise every discussion about Grant to a higher level of sophistication and accuracy." □

Since 1983, the Ulysses S. Grant Association has received \$139,443 in outright funds from the Editions category of the Division of Research Programs to prepare volumes of the Grant papers.



The last photograph of Grant, four days before his death in 1885.



Cartoon inspired by the capture of the British brig Boxer by the American Enterprise, September 13, 1813. Broadsheet, 1813.

UNCLE SAM VS. JOHN BULL

BY PETER MELLINI

HISTORIANS MAKE a mistake when they treat those two national cartoon characters, Uncle Sam and John Bull, as unchanging symbols like America's Old Glory or the British Union Jack.

The two are "actors" in the political dialogue between the United States and the United Kingdom, and as Uncle Sam has gone from country bumpkin to sophisticated Yankee, the changes have reflected America's own changing self-image. He and

the portly John Bull provide the historian and anthropologist with a means of studying the impact of nationalism and the varieties of national character. Their iconographies are part of what Erik Hobsbawm, Clifford Geertz, and others call the "invention of tradition"—a complex process in which a modernizing society or community rifles its past, developing and using myths to produce nationalism.

Bull had begun his existence more than a century earlier than Uncle Sam as the put-upon common man in a series of anti-Whig political pamphlets done in 1712 by the Tory satirist Dr. John Arbuthnot. By the 1790s, cartoonists had turned Bull into a radical-patriot-lout, depicted with crudity by Gillray and others. By the first years of Queen Victoria's

reign, he was finally captured (along with Britannia) by the governing classes and "gentrified" by artists and writers in the new middle-class periodicals, especially *Punch*.

The mid-Victorian Bull and his female counterpart, Britannia, though highly gender specific, were largely desexualized. "Old John" became a portly country squire, the embodiment of the bourgeois British upper-middle-class character. Like the British empire at its height, Bull was overweight, self-confident, bumptious, and stuffy. Britannia, who began in the seventeenth century as an emblem for the nation, had evolved into a matronly battle-ax—the ideological center of Truth, Justice, Bravery, and the Empire. She is dignified and elevated. Bull does the actual living. British manu-

Peter Mellini is a professor of modern European history at Sonoma State University and teaches the history of journalism at San Francisco State University, California. He is the coauthor of a forthcoming book on the origins and evolution of national symbols.

facturers subsequently discovered that the Victorian's Bull and Britannia were potent, attractive advertising icons.

Uncle Sam also took more than half a century to acquire his persona as the mythic male personifying the new republic's character. His appearance before the revolution was one of the earliest signs of the existence of American nationalism. Initially he was a Yankee rustic known as Yankee Doodle, or Brother Jonathan. This "American cousin" became a favorite type in popular literature, in music, on stage, and in popular art. Cocky, crude, clever, he was sometimes plump and short, more often thin and lanky. His dress, behavior, and speech indicated a freedom from the bonds of Old World custom and conventions. He did not care who owned the land or dominated the world.

This particularly American personality evolved out of popular or vernacular culture. Many Americans wanted to be culturally independent and used self-created types, in Joshua Taylor's phrase, "to foster a national consciousness quite different from that dependent on political institutions and their imagery."

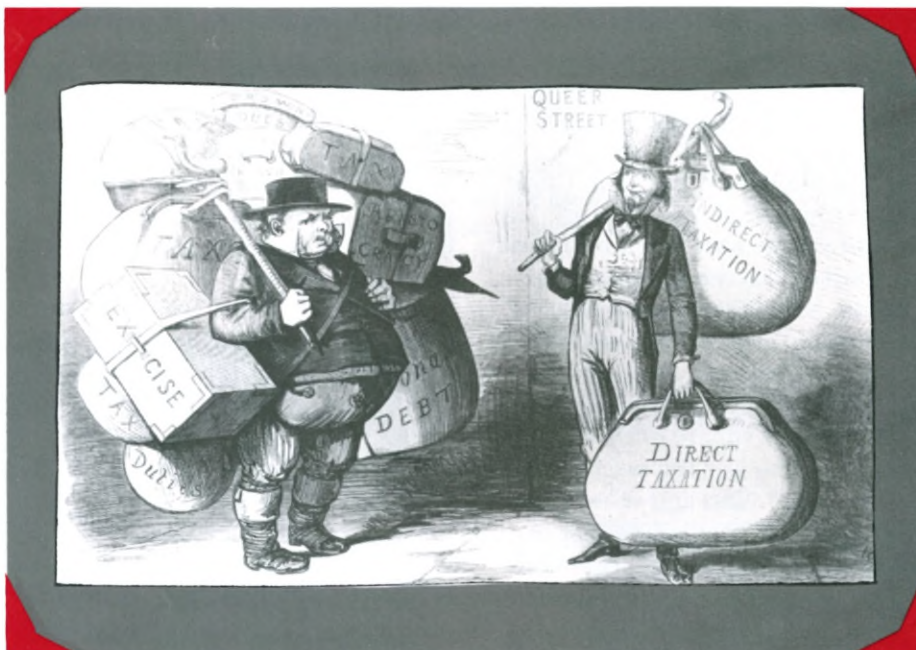
Between 1830 and 1860, this rustic cousin matured into the cartoonists' Uncle Sam. He came to embody a complex set of values, traits, and attitudes that were recognized generally as American. In dress and manner he rejected the aristocratic European conventions. He was self-made, independent, honest, com-

monsensical, clever, rational, and able to drive a hard bargain.

The name "Uncle Sam" apparently originated during the War of 1812, when barrels of beef and pork and wagons stamped with "U. S." (United States) came to be known as Uncle Sam's—a nickname for Samuel Wilson, one of the principal military contractors. Albert Matthews has shown that the nickname at first was always used in a negative or antiwar context. Sam's appearance and dress took as long as John Bull's to become stereotyped. George Han-

del Hill and others popularized the rustic, regional Yankee onstage in the Jacksonian era. Hill's attribution of white top hat, striped trousers, and gaiters to the figure were the antithesis of fashion, the rejection of European-dominated culture.

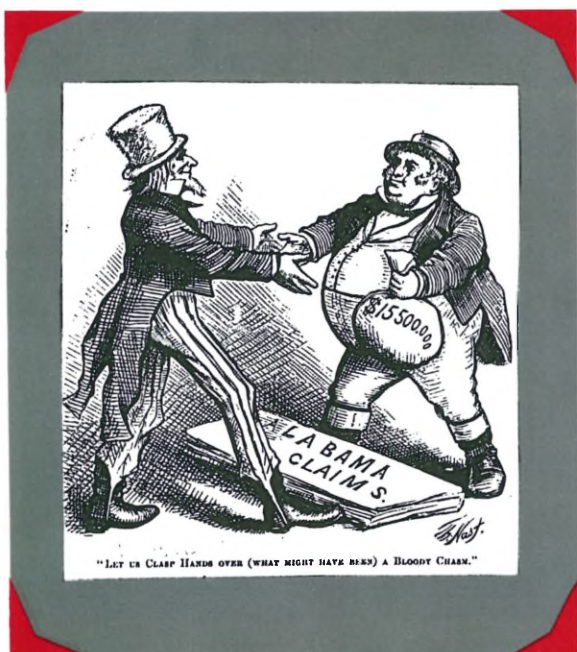
Cartoonists portrayed Uncle Sam in the 1830s as a stocky, beardless man dressed in an old-fashioned tail coat. He was soon blended with the "American cousin" and with Seba Smith's down-Maine fictional pundit, Major Jack Downing, who was the personification of the doubting



YOUTH AND AGE

John Bull – "Pon my word, Jonathan, I am quite sorry to see you so loaded. I am afraid it will break you down!"

Jonathan – "Not a bit of it, Johnny! I'm younger and stronger than you are. It's a mere trifle to what I can carry." Broadsheet, 1863



(left) "Let us clasp hands over (what might have been) a bloody chasm." Thomas Nast, Harper's Weekly, October 5, 1872. Nast was one of the chief creators of the Uncle Sam image that we know today.

(right) "John Bull, the pore old guy." Strube, London Daily Express, November 5, 1940. Hitler and Mussolini point out straw man John Bull to a suspicious Uncle Sam.



public. During the 1850s, Sam shed his local associations and grew into a lanky, rural rustic clad in top hat, striped gaiters, often with a star-speckled vest under his tail coat. During the Civil War a newly bearded Lincoln came to embody the Union, and he too was combined into Uncle Sam. After the war, cartoonists at home and abroad dropped Brother Jonathan, Yankee Doodle, *et al*, and refined Uncle Sam as we know him. The father of American political cartooning, Thomas Nast, and his disciple, Joseph Keppler, probably did the most to foster the iconographic synthesis we recognize as Uncle Sam—the mythic male personifying the American republic.

Nast's and Keppler's version of Uncle Sam has lasted to this day. Through the First World War, Uncle Sam and his female counterpart, Columbia/Liberty, were often portrayed as a couple. She was a humanized goddess, and he was a nationalized folk symbol. In John Higham's expression, "Columbia stood for national ideals, while Sam took charge of the practical sphere of power and diplomacy. She was the teacher; he was the doer." Nast and other American cartoonists took advantage of the contrasting and complementary roles assigned by Victorian middle-class culture to each sex. America now had its own version of the dual

symbolism that had originated in England with Britannia and John Bull.

The heyday of John Bull's family lasted through the First World War. By the late 1930s, the relative decline of Britain and her empire can be detected in the displacement of their qualities. The portly squire and the matronly goddess were hardly resonant cartoon stereotypes. In Britain a few graphic satirists, including Max Beerbohm, Donald McGill, David Low, and Will Dyson, sought unsuccessfully to modernize John Bull and his family. Several competing figures appeared, among them Poy's John Citizen and Strube's Little Man. The males represented the common man, such as the misguided Neville Chamberlain, who brandished a furred umbrella at the Depression and at Hitler. Bull's retirement coincides exactly with the decline of British power and influence, as the winds of change blew away the empire.

Meanwhile, Uncle Sam continues in use along with his female counterpart, although their propaganda role has declined since the 1940s. The attention to Liberty during the bicentennial revived her not as a national symbol, but as a reminder of the nation's increasingly precarious virtues and values. Late in the Depression, Woody Guthrie sang of "Uncle Sam's Fine Land." Fifty years later Uncle Sam appears as the per-

sonification of the nation in a variety of settings, from political cartoons to American advertisements to Russian and American signboards to political demonstrations at home and abroad.

Why has Uncle Sam survived when John Bull is long retired? Partly because Uncle Sam is more malleable. Cartoonists often use the costume and create new forms. Pat Oliphant, for example, often turns him into W. C. Field's raffish confidence man and hustler. Sometimes cartoonists simply make him the victim of whatever demons are plaguing the American body politic.

More important, Sam persists because he emerged out of the American vernacular, unlike his British rival. He can still be used to personify many, if not all, male Americans, while the stereotypical John Bull is clearly a creature of one class and one era. Despite his anachronistic costume, Uncle Sam still represents America. Like the nation he personifies, he has continually changed. At the same time his essential traits— independence, honesty, skepticism toward conventions, and down-to-earth practicality—are relished and respected by the public. □

To study Uncle Sam and John Bull as national symbols, Peter Mellini received a \$3,500 Summer Stipend through the Division of Fellowships and Seminars in 1988.



"Three prognoses for Uncle Sam," *The Economist*, January 25, 1988.

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CALENDAR

September ♦ October



National Archives

"The Civil War," an eleven-hour documentary series by filmmaker Ken Burns, airs nightly on PBS September 23–27.



© 1989 Lightyear Entertainment, L.P.

The award-winning "Beauty and the Beast," narrated by Mia Farrow, will be broadcast September 8 on PBS as part of the children's series, *Long Ago and Far Away*.



Collection of Leslie and David Roguth

"Anxious Visions: Surrealist Art," an exhibition opening October 3 at the University of California, Berkeley, places the movement in historical context.



The four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* will be marked with a conference September 14–16 at Princeton University.



"Launching the Republic," (left) a permanent exhibition focusing on the first Congress (1789–90), opens at the Federal Hall National Memorial in New York City on September 25.



Chicago Historical Society

A city's competing cultural visions are the subject of "A City Comes of Age: Chicago in the 1890s," an exhibition opening at the Chicago Historical Society October 24; a conference, "Modes of Inquiry for American City History," will be held October 25–27.

—Kristen Hall

Conversation with. . .

continued from page 7

woman owner of the farm on which she was a young maid treated her kindly. But there was a real power difference between my twelve-year-old grandmother and the woman who owned the farm.

Cheney: When I heard you talk about overgeneralization about women, I thought of what troubles me most, and that's the notion that women all think in a special way; it's different from the way that men think; that women use language in a special way that's different from the way men use language. When I hear that, I feel as though I'm being ghettoized. I never sit down to write and call gender into play. I call rationality into play, and those are the overgeneralizations that trouble me. Do you think that women do think and write in a special way?

Stimpson: There are studies that show that women of a certain class and a certain place do speak differently from the men of that class and that place. Women will sometimes use more question marks than men. Men will interrupt more often than women. Women will do what's been called the "housework of conversation." If there's a pause, if there's a silence, they'll rush in and say, "Isn't it a nice day?" or "Would you like to have another Coca-Cola?" I also believe studies that show that many women do respond to the world in a different way. I think Carol Gilligan [author of *In a Different Voice*] is on to something, though she needs, as she knows, to do more studies of women according to race and different kinds of communities. But the question is the cause of gender differences. If we see differences in men's and women's speech and if we see differences in the way in which men and women relate to the world, is this caused by some innate biological difference, or is this socially conditioned and specific to a particular society? That's what I tend to believe—that we can see differences, but they're specific to a time and place and caused by that time and place.

I've just been reading a book, *Erotic Wars*, by Lillian Rubin, who is a wise and sagacious psychologist. She's interviewed hundreds of men and women, and she picks up differ-

ent moral and intellectual responses to contemporary life. But this doesn't mean it's in the genes. It doesn't mean there's a little strand of DNA running around in me saying, "Catharine, think 'affiliation' rather than 'autonomy.'"

Cheney: I've just become troubled by moving from what happens in one particular experiment to generalizations, overgeneralizations about all women. It seems to diminish women to suggest that Jane Austen was pretty good for a woman. She was good by any standard.

Stimpson: I detect two things here, Lynne, and I think we're in agreement on this. One is, it did matter that Jane Austen was a woman. It's not the only thing that mattered. It may not even be the primary thing that mattered, but it did matter. If she'd been born a boy, she might have gone into the navy. She wouldn't have had her fears of economic dependence. Or she might have become a clergyman. Her sense of what she might do with her life would have been different. I also suggest that her extraordinary and ironic understanding of marriage and of courtship and of their relationship to money was shaped by her gender and by her intelligence.

Cheney: Maybe it's a matter of degrees here, what we would credit things to. To talk about Jane Austen's achievement in terms of what I think of as accidents of place and time and gender, instead of talking about them in terms of her genius, seems to diminish her in my eyes. It's interesting to do, but to stop there, and not talk about this wonderful accomplishment of the human spirit, to me is reductive.

Stimpson: But I think you can do both simultaneously. If you look at what Jane Austen did, you can also see her acting as a writer of resistance. She becomes a better writer by looking at gender, because you can see that she had to teach herself that she could be a writer.

Cheney: But this is like saying that Emily Dickinson was a better writer because she was shy and retiring and had time to spend away from the world, looking inside herself and thinking. There are all kinds of accidents of time and circumstance.

Stimpson: But they are also crucial to the construction of the writing.

They are not the only determinant, they may not be the most significant determinant, but they can't be erased.

Cheney: That is a point we would agree on. When I become uncomfortable is when it is reduced to being the only determinant, when the big three—race, gender, and class—are seen as the only determining factors in human achievement.

Stimpson: If you use race, class, and gender like a cookie cutter and apply those categories automatically, you deny the specificity of history, and you also deny the tremendous and valiant effort that person after person put into overcoming the disabilities of those categories.

What some feminists say, as you know, is that we ought to celebrate those differences. It's the fear that the female is lesser that makes a writer like Elizabeth Bishop say, "Don't call me a woman writer." But one aspect of feminism, especially of cultural feminism, is to say these female differences are marvelous, that women are not castrated men. On the contrary, men are castrated women, poor darlings.

Cheney: I guess I would just prefer to think of both genders as human beings.

Stimpson: Men and women have more in common than what separates us. But we cannot deny what separates us because it is often very painful and cannot be easily changed. I don't like to be separated from men by the fact that I earn 70 percent of what they earn. That seems to be an unnecessary difference.

Cheney: Exactly. Well, you mentioned not thinking it was proper to use race, class, and gender as the sole way of looking at literature and the humanities. I do, though, when I look at the MLA program, suspect that something like that is going on. Every year the MLA puts on a huge convention and the program becomes the laughing stock of newspaper columnists across the country. How do you explain this?

Stimpson: Well, first I would say you could probably do that to any professional convention.

Cheney: I don't think anybody else had "The Muse of Masturbation" this year.

Stimpson: Do you know, it's a good paper.

Cheney: Is that right? It sounded to me as though it were saying rather amazing things about Emily Dickinson, but I'll withhold judgment until I have a chance to read it.

Stimpson: It's an interesting paper. But I've looked at business conventions, I've looked at the American College of Cardiology convention, and I think if you look at any professional organization, you could always find something to make your eyebrows go up. I have asked myself why journalists take such pleasure in using one or two titles as a sign of what silly people we are.

Cheney: I think there's a conscious attempt to shock. I can't imagine anybody is really surprised that the newspapers wrote about "The Muse of Masturbation."

Stimpson: What is the intellectual movement behind this? It's quite a simple thing, I think. It's that people do write about sexuality and that sexuality is not something that is locked up to be released after marriage. It is a part of life, and again in literature. And this is one of the great struggles, as you know, in twentieth-century literature, the open narrative of sexuality, which got *Ulysses* into a great deal of trouble, which got D.H. Lawrence into a great deal of trouble, et cetera, et cetera. And what this critical movement is trying to do is to say, how have poets and novelists and essayists written about desire? What has been the language for it, and how has desire been a motive for writing? How has it worked? What's been its linguistic expression and its linguistic shape?

Cheney: I worry that there's a great gulf between the way that literature is thought about professionally and the world at large, and that we will never find the humanities taking a place in our society that's as central as you and I think it should be until somehow we diminish that gulf. And I do worry that session titles like that are a little designed *épater le bourgeois*—"let's shock those folks out there"—rather than reach out and understand that, after all, these works of art are theirs as well.

Stimpson: Yes, there's a little bit of that. That spirit is a spirit that does animate modern art. And sometimes, in fact I think most times,

being shocked culturally is probably pretty good for us.

But, as you know, there's a much deeper problem than an occasional playful title at the MLA convention. And what are the deeper problems? What are the things we really ought to be worrying about if we care about the future of the humanities? One, we have to be worried about literacy, and I know how concerned you are about this. The humanities

Cheney: Should we call them enduring ones?

Stimpson: Let me say it's been an enduring problem.

Cheney: It is a two-sided problem. I worry that the most gifted of our novelists have retreated into forms that the educated general public finds unreadable. It may be that there is encouragement to retreat into those forms by a perception that the public is largely philistine, but in

The humanities work by texts. And what's going to happen to us if you have a country where 27 million adults, at least, are illiterate?

Stimpson

work by texts. And what's going to happen to us if you have a country where 27 million adults, at least, are illiterate? How are you going to have people love the humanities, no matter how expansive and multicultural they are, if they can't read?

Cheney: One of the really great gifts that the state humanities councils have given all of us is an example of how you can use the humanities to encourage people to read and to learn to read better.

Stimpson: A second thing is—you know that phrase of yours I like so much, the parallel school—we have to develop support for parallel schools—museums, the serious TV programs, and what have you. I keep saying that higher education has to be far more connected systematically to the parallel schools, and that work for the parallel schools has to be recognized.

The third problem is a question of national values. Where are the big salaries going? Not to the humanities. What is the relationship of a line of Shakespeare to the bottom line? When you and I worry about the humanities—and I think everybody in the humanities, no matter what their approach, should be in this together—what we're worrying about is a set of national and international values.

return it's hard for the public to prove itself otherwise.

Stimpson: That's a slightly different problem. That seems to be the problem of any new form of expression. Gertrude Stein, in her essay "Composition as Explanation," has a wonderful phrase where she says that the new always seems ugly, and then after it's accepted it becomes beautiful. And when we look back at the history of modern art, we do see a history of things that were popular that then disappeared and things that were not popular or known that we now love. Samuel Beckett's novels, when they first came out, were thought to be enormously difficult and very hard to teach, but Beckett won the Nobel Prize. Some experimental novels are terribly difficult to read. They may make sense in a generation or two.

Cheney: I do think the problem has been exacerbated, though, by novelists' not having to write for an audience anymore, being academic novelists, so to speak, where you're not forced to seek out an audience.

Stimpson: I would agree with you. When you talk about certain academic novels not having an audience, I think one reason is because the sense of story sometimes seems missing. I think what the novels

without the stories are trying to tell us is that our life no longer has a fixed story. And the question then becomes for the literary artist, how do you write when the narrative is all smashed up, when life's narratives seem to be all smashed up?

Cheney: I just have to read this to you, a fascinating section on self-reflexive fiction in the new *Columbia Literary History*:

There's only so much time, and to my way of thinking, it's time that has to be spent on works that will endure, on people who can be models of excellence.

Cheney

Confronting the fiasco of recent historical events, the new novelists—"chaos-drunk writers," as they have been called—offer a new idea of history: Since civilization has become fraudulent, since it has turned into an enormous lie, it is important to examine its deceptions, its ruins, its clichés—the mess of civilization and culture. But above all, it is important to examine and denounce the language that continues to perpetuate lies and illusions.

So, you're right. It is a way of trying to record experiences as these artists perceive it, but it's certainly difficult for the public at large to understand.

Stimpson: I've been utterly moved, as I think we all have been, by reading the accounts of how writers survived under censorship and under a suffocating state system in Eastern Europe, where they have had no audience, except maybe an audience of one or two or three. And, of course, what these wonderful Eastern European writers had is a tradition and a set of ideas, a strongly felt internal morality, and a few kindred souls.

Cheney: It is interesting, isn't it, that writers in Eastern Europe, confronted with the most awful conditions of existence, end up with a kind of faith in the human spirit that our own novelists don't have.

Stimpson: There are examples of hope in Toni Morrison or Adrienne Rich. But I wanted to push the notion of the audience a little bit further. I hope you would agree that one of the jobs of contemporary humanities is to make yourself heard in a culture that has an overload of superficial information. Just walking down the street, you're bombarded by ads, bombarded by triviality, and

bombarded by a public speech that is often deceptive. I find myself in my classes saying, "Listen more carefully. Learn how to sort out, but don't tune out. Sort out, but don't tune out."

Cheney: The first thing that comes to my mind is why in the world, when we are bombarded by popular culture all the time, would we want to bring it into the classroom?

Stimpson: Because it's important for us to understand where it's coming from and why it is popular, and because not all of it is terrible. A study by Janice Radway about the Harlequin Romances shows them playing a very important role in the lives of young women, presenting what these young women think to be real dilemmas in their own lives.

Cheney: Well, this is a point on which I guess we would differ because it seems to me that those young women are taking a college class in which we should present them with the very best works the ages have to offer and with historical characters who are heroic, whether it's Susan B. Anthony or Rosa Parks. There's only so much time, and to my way of thinking, it's time that has to be spent on works that will endure, on people who can be models of excellence.

Stimpson: But then you know exactly what I'm going to say. I want my students to understand how culture works and how some works become popular, how some works don't, the same as an anthropologist wants us to understand social structure and the historian wants us to understand the process of history. I want my students to see George Eliot and to read *Middlemarch* or to read Frederick Douglass's autobiography, but also to see the cultural context out of which this comes. The second thing I would say is that I share your sense that I only have so much time in whatever I'm going to do, but then I relax and I think that what we're setting up in the United States is what *A Nation at Risk* calls a "community of lifelong learners." If I can't teach this text now to a nineteen-year-old, I hope he or she will come back at thirty-nine and the classroom will be there for him or her. So I try to give them my own passion for this activity, to serve as a living witness for a way of being in the world that not only respects reading, writing, thinking, valuing, and judging, but finds in it a source of an exalted sense of happiness.

Cheney: Let me ask one last question. You're president of the MLA. What do you hope to do in a year in what is one of the most prestigious positions in the humanities?

Stimpson: Well, first of all, Lynne, I was honored to be elected. Second, my election showed that I represented some of the values in the profession today, and I hope they're decent values. I hope that what I speak for is felt by people who are teaching in lots of different institutions and writing lots of different books and papers and articles. I hope there is some broad agreement across the profession that there are things that we share. This doesn't mean that we're ditto marks. This doesn't mean that we don't have conflicts, but that we share a commitment to literacy, we share a commitment to languages, we share a commitment to diversity of approaches, we share a commitment to the wonder of dialogue. And I hope that we see that research and teaching are compatible, not incompatible activities, and that the humanities are in danger, not from our internal quarrels, but from a world that may be indifferent to us. □

THE NUMBERS GAME

BY JEFFREY THOMAS



THE ENDOWMENT has been gathering statistics for some time now about the vitality of the humanities in the nation's colleges and universities. Some of the questions we are attempting to answer: How many college and university students are concentrating in the humanities? How many are getting advanced degrees? Where are new Ph.D.s being employed? Here are some of the findings.

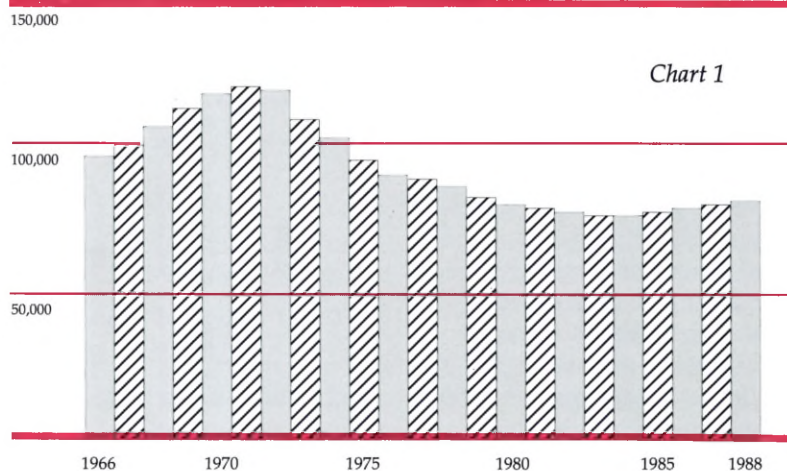
Degrees in Humanities Leveling Off

Over the decade of the 1980s, student interest in the humanities appears to have stabilized. This leveling off is reflected in the numbers of bachelor's and doctoral degrees awarded in humanities fields, and in the number of enrollments in undergraduate humanities courses.

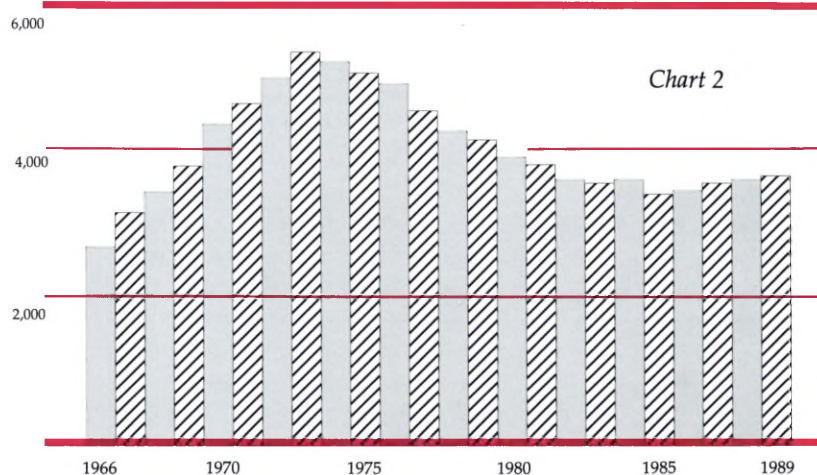
The decline in degrees had been steep: Between 1971 and 1981, the number of bachelor's degrees awarded in the humanities fell 52 percent (see Chart 1); doctorates in the humanities over the period 1973-83 declined 35 percent (see Chart 2). The fall-off in bachelor's degrees in the humanities was particularly noticeable when measured against the number of bachelor's degrees as a whole, which was increasing by 11 percent over the ten-year period. On the doctoral level, the shrinkage in the number of those earning advanced degrees in the humanities was occurring as the overall number of doctorates was holding steady. But by the mid-eighties, the situation had altered:

Jeffrey Thomas is the assistant director for humanities studies in the Office of Planning and Budget.

HUMANITIES BACHELOR'S DEGREES



HUMANITIES DOCTORATES



Data in Charts 1-3 are from three sources: (1) the Department of Education's higher education surveys; (2) the National Research Council's Survey of Earned Doctorates; and (3) Westat's Undergraduate Course Offerings and Enrollments in Humanities. The National Research Council and Westat surveys receive support from NEH.

Undergraduate degrees in the humanities began inching upward again and graduate-degree production steadied.

Enrollments Stable in the 1980s

NEH periodically collects undergraduate enrollment information on se-

lected humanities subjects. As with earned degrees, the recent pattern is one of stability. In fact, the only statistically significant changes in enrollments occurred in two-year colleges, where enrollments in both philosophy and remedial/developmental composition increased over

the period 1980–1988 (see Chart 3). Perhaps more surprising is the share of all undergraduate humanities enrollments captured by two-year colleges—30 per cent of all such enrollments in the fall of 1988.

Nonacademic Employment Up

Between 1977 and 1989 the number of employed humanities Ph.D.s, both academic and nonacademic, increased by 51 percent, from 58,400 to 88,400. Over these twelve years, the proportion of people with humanities doctorates working in nonacademic settings increased by nearly 10 percent, in part reflecting the inability of academic institutions to absorb the large number of those awarded doctorates in the 1970s (see Table 1). A substantial population of doctorate recipients—almost 17,000 in 1989—were working in such settings as businesses, museums, foundations, and government agencies.

Whether by choice or because of the continued tightness in the academic job market in the 1980s, those who earned doctorates between 1983 and 1988 in such fields as history and philosophy were especially likely to look beyond the academy (see Table 2). Conversely, those receiving doctorates in languages and literatures are employed in academic work, with almost nine in ten recent English Ph.D.s choosing educational settings. □

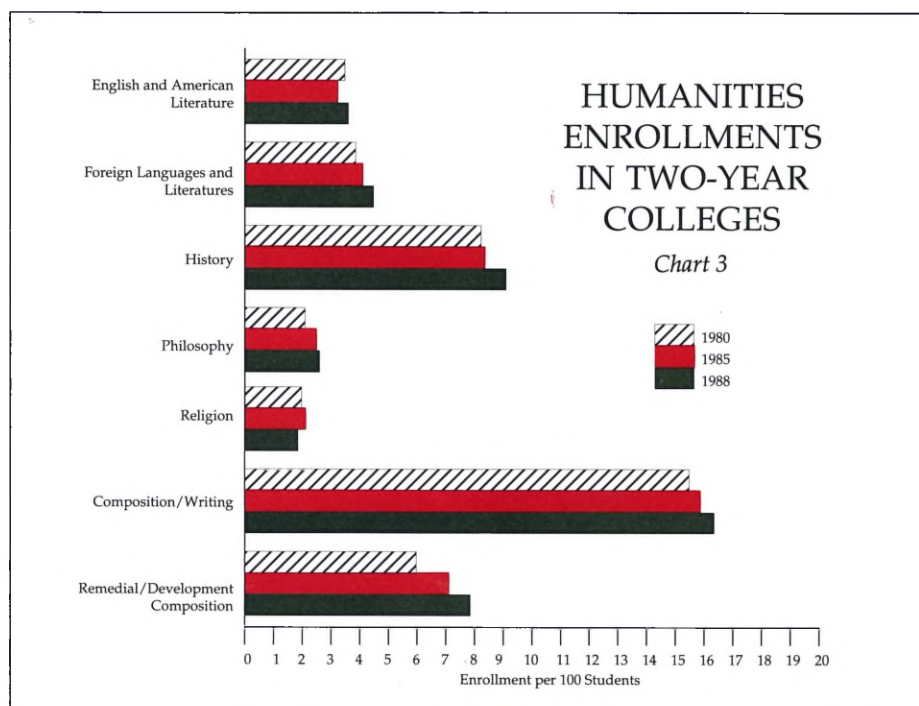


TABLE 1: Type of Employer of Humanities Ph.D.s, Time-series: 1977–1989
in percent

Type of Employer	1989	1987	1985	1983	1981	1979	1977
Employed Population*	88,400	84,200	81,600	75,500	70,400	63,700	58,400
Educational Institution	81.0	81.0	82.3	82.9	85.3	86.3	89.9
4-Year Coll/Univ/Med School	73.4	73.0	74.3	74.8	77.6	79.3	82.4
2-Year College	4.6	4.9	5.1	5.1	4.9	4.3	5.1
Elem/Secondary School	3.1	3.2	2.9	3.0	2.8	2.6	2.4
Business/Industry**	9.8	9.8	8.7	8.8	6.5	5.4	3.2
U.S. Government	2.7	2.1	2.4	2.1	2.2	1.8	1.7
State/Local Government	1.1	1.1	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.0	0.8
Nonprofit Organization	5.1	5.5	4.6	4.2	3.7	4.5	3.5
No Report	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.9	0.7

*Includes those employed full-time or part-time.

**Includes those who were self-employed.

NOTE: Percentages for those reporting "other" types of employers, 0.3 percent of the total for all fields combined, are not included in this table; therefore, totals may not add to 100 percent.

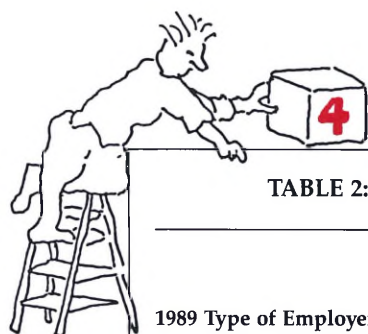


TABLE 2: Type of Employer of Humanities PH.D.s. (1983–1988 Graduates) by Field of Doctorate, 1989
in percent

1989 Type of Employer	All Fields	American History	Other History	Art History	Music	Speech/Theater	Philos.	Eng./Amer. Lang. & Lit.	Classical Lang. & Lit.	Modern Lang. & Lit.	Other Humanities
Employed Population*	16,458	1,084	1,421	684	2,376	743	1,072	3,482	230	2,759	2,607
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Educational Institution	81.9	82.1	79.0	75.6	77.4	82.9	82.3	89.7	92.2	87.9	70.9
4-Year Coll/Univ/Med Sch.	73.7	69.9	76.6	73.4	70.1	75.8	71.2	78.4	80.4	78.9	65.5
2-Year College	4.1	4.4	2.5	1.5	2.7	6.2	8.3	5.5		4.6	2.3
Elem/Secondary School	4.1	7.7		.7	4.6	.9	2.8	5.8	11.7	4.4	3.1
Business/Industry**	9.1	2.1	5.3	5.3	13.6	10.4	8.9	6.0	6.5	6.5	17.8
U.S. Government	2.5	4.4	11.2	1.8			4.5			2.3	2.8
State/Local Government	.4	2.1	1.3	1.0			.7			.1	.3
Nonprofit Organization	5.6	6.2	3.2	16.4	8.7	6.7	2.3	4.3	1.3	3.1	7.0
No Report	.2	.3			.3		1.4			.1	

*Includes those employed full-time or part-time.

**Includes those who were self-employed.

NOTE: Percentages for those reporting "other" types of employers are not included in this table; therefore, totals may not add to 100 percent.

Data in Tables 1 and 2 are from the biennial Survey of Doctorate Recipients. As-yet unpublished findings from the 1989 survey are included with published data from earlier surveys, taken from the series entitled Humanities Doctorates in the United States.

OPENING DOORS

BY JAMES S. TURNER

A year ago, fifty-three outstanding teachers were selected to spend a year away from the classroom, a year in which to recharge themselves intellectually and to bring new ideas and enthusiasm back to their elementary and secondary schools. They are the first NEH/Reader's Digest Teacher-Scholars, part of a three-year program underwritten by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the DeWitt and Leila Wallace Foundation.

As these teachers head back to their classrooms this fall, here is what some of them had to say about their year of independent study:

Judith H. Lightfoot, who teaches high school English at Lakeside School in Seattle, Washington, studied nine American poets.

"My big discovery has less to do with information that you simply hand on to students than with a shift in a whole framework of thinking about modern literature," Lightfoot says. "I had the sense that the modernist period began after World War I, when disillusionment set in after the steady progressive rise of optimism during the Victorian period. But recent historians I read have argued that the modernist outlook began around 1890. They suggest that since then we have been a cul-

ture very much under the impact of an accelerated pace of living, a feeling of displacement, and lack of control in the social world.

"What the modernists found was that human beings live in an inhospitable world. The romantics believed that, even if the world was not made to human measure, at least it was possible to create a home in it. I think of Thoreau and Emerson and the nineteenth-century Transcendentalists, who really believed that through the shaping power of the imagination in contact with nature, sometimes a transcendent spirit unifying everything could be found.

"Now the modernists felt a complete disjunction between the individual self and the world, and they included not only society, which had gotten more and more complex and bureaucratic and impersonal, but nature as well. Melville is often considered the first modernist because he looked at that white whale and saw that it wasn't just food, or spirit, but that it could be demonic, or it could be absolute nothingness. That particular kind of pessimism characterizes the modernist period, a sense that the world is not of our making and was not made for us.

"But in the great modernists, you don't usually get any whining or complaining. In fact, the modernists had the feeling that if they could get away from the lofty vagueness and what Ezra Pound called the 'emotional slither' of the genteel tradition, which marked the decline of high romanticism in the nineteenth century, and take words and knock them free, almost as if they were pieces of a sculpture that had become encrusted with barnacles—if they could knock words free of all those barnacles of custom, that you'd get absolutely clean pieces to work with, and then words would change the vision of the people who experienced them. Much of the work of Ezra Pound, William Carlos Williams, Wallace Stevens, and Marianne Moore shows that they saw themselves as freeing language from its encrustations of stale, tired, blinding traditions and conventions, so that the world could be described afresh. And I think that they really believed they could change the world if they succeeded.

"As a teacher, I'm part romantic and part traditionalist. There's this romantic side which really believes that students bring to literature, in latent form, much of what will eventually happen to them in studying it. On the other hand, I have developed this enormous body of knowledge. So I have to hold back much of this knowledge and let students discover some of what I have learned.

"This year has given me confidence that I understand the processes that lead the mind and feelings and language forward in a difficult modernist poem. I can now see what to affirm and how to pull students farther along. In the course on modern American poetry I will teach this fall, I know that if I open the book to a poem I've never seen before, the atmosphere will be one of confident exploration that will take us all somewhere valuable."

James S. Turner is assistant editor of Humanities.





Matt L. Berman teaches grades 3 and 4 at Metairie Park Country Day School in Metairie, Louisiana. His project was philosophy in children's literature.

"My method was to read children's books, annotate them for philosophical concepts covered, and cross-reference them to traditional philosophy and other children's literature," says Berman. "I focused primarily on mainstream children's literature, but I also took the opportunity this year to read several hundred books which are less commonly used as part of classroom reading programs and which are generally less widely known.

"In the vast majority of truly high quality children's books, there seems to be a high correlation between philosophical content and riveting plots. Not only are philosophical concepts introduced, but at least one of them is integral to the plot and moves the story forward. The nature of friendship was the most common theme I found and was most often integral to the story. More surprising were the next three most commonly appearing concepts: the nature of reality, the process of understanding, and death.

"Modern children's literature tends to treat children as if they are intelligent, reasoning creatures who are capable of dealing with open-ended questions, who enjoy wrestling with philosophical thought, and who don't want or need pat answers. Many classics, such as *Treasure Island*, are not very philosoph-

ical, and when they are, tend to be more didactic."

The five most philosophical children's novels that Berman read are *King Matt I*, a Polish novel by Janusz Korczak; *North to Freedom*, a Danish novel by Anne Holm; *The Yearling*, an American novel by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings; *The Never-ending Story*, a German novel by Michael Ende; and *Goodnight, Mr. Tom*, a British novel by Michelle Magorian. Three of them are translations.

"The translations are unusual in interesting ways. Each deals with political philosophy and ethics, themes which are more rare in U.S.-produced books," Berman says. "None didactically promulgates a particular viewpoint, but all contain extended interior monologues as the main characters struggle to grow, learn, and develop their own ideas. These characters provide models of the process of inquiry that rational, thinking people go through as they try to adapt their philosophies to changing and difficult circumstances. Each of the translated novels has an open-ended conclusion, and in none can the main character be considered triumphant by the end of the book. In all of these respects they are unlike the majority of the American books I studied. This is obviously a very small sampling, but these observations do indicate interesting areas for further study.

"One disappointing discovery is that few of the books had the depth and sophistication of thought of which children are quite capable. In discussion, it is not unusual for children spontaneously to recapitulate the ideas of traditional philosophers, but this seemed more rare in the books. I found few instances of thought paralleling those of traditional philosophers. Some of those that do present a developed philosophy, however, become didactic and make too many assumptions. This may explain why some overtly philosophical books, such as *The Little Prince*, are unpopular with children; they perceive that they are not being engaged in a cooperative effort with the author, but instead are being lectured to.

"This project was a survey of current children's literature, and a very incomplete one at that. The wealth of philosophical material in the best children's novels is staggering and worthy of much further study."

Alice H. Price, who teaches English at Lincoln Park High School in Chicago, examined the narrative voice in African-American literature.

"I realized early in my reading that the slave narratives are a genre that is still influencing African-American writings, so it is most important to ground oneself in them in any in-depth study of African-American literature," Price says. "If I could study slave narratives more thoroughly, I would trace the function of songs, for the prominence of song continues from Douglass to DuBois's actual reprinting of snatches of the music itself in *The Souls of Black Folk*.

"In addition to learning about the centrality of music in the literature itself, I have noted that there are



many different approaches to African-American literature and black feminist criticism. For example, Hazel Carby might treat African-American feminism from a cultural/historical point of view, whereas Barbara Johnson would use a more rhetorical deconstructionist reading to critique normative models in psychoanalysis.

"Another scholar, Henry Louis Gates, would stress more generally the African diaspora tradition within the body of African-American writ-

ings, whereas Houston Baker might focus more precisely upon the vernacular blues.

"But the most striking aspect of the criticism for me is to see the connections the scholars make to each other's work. Because this is a relatively new field, it seems that everyone knows everyone else. There seems to be much collegial sharing."

Price attended seminars, art exhibitions, and conferences that tied into her project. She mentions lectures by Gates on the importance of African-American literature in the curriculum, by Barbara Johnson on psychoanalysis and African-American literature, and by James Grossman on his new book, *Land of Hope*, documenting the movement of African-Americans to the North after 1916.

Currently she is involved in a series of fifteen Saturday seminars for Chicago public school teachers titled "Race, Multiethnicity, Literacy," sponsored by the University of Chicago. She will speak about her study in September; in October, she will be talking about slave narratives at the annual conference of the Illinois Association of Teachers of English in Springfield. Price has also been invited to Northeastern Illinois State University to talk with staff about writing curriculum based on her year of reading.

"Many of the eighty-some books I have read could be used in high school classrooms. I plan to use several titles in my own classes and in my after-school seminar series. I would hope that by introducing more literature by African-American authors to my racially mixed classes that I would be able to expose all the students to a variety of histories, life experiences, and opinions. These readings will reflect their own ethnic diversity and that of the city.

"During the past year, I was one of two white students in classes at local colleges. As such, I found myself the outsider. While it was sometimes lonely, it has made me more aware of psychological and racial differences that a classroom cannot always alter. But in attending classes at Columbia College and Roosevelt University, I have seen the success-

ful use of small groups and in-class debates as techniques to bring students together to discuss very controversial and difficult issues. The intimacy of the group, the collegiality of the efforts, and the openness of the debate all suggest the power of having students talk to one another during class time. I think this type of exchange is very valuable in erasing stereotypes."



Alan E. Olds teaches literature at Arvada West High School in Arvada, Colorado. He studied Chinese author Lu Xun, whose literary career spanned the first third of the twentieth century.

"Lu Xun wrote only twenty-six short stories, from the mid-1910s to the mid-1920s, but he is depicted in China as the father of modern Chinese literature," says Olds.

"Confucian society was really insular and self-satisfied," Olds says. "It attempted to explain everything, and if something new came along, you just fit it into what already existed. Mathematics, science, or any of the practical arts were considered unworthy of formal study."

As a member of the Confucian intelligentsia, Lu Xun was painfully aware that China, taken over by foreign traders, saddled with indemnities, and plagued with opium addiction and wars, had lost its position in the world. In hopes of restoring China's and their own power and sense of self-worth, the young

intellectuals turned to Western schools and the study of science.

"While studying medicine in Japan in 1902, Lu Xun realized it wasn't China's physical being that needed medical attention, it was its spiritual being," says Olds. "At that point he resolved to create a revolution through literature, and that was the beginning of his literary career."

"He was the first Chinese author to incorporate foreign forms to create a new fiction that was consistent with the modern world," Olds explains. "As part of the May Fourth movement of 1919, he urged the use of the vernacular for the writing of fiction and essays instead of the formal, classical Chinese. He wanted the intellectuals to make connections with the people rather than set themselves apart."

Olds learned enough Mandarin Chinese at the University of Colorado and on his own over the past year to be able to converse, and last January he spent two weeks in Taiwan pursuing his Chinese studies. "There are scores of articles in Chinese journals on Lu Xun right through the sixties and seventies, whereas a lot of good writers disappeared because their politics weren't right. His weren't necessarily right either, but Mao liked him and that was enough."

As an experiment, Olds returned to his school for three weeks last spring to teach. "I picked five modern Chinese short stories, starting with one by Lu Xun, who represents China's step into the modern age in the 1920s," says Olds. "My goal was for the students to read those stories with something other than Western eyes, and that's tough, because what you understand is what you bring to the story from your own cultural perspective. I want the students first of all to respect a culture that's different from their own. It's all too easy to be biased against China based on current events, but there's much more to China than that."

He showed slides of his trip, taught them to say a few Chinese words, and had them practice writing several Chinese characters to glimpse the aesthetics.

He also introduced them to *Chinese Lives*, a collection of interviews with ordinary people made by two Chinese students who traveled all over China in the 1980s. "I had every student read a different one of these interviews, summarize it for the class, and then talk about something in it that they couldn't understand, or something new about the Chinese experience that this person revealed to them," Olds says. "It's a fabulous way for students to deal with a primary source; after all, real life is a matter of listening to people's voices and deciding how to react."

"I think that one of the reasons we avoid learning about the Orient in the West is because it is so different," Olds suggests. "In China, people simply don't think the same as we do. For me, Lu Xun is an outstanding entrance point into Chinese thought, because he stood right between the past and the present. In order to understand who he was, I had to learn something about China's past. And to understand his impact on the present, I had to trace his concerns through the nationalist decade and the Hunan period, through the Communist regime right to the present. What I learned is that his concerns in 1919 were the same as those in China today. They're still dealing with the issue of how to preserve a rich tradition in a world of pressing concerns."

Susan G. Meeker, who teaches seventh- through twelfth-grade history and social studies at Hunter College High School in New York City, studied the antebellum South, 1830 to 1860.

"My research confirms what I suspected—that you can't talk about the South or the slave community very easily," says Meeker. "You have to talk about different sections of the South and about different levels of society."

An example is the distinction between the gang and the task systems of slave labor. "The cotton plantations relied on mass gangs of slaves who worked across the fields from dawn until dark," Meeker says.

"They were told when to start and when to stop, and by the end of the day they just collapsed. They had little opportunity to control their lives."

"But in the low country of South Carolina and Georgia, where the rice plantations were, evidence indicates that the slaves developed a much greater sense of self-regulation. Work was divided into tasks according to physical ability. Once a slave



finished his or her task, the rest of the day was free. Not only were the slaves more accountable for their own tasks, but they could make decisions on how to govern their time, and lively slave economies based on barter evolved."

In addition to reading such classics as Wilbur J. Cash's *The Mind of the South* and Vernon L. Parrington's *Main Currents of American Thought*, Meeker found that some of her most valuable days were spent discovering recent interpretations of the antebellum period in scholarly journals. "There is a time lag of nearly twenty years between publication of new interpretations and their inclusion in standard texts," she says. "This is especially true of the institution of slavery and slave communities."

She has also become wary of simplistic interpretations of the party structure in the South. "We tend to think of the South as the continuing bastion of the Democratic party from Jefferson to F. D. R., but my research has given me a clear picture of a vital two-party system in the South in the 1830s and 1840s," says Meeker. "Our twentieth-century terminology of 'liberal' and 'conservative' just

doesn't work in describing these complicated party divisions. Issues such as banking, tariffs, and nullification fostered a strong Whig party in the South, especially in the banking and business community. Only in the 1850s did slavery force a division between the so-called Cotton and Conscience Whigs."

The concept of democracy posed a maddening obstacle for the apologists of slavery in the South, says Meeker. "America's philosophical debt to John Locke, and thus to natural rights and the social contract, was a real problem for John C. Calhoun and others. What emerged in the South was a rejection of Locke and Jefferson, and acceptance instead of a more Hobbesian view of man's nature."

"Calhoun and others proposed that democracy was possible only in a society that recognized inequality as a law of nature, but one in which the capable would tend to the common good. Only with slavery could the rest of society be free to develop its talent."

In one sense, Meeker's research over the past year poses some problems. "In the sections of the U.S. history course that I teach, I don't know how I'm ever going to move through the first half of the nineteenth century with any speed, now that I see all the complexities that require elaboration," says Meeker. "But I have the ability now to steer my students to books that can help them find what they're looking for."

"I've been teaching long enough to feel very comfortable saying to my class, 'I don't know.' Now it's going to be wonderful to be able to say, 'I'm glad you asked!'" □

The NEH/Reader's Digest Teacher-Scholar Program provides sabbatical stipends of up to \$27,500 to fifty-three elementary and secondary teachers, selected from each of the fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The program is receiving \$1 million through the Division of Education Programs and \$500,000 through the DeWitt and Leila Wallace Foundation in each of the fiscal years 1989, 1990, and 1991.

THE GUIDE

FOR THOSE WHO ARE
THINKING OF APPLYING
FOR AN NEH GRANT

Applying for an Editions Grant

THE ENDOWMENT'S EDITIONS category provides support for scholars to edit and prepare for publication important texts and documents in any field of the humanities. Typical Editions grants range from \$25,000 to \$100,000 per year, depending on the size and complexity of the project, for periods of up to three years. Current work funded in the Editions category includes a multivolume edition of the papers of George Washington, the complete writings of Herman Melville, the works of Giuseppe Verdi, and the correspondence of Marcel Proust.

An Editions application consists of several parts: a short statement of the significance and impact of the project; a narrative description of the project's nature and history, staff, editorial methodology, plan of work, and form of publication; actual samples of the editors' work; a project budget; and supporting documentation.

Although careful and thorough preparation of all parts of an Editions application is important to success, the following aspects are most crucial:

Significance and Need. The Endowment supports projects on subjects of significance. An applicant should therefore demonstrate the importance of the proposed project to the humanities as a whole as well as to the specialist field. In addressing the question of significance, the applicant should be as concrete as possible about the potential audience for the edition and the ways in which it will affect future scholarship as well as general knowl-

BY DOUGLAS M. ARNOLD

edge and understanding. The applicant must also show how the proposed edition will fill a need by making available materials that have been previously inaccessible or that have existed only in seriously flawed editions. Although many of the editions supported by the category are used primarily by research scholars, the Endowment is always interested in projects that have the potential to appeal to students, teachers, or a wide public audience.

Methodology. Editing is an enterprise of care and precision, and the section of the application dealing with methodology deserves particular attention. Modern standards of editing in all fields of the humanities have become increasingly sophisticated, while the great variety of texts and documents of current interest to scholars presents a correspondingly great variety of editorial challenges. The applicant should demonstrate an understanding of general editorial standards, as well as of the special needs of the material he or she proposes to edit. Among the matters requiring clear and detailed discussion in this section are the following: How will the texts or documents to be included in the edition be collected and organized? If the proposed work is a complete edition, why does the subject warrant this type of inclusive treatment? If the proposed work is a selective edition, by what criteria will the selection be made? By what methods will the materials be transcribed and how will the accuracy of the transcriptions be verified? How do the editors propose to handle vari-

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Because of the complex nature of many editorial projects—and the resulting complexity of many Editions applications and budgets—it is recommended that applicants first contact a member of the Editions staff for advice and then submit a draft of the proposal six to eight weeks in advance of the deadline for comment.

The next deadline for the Editions category is June 1, 1991. For application materials and further information, write or call the Texts program, NEH Division of Research Programs, Room 318, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506; 202/786-0207. □

Douglas M. Arnold is program officer for Editions in the Division of Research Programs.

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Matthew D. Ramsey: Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, *The Development of Professional Monopoly in French Medicine, 1770–1830*

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Zachary S. Schiffman: Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago, *On the Threshold of Modernity: Relativism in the French Renaissance*

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Laura M. Thorn: Northwestern State University of Louisiana, Natchitoches, *Cammie Henry as Patron of Louisiana Artists*

Mark E. VanDerWeide: University of Iowa, Iowa City, *The Idea of the Sublime in Edmund Burke's Reflections*

Regina D. Weaver: Goshen College, Indiana, *The Cathleen ni Houlihan Archetype in Modern Irish Poetry*

Anna D. Wilde: Beloit Memorial High School, WI, *Black-Jewish Relations and Civil Rights in Beloit, Wisconsin, 1955–65*

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Edward Friedman: University of Wisconsin, Madison, *Democratization in Leninist States*

Mark Krupnick: University of Illinois, Chicago, *Jewish-American Writing since 1945*

Carroll W. Pursell: Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, OH, *The Role of Technology in American History*

Michael Shapiro: Brown University, Providence, RI, *Semiotic Perspectives on Language and Verbal Art*

Kathryn K. Sklar: SUNY Research Foundation/Binghamton, NY, *The History of American Women through Social Movements, 1800–1930*

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Susan C. Hale: Texas A&M University, College Station, *Imaginary Numbers and the Justification of Mathematical Ontology*
Sergei Kan: Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, *A Comparative Ethnohistory of Tlingit/Christian Encounter in Southeastern Alaska, 1830–1980*
Richard D. McKirahan: Pomona College, Claremont, CA, *Principles and Proofs: Aristotle's Theory of Demonstrative Science*
Jill L. Norgren: CUNY Research Foundation/John Jay College, New York City, *Attorneys in 19th-Century American Indian Litigation*
David M. Ricci: Hebrew University, Israel, *The Rise of Washington Think Tanks*
S. Paul Rice: Coastal Carolina Community College, Conway, SC, *Alexander L. Posey: The Place of His Poetry in the 19th-Century American Indian Canon*
Laurie J. Sears: University of Washington, Seattle, *The Organization of Knowledge in the Early 20th-Century Dutch Indies Press*
Paul Russell Spickard: Capital University, Columbus, OH, *The Migration of Blacks to Los Angeles, 1930–55*
Orlan J. Svingen: Washington State University, Pullman, *Scholars' Treatment of Pawnee Skeletal Remains: A Historical Study*

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James A. Miller: Trinity College, Hartford, CT, *Four Classic Afro-American Novels*
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David M. Anderson: Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA, *The Fragility of Civilization in Conrad and Koestler*

David C. Art: Lincoln-Sudbury Regional High School, MA, *Time in the Works of William Faulkner*

Emilio R. Baez Rivera: University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, *Jorge Luis Borges as a Mystical Writer*

Samuel E. Baker: Columbia University, New York City, *Evading and Confronting the Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*

Jackolyn L. Barnhouse: University of Arkansas, Little Rock, *The Shape of Alexander Pope's Career*

William F. Bradley: College Preparatory School, Oakland, CA, *James Joyce and Authority*

Peter A. Campbell: University of Detroit Jesuit High School, MI, *The Beat Generation: Life into Art*

Ashley M. Chappell: University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, *Baudelaire's Poetry Measured by His Aesthetic Theory*

Thomas A. Colley: Hillsboro Comprehensive High School, Nashville, TN, *The Relationship of Dante's Inferno to Book 6 of the Aeneid*

Carla H. Croissant: University High School, Normal, IL, *Dostoyevski: Storyteller or Social Chronicler?*

Maureen F. Curtin: Manhattan College, Bronx, NY, *Egyptian Mythology in Ulysses: A Textual Reality?*

Serena Davila: Bloomington High School North, IN, *Literary Authority in the Works of Isabel Allende*

Thomas J. Davis: Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, *Olson's Maximus: Time and History in Gloucester*

Richard J. Dircks: Chaminade High School, Mineola, NY, *A Study of G.B. Shaw's Social Thought*

Claire A. Dumas: Roeper City and Country School, Bloomfield Hills, MI, *Kafka's Spirituality: An Introductory Analysis of Its Aesthetic Relevance*

Kristen L. Fresonke: Columbia University, New York City, *Charles B. Brown's Wieland and Marbury v. Madison: Law and Letters in the Early Republic*

Antonia R. Fusco: New School for Social Research, New York City, *The Art and Psychology of D.H. Lawrence*

Laurel F. Graham: University of Rochester, NY, *The Classics' Design for Women*

Elizabeth A. Green: Winona Senior High School, MN, *From Comedia to Play: The Effects of Translation on Lope de Vega's Peribanez*

Jennifer L. Hanson: Monona Grove High School, WI, *A Profile in Song: Music in the Work of James Joyce*

Ashleigh S. Imus: New York University, NY, *Stylistic Foundations in Dante's Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso*

Samantha A. Jones: St. Ursula Academy, Cincinnati, OH, *The Effect of Exploration on English Renaissance Drama*

Gavin B. Kelly: Urban School of San Francisco, CA, *The Development of Dostoyevski's Attempt to Reconcile Freedom and Faith*

Katharina B. Kietzmann: Notre Dame College, Cleveland, OH, *Nineteenth-Century Female Archetypes: A Comparison of Two Novels*

Sandra L. Lawrence: Humboldt State University, Arcata, CA, *Gendered Responses in 19th-Century British Industrial Fiction*

Daryl P. Lee: Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, *The Role of Aristocratic Women in Postrevolutionary France*

Sara E. Levin: Reed College, Portland, OR, *An Investigation of Anna Akhmatova's Memoiristic Prose*

Heide R. Li: Punahou School, Honolulu, HI, *The Ship as a Microcosm in Melville and Conrad*

Olga Litvak: Columbia University, New York City, *The Outcast as Hero in Shakespeare, Scott, and George Eliot*

Michelle L. Lounibos: University of the Pacific, Stockton, CA, *Kora in Context: William Carlos Williams and His Circle, 1920–34*

Peter J. Morris: Haverford School, PA, *Henry James and the International Theme*

John L. Newsome: Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School, MD, *The Writings of Ana Maria Matute*

John E. Nilsson: Duke University, Durham, NC, *Isolation and Alienation in the Modern Animal Tale*

Colleen C. O'Brien: Le Moyne College, Syracuse, NY, *Black Consciousness Poetry in South Africa*

Keir Pryde Paterson: Central High School, Philadelphia, PA, *The Emerging American Character in the Works of Early American Humorists*

Wayne W. Plasha: Columbia University, New York City, *New Perspectives on the Self and Faulkner's Light in August*

Julie N. Rubaud: University of Vermont, Burlington, *The Idea of Community in Milton: From Pamphlet to Epic*

Rebecca L. Seaman: Hume-Fogg Academic High School, Nashville, TN, *The Influence of Catullus on Millay's Fatal Interview*

William C. Stull: Haverford School, PA, *Social Criticism in the Victorian Novel: Thackeray, Dickens, and Eliot*

Corey Benjamin Todaro: Jesuit High School, New Orleans, LA, *William Wordsworth's Autobiographical Poem: A Study of The Prelude*

Claus E. Von Zastrow: Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, *The German and English Bildungsroman: Goethe, Keller, Lawrence, Mann, and Lessing*

Matthew D. Wagner: Kent State University, OH, *The Tragic Nature of Shakespeare's First Tetralogy*

Alan N. Walkow: Columbia University, New York City, *A Study of the Jonah Story and Its Related Literature*

Adam J. Wasson: Carleton College, Northfield, MN, *Swift's Divergence from the Classical Tradition of Satire*

Stephen E. White: Columbia University, New York City, *Political and Verbal Representations in Shakespeare's History Plays*

SUMMER SEMINARS FOR COLLEGE TEACHERS

Stuart A. Curran: University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, *Women and Men Poets in British Romanticism*

William W. Hallo: Yale University, New Haven, CT, *The Bible in the Light of Cuneiform Literature*

Javier S. Herrero: University of Virginia, Charlottesville, *Structuralism after Poststructuralism: Author, Text, and Context in Lorca, Dali, and Bunuel*

Charles Molesworth: CUNY Research Foundation/Queens College, New York City, *American Modernist Poetry*

James Olney: Louisiana State University and A&M College, Baton Rouge, *The Forms of Autobiography*

Morton D. Paley: University of California, Berkeley, *British Romanticism in an Epoch of Revolution*

Annabel M. Patterson: Middlebury College, VT, *The Theory and Practice of Cultural History: Shakespeare*

Donald E. Pease: Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, *Reconstructing America's Civil Imagination 1845–1900*

Francois Rigolot: Princeton University, NJ, *Modern Critical Theory and French Narrative*

Thomas P. Roche: Princeton University, NJ, *Romance in Dramatic Form: Sidney, Shakespeare, and the English Renaissance*

Enrico M. Santi: Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., *Modern Poetry and Poetics in Latin America, 1880–1980*

Daniel R. Schwarz: Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, *Critical Perspectives on the High Modernist Tradition*

Eric J. Sundquist: University of California, Berkeley, *The Problem of Race in American Literature, 1850–1930*

Richard H. Wendorf: President and Fellows of Harvard College, Cambridge, MA, *Portraiture: Biography, Portrait Painting, and the Representation of Historical Character*

SUMMER STIPENDS

Sandra L. Ballard: Carson-Newman College, Jefferson City, TN, *Harriette Arnow: A Biography*
Alan J. Berkowitz: Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA, *Reclusion in Early and Medieval China*
John D. Bernard: University of Houston-University Park, TX, *Writing in the Age of Print: Studies in Renaissance Literary Authority*
Michael F. Berube: University of Illinois, Urbana, *Melvin Tolson and Thomas Pynchon: The Critical Reception of Their Work*
Edwin Frank Block: Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI, *Victorian Culture and "Dual Consciousness": Some Intersections of Literature and Science*
Mark Bracher: Kent State University, OH, *Identification and Discourse in Lacanian Theory*
Karen M. Canine: Scott Community College, Bettendorf, IA, *William Faulkner and the Blues*
Joseph C. Carroll: University of Missouri, St. Louis, *Literary Relations among Five Victorian Writers: Newman, Arnold, Eliot, Pater, and James*
Michael P. Clark: University of California, Irvine, *Witchcraft, History, and Representation in Colonial New England*
Bonnie Costello: Boston University, MA, *Nature at the Margins in Modern and Contemporary American Poetry*
David G. Cowart: University of South Carolina, Columbia, *Literary Works and the Works on which They Are Based: A Study of Intertextual Relationships*
Susan D. Dean: Bryn Mawr College, PA, *Whitman's Liminality: The Quaker Ground of Leaves of Grass*
Martine M. Debaisieux: University of Wisconsin, Madison, *Subverting Literary Tradition in Preclassical French Prose Narrative: Women and Libertine Writers*
Michele L. Farrell: Duke University, Durham, NC, *The Poetics and Politics of Exoticism in 17th-Century French Theater*
Ann W. Fisher-Wirth: University of Mississippi, University, *Parables of Loss: The Major Novels of Willa Cather*
Blanche H. Gelfant: Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, *American Realism, Rape, and the Law: James T. Farrell's Studs Lonigan*
Susan K. Gillman: University of California, Santa Cruz, *The Black Maternal Melodrama: Racial Identity in Late 19th-Century American Fiction*
Steven R. Goldsmith: University of California, Berkeley, *Unbuilding Jerusalem: The Representation of Apocalypse in the Literature of English Romanticism*
Evlyn Gould: University of Oregon, Eugene, *The Carmen of Prosper Merimee, Georges Bizet, and Carlos Saura: A Comparative Study*
Alessandra Graves: Pennsylvania State University, Delaware Campus, *Media, The Traditional Ballads of Costa Rica*
Roland A. Greene: Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, *Petrarchism, the Renaissance Colonial Enterprise, and New World Modernism*
Elizabeth L. Gregory: University of Houston-University Park, TX, *Robbed of Speech: Quotation and Modern American Poetry*
David P. Haney: Auburn University, Auburn University, AL, *Wordsworth and the Poetics of Incarnation*
Charles L. James: Swarthmore College, PA, *Arna W. Bontemps: A Biographical Study*
Carol E. Johnston: Clemson University, SC, *The Journals of Theodore Parker: The Preparation of a Transcription and Index*
George L. Joseph: Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, NY, *Neither French nor African: Narration in the Fiction of Ousmane Sembene and Camara Laye*
Randall K. Knoper: Lafayette College, Easton, PA, *Mark Twain and Popular Performance*
Jayne E. Lewis: University of California, Los Angeles, *The Aesopic Fable in Neoclassical England*

Almut R. McAuley: Spokane Falls Community College, WA, *East German Poetry: Translations of Selected Works*
Laurie E. Osborne: Oakland University, Rochester, MI, *The Multiple Texts of Twelfth Night*
Judith W. Page: Millsaps College, Jackson, MS, *Wordsworth and the Cultivation of Women*
Ronald E. Pepin: Greater Hartford Community College, CT, *The Satires of Sergardi*
Rosa Perelmuter-Perez: University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, *Idealized Landscapes in the New World Epic*
Fernando O. Reati: University of Alabama, Birmingham, *Authoritarianism and the Rhetoric of Argentine Guerrilla Publications in the 1970s*
Indira S. Satyendra: University of Chicago, IL, *Figurative Language in Chinese Narrative: The Chin P'ing Mei Tz'u Hua*
Haruo Shirane: Columbia University, New York City, *Festive Madness in the Literature of Matsuo Basho, 1644-94*
John O. Silva: CUNY Research Foundation/LaGuardia Community College, Long Island City, NY, *Montemayor's Diana: Tradition and the Individual Talent*
Johanna M. Smith: University of Texas, Arlington, *Literary and Nonliterary Representations of 19th-Century British Working-Class Politics*
Kathleen L. Spencer: Millsaps College, Jackson, MS, *The Discourse of Science and Late Victorian Fantastic Fiction*
Leonard J. Stanton: Louisiana State University and A&M College, Baton Rouge, *The Optina Pustyn' Monastery in the Russian Literary Imagination*
Michael F. Suarez: Le Moyne College, Syracuse, NY, *Dodsley's Collection of Poems and the Making of the 18th-Century English Canon*
Ernest W. Sullivan: Texas Tech University, Lubbock, *John Donne: The Uncollected 17th-Century Printed Verse*
Louis Tremaine: University of Richmond, VA, *Cross-Racial Relationships and the Literary Imagination in Recent South African Fiction*
Akiko Tsuchiya: Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN, *Literary Representation and Self-Reflection in Contemporary Spanish Women's Fiction*
Gauri Viswanathan: Columbia University, New York City, *Conversion and the Colonial Experience: Self-Doubt and Self-Empowerment in Missionary and Indigenous Texts*
Margaret C. Ziolkowski: Miami University, Oxford, OH, *Reimagining the Stalin Era: Recurrent Motifs in Post-Stalinist Literature*

SUMMER SEMINARS FOR SCHOOL TEACHERS

David Cavitch: Tufts University, Medford, MA, *Fiction and Life Histories: Joyce, Lawrence, and Woolf*
Herbert R. Coursen: Bowdoin College, Brunswick, MA, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*
Robert J. Daly: SUNY Research Foundation/Buffalo, NY, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: In Detail and in Context*
Merlin H. Forster: Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, *Fiction of Fictions: Reading Jorge Luis Borges*
Jay L. Halio: University of Delaware, Newark, *Shakespeare: Enacting the Text*
Patrick G. Henry: Whitman College, Walla Walla, WA, *Montaigne's Essays*
Sue Ellen Holbrook: Southern Connecticut State University, New Haven, *Reading Sir Thomas Malory's Arthurian, Le Morte Darthur*
Lewis Kamm: Southeastern Massachusetts University, North Dartmouth, *Balzac and Zola: Esthetics and Ethics*
Robert S. Knapp: Reed College, Portland, OR, *Some Versions of King Lear*
Ulrich C. Knoepfelmacher: Princeton University, NJ, *American and British Children's Classics*
Earle G. Labor: Centenary College of Louisiana, Shreveport, *Jack London: The Major Works*
Albert C. Labriola: Duquesne University, Pitts-

burgh, PA, *Paradise Lost and the Contemporary Reader*
Walter G. Langlois: University of Wyoming, Laramie, *The Novelist André Malraux, Witness to an Age in Crisis: Adventurism, Revolution, and Antifascism*
Douglas N. Leonard: Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, MN, *The Poetry of Emily Dickinson*
Andrew M. McLean: University of Wisconsin, Parkside, Kenosha, *Shakespeare's Henriad: Richard II, First Part of Henry IV, Second Part of Henry IV, Henry V*
August J. Nigro: Kutztown University, PA, *Thomas Hardy and T.S. Eliot: Literature and Landscape*
Gessler M. Nkondo: Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY, *African Poetry and the Modern English Tradition*
Patrick J. O'Donnell: West Virginia University, Morgantown, *Faulkner's Absalom, Absalom!*
John C. Olmsted: Oberlin College, OH, *Novels by 19th-Century British Women*
David M. Robinson: Oregon State University Foundation, Corvallis, *Nature and Society in American Transcendentalism: Emerson, Fuller, and Thoreau*
Patricia Sharpe: Simon's Rock of Bard College, Great Barrington, MA, *Women and Fiction: Austen, Bronte, Woolf, Hurston, and Walker*
Lisa M. Steinman: Reed College, Portland, OR, *The Place of Poetry in Modern America: Williams, Stevens, and Moore*
Marcel Tetel: Duke University, Durham, NC, *French Renaissance Humanism: Rabelais, Marguerite of Navarre, Montaigne*
Mary Ann F. Witt: North Carolina State University, Raleigh, *Theatricality and Reality in Modern European Drama*

Philosophy

UNIVERSITY TEACHERS

Jonathan F. Bennett: Syracuse University, NY, *Consequentialist Theories of Morality*
Gerald Dworkin: University of Illinois, Chicago, *Autonomy and the Enforcement of Values*
Daniel M. Farrell: Ohio State University, Columbus, *The Justification of Deterrent Violence*
David J. Furley: Princeton University, NJ, *History of Graeco-Roman Cosmology*
Terence H. Irwin: Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, *The Development of Ethics*
Charles H. Kahn: University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, *Plato and the Creation of the Socratic Dialogue*
Saul A. Kripke: Princeton University, NJ, *A Theory of Truth*
Jefferson A. McMahan: University of Illinois, Urbana, *The Ethics of War and Nuclear Deterrence*
Thomas W. Pogge: Columbia University, New York City, *Moral Incentives*
Hilary Putnam: Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, *The Relevance of Pragmatism: A New Look at James*
Richard Rorty: University of Virginia, Charlottesville, *A Study of Dewey's Intellectual Development*
Susan Marie Sauve: Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, *Aristotle on Moral Responsibility*
Richard M. Shusterman: Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, *Art, Theory, Praxis: Pragmatist Aesthetics for Postmodern Conditions*
Kendall Lewis Walton: University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, *A Philosophical Study of Purist Conceptions of Music*

COLLEGE TEACHERS AND INDEPENDENT SCHOLARS

Jonathan E. Adler: CUNY Research Foundation/Brooklyn College, NY, *Intuitive and Critical Thinking in Utilitarianism*

John P. Christman: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, *Equal Property: Egalitarianism and the Justification of Private Property*

David J. Depew: California State University-Fullerton Foundation, *Biology, Politics, and Philosophy in Aristotle's Politics*

Martin J. Donougho: University of South Carolina, Columbia, *Hegel's Philosophy of Art*

Gary B. Ferngren: Oregon State University Foundation, Corvallis, *The History of the Concept of the Sanctity of Life in the Ancient World*

Helen S. Lang: Trinity College, Hartford, CT, *The Writing and Rhetoric of Science: The Tradition of Aristotle's Physics*

Joseph Levine: North Carolina State University, Raleigh, *The Mind's Place: Conceptions of Consciousness*

Timothy D. Roche: Memphis State University, TN, *Aristotle's Method of Argument in the Nicomachean Ethics*

Henry Rosemont, Jr.: Saint Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City, *Classical Confucianism and Contemporary Ethics*

Stephen E. Rosenbaum: Illinois State University, Normal, *Epicurus's View of Death and Contemporary Moral Life*

Thomas E. Wartenberg: Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, MA, *Hegel's Phenomenology and the Traditions of Philosophy*

Roslyn E. Weiss: University of Delaware, Newark, *Socrates on the Teachability of Virtue*

YOUNGER SCHOLARS

Joel B. Ard: Linn-Mar High School, Marion, IA, *Bertrand Russell: A Philosopher's Life*

Heather D. Battaly: University of Vermont, Burlington, *Functionalism and the Identity Theory: Which is More Reasonable?*

Kerstin W. Byorn: Hope College, Holland, MI, *Philosophical Consistency in Seneca's Essays and Tragedies*

Michael W. Cole: Williams College, Williamstown, MA, *Remoteness in the Aristotelian Virtues*

Bram E. Duchovnay: The Bolles School, Jacksonville, FL, *Authenticity and Society in Heidegger, Sartre, and Percy*

Byron S. Estep: Yale University, New Haven, CT, *Kant, Peirce, and Pragmatism*

Scott G. Gettman: Stetson University, Deland, FL, *Self and Society in the Novels of Sartre and Camus*

Richard R. Hoffman, Jr.: Washington University, St. Louis, MO, *Paul Feyerabend's Theory of Meaning*

Barbara A. Izzo: University of Notre Dame, IN, *Jean-Paul Sartre's Attitude towards Male-Female Relationships*

Jean O. McDowell: Agnes Scott College, Decatur, GA, *Bioethics, Utilitarianism, and Mill*

Gregory Robert Mulhauser: Willamette University, Salem, OR, *Chaos Theory and the Idea of Human Freedom*

James V. Pryor: Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, *Plato's Analysis of Perception in the Theaetetus*

Maria T. Rhombert: University of Notre Dame, IN, *Law and Virtue: St. Thomas Aquinas's Summa Theologica*

Mary B. Small: Steinmetz Academic Centre, Chicago, *The Meaning of Socrates' Death: A Personal Quest for Resolution*

Douglas G. Smith: SUNY Research Foundation/ Buffalo, NY, *Moral Criteria in the Determination of Beliefs: A Critique of Meiland*

Laura M. Stevens: Villanova University, PA, *Hans-Georg Gadamer's Hermeneutics and the Poetry of Seamus Heaney*

Richard M. Swartz: Washburn Rural High School, Topeka, KS, *An Ethics for the Reasoning State*

SUMMER SEMINARS FOR COLLEGE TEACHERS

Jonathan F. Bennett: Syracuse University, NY, *Consequentialist Theories of Morality*

Gerald Dworkin: University of Illinois, Chicago, *The Nature and Value of Autonomy*

Peter A. French: Trinity University, San Antonio, TX, *The Spectrum of Responsibility*

Jaegwon Kim: Brown University, Providence, RI, *Supervenience and Its Philosophical Applications*

Huston Smith: Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, CA, *Metaphysics and the Great Chain of Being: A Cross-Cultural Inquiry*

Gregory Vlastos: University of California, Berkeley, *The Philosophy of Socrates*

Merold E. Westphal: Fordham University, Bronx, NY, *Religion and Society in Hegel, Marx, and Kierkegaard*

SUMMER STIPENDS

Harold I. Brown: Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, *Causal Necessity: The Views of Wilfrid Sellars*

Joshua Cohen: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, *The Moral Arc of the Universe: An Examination of Ethical Explanations for the Demise of Slavery*

Eve Browning Cole: University of Minnesota, Duluth, *The Soul of the Beast in Greek Moral Philosophy*

Ellery T. Eells: University of Wisconsin, Madison, *Explaining Events: Philosophical Models of Explanation*

Lewis S. Ford: Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA, *Transforming Theism: Six Whiteheadian Concepts of God*

Jorge L. Garcia: Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., *Virtues as the Basis of Ethics*

Louis F. Goble: Willamette University, Salem, OR, *The Logic of Obligation: A Philosophical Investigation*

Jeffrey L. Hoover: Coe College, Cedar Rapids, IA, *Friedrich Schleiermacher's Various Lecture Series on the State: A Comparative Analysis*

E. D. Klemke: Iowa State University, Ames, *The Metaphysics of G. E. Moore*

George Klosko: University of Virginia, Charlottesville, *Rawls and Political Obligation*

Michael Losonsky: Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, *Platonic Enthusiasm in Leibniz's Philosophy of Language and Meaning*

Richard R. McCarty: East Carolina University, Greenville, NC, *Kant's Aesthetic of Morals*

Robert N. McCauley: Emory University, Atlanta, GA, *Intertheoretic Relations in Science and Their Implications for the Status of Psychology*

Richard B. Miller: Indiana University, Bloomington, *The Moral Problem of War and the Traditions of Pacifism and Just-War Theory*

Georgia C. Warnke: Yale University, New Haven, CT, *Justice and Interpretation: The Hermeneutic Turn in Political Philosophy*

Takashi Yagisawa: California State University, Northridge Foundation, *Metaphysical Access to Particulars through Proper Names*

SUMMER SEMINARS FOR SCHOOL TEACHERS

Eugene Garver: Saint John's University, Collegeville, MN, *Machiavelli's The Prince*

Religion

UNIVERSITY TEACHERS

James L. Crenshaw: Duke University, Durham, NC, *The Acquisition of Knowledge and Its Dissemination in Ancient Israelite Wisdom Literature*

John Stratton Hawley: Barnard College, New York City, *The New Hindu Consciousness*

Gordon D. Kaufman: Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, *A Biohistorical Theology*

Carol L. Meyers: Duke University, Durham, NC, *State Formation and the Status of Women in Biblical Israel*

Robert A. Orsi: Indiana University, Bloomington, *Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of Hopeless Cases, 1929-65*

Susan E. Schreiner: University of Chicago, IL, *Calvin's Sermons on Job: Protestant Reformer, Genevan Audience, and the Medieval Interpretive Tradition*

Steven M. Tipton: Emory University, Atlanta, GA, *Public Pulpits: Institutional Religion and Visionary Politics*

Frank R. Trombley: University of California, Los Angeles, *The Transformation of Greek Religion in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Period, 500-1500*

COLLEGE TEACHERS AND INDEPENDENT SCHOLARS

David G. Hunter: College of Saint Thomas, St. Paul, MN, *Asceticism and Heresy in the Late Fourth Century*

Susan R. Niditch: Amherst College, MA, *The Ideology of Sacrifice in Ancient Israel*

Paula S. Richman: Oberlin College, OH, *Tamil Religious Poetry*

HBCU GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS

Kathleen M. Gaffney: Xavier University of Louisiana, New Orleans, *History and Theology*

YOUNGER SCHOLARS

Aaron F. Adams: Los Alamos High School, NM, *The Hero's Journey: Plato and Joseph Campbell*

Richard L. Blitstein: Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, *Wrathful Deities in Hinduism and Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*

Catherine F. Sarther: Carl Sandburg High School, Orland Park, IL, *Abraham and Akhenaten: A Study in the Success and Failure of Monotheism*

Sarah K. Siwicki: Leon High School, Tallahassee, FL, *The Concept of the "Little People" in Celtic Mythology*

SUMMER STIPENDS

Wanda Cizewski: Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI, *The Creation of Woman: Latin Commentaries on the Text of Genesis from Ambrose of Milan to Peter Lombard*

William J. Desmond: Loyola College, Baltimore, MD, *Hegel, Dialectical Thinking, and the Comprehension of Evil*

Douglas A. Foster: David Lipscomb College, Nashville, TN, *Universalism in the Southern United States: A Religious and Intellectual History*

Garrett Green: Connecticut College, New London, J. G. Hamann, 1730-88: *A Defender of Faith in the Age of Reason*

Paul J. Griffiths: University of Notre Dame, IN, *On Being a Buddha: A Study in the Development of Yogacara Buddhist Doctrine*

Michael J. Hollerich: Santa Clara University, CA, *A Critical Study of Erik Peterson's Der Monotheismus als Politisches Problem*

Robert K. Holyer: Arkansas College, Batesville, C. S. Lewis's *View of the Importance of Literature for Religious Belief*

Gerald R. McDermott: Roanoke College, Salem, VA, *The Public Theology of Jonathan Edwards*

Charles D. Orzech: University of NC, Greensboro, *The Sutra for Humane Kings: A Translation*

Michael S. Slusser: Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, PA, *The Traditional Views of Later Arianism: A Historical Overview*

David C. Steinmetz: Duke University, Durham, NC, *Calvin and Paul: The Interpretation of Romans in the 16th Century*

SUMMER SEMINARS FOR SCHOOL TEACHERS

Peter J. Awn: Columbia University, New York City, *The Islamic Vision in Religion and Literature: Four Classical Texts*

Thomas V. Morris: University of Notre Dame, IN, *Pascal's Pensées: Faith, Reason, and the Meaning of Life*
James G. Moseley: Chapman College, Orange, CA, *Winthrop's Journal: Religion, Politics, and Narrative in Early America*
Wolfgang M. W. Roth: Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary, Evanston, IL, *Biblical Narrative: Ruth, Joseph, and Job*
Terrence W. Tilley: Saint Michael's College, Winooski, VT, *Job, Boethius, and J.B.*

Social Science

UNIVERSITY TEACHERS

Richard G. Biernacki: University of Chicago, IL, *The Cultural Construction of Labor in 19th-Century German and British Textile Mills*
George P. Steinmetz: University of Chicago, IL, *A Historical-Sociological Study of the Welfare State in Imperial Germany*
Judith A. Swanson: Boston University, MA, *Aristotle's View of Poetry and Its Political Implications*

COLLEGE TEACHERS AND INDEPENDENT SCHOLARS

Murray S. Davis: Independent Scholar, *Conceptions of Comedy and Society*
Lotte E. Feinberg: CUNY Research Foundation/John Jay College, New York City, *The Freedom of Information Act and the History of Federal Information Policy*
Suzanne D. Jacobitti: Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, *The Political Thought of Hannah Arendt and Liberal Political Theory*
Philip Kasinitz: Williams College, Williamstown, MA, *Red Hook: The Polarization of Urban Neighborhoods and the Origins of the Underclass*
Michael D. MacDonald: Williams College, Williamstown, MA, *White Politics and the Prospects of Reform in South Africa*
Stephen G. Salkever: Bryn Mawr College, PA, *Liberal Authority: How Liberal Theory Obscures the Goods of Liberal Practice*
Carol L. Schmid: Guilford Technical Institute, Jamestown, NC, *The Politics of Language: Group Conflict, Language Rights, and Public Policy in the U.S., Canada, and Switzerland*

YOUNGER SCHOLARS

Michael G. Atkins: Saint John's University, Collegeville, MN, *Tocqueville's Critique of Individualism*
Morgan S. Brown: Carleton College, Northfield, MN, *Rule of Law or Rule of Men: Executive Prerogative in American Politics*
Patrick C. Burkart: Reed College, Portland, OR, *Symbolic Communication, Politics, and Identity Formation*
Leo J. Burrell: Boston University, MA, *The Transformation from Utopia to Dystopia*
Robert W. Donehower: Essex Junction High School, VT, *The Ideal of the Educated Person: Plato, Rousseau, Dewey*
Scott R. Peppet: Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, *Crisis in International Society: Collectively Undesirable Consequences of National Action*
Ariel A. Senseman: John Marshall High School, Los Angeles, CA, *The Founding Fathers' Creation of the Constitution*
Anna Stubblefield: University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Condorcet: *Feminism and Political Theory*
Tami C. Swenson: Carroll College, Waukesha, WI, *Politics as a Vocation: The Ethics of Responsibility and Charismatic Leadership*
Phoebe L. Yang: University of Virginia, Charlottesville, *The Springs of Change in the Communist States of China and Poland*

SUMMER SEMINAR FOR COLLEGE TEACHERS

Donald N. Levine: University of Chicago, IL, *Philosophical Foundations of the Social Sciences*
M. Crawford Young: University of Wisconsin, Madison, *Cultural Pluralism and National Integration in Comparative Perspectives*

SUMMER STIPENDS

Edwin L. Amenta: New York University, NY, *The Townsend Movement and American Old-Age Spending Policies*
Amrita Basu: Amherst College, MA, *Popular Culture, Women's Collective Identities, and Social Change in India*
Charles D. Brockett: University of the South, Seawee, TN, *The Quiet Interlude: U.S. Policy toward Central America, 1955-76*
John B. Christiansen: Gallaudet University, Washington, D.C., *The 1988 "Deaf President Now" Protest at Gallaudet University: A Description and Analysis*
Timothy Fuller: Colorado College, Colorado Springs, *Hobbes and the Rule of Law*
David C. Hendrickson: Colorado College, Colorado Springs, *The Significance of the Union in American History: Nation-Building and Its Legacy*

Jeffrey C. Isaac: Indiana University, Bloomington, *Arendt, Camus, and Postmodern Politics*
Donald B. Kraybill: Elizabethtown College, PA, *Amish, Mennonites, and Brethren in the Quandary of Modernity, 1880-1980*
Mary P. Nichols: Fordham University, Bronx, NY, *Friendship in the Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*
Lydia M. Pulsipher: University of Tennessee, Knoxville, *The Post-Columbian Exchange of Cultures: The Diffusion of Food Plants between the New and the Old Worlds*
Patricia L. Sykes: American University, Washington, D.C., *"Conviction Politicians" and the Creation of a New Public Philosophy*

SUMMER SEMINARS FOR SCHOOL TEACHERS

Harry M. Clor: Kenyon College, Gambier, OH, *Tocqueville on Modern Democracy and Human Well Being*
Walter J. Nicgorski: University of Notre Dame, IN, *Cicero's Moral and Political Aspirations*
Michael J. Palmer: University of Maine, Orono, *The Political Wisdom of Thucydides*
Peter J. Steinberger: Reed College, Portland, OR, *Plato's Republic: The Moral Foundations of Politics*



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Two-Year Colleges—Judith Jeffrey Howard 786-0380	October 1, 1990	April 1, 1991
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Division of Fellowships and Seminars —Guinevere L. Griest, Director 786-0458		
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Fellowships on the Foundations of American Society—Maben D. Herring 786-0466	June 1, 1991	January 1, 1992
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Younger Scholars—Leon Bramson 786-0463	November 1, 1990	June 1, 1991
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Participants	March 1, 1991	Summer 1991
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Distinguished Teaching Professorships	December 1, 1990	December 1, 1990
Office of Preservation —George F. Farr, Jr., Director 786-0570		
National Heritage Preservation Program—Fredric Miller 786-0570	November 1, 1990	July 1991
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Public Humanities Projects—Wilsonia Cherry 786-0271	March 15, 1991	October 1, 1991
Humanities Projects in Libraries—Thomas Phelps 786-0271		
Planning	November 2, 1990	April 1, 1991
Implementation	March 15, 1991	October 1, 1991

Division of Research Programs—Richard Ekman, Director 786-0200

Texts—Margot Backas 786-0207

Editions—Douglas Arnold 786-0207	June 1, 1991	April 1, 1992
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Publication Subvention—Gordon McKinney 786-0207	April 1, 1991	October 1, 1991

Reference Materials—Jane Rosenberg 786-0358

Tools—Helen Agüera 786-0358	September 1, 1991	July 1, 1992
Access—Jane Rosenberg 786-0358	September 1, 1991	July 1, 1992

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Projects—David Wise 786-0210	October 15, 1990	July 1, 1991
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Division of State Programs—Marjorie A. Berlincourt, Director 786-0254

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