

Humanities

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Charles Frankel

THE CHARLES FRANKEL PRIZE



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Recipients of the Charles Frankel Prize: Patricia L. Bates, Daniel J. Boorstin, Willard L. Boyd, Clay S. Jenkinson, and Américo Paredes. (Courtesy of Howard County Library; Library of Congress; © Stuart-Rodgers-Reilly; North Dakota Humanities Council; and University of Texas at Austin)

Humanities

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Editor's Note

In 1780 Abigail Adams had some advice for her young son, John Quincy Adams, who was to become the sixth president of the United States. "Learning is not attained by chance," she wrote the thirteen-year-old, "it must be sought for with ardor and attended to with diligence."

That concern for education in the early days of the republic echoes down to the present. How America's educational needs should be met was the subject of a summit conference called by President Bush this fall in Charlottesville, Virginia. In this issue, *Humanities* publishes excerpts of a new National Endowment for the Humanities report, *50 Hours*, written by NEH Chairman Lynne V. Cheney. The report addresses the role of higher education in providing a common foundation of learning. "When that common learning engages students with their democratic heritage," Cheney writes, "it invites informed participation in our ongoing national conversation: What should a free people value? What should they resist?" The report examines successful programs at a number of colleges and universities, and in looking at these examples, sets forth a core of learning—fifty hours of required study in cultures and civilizations, foreign languages, mathematics, natural sciences, and the social sciences.

This month we honor the first of the Charles Frankel scholars—five individuals who have channeled knowledge of the humanities into public forums. The forums they have chosen are various: from Pulitzer prize-winning author Daniel J. Boorstin, whose histories have been published around the world, to Clay Jenkinson, who has personally taken the humanities on the road, portraying Thomas Jefferson in chautauquas across the Great Plains. The five will receive Frankel Prizes at a White House ceremony in November.

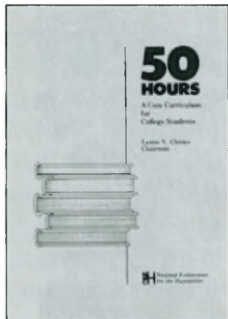
We also look at scholarship on the other side of the world, in the People's Republic of China. Roderick MacFarquhar, director of the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research at Harvard University, raises provocative questions about the future of scholarly exchanges with China in the wake of the Tiananmen Square tragedy. MacFarquhar and his colleagues have been at work on a fifteen-volume Cambridge History of China for the last two decades. A scholar-in-residence at the Fairbank Center, Stuart Schram, who has written three books on Mao, looks at some of the fruits of the recent access to Chinese manuscripts. In his article, "Mao Zedong: The Formative Years," Schram dissects changes in Mao's political thinking in three significant early texts by Mao, including marginal notes in Mao's own writing. Schram writes that Mao's famous maxim, "Political power is obtained from the barrel of a gun," long thought to date from 1938, came eleven years earlier and got Mao into trouble when he acted on his newly realized principle in organizing the Autumn Harvest Uprising. He was censured for "military deviationism" by the Communist party leadership.

—Mary Lou Beatty

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A Core Curriculum for College Students

BY LYNNE V. CHENEY

The quality of American education continues to be a pressing concern. A new report that examines ways of improving the curricula of the nation's colleges and universities was issued this fall by National Endowment for the Humanities Chairman Lynne V. Cheney. This article is excerpted from the report.

WHILE THE MATTER of what should be taught and learned is hardly one on which we should expect easy agreement, the confusion about it on many campuses has seemed extraordinary in recent years. Entering students often find few requirements in place and a plethora of offerings. There are hundreds of courses to choose from, a multitude of ways to combine them to earn a bachelor's degree, and a minimum of direction. In the absence of an ordered plan of study, some undergraduates manage to put together coherent and substantive programs, but others move through college years with little rationale. All too often, as *Humanities in America*, a 1988 report from the National Endowment for the Humanities, noted, it is "luck or accident or uninformed intuition that determines what students do and do not learn."

A recent survey funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities showed that in 1988-89 general education requirements were still so loosely structured that it was possible to graduate from:

- 78 percent of the nation's colleges and universities without ever taking a course in the history of Western civilization;

- 38 percent without taking any course in history at all;
- 45 percent without taking a course in American or English literature;
- 77 percent without studying a foreign language;
- 41 percent without studying mathematics;
- 33 percent without studying natural and physical sciences.

This report, *50 Hours*, is a way of informing colleges engaged in curricular reform about how other schools are managing the task. Its aim is to be specific; its central device for organizing details is an imagined core of studies—fifty semester hours—that would encourage coherent and substantive learning in essential areas of knowledge.

So far as I know, this particular core curriculum does not exist anywhere. Parts of it can be found at different colleges and universities; so can alternatives to both the parts and the whole.

Because it is not the proper role of the federal government to determine a nationwide curriculum, it needs to be emphasized that *50 Hours* is not offered as a single prototype. Instead, it is a way of providing information about various models to indi-

vidual faculties that must decide the undergraduate course of study. *50 Hours* is intended as a resource for the many dedicated and thoughtful men and women across the country who are working to improve undergraduate education. It is meant to support them by placing their individual efforts into a larger context of national questions and concerns.

Administrators, as well as faculty members, often initiate discussions about reform; and this report is also intended for them.

At the same time, I hope that *50 Hours* will help make both prospective college students and their parents aware of matters that should be considered when choosing a college or university. All too often, this important choice is made in terms of vaguely conceived notions of "prestige," when a crucial factor ought to be the specifics of the plan of education offered.

"Abstract statements are always unsatisfactory," John Henry Newman once declared; and in *The Idea of a University*, he time and again provided examples to show what principles mean in practice. It is the goal of this report to do the same.

Why is a core important?

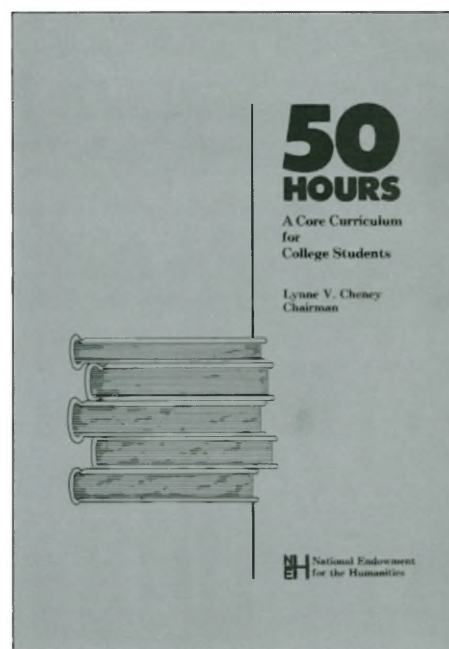
A 1989 survey funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and conducted by the Gallup Organization showed 25 percent of the nation's college seniors unable to locate Columbus's voyage within the correct half-century. About the same percentage could not distinguish Churchill's words from Stalin's, or Karl Marx's thoughts from the ideas of the U.S. Constitution. More than 40 percent could not identify when the Civil War occurred. Most could not identify Magna Carta, the Missouri Compromise, or Reconstruction. Most could not link major works by Plato, Dante, Shakespeare, and Milton with their authors. To the majority of college seniors, Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, Dos-

toevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "Letter from the Birmingham Jail" were clearly unfamiliar.

Education aims at more than acquaintance with dates and places, names and titles. Students should not only know when Columbus sailed but also perceive the world-altering shock of his voyage. They should not only know what Plato wrote but also understand the allegory of the cave. When education is rightly conceived, events and ideas become, in philosopher Michael Oakeshott's words, "invitations to look, to listen and to reflect." But students who approach the end of their college years without knowing basic landmarks of history and thought are unlikely to have reflected on their meaning.

A required course of studies—a core of learning—can ensure that students have opportunities to know the literature, philosophy, institutions, and art of our own and other cultures. A core of learning also invites exploration of mathematics and science, and *50 Hours* includes these fields of inquiry. The National Endowment for the Humanities must be concerned with the literature major who has no understanding of physics as well as with the engineer who graduates without studying history. Both are less prepared than they should be to make the subtle and complex choices today's life demands. Both bring limited perspective to enduring human questions: Where have we come from? Who are we? What is our destiny? Kant struggled for answers in his study; Boyle, in his laboratory. Thoreau, Gauguin, and Einstein took up these questions, approaching them in different ways, but sharing a common goal. All the various branches of human knowledge, as physicist Erwin Schrödinger once observed, have the same objective: "It is to obey the command of the Delphic deity," to honor the ancient injunction, "Know thyself."

To the task of learning about oneself and the world, a required



course of studies can bring needed order and coherence. At one midwestern university, where there is no core, students choose from almost 900 courses, with topics ranging from the history of foreign labor movements to the analysis of daytime soap operas. The result is all too often "a meaningless mosaic of fragments," in naturalist Loren Eiseley's words. "From ape skull to Mayan temple," he wrote, "we contemplate the miscellaneous debris of time like sightseers to whom these mighty fragments, fallen gateways, and sunken galleys convey no present instruction." A core of learning shows the patterns of the mosaic. It provides a context for forming the parts of education into a whole.

A core of learning also encourages community, whether we conceive community small or large. Having some learning in common draws students together—and faculty members as well. When that common learning engages students with their democratic heritage, it invites informed participation in our ongoing national conversation: What should a free people value? What should they resist? What are the limits to freedom, and how are they to be decided?



Courtesy of University of Denver

When students are encouraged to explore the history and thought of cultures different from their own, they gain insight into others with whom they share the earth. They come to understand unfamiliar ideals and traditions—and to see more clearly the characteristics that define their own particular journey.

Is there time in the curriculum for a core?

Almost all colleges and universities have requirements in "general education"—a part of the curriculum that is specified for all undergraduates, regardless of major. The hours set aside for general education are the hours from which a core of learning can be constructed.

The larger and more complex the educational institution, the more difficult it is to commit hours to general education. A school that offers an accredited engineering program has to recognize that few engineering students will be able to graduate in four years if they devote much more than a semester to the humanities and social sciences. Schools offering a bachelor's degree in music must face the demands of the National Association of Schools of Music, an accrediting association that expects students to devote 65 percent of their coursework to studying music.

Nevertheless, even doctorate-granting universities, the most complex institutions of higher education, require, on the average, more than thirty-seven semester hours in general education. For all four-year institutions, the average requirement in general education is fifty-two semester hours. There is time at most schools for a significant core of learning.

As it is now, however, these hours that could be devoted to a core are all too often organized instead into loosely stated "distribution requirements"—mandates that students take some courses in certain areas

and some in others. Long lists of acceptable choices are set out in catalogs. Specialized offerings for the most part, they often have little to do with the broadly conceived learning that should be at the heart of general education. Indeed, some courses seem to have little to do with the areas of human knowledge they are supposed to elucidate. At a public university in the West, it is possible to fulfill humanities requirements with courses in interior design. In 1988–89 at a private university in the East, one could fulfill part of the social science distribution requirement by taking "Lifetime Fitness."

Some core programs do offer choices: Alternative possibilities for mathematics and science are almost universal. Choice within a core can work well, so long as each of the choices fits within a carefully defined framework and aims at broad and integrated learning. The University of Denver's core, for example, offers five, year-long options in the arts and humanities. In one course, "The Making of the Modern Mind," philosophy, literature, music, and art are studied from the Enlightenment to the present. A second course, "Commercial Civilization," emphasizes history, political thought and institutions, and classical economic theory from the origins of capitalism to contemporary times.

Is a core too hard for some students? Too easy for others?

The 1983 report, *A Nation at Risk*, recommended that college-bound high school students take four years of English, three of social studies, science, and mathematics, and two years of foreign language. Students who have completed such a course of studies should be ready to undertake the work required by a program like *50 Hours*. Entering students who lack necessary verbal and mathematical skills should prepare for core work by taking remedial courses.

Such a plan benefits the core and can be of value to remedial programs as well by providing a well-defined goal for teaching and learning. The faculty of the remedial and developmental programs of Brooklyn College of the City University of New York recently dedicated a conference to Brooklyn's core curriculum to recognize its importance for their work.

In *50 Hours*, students are expected to write papers of varying length in every course, including those in science and mathematics. The practice of organizing ideas and presenting them coherently is a useful tool for learning in all subjects. Students who write in every course also come to understand that clear and graceful expression is universally valuable, not merely an arbitrary preoccupation of English departments. Some students who are prepared for core work may still need extra practice in composition. For them, writing-intensive sections of required courses can be designated—as they are at Brandeis and Vanderbilt universities.

Students who come to college well-prepared may have read some of the works assigned in the core. But so long as those works are profound, provocative, and revealing, these students will again be challenged. Indeed, a criterion for choosing works for the core should be that they repay many readings. They should be books that remain fresh, full of power to quicken thought and feeling, no matter how many times we open their pages.

Why is establishing a core curriculum so difficult?

Curricular change has never been easy: Henry Bragdon, writing about Woodrow Wilson's years at Princeton, called it "harder than moving a graveyard." And the way in which higher education has evolved over the last century has complicated the task.

The forces that have come to dominate higher education are centrifugal rather than centripetal, weakening the ties that individual faculty members have to their institutions. As professional advancement has come increasingly to depend on the esteem of other specialists on other campuses, there has been less and less incentive for scholars at any single college or university to identify fully with that institution and the shared efforts necessary for a complicated task like curricular reform.

At the same time, faculty responsibility for the curriculum has grown. If it is to change, the faculty must come together and act for the common purpose of changing it.

The increasingly specialized nature of graduate study is also an impediment. Many Ph.D.'s do not receive the broad preparation necessary to teach courses in general education. Even those who do often step uneasily outside their specialties, concerned that it is unprofessional to teach Dante when one's expertise is Donne. They perceive hours spent teaching in general education—and days consumed devising its courses and curricula—as time away from the labor that the academic system most rewards: research and publication. One young professor called curriculum reform "a black hole," and the time and energy it absorbs are seldom professionally recognized.

Crucial to establishing a core of learning is administrative leadership: college presidents who make general education a priority by putting institutional resources behind it; deans who support those faculty members who are willing to invest the time necessary to develop coherent requirements and seek consensus for them. A recent survey by the American Council on Education suggests that students, parents, alumni, and trustees can also play an important role in encouraging curricular reform: Thirty percent of doctorate-granting institutions that were revising general education requirements



Courtesy of Earlham College



Courtesy of Mount Saint Mary's College

reported that the initiators of reform were people other than faculty or administration members.

Successfully establishing and sustaining a core may well require efforts aimed at encouraging intellectual community. Seminars in which faculty members read together the works to be taught in core courses can create common understandings, while at the same time providing background for teaching. At Rice University in Houston, where extensive curricular reform is under way, faculty members met in day-long sessions for two weeks last spring to discuss works to be taught in the humanities foundation course. A classicist led discussion of the *Iliad*; a philosopher, of Plato's *Republic*; a professor of music, of Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro*.



Courtesy of University of Denver

How should courses in the core be taught?

Every course in the core should be taught with other core courses in mind. Students reading Descartes's philosophy in a Western civilization course should be reminded of his contributions to mathematics. Students reading Darwin in a science class should be encouraged to explore in their social science and humanities courses the ways in which evolutionary theory affected social thought and literature.

An institution's most distinguished faculty should teach in the core. Philosopher Charles Frankel once reported that Philipp Frank, Einstein's biographer and collaborator, expressed surprise on learning that in the United States he would not be allowed to teach elementary courses. In Vienna, where Frank had previously taught, beginning courses were considered the greatest honor—one to be bestowed on only those who had mastered their fields sufficiently to be able to generalize. "But in America," Fran-

kel noted, "we thought that was for fellows who know less. Frank believed not—you had to know more and in fact you had to have lived your field and felt the passion of it . . . to communicate it."

Graduate assistants and non-tenured faculty, to whom much of the responsibility for undergraduate teaching falls today, are often fine instructors. But the stature of general education is diminished when a college or university's most distinguished faculty do not teach in it. The quality of instruction is diminished when they do not bring their learning and experience to it.

Good teaching is crucial to the success of any curriculum, and it can take a multitude of forms. But teachers who inspire their students to intellectual engagement are themselves always engaged. They do not agree with every book or idea they discuss, but they approach them generously, demonstrating that neither agreement nor disagreement is possible until there has been the hard work of understanding. Learning is not a game for them, not simply an intellectual exercise, but an undertaking that compels mind and heart. Recalling his great teachers, Leo Raditsa of St. John's College in Maryland recently described I. A. Richards. "He conceived reading as the cure of souls . . .," Raditsa wrote. "And he included his own soul."

In the core, as throughout the curriculum, courses should be taught by men and women who, though deeply knowledgeable, remain eager to learn. □

50 HOURS AVAILABLE

Single copies of 50 Hours: A Core Curriculum for College Students are available free from the Office of Publications and Public Affairs, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506.

50 HOURS: A Summary

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CULTURES AND CIVILIZATIONS

The Origins of Civilization: a one-semester course that considers the beginnings of civilization on various continents, focusing on significant developments in religion, art, and social organization. Students will read such works as the Babylonian creation myth *Enuma Elish*, the *Gilgamesh* epic, the Code of Hammurabi, the Egyptian *Memphite Theology* and hymn to the Aton, the Hebrew Bible, Homer's *Iliad*, hymns from the Indian *Rig Veda*, the Chinese *Book of Odes*, and the Mayan *Popol Vuh*. Readings will be complemented by a study of artifacts, including religious and civic architecture, iconography, and ancient systems of writing. 3 hours.

Western Civilization: a one-semester course that considers the development of Western society and thought from Periclean Athens through the Reformation. Beginning with such Greek and Roman works as Sophocles' *Antigone*, Plato's *Republic*, Vergil's *Aeneid*, and Thucydides' and Livy's histories, the course moves on to writings of early Christianity: selections from the New Testament and Augustine. Works by authors such as Dante, Chaucer, Machiavelli, Shakespeare, and Cervantes will be read for enduring expressions of thought from the Middle Ages and Renaissance; Luther and Milton, from the Reformation. Works of architecture and art—the Parthenon, the cathedral at Chartres, and the Sistine ceiling—will give visual examples of classic, medieval, and Renaissance aspirations. 3 hours.

Western Civilization (continued): a one-semester course that considers the development of Western society and thought from the Reformation into the twentieth century. Against the historical background of the scientific revolution, the rise of the nation-state, and the growth of democratic institutions, students will read

such authors as Descartes, Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau, Goethe, Wordsworth, and Austen. Continuing on in the nineteenth and into the early twentieth centuries, the course includes work by such authors as Mill, Dickens, Marx, Flaubert, Dostoyevsky, Nietzsche, Woolf, and Eliot. Music and visual art from neoclassic through romantic to modern will be considered: works of Mozart and Beethoven, paintings of Monet and Picasso. 3 hours.

American Civilization: a one-semester course that traces major developments in American society and thought from colonial times to the present. The reading list includes documents (the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, *The Federalist*); autobiography (Franklin, Douglass); philosophical writings (Jonathan Edwards, Emerson, Thoreau, William James); oratory (Webster, Lincoln, Chief Joseph, King); poetry (Whitman, Dickinson, Frost); and the novel (Melville, Twain, Faulkner, Wright). Artists such as Copley, Cassatt, and O'Keeffe will be considered as students examine ways in which Americans have extended the Western tradition and made distinctive cultural contributions. 3 hours.

Other Civilizations: two one-semester courses to be chosen from the following: civilizations of Africa, East Asia, Islam, Latin America, South Asia. 6 hours.

● **African Civilization:** a one-semester course that ranges from the art, religion, and social organization of traditional African cultures, to the political and cultural developments of the colonial and postcolonial periods. The syllabus includes folktales, dramas, and praise poems recorded from oral traditions; epic tales such as *Sundiata*; travel accounts such as Ibn Batuta's; as well as twentieth-century poetry (Senghor, Awoonor, Okigbo); novels (Sembène, Achebe, Armah, Ngugi, Head); plays (Soyinka, Fugard); and autobiogra-

phy (Mphahlele). Music, dance, art, and craft will be considered.

● **East Asian Civilization:** a one-semester course that begins in the classical period, moves through the era of feudalism and empire, and considers social, economic, and intellectual changes in modern China and Japan. Readings include, for China, such works as the *Analects of Confucius*, *Tao-te Ching*, *Records of the Historian*, the *Lotus Sūtra*, T'ang poetry, *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, and the writings of Mao Tse-tung; for Japan, *The Tale of Genji*, haiku by Bashō, Nō drama, Fukuzawa's *Autobiography*, and modern novels such as Tanizaki's *The Makioka Sisters*. Selected works of architecture, painting, sculpture, and crafts, as well as calligraphy, will be studied.

● **Islamic Civilization:** a one-semester course that begins with the Islamic Middle East and focuses on the rise and development of Islam and its cultural, legal, and political expressions from the time of Muhammad to the present. Readings include such works as the Qur'ān, *hadith*, al-Tabarī's history, al-Ghāzālī's *Deliverance from Error*, *The Thousand and One Nights*, Ibn Khaldun's *The Prolegomena*; Turkish poetry; and Persian literature such as Firdawsī's *Book of Kings* and the poetry of Hāfez, Sa'dī, and Rūmī. Modern expressions of religious and political thought will be studied, as well as such novels as Naguib Mahfouz's *Midaq Alley* and Tawfiq al-Hakīm's *Maze of Justice*. Works of art and architecture, including mosques and palaces, as well as religious and secular music, will be considered.

● **Latin American Civilization:** a one-semester course that begins with the encounter between native peoples and European settlers and studies the development of distinctive Latin American cultures during the colonial and postcolonial periods. Readings include early historical accounts such as Garcilaso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries of the*

Incas and Díaz del Castillo's *True History of the Conquest of New Spain*; nineteenth-century writings by authors such as Alamán, Sarmiento, Alberdi, and Prada; and poems, novels, and essays by writers such as Machado de Assis, Darío, Neruda, Borges, Fuentes, García Márquez, and Paz. Latin American art, including murals, music, and architecture, will be studied.

● **South Asian Civilization:** a one-semester course that traces developments in the thought, culture, and social organization of India from the formative period, through the expansion of Indian civilization and the encounter with Islam, into the colonial and postcolonial periods. Readings range from early writings such as the Upanishads, Buddhist sūtras, the *Bhagavad Gītā*, *The Laws of Manu*, and the *Rāmāyana*, to classical works such as Kālidāsa's *Shakuntalā* and Shankara's commentaries, to twentieth-century works such as Tagore's poems and essays, Gandhi's autobiography, and Markandaya's *Nectar in a Sieve*. Indian music and art—sacred images, temple sculpture, and architecture—are included.

12 HOURS

FOREIGN LANGUAGE: a two-year requirement; it is recommended that students fulfill this requirement by taking more advanced courses in a language they have studied in high school.

6 HOURS

CONCEPTS OF MATHEMATICS: a one-year course focusing on major concepts, methods, and applications of the mathematical sciences. Students will explore such topics as shape, quantity, symmetry, change, and uncertainty and consider such fundamental dichotomies as discrete and continuous, finite and infinite. Theoretical advances from the ancient to the contemporary will be

considered, as well as applications in such areas as business, economics, statistics, science, and art. Students will be introduced to ways in which computers pose and help solve theoretical and practical problems.

8 HOURS

FOUNDATIONS OF THE NATURAL SCIENCES:

a one-year laboratory course that focuses on major ideas and methods of the physical and biological sciences. The course includes study of ways in which scientists, both ancient and modern, have explained matter, energy, and motion; the universe and forces of nature; the earth and life upon it. In the laboratory, students will be asked to construct experiments that explore questions about the natural world, including questions that faced great scientists in the past.

6 HOURS

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE MODERN WORLD:

a one-year course that explores ways in which the social sciences have been used to explain political, economic, and social life, as well as the experience of individuals, in the last 200 years. Students will read such writers as Tocqueville, Lenin, and Arendt on revolution; Smith, Marx, Weber, and Schumpeter on capitalism and industrial society; Mill and Tocqueville on democracy; Simmel and Durkheim on cities and anomie. Psychologists such as Freud and G. H. Mead and anthropologists such as Boas, Radcliffe-Brown, and Benedict will provide opportunities to consider varying concepts of human nature and how they grow out of and shape different cultures. Students will explore how the ideas and methods of these thinkers are exemplified, amplified, or challenged by contemporary studies of such topics as education, bureaucracy, urbanization, or political development.

A Conversation with...



Charles Frankel, 1917-1979.

Courtesy of Columbia University

The Frankel Scholars

Editor Mary Lou Beatty talks with the Charles Frankel scholars about their work in the humanities.

WHEN WE TALK about the place of the humanities in American life, the late philosopher Charles Frankel once wrote, we are really asking a series of questions:

What images of human possibility will American society put before its members? What standards will it suggest to them as befitting the dignity of the human spirit? Will it speak to them only of success and celebrity and the quick fix that makes them happy, or will it find a place for grace, elegance, nobility, and a sense of connection with the human adventure?

This year, for the first time, the National Endowment for the Humanities is awarding the Charles Frankel Prizes to five Americans who have graced the humanities in the spirit of Frankel himself.

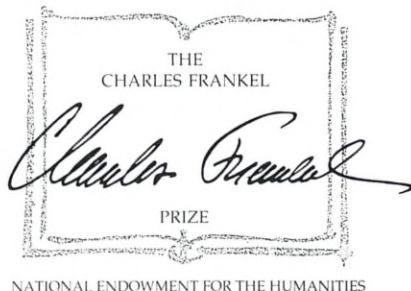
They are Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Daniel J. Boorstin, folklorist Americo Paredes, museum president Willard L. (Sandy) Boyd, reading-program pioneer Patricia Bates, and chautauqua leader Clay Jenkinson. They are being honored for their efforts to bring history, literature, philosophy, and other humanities disciplines to general audiences.

"The Endowment is proud to honor these five distinguished Americans for their efforts to help diverse audiences understand the great texts, themes, and insights of the humanities," said NEH Chairman Lynne V. Cheney in announcing the selections. "They have contributed to our cultural life in a rich variety of ways. They share the same devotion to scholarship and citizenship exemplified by Charles Frankel."

Charles Frankel was a professor of philosophy at Columbia University for forty years. He served as assistant secretary of state for educational and cultural affairs and became the first president of the National Humanities Center in North Carolina. At a 1978 symposium on government and the humanities, he spoke about the need for humanities scholars to become more involved in civic affairs: "Humanistic scholarship grows—in the end it develops confidence, freshness, original ideas—when it is fed not by its own professional concerns alone but by the doings of human beings outside the study. . . . And when humanistic scholars have been persuaded that they are really part of the larger community, they have also made the largest contributions to their own disciplines. Plato, Machiavelli, Erasmus, John Locke, Diderot, James Madison, Ralph Waldo Emerson are not remembered for being intellectual recluses."

The prize that bears his name will be presented at a ceremony in November and carries a stipend of \$5,000 for each of the honorees.

The Frankel Prize stems from the Endowment's 1988 report, *Humanities in America*, which turned attention to the rapid growth of public interest in literature, history, philosophy, and other humanities disciplines. The report said scholars who reach out to general audiences should be recognized.



Design of Frankel Prize.

DANIEL J. BOORSTIN

The story of Daniel Boorstin's becoming Librarian of Congress tells something about the man himself. While pondering the nomination by President Ford, Boorstin and his wife found themselves wandering through the manuscript room of the library, and came upon an exhibit about the librarians of Congress. In it was a letter Franklin D. Roosevelt had written to Justice Felix Frankfurter concerning the advisability of appointing Archibald MacLeish, who—like Boorstin—was not a professional librarian. Frankfurter wrote back: "What is wanted in the directing head of a great library [is] imaginative energy and vision. He should be a man who knows books, loves books, and makes books."

Boorstin, an admirer of Frankfurter and a prodigious maker of books, took the job.

It was a position he was to hold for twelve years. At core a writer—along with twenty-five years' teaching at the University of Chicago—he got up early in the morning to write at home before going to the library. He completed *The Discoverers*, which won the Watson Davis Prize for the best book on the history of science. Now Boorstin is librarian emeritus and is at work on a companion to *The Discoverers* called *The Creators*. It will be his twentieth book.

Born in Atlanta and raised in Tulsa, where his father practiced law, Boorstin went to Harvard College when he was fifteen. "I had the great advantage of coming from a public high school. Many had come from a prep school and were rather blase, but I had the delight of discovering. I also had a remarkable tutor by the name of F. O. Matthiesen, who was a great teacher in American literature."

Boorstin graduated summa cum laude from Harvard and won the Bowdoin Prize for his essay on "The Unspoken Limitations of History." He went to Oxford's Balliol College as a Rhodes scholar and won rare double firsts in law. "Those degrees were really much more humanistic than comparable studies in this country," Boorstin reflects. "About half of the course was in Roman law, so I had a chance to use my Latin and learn some history. It was a less



practical professional course at Oxford than in American law school."

After qualifying as a barrister-at-law—during a time he says is reminiscent of *Brideshead Revisited*—Boorstin decided he was an American and was ready to go home. He taught at Harvard, got a law degree from Yale, and married. After a period with Lend Lease in Washington in World War II, and a brief time teaching at Swarthmore, Boorstin was invited to the University of Chicago, which was to be home to him and his wife Ruth for the next twenty-five years.

"There was a wonderful faculty, with lots of stimulating people I could learn from and enjoy. I mean people like Milton Friedman and Bruno Bettelheim and Leo Szilard and Enrico Fermi and Robert Redfield. The great thing about the place, which I think makes it a great university, is that the faculty could continue to learn there."

He taught American intellectual history for the most part, and he wrote a number of books, among them *The Image*, *The Genius of American Politics*, and the first two volumes of *The Americans*.

"All those books I've done for my own education," he says. The move from the University of Chicago faculty to the Smithsonian's Museum of History and Technology did not seem as radical a shift to him as to

others. "If you've read any of *The Americans*, you know that museum is very much in line with my interests. I was always interested in the cosmic significance of trivia. That's what *The Americans* is about—what most of my books are about, I suppose. That museum is full of trivia, which I never thought of as being trivial but as being significant."

It was there he completed the final volume of his trilogy, *The Americans: The Democratic Experience*. To the Bancroft Prize for the first book and the Parkman for the second, he added the Pulitzer Prize for history.

While at the library he began the Center for the Book, to create greater public awareness of the importance of books, and also the Council of Scholars, representing all fields of knowledge, with the daunting assignment of assessing the state of mankind's knowledge and ignorance.

Q&A

Q: Do you think that there is an estrangement between the humanities and the sciences?

A: I think that we have become human and remain human by the search to know. Man is engaged in a constant quest, and that quest has many forms. The books that I've been writing really are about that.

We cannot abdicate our humanity, at least not ever since Eve seduced us with the apple, so we're stuck with the pursuit of knowledge.

There's a peculiar thing about knowledge, and that is that when we discover new knowledge, it usually displaces a form of old knowledge. When Copernicus showed us that the sun doesn't go around the earth, that displaced a whole folklore. It disrupted people's thinking.

Q: Does it always displace? Sometimes can't you just accrete?

A: Sometimes, but almost always the great advances are largely displacive. That would be true of Copernicus and Darwin. Certainly the Darwinian theories displaced creationist theories. And the discovery of bacteria displaced older theories of disease, and so on.

In the arts it's very different. In the humanities it's very different. Shakespeare does not displace Chaucer; Milton does not displace Shake-

spere; Keats does not displace Milton; and so on. They have the power to add without subtracting, and that is the crucial difference.

There are fashions in the humanities, of course, fashions in the arts. But in the long perspective, the great creators in literature and painting and music and architecture show us a new way of putting the world together. Freud observed that the great blows to human esteem were the great advances in science, our discovering that this was not the center of the universe, that man was descended from animals, and so on. That is the courage of the scientists.

Q: You taught for a quarter of a century. How do you measure yourself as a teacher?

A: I think the greatest teachers are not those who produce disciples, but those who produce originals, people who find their own way.

It's the same thing as having children. I think the best parents are not the ones who produce a replica or someone like themselves, but rather ones who produce people who are able to find ways that they never would follow themselves. That's the point of having children, so that the world can be different, and even not always to our taste.

Q: In your book, *The Image*, you gave us the word "pseudo-event." Is television providing us with a world of pseudo-events, a falsifying of the experience? It's like watching the Challenger blow up and then watching it all happen again and again. There is, at least for me, a difference in the quality of the experience.

A: It changes experience. It is also a widened experience. If you're a democrat and believe in democracy, you have to believe in widening experience so people can share experiences and their discovery. The landing on the moon was the first worldwide increase in knowledge which was shared in the act of discovery. It created a whole community of discovery, which is exhilarating if we don't dull our senses with it and lose our sense of awe. Our problem is how to keep alive our sense of awe and our zest for going on the quest ourselves. I like the idea of the humanities being a search for what's human about us. That's always risky, but it can be an adventure and that's what we try to keep alive.



Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History

WILLARD L. BOYD

Willard L. (Sandy) Boyd traded one educational forum for another eight years ago when he left the presidency of the University of Iowa to become president of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago.

"Learning takes place in a lot of different circumstances other than a schoolroom," Boyd says. "If there's not a teacher in the room, we don't think anything is going on, and that's a mistake. I think the point of education should be to teach you how to learn on your own."

With guidance from vice president for public programs Michael Spock, formerly of the Children's Museum in Boston, the museum is becoming a three-tiered learning experience—consisting of introductory exhibits, major thematic shows, and resource centers for more scholarly pursuits. The lively atmosphere drew 1.25 million visitors last year.

"For the most part," Boyd says, "the visitors in the public museum are amateurs who are learning."

The entertainment values, however, are played against a serious scholarly backdrop, the museum's research functions. The core collection of 19 million objects, covering anthropology, geology, botany, and

zoology, includes one of the world's largest meteorite collections.

At the moment, Boyd's attention is focused on "Peoples of the Pacific," which opens its first segment in November with travel as the theme. He explains: "The earth's crust traveled as a result of plate tectonics to create the islands. Then the flora and the fauna traveled to the islands; then the people traveled in canoes to the islands. You see how the Pacific culture came into being, affected by the physical environment.

"In this sense 'Peoples of the Pacific' is contextual and interdisciplinary. It involves all four areas of the museum, not just anthropology but also geology, zoology, and botany."

Q&A

Q: Museums have been talked about as "parallel schools" in the American learning experience. How do you compare the two?

A: In a classroom, you have a guide, a teacher who is leading you through the knowledge. A museum is a place of informal as opposed to formal learning—it is up to you to learn on your own.

Q: So a museum should be accessible to the most casual museumgoer as well as the most scholarly?

A: Yes. Our exhibits are organized in tiers. The first tier is episodic, like our exhibit on the sizes of things. The second tier is thematic, like our exhibitions on Egypt and on the Pacific. The third tier is our resource centers, for example, the center on "Indigenous People of the Americas." It's open stack with books, periodicals, and maps. There are videotapes about the indigenous people of the Americas today, and the visitors select whatever interests them.

I think that one problem is a general sense that without a Ph.D., the humanities cannot be understood, and any attempt to take the humanities public is perceived as trivializing the substance. That, I think, is ridiculous. We talk about the importance of science literacy in this country. We also have the issue of humanities literacy, and that does not mean everybody has to be a Ph.D. to be literate.

Q: That's a little strong coming from a man who has a number of degrees himself.

A: At Minnesota they thought the study of law was a narrowing experience, so they recommended two years pre-law, then law school, and a year of liberal arts afterwards. It was a great experience. The point is that law exists in a context of the human condition and is not an abstraction.

Q: The traveling Tut exhibition was a blockbuster. Your own Egyptian exhibition hall, I understand, is a major draw, and one of its great strengths is its context.

A: What we have now done is to recreate a mastaba, one of the small tombs that are all around the pyramids and where the spouses and the children were buried.

We are using real objects but we have created the environment of the tomb. The museumgoer descends into the tomb, and once there, sees exhibits designed to show the democratization of the country through the burial practices, from the rich and famous in early times to the general population by Roman times.

We are trying to build a recurring audience that is learning more all of the time. We are trying to create what I would call a "heads-on" environment as opposed to "hands-on," trying to engage people's minds. A museum is basically about ideas, but objects are the principal means of instruction.

PATRICIA BATES

Patricia Bates took a reading program in a small Vermont city and turned it into the model for thousands across the country. She is, said a friend, "committed to the belief that reading is as essential as eating to the human race." From what began as a group of friends meeting in one another's homes in Rutland, Vermont, to talk about Edith Hamilton's *Mythology*, Bates has become a nationally recognized leader and organizer of reading-discussion groups.

"It all came out of my own need to read good books and talk to other people about what the characters and the situations meant to them and what they meant to me," Bates says. "Its success amazes me because the idea is so simple, and yet it has blossomed into a project beyond my wildest dreams."



It began in 1971 when Bates had three children in elementary school in Rutland, as she describes it, "a small out-of-the-way city with very little in the way of arts and humanities." She started her own book group and worked as a volunteer in the Crossroads Arts Council as well. When a position as program director opened up at the local library, Bates took it, and the book-group idea grew, with a small grant from the Vermont Council on the Humanities.

"Once I started introducing college professors into the lectures, that added a new and far-reaching dimension. Now I can't imagine a reading and discussion program without an expert there."

In 1980, with \$156,000 in grant money from NEH, Bates organized reading and discussion programs in fifty Vermont libraries and set up systems to help other libraries create their own programs. She hired more than 100 scholars to lecture at 200 programs for 5,000 librarygoers. With the success of her programs in Vermont, Bates moved on to neighboring New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York.

By 1983, her work attracted the American Library Association (ALA), which took Bates's ideas to thirty more states with \$1.2 million in seed money from NEH. Today "Let's Talk About It," a program of discussions on books, is in all fifty states. A former consultant to ALA, Bates has organized more than 750 discussion groups in five states.

Bates grew up in Brooklyn, was

graduated from St. John's University, and earned an M.A. in Liberal Studies from Dartmouth College in 1984. She and her psychiatrist-artist husband now live in Maryland, where she is an adult-program coordinator for the Howard County public library system. She is directing a two-year NEH program, "Books Provide the Key," to promote reading and discussion of literature and American history in libraries and at senior citizen sites throughout Maryland.

Q&A

Q: Right now you're working with older readers?

A: Older readers and with libraries. I would say fifty percent of my time is spent going to senior citizen centers and retirement communities. This morning we were at the Charlestown retirement community in Catonsville, Maryland, talking about Graham Greene's *The End of the Affair*, and it was one of the best discussions that I've been in in a long time. Older people have the wisdom of their years to share as well as their perspectives, which come from having lived through World War II, and earlier. Some of them lived through the Depression and their insights are entirely different from those of us who are the next generation.

One of them was saying that Sarah, the protagonist of Greene's novel, was just a silly woman. Another woman turned around, looked at her, and said, "How can a woman who is searching for her soul be called silly?" That stopped the first woman in her tracks, and she had to explain in detail what she meant.

In the novel, as you know, Sarah has an affair with her husband's friend. For Graham Greene, the religious element is the central theme of the novel. He explores the meaning of God and Christianity and the soul. He wants the reader to understand that carnal love for another human being can lead to a higher, spiritual love. Dr. Patricia French, who teaches literature at Georgetown, gave the group some insights into Greene's priestlike characters. It was a fascinating discussion into the search for soul. One woman in the group said, "I'm going to have to go back and reread this book because I have so much more to look for."

That's success!

The whole purpose of the humanities is to open our minds and to get us listening to other people and thinking about things a little differently, and not be locked into our interpretation alone.

Q: What is the scholar's input in general terms?

A: The scholar's role is to bring to the participants information that they could not possibly have gotten from the reading, such as biographical information about the author, a historical perspective of the times, a comparative study of literature written at that time, and other information which enhances the reading.

Q: Had you any idea at the outset that your small reading group would turn into something national?

A: I had no idea. Really it came out of my own need. I've always been a reader—I was the kid who had the flashlight under the covers.

I went to an elementary school that didn't have a library. I can clearly remember the day my mother took me to the public library for the first time. I just felt like she was taking me into a wonderland.

Q: Does all your reading give you insight as to what makes a civilized society? How do you define it?

A: A civilized society consists of people who study their past in order to plan their future. The humanities are so ingrained in my thinking that I feel very strongly that people need to study the humanities if we are going to survive as a civilization.

Q: Is there an inevitable separation from the sciences?

A: I hope not, and I hope that reading and discussion programs do provide a bridge between the sciences and the humanities. I'm always delighted when I have an engineer or a scientist in our audience. I had one man say to me, "Your programs feed my soul," and I thought, "His words make all the work worthwhile."

Q: We have people whose world is confined to themselves and their Walkman. That doesn't provide much of a framework for the world at large.

A: Well, I do think we feed our inner selves through the study of the humanities. I know I do through literature. I think the humanities might fill that void for a lot of people.



Courtesy of Alliance (Nebraska) Times-Herald

CLAY JENKINSON

"Jefferson is a perfect humanities text because he's so startling and so forceful and articulate," says Clay Jenkinson, the man who has portrayed him.

"There is a lively debate about who was the real Thomas Jefferson. There are several: There's a moderate, there's a slave owner, there's a states' rights advocate, a radical, an Enlightenment rationalist, and so on, and each Jefferson scholar has to decide which Jefferson rings true."

Since 1981 Jenkinson has been director of the Great Plains Chautauqua. He has done what are called "historical characterizations" of such men as explorer Meriwether Lewis and, for the last five years, Thomas Jefferson. Jenkinson talks about the method of a chautauqua presentation: "Everything I say as Jefferson, I can document from something that he did or wrote or allowed his name to be attached to. Another scholar might say this is a minor element of Jefferson's thought or Jefferson saw the error of his ways later on, and so on. It's not clear exactly who Jefferson was; certainly he was one of the most radical thinkers in our history."

Jenkinson began participating in public humanities programs in 1976 with the North Dakota Humanities Council. After his graduation from the University of Minnesota in 1977, he went to Oxford as a Rhodes scholar, and while studying in England also prepared a guide to the

film *Northern Lights*. Back home in North Dakota, he directed a statewide discussion series on the film.

Over the last eight years the Great Plains Chautauqua has expanded from North Dakota to South Dakota, Kansas, and Nebraska, sending fifty scholars each season into 175 communities. The programs, usually held outdoors under a tent, consist of an "in-character" presentation by the scholar, a question period in which the scholar answers as the figure he's portraying, and then a followup question period in which the scholar steps out of his character and answers as a scholar.

For the moment Jenkinson is off the chautauqua circuit. Having finished the dissertation this past summer for his doctorate in English Renaissance literature from Oxford, he is working toward a second one, this time in classical languages, at the University of Colorado. It doesn't mean he has seen the last of his favorite President. "One of the things I'm going to be looking at is Jefferson's understanding of ancient political thought," Jenkinson says. "This is a subject that has never been really examined, and I have a feeling some interesting results will come of it."

Q&A

Q: How did you and Thomas Jefferson happen to come together?

A: Well, Ev Albers—Ev is the creator of chautauqua—he and I had worked together on chautauquas for some time, but I was going off for a summer to Great Britain to study and there was a message over the intercom at Los Angeles International Airport saying, "Please call on the white courtesy phone," and there was Ev on the line saying, "I've just written an application to the NEH to do a chautauqua on Jefferson's agrarian vision. If we get the grant, will you do Jefferson?" I said, "Sure. I've got to catch my flight. Goodbye." Then he got the grant and I was committed, but I never would have chosen Jefferson on my own. I would have considered it too difficult an undertaking. Jefferson's collected works will be more than sixty volumes. He's certainly, in my opinion, the greatest politician in the history of the country, one of the greatest men of recent history.

Q: I understand you put together two humanities courses for the University of North Dakota Law School.

A: One was called "Law and Literature," which looked at the way law is treated in literature, beginning with Chaucer and working its way through to contemporary novels, with a lot of emphasis on Shakespeare and Dickens. The other was "The Idea of Law in Western Culture," and it was an examination of great books in the legal tradition—Aristotle, Montesquieu, and so on. It was an attempt to examine the way that some of the most important political thinkers conceived of the law.

Jefferson had, of course, opinions about this too. He thought that the lawyer should study primarily to become a good citizen and, secondly, with less concentrated energy, should study to become a legal engineer. He would have found modern legal education distressing, I think.

Q: There's been some discussion here about the relationship between science and the humanities.

A: We live in a time when science is ascendant, and humanists, instead of pushing forward with their own agenda, have attempted to emulate science, so I'm a real conservative on this issue. I think the great quest of humanists is clarity and lucidity. What humanists have done instead is go in for pop science, for structuralism and deconstruction and critical legal studies and all sorts of things which pretend to have a scientific rigor or to be out on the frontier of discourse, but in fact, as far as I can tell, they have really only abdicated the one thing that the humanist has to offer, which is clarity.

AMÉRICO PAREDES

In writing his doctoral dissertation about a young folk hero of the Texas border, Américo Paredes became the voice of a generation of Mexican Americans longing to express their own history and culture.

The story of the tragic pursuit of Gregorio Cortez by the Texas Rangers was to become a book and then a film. And for nearly forty years, as a professor of English and of anthropology at the University of Texas, the rediscovery of the Mexican-American place in the history

and culture of the Southwest was to occupy Paredes.

"Historians saw it as a precursor of a kind of history," Paredes recalls, when asked about *With His Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad and Its Hero*. "Those in literature saw it as a precursor of a kind of literature. It did have a part in stimulating the minds of the young people."

Paredes grew up on the Texas border in Brownsville. He attended the local schools, graduating from Brownsville Junior College in 1936. "It was after I finished junior college that I heard of people like T.S. Eliot and William Faulkner and so on. The curriculum was very much nineteenth century. But it was a much broader education than that of most of the young men and women I grew up with and who dropped out of school in junior high or in grammar school and had to go out and work in the fields."

After junior college, Paredes worked in journalism for fourteen years, including a stint on *Stars and Stripes* in Tokyo, returning to Texas in 1950, where he earned a B.A. summa cum laude in a year's time at the University of Texas and then an M.A. and Ph.D. While a professor there, he organized the university's folklore archive and was director of the graduate program. Now retired, he holds the title of Dickson, Allen, and Anderson Centennial Professor Emeritus in Anthropology and English. In his honor, the university has created the Américo Paredes Distinguished Lectures Series.

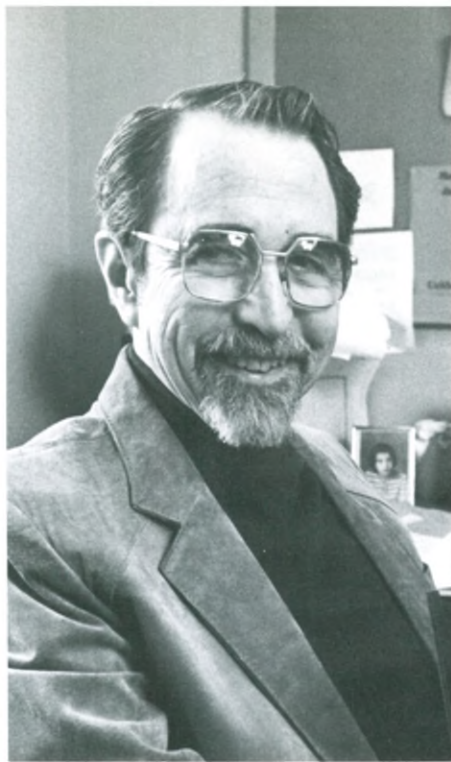


Photo by Larry Murphy

Q&A

Q: How can history be made more available to the public?

A: Television has disappointed us in that respect. Its historical documentaries, what few there are, do not approach the quality of the documentaries on wildlife and astronomy. We need more commitment on the part of scholars and intellectuals to communicate with the general public by means of lectures, round-table discussions, as well as on TV.

Q: What do you see happening in the role taken by Hispanic culture?

A: I am not the type of person who would like to see Shakespeare and the *Iliad* and Dante and Beethoven moved out of the curriculum to make room for Chicano writers and mariachi music. We all are enriched by the Western European heritage that we get through the majority culture. We do have to have a common culture, but that common culture should not be all Anglo-Saxon. The common culture of the cultivated person in the United States includes contributions from the Greeks on down. . . . I would certainly like to see people know more about other cultures, and the only way they can do it is by learning their own culture first.

There should be a knowledge and appreciation of a great many others, including some cultures that people would not usually spell with a capital "C." I am an anthropologist, too, and I am aware that people we sometimes think of as primitive have beautiful literature and beautiful art.

Q: You have talked about American society not as a melting pot, but a tossed salad. In terms of Hispanic literature, what are the four or five books you would want to include?

A: If I had to choose only five representatives of Mexican-American literature, I would emphasize variety of viewpoint and expression in what is far from being a homogeneous literature. The list leaves out some outstanding works but I would choose *Klail City y Sus Alrededores* by Rolando Hinojosa-Smith; *The House on Mango Street* by Sandra Cisneros; and in poetry, *Perros y Antiperros* by Sergio Elizondo; *Mother, May I?* by Alma Villanueva; and *Shaking Off the Dark*, by Tino Villanueva. □

After Tiananmen Square

BY RODERICK MacFARQUHAR

THE TRAGIC AND bloody culmination of China's pro-democracy movement on June 4 has posed professional and moral challenges to Western Sinologists. A decade of Deng Xiaoping's *kaifang*, or opening up, policy had accustomed us to unprecedented scholarly opportunities in China. Can we, should we, will we be forced to forego all that?

At stake is access to people and documents. A whole generation of younger scholars has become accustomed to the idea of honing language skills on the mainland and then going into the field for doctoral

and postdoctoral research. Professional lives have been shaped around a pattern of two or three years of data collection, followed by a period of gestation and publication.

Traditional work with documentary sources by historians and political scientists has also flourished. Vast quantities of material have flooded from the Chinese presses: hitherto unpublished, sometimes unknown speeches and articles by Mao and other major leaders; party histories and internal journals written by insiders with access to major documents; and many of the documents themselves. Scholars have been enabled, indeed forced, to rethink our understanding of the Chinese revolution before and after the Communist victory forty years ago. Historians of the Qing have been even more privileged; they have obtained access to the raw data of the dynastic archives.

Should access be discouraged again, field workers may have to retool, relocate in Taiwan, or base themselves again in Hong Kong, interviewing a few knowledgeable informants from the most recent batch of refugees. Those working mainly with documents will be least affected: the material already in Western libraries

can provide the basis for many books and Ph.D. theses. But, again, it is possible that those studying political science may have to return to the arcane art of Pekinology, analyzing *People's Daily* editorials as if they were biblical texts.

The full range and impact of the

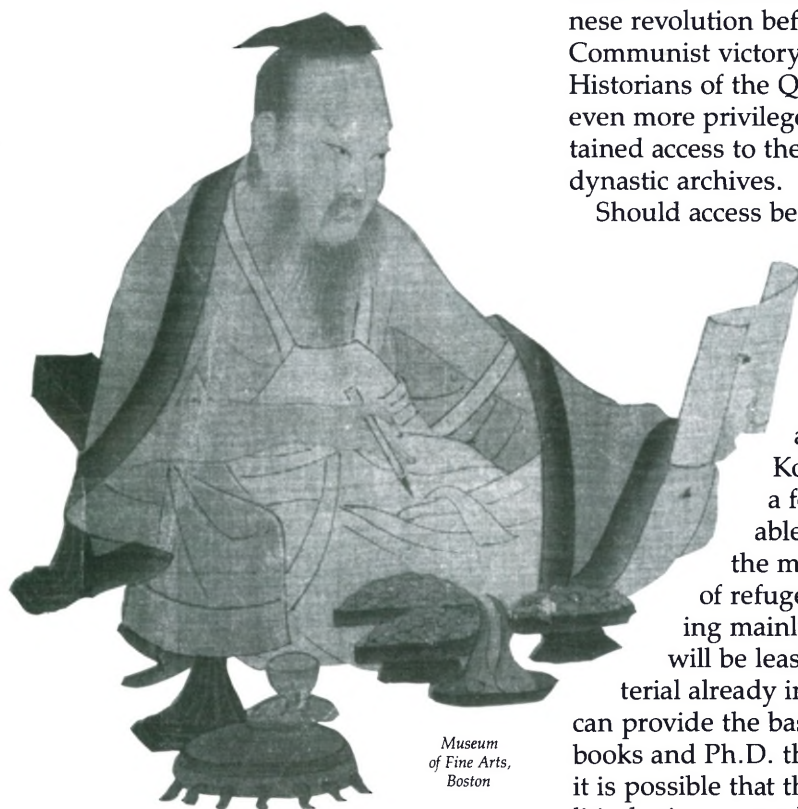
actions of the Chinese authorities are unlikely to be known for several months, though there are already reports of arrests in academic circles. The longer-term question is the shape of the political system once the 85-year-old Deng departs. For the moment, Deng and his colleagues have asserted vociferously that what they call the suppression of counterrevolution in no way affects their determination to pursue reform policies and encourage foreign exchange. They urgently need to make the claim of "business as usual" a reality; hence the feverish filming of foreign visitors to China.

Western China scholars, as presumed opinion formers back home, are a key constituency to be courted, especially in the wake of what seems to have been a widespread suspension of formal scholarly exchanges and collaboration. As of late summer, Chinese institutions, doubtless spurred on from the highest political levels, were calling or cabling American scholars in what seemed to be an effort to relaunch projects and exchanges agreed on before the crack-down in Tiananmen Square.

Whereas U.S. corporations will be understandably concerned about political stability and the investment climate, scholars will have to try to ascertain whether a resumption of *kaifang* is at all possible.

One problem will be to pinpoint what constitutes the Chinese author-

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Museum
of Fine Arts,
Boston

Scholars of the Northern Ch'i Collating Classic Text (detail), attributed to Yen Li Pen, ca. 11th century.

ity in any particular instance. A relatively mild general restriction emanating from Deng himself could easily be enforced far more strictly by conservatives seeking to counter alien "bourgeois" influences. Alternatively, severe constraints on contacts with foreign scholars could perhaps be circumvented, especially by institutions outside Beijing, if they have found such exchanges useful.



Scholars of the Northern Ch'i Collating Classic Text (detail)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Scholarly communications could be resumed but restrained. Even if libraries and research sites remain accessible, will their openness be as great? Will the range of books available to foreign scholars shrink? Will officials be less cooperative? Will interviewees feel constrained? Above all, will deep collegial relationships built up over the past decade wither because Chinese scholars understandably feel a need to resume their old protective carapaces?

And there is the moral issue. Among the questions troubling China scholars: At what point does resuming scholarly contacts constitute approval of a government which, in China where all universities are state owned, is in a real sense present in every educational exchange? It seems inappropriate to do business with one set of scholars in the knowledge that another set has been arrested or dismissed. Is it acceptable to bring individual schol-

ars here, but not to receive delegations whose composition one cannot control? Should one simply allow a "decent interval" to elapse after which exchanges should resume? Should we go back in with the hope that Chinese scholars can only benefit in the long run from continued exposure to the cultural values which we bear?

Perhaps some of these dilemmas will sort themselves out in the coming months. Some China scholars have been making informal visits to the People's Republic of China to try to ascertain the extent of the damage to the academic community. Further reconnaissance during the fall with Chinese universities back in session will be necessary.

Whatever individual or institutional decisions are made around the turn of the year, Sinologists are also concerned at other potential repercussions, notably funding. The rise of the prodemocracy movement and its suppression are arguably striking manifestations of the profound turmoil within the Chinese polity and society that has racked the country with successive upheavals over the past 150 years as its people have attempted to find ways of adapting to the modern world. This "long" or "great" revolution, as it has been called, is part of what makes China particularly fascinating to us.

But will Tiananmen Square discourage non-Sinologist colleagues who had begun to include China in comparative work? If China becomes a more closed society, will China studies become less attractive to foundations? And under such conditions, what should China scholars do if, as already seems likely, Taiwan indicates a willingness to become a major funder?

Twenty years ago, American scholars of East Asia were at the center of the bitter debates within academia over the Vietnam War. Amidst the furore over American policy, there emerged deep divisions also over Mao's Cultural Revolution, pro and anti. This time there appears to be widespread consensus of support for the prodemocracy movement and condemnation of the Beijing government's actions on June 4 and thereafter. But *what to do* in the light of this summer's events is likely to provoke much soul-searching in the months ahead. □

The Cambridge History of China

This major collaborative work involves more than 150 scholars from a dozen countries. The fifteen-volume history was begun in the late 1960s by professors Denis Twitchett of Princeton and John Fairbank of Harvard and covers the history of China from the third century B.C. until the death of Mao in 1976.

Volume 1, *The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.–A.D. 220*, 1986.

Volume 2, *The Period of Division, 221–589*, forthcoming.

Volume 3, *Sui and T'ang China, 589–906, Part 1*, 1979.

Volume 4, *Sui and T'ang China, 589–906, Part 2*, forthcoming.

Volume 5, *Five Dynasties and Sung, 906–1126*, forthcoming.

Volume 6, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 710–1368*, forthcoming.

Volume 7, *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 1*, 1988.

Volume 8, *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 2*, forthcoming.

Volume 9A, *The Ch'ing Empire, 1644–1800, Part 1*, forthcoming.

Volume 9B, *Ch'ing Economy, Society, and Civilization, 1644–1800, Part 2*, forthcoming.

Volume 10, *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911, Part 1*, 1978.

Volume 11, *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911, Part 2*, 1980.

Volume 12, *Republican China, 1912–1949, Part 1*, 1983.

Volume 13, *Republican China, 1912–1949, Part 2*, 1986.

Volume 14, *The People's Republic. Part 1: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1949–1965*, 1987.

Volume 15, *The People's Republic. Part 2: Revolutions within the Chinese Revolution, 1966–1980*, forthcoming.

Since 1977, NEH has awarded \$432,019 in outright funds and \$115,000 in matching funds to complete volumes 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 13, 14, and 15 of The Cambridge History of China. Awards have been made through the Division of Research Programs.

MAO ZEDONG:

The Formative Years

BY STUART R. SCHRAM



Courtesy of Stuart R. Schram

Mao Zedong (1893–1976) in the mid-1920s. English translations are in process for Mao's writings from his student days to the 1930s.

THE CHINESE revolution is, with the Russian revolution, one of the two great social and political upheavals of the twentieth century. Mao Zedong, the leader of that revolution, still stands as one of the dominant figures of the century. Guerilla leader, ruler, soldier, poet, and philosopher, he placed his imprint on China, and on the world.

Mao's writings, therefore, constitute important source material for twentieth-century Chinese, and indeed world, history. They define his revolutionary strategy at various stages of its elaboration, and record his assessment of its results and his continuing efforts to perfect it and adapt it to changing circumstances. They illuminate his ongoing encounter with Marxism and other Western ideas, including his efforts to integrate them with the Chinese cultural heritage in which he was, from his youth, thoroughly steeped.

To make Mao's own words available to an English-speaking audience, the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research at Harvard University is producing an accurate, read-

able, and consistent translation of his extant speeches and writings, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Mao was in some respects not a very good Marxist, but few have ever applied so well Marx's dictum that the vocation of the philosopher is not merely to understand the world but to change it. Despite the interest that was shown throughout the world in Mao and his policies from the 1950s to the 1970s, especially during the Cultural Revolution, it is the pre-1949 period that is still currently regarded in China as the era in which he made his principal con-

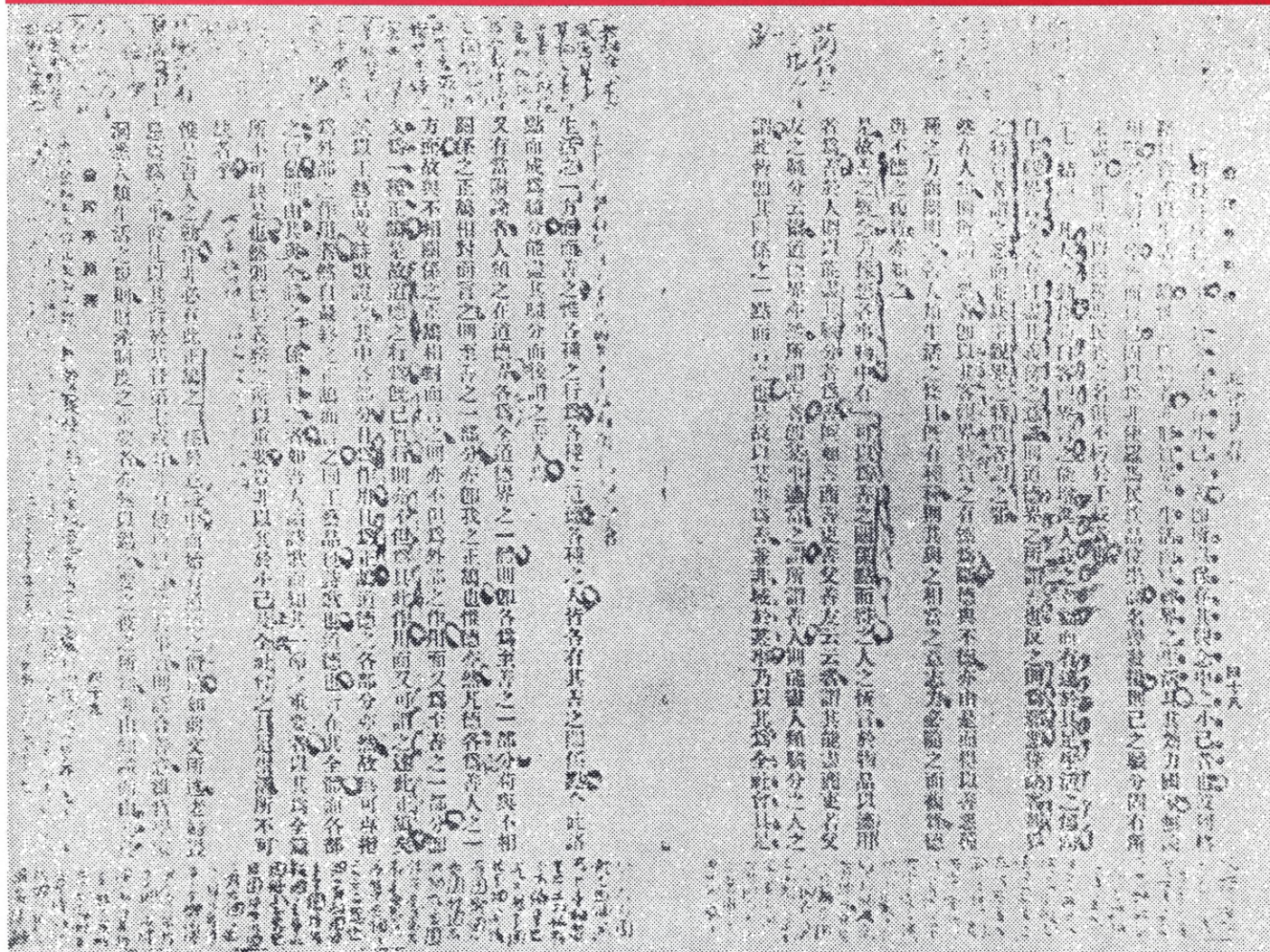
tributions. His writings of that time were produced in the heat of revolutionary struggle, stretching from his student years in the 1910s to the establishment of the People's Republic on October 1, 1949.

Less than a quarter of Mao's writings before 1949 has hitherto been rendered into English or any other foreign language, and many of the existing translations are based on the Chinese texts officially published in the 1950s, which were extensively rewritten on the basis of political considerations. During the current portion of the project, funded by a two-year grant, all available works by Mao Zedong down to the early 1930s will be translated, and two volumes prepared for publication, both of which are expected to appear in the early 1990s. Subsequent projects are planned to carry this undertaking forward to 1949.

The development of Mao Zedong's thought from his school days to the 1930s has been dealt with in English by a number of authors during the past two or three decades. Some of the resulting works are of considerable value, but all of them suffer in some degree from the incomplete or inadequate documentary basis on which their analysis has been constructed. The Fairbank Center's translation will be based on the earliest and most authoritative texts in each case and will indicate, where relevant, the variants between these and subsequent Chinese editions.

Three texts in the current project,

Stuart R. Schram is author of Mao Tse-tung (1967), The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung (1969), and The Thought of Mao Tse-tung (1989). He is currently in residence at Harvard's Fairbank Center for East Asian Research with a team of translators at work on the complete annotated translation of Mao's early writings.



The voluminous marginal notes Mao made in 1918 in a volume of Friedrich Paulsen's *A System of Ethics* show that his thinking was changing from a traditionalistic perspective to a more Westernizing approach. The emphasis Mao placed in his notes on the primacy of the individual is striking, a view that was to shift once again over the next decade.

included here as examples of the firsthand information that the edition will make available, illustrate distinct phases in Mao's intellectual development during the decade from the Russian revolution to the rupture between the Communists and the Nationalist party, or Guomindang, in 1927. Published in China only since Mao's death and easily accessible in Chinese only within the past two or three years, each text marks in some sense a turning point in Mao's early career.

The first item shows Mao breaking away from the traditionalistic perspective of his first published article ("A Study of Physical Culture," April 1917), in favor of a Westernizing and individualistic approach. It consists of selected passages from Mao's marginal annotations to

Friedrich Paulsen's *A System of Ethics*, which he studied in the winter of 1918. The annotations of Paulsen were previously known only from brief, out-of-context extracts reproduced in secondary works by Chinese authors.

Paulsen is generally classed as a minor neo-Kantian, but his approach is in fact rather syncretistic. His book introduced to the Chinese reader a wide range of thinkers, from Greek and Roman antiquity, including Jesus and St. Augustine, to Schopenhauer, Goethe, Comte, Bentham, Hobbes, and others, as well as Kant. This text of 1918 shows a Mao less China-centered than would be the case for him beginning with the May Fourth Movement of 1919, China's first great democratic and patriotic movement, which

served as an inspiration for the student demonstrations of April-June 1989. While he was by no means unconcerned either with the fate of his country or with the role of the state in human life in general, the emphasis Mao places in his notes on the primacy of the individual is extremely striking. It is noteworthy that the statement "the individual came before the nation" was part of a commentary on a passage in which Paulsen criticized Bentham, and Mao was consciously aligning himself with Bentham against Paulsen:

The members of a nation do indeed join together and live together. But to say that the individual comes from his nation, that the individual exists because the nation exists, is to put the cart before the horse. I don't agree with this. The social activities of the members of a nation,

including politics and language, all began well after the human race evolved. In the beginning there were no such. Furthermore, these later activities were created by individuals joining together, for the benefit of the individual. The individual came before the nation. The individual did not come from the nation. A nation exists as a group of living individuals, is formed by and of individuals. The life of the individual does not derive from the life of the nation. After states and societies were formed, the individual could not avoid being born into one of them, as is true today, with the effect that the nation is great and the individual small, the nation important and the individual unimportant. A closer look would show that this is not really so. Paulsen's view reflects the fact that he grew up in Germany, which is deeply impregnated with nationalism. . . .

A second selection, from a letter of Mao to his intimate friend Cai Hesen in January 1921, dates with the utmost precision Mao's conversion from anarchism to Marxism, barely six months before the First Congress of the Chinese Communist party in July 1921. Passages from the letter were published three decades ago, but they were those endorsing the dictatorship of the proletariat, not those stating that Mao had only just made up his mind in favor of Marxism against anarchism. In the text, Mao's understanding of the relation between political and economic power does not as yet appear wholly Marxist:

Dear Hesen:

. . . The materialist conception of history is the philosophical basis of our Party. It is all facts, and is not like rationalism, which cannot be substantiated and is easily disproved. Originally, I hadn't studied this question, but there are substantial reasons for my present refusal to recognize that the principles of anarchism can be verified. The political organization of a factory (the management of production, distribution, etc. in a factory) differs only in size but not in nature from that of a nation or of the world. Syndicalism regards the political organization of a nation as qualitatively different from the political organization of a factory; it claims this is a different matter, which should be handed over to a different kind of people. This is either a deliberate attempt to make lame excuses for being resigned to circumstances, or evidence of stupidity and lack of common sense. Furthermore, there is an extremely important argument [against this view]

in terms of method: without achieving political power, it is impossible to launch, maintain, and carry through the revolution! The view put forward in this letter of yours [Ed. note: to the effect that the only solution for China lay in a proletarian dictatorship exactly like that in Soviet Russia] is entirely appropriate, there is not a single word with which I disagree. . . .

Yours,
Zedong

The third, finally, consists of one of Mao's two available interventions at the so-called August 7th Emergency Conference of 1927. Summoned in the wake of Chiang Kai-shek's massacre of the Communists in Shanghai in April 1927 and of other bloody defeats in the spring and summer of that year, this gathering aimed to allocate responsibility for the failures of the Chinese Communist party and also to adopt new policies and a new leadership. Of Mao's remarks of August 1927, nothing was known until fairly recently.

The passage translated here is from Mao's observations on the keynote speech by Lominadze, the new Comintern representative recently sent to China as Stalin's emissary. Lominadze argued that China had already entered the period of the agrarian revolution, and that if the Chinese Communist party did not stop cooperating with the Nationalists to pursue national revolution and alter its tactics of alliance with the Nationalists, it would cease to be a Communist party.

In response, Mao continued to support the peculiar form of alliance known as the "bloc within" adopted in 1922, under which Communists joined the Nationalists as individuals. He did so, however, only on the condition that the Communists strive actively to take over the Nationalist party and use it for their own ends. This was Stalin's position, echoed by Lominadze, though it was to be overtaken by events less than a month later, when the so-called Left Guomindang, a faction of the Nationalist party, broke with the Communists, as Chiang Kai-shek had done in April. Most striking today, however, is the emphasis on the central role of military force in the Chinese revolution, summed up in the proposition that political power comes out of the barrel of a gun.

This familiar axiom has long been thought to date from 1938, but the passage indicates that Mao had stated it eleven years earlier:

The whole of the Comintern representative's report is very important. First, the issue of the Guomindang has long been a problem for our Party, and has not yet been resolved. There was, in the first place, the issue of joining it, and then there emerged the question of what kind of people were supposed to join it, i.e. that industrial workers should not join it. In fact, we did not make up our mind whether we should instruct the peasants to join it or not, let alone the industrial workers. At that time, a fundamental idea of ours was that the Guomindang belonged to others. We did not realize that it was an empty house waiting for people to move in. Later, like a maiden getting into the bridal sedan chair, we reluctantly moved into this empty house, but we never made up our mind to play the host there. I think this was a big mistake. . . . It is only now that we have changed our tactics, so as to make the workers, peasants, and masses enter the Guomindang to play the host there.

Second, the issue of the peasant. The peasants want a revolution, Party [members] close to the peasants also want a revolution, but the upper level of the Party is a different story. Before I arrived in Changsha, I had no reason to oppose the Party's decision which sided entirely with the landlords. Even after arriving in Changsha, I was still unable to answer this question. It was not until I had stayed in Hunan for more than thirty days that I completely changed my attitude. I made a report in Hunan expressing my opinion, and simultaneously sent a report to the Center. [Ed. note: The first of these was the celebrated "Hunan Peasant Report" originally addressed to the Nationalists; the second, more forthright assessment of the situation, prepared for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, has only recently become available in Chinese and has not yet been translated.] This report had its impact in Hunan, but it had no influence whatever on the Center. The broad masses inside and outside the Party want a revolution, but the Party leadership is not revolutionary; there really is a hint of something counterrevolutionary about it. I have established these views under the guidance of the peasants. Formerly, I thought the opinion of the leading comrades was right, so I didn't really insist on my own views. Thus my opinions, which they said were unreasonable, did not prevail. . . . In sum, the influence of the masses over the Party leadership was far too small in the past.

The Young Mao of 1918

Some marginal annotations to
Paulsen's *A System of Ethics*

On Ethics

I have two propositions regarding ethics. First, individualism. Every act in life is committed to serve the individual, and all ethics serve the individual; expressing sympathy for others, seeking happiness for others are not actually for others, but for oneself. If I have certain inclinations to love others, I must fulfill them; if I do not fulfill them, my life will not be complete, which means that I have failed to reach the ultimate ends. . . . Second, realism. . . . I am responsible only to my own subjective and objective realities. I am not responsible for anything that is not my own subjective and objective reality. The past and future I do not know are irrelevant to my present. I do not agree with the assertion that man in history has the responsibility of inheriting the past for the sake of the future.

毛泽东

On Heroism

The actions of the hero are his own, are self-motivated and completely self-generated, without previous guidance. His strength is like that of a powerful wind which blows everything before it. . .

On Moral Law

Some say that moral law comes from the command of God and that man must obey unquestioningly. This is a slavish mentality. If you should obey God, why not obey yourself? You are God. Is there any other God? We study the origins of man's conscience and discover that this question comes from ourselves. To suggest that it comes from ourselves, but then say that we should obey all things in the universe, is not as good as obeying what comes from ourselves. Throughout our entire lives, all of our actions are egotistical actions. . . . In the past, I stressed altruism thinking that there was only the universe, without self. Today I know this is not so. The self implies the universe.

Third, as regards military affairs, we used to censure [Sun] Yat-sen for engaging only in a military movement, and we did just the opposite, not undertaking a military movement, but exclusively a mass movement. Both Chiang [Kai-shek] and Tang [Tang Shengzhi, a Hunanese general hitherto thought by Mao and others to be relatively progressive] rose by grasping the gun; we alone did not concern ourselves with this. At present, although we have paid some attention to it, we still have no firm concept about it. The Autumn Harvest Uprising, for example, is simply impossible without military force. . . . From now on, we should pay the greatest attention to military affairs. We must know that political power is obtained from the barrel of a gun.

Toward the end of August, when Mao was sent to Hunan to organize the Autumn Harvest Uprising, which was an insurrection against the existing authorities, he acted on his newly realized principle of the necessity of military force by gathering under his command the few thousand available trained troops to carry out his mission. Subsequently, he was censured for his "military deviationism" by the party leadership, which proposed to rely rather on a massive uprising by the peasants themselves. Military force remained, however, a central element in his thinking about the strategy of revolution both before and after 1949.

The continuing relevance of Mao's heritage is today more sharply in evidence than has been the case for some time. Mao won China by leading armies to victory, and for more than two decades before 1949, the Communist party survived only in symbiosis with the Red Army. This legacy of the intimate involvement of the military in political affairs, to a degree far surpassing that in the Soviet Union, bore bitter fruit on June 4, 1989, in Tiananmen Square. The interpretation of Mao Zedong's thought that will prevail in China tomorrow and the precise impact of his heritage on current policy are topics on which it is hazardous to speculate. What can be said with certainty is that the Maoist legacy, in one form or another, will continue to mark Chinese reality and to exert an influence in the world for a long time to come.

It is hoped that the English edition now in preparation will not only add to current understanding of politics, society, and cultural change in twentieth-century China but also bring to life facts and ideas that have helped shape the contemporary world. The edition will contain dozens of texts, of varying importance, that have never before been translated. Other important material is expected to become available for translation in the near future. Two volumes containing Mao's early writings in Chinese, which were scheduled to appear in China earlier this year, will undoubtedly be available shortly, despite the events of last June. They contain a total of 283 items, of which 89 are published for the first time, and many others have been unobtainable in the West. It is too early to know whether a third Chinese volume in the series, unlike the two previous ones, will undergo some form of censorship on political grounds. □

In 1989 Harvard University received \$200,000 in outright funds and \$50,000 in matching funds from the Translations category of the Division of Research Programs to complete "The Chinese Communist Revolution: A Complete Annotated Translation of Mao Zedong's Works down to 1931."

PEOPLES OF THE PACIFIC

BY DIANA PABST

*Renovating an Exhibition
at Chicago's Field Museum
of Natural History*

THE PACIFIC ISLANDS, also known as Oceania, number from twenty- to thirty-thousand and range in size from near-continental Papua New Guinea to tiny atoll footholds. They are divided into three major groups—Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia—which together stretch across a third of the earth's ocean surface.

The Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago houses one of the world's preeminent collections of Pacific culture, totaling more than 55,000 items. Some 1,500 of these will be incorporated in the museum's new exhibition "Peoples of the Pacific," two-thirds of which opens this November, and the remainder in November of 1990. The largest exhibition the Field Museum has ever displayed, it is part of the museum's ten-year agenda to renovate exhibitions of its permanent collections.

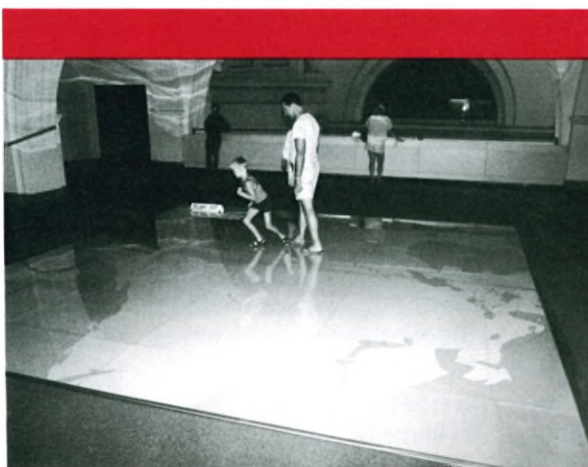
Diana Pabst is a writer and editor in Washington, D.C.

Telling a Story

When the exhibit team set out to create the exhibition, they not only turned to ethnologists, historians, and native peoples for guidance; they also sought the views of nonexperts, asking hundreds of visitors to the museum about their impressions of the Pacific Islands. Most of those museumgoers described "a place that doesn't really exist," says Phyllis Rabineau, senior exhibit developer at the Field Museum and the project's director. Their answers suggested images shaped by the tales of Melville and Michener, the paintings of Gauguin. But one response was consistent, and encouraging: Nearly everyone wanted to know more about the region and its culture.

"We knew we had an

audience that didn't know much about the subject, and because studies have shown that people learn best when material has a story line, we organized the exhibition to tell the story of the Pacific region from its prehistory to modern times," says Rabineau. "It starts with how these islands got here. Once they were formed, they were just barren piles of rock. Then plants and animals



The "island hop" invites museum visitors to step off the distances from island to island.

Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History



Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History

The exhibition's outrigger canoe (right) in situ on Jaluit Island, Republic of the Marshall Islands; and a working model that demonstrates how the outrigger functions.



Photo by Tamara Biggs

dispersed and adapted to the environments, and finally people arrived and settled in."

To show this progression, the exhibit team adopted a multidisciplinary approach with science and humanities components, the latter supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Opening this November are the science sections on the geography and natural science of the region, including island formation and biological variation, and humanities sections on the canoe as an aspect of technology that illustrates the diversity of Pacific cultures, on traditional life in a Huon Gulf village of Papua New Guinea as a case history of adaptation to one particular environment, and on activities in a modern Tahitian marketplace as an example of contemporary life on another island.

To avoid presenting "cultures as specimens," Rabineau says, the juxtaposition of the latter two sections presents differences between places and continuities over time. "We want to make museumgoers aware that there are real people living there today, leading real lives," she emphasizes.

The remainder of the exhibition, opening next year, will include humanities sections on the various cultures of Melanesia and their art and ritual life.

Using Visitor Evaluations

Michael Spock, the Field Museum's vice president for public programs, has guided the development of "Peoples of the Pacific." Integral to his philosophy, Rabineau says, is the need to "make an exhibit with the

audience in mind, to get to know what information—and misinformation—they bring." Accordingly, the museum staff conducts visitor evaluations at various phases of exhibition design. Revisions are then made where necessary to improve the educational effectiveness of the display.

In preliminary studies for "Peoples of the Pacific," Rabineau says, the museum staff showed visitors a potential floor plan and mock-ups of parts of the exhibition, and then asked them to fill out a questionnaire including questions such as "How would you explain what this is about to someone else?" and "Is it interesting to you?"

One mock-up was a working model of an outrigger canoe, showing how the canoe's attached stabilizer rides over swells independently from the main body of the

canoe. "We put it out on the floor and watched people use it and then asked questions to see if they understood the principle," says Rabineau.

A challenge the designers conquered in a novel way was how to communicate the vast expanse of the Pacific and the distances between islands. When a designer built a mock-up 20-by-20-foot Plexiglas floor map inviting museumgoers to track the distances underfoot, response to the "island hop" was uniformly enthusiastic. As a result, a ceramic-tile floor map with island place names has been added to the exhibition. "This approach presented geographic orientation in a way we couldn't have gotten across otherwise," Rabineau says.

The Interpretive Strategy

The greatest challenge in designing the exhibition was how to convey the diversity of cultures without confusing visitors. "One of the issues of the exhibition is the huge diversity of peoples," Rabineau says. Social systems range from highly stratified royal chiefdoms to egalitarian, loosely structured clusters of village hamlets, she points out. And groups living on atolls hundreds of miles apart can be culturally similar, while villagers in adjacent valleys of New

Guinea may have pronounced differences in language and customs.

Consequently, the exhibit team designed a multi-tier interpretive strategy, including environmental reconstructions, interactive components, artifact areas, and study areas. In the section on the diversity of peoples, for example, the canoe is featured as an aspect of technology that illustrates how native peoples adapted to a variety of environments—open ocean, lagoons, inland rivers, and coastal waterways. "People living on little islands have to worry about transoceanic travel, so they became adept at sailing outrigger canoes," says Rabineau. "But people in New Guinea, who live along rivers and swamps, are not concerned with traveling on the ocean and have dug-out canoes that are adapted to their environment. The differences in canoe technology help exemplify the diversity of peoples."

The centerpiece of the section will be a contemporary outrigger canoe from the Marshall Islands, pulled ashore on a lagoon beach. This scene will be surrounded by a reading rail with interpretive material explaining aspects of canoe technology in Marshallese culture. To communicate cross-cultural relationships, the artifact area will compare the canoes of many Pacific cultures through a dis-

play of canoe models, prow ornaments, paddles, photographs, and other items.

The unit on prehistory, part of the canoe section, includes an interactive computer and study area. The computer exercise, Rabineau says, will enable museum visitors to gain a better understanding of the achievements of early Pacific settlers and the important decisions they faced in preparing for a voyage—what season to sail, which direction to take, how many people could go, and how much water and how many pigs to stock.

The study area will include maps, photographs, and replicas of archaeological finds, enabling museumgoers and scholars to examine firsthand the evidence used by researchers to reconstruct the islanders' prehistory.

"Once the exhibition opens," Rabineau says, "we'll be down on the floor evaluating it, seeing what people get and don't get, and making changes accordingly." □

Since 1988 the Field Museum of Natural History has received \$800,000 in outright funds and \$150,000 in matching funds from the Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations Program of the Division of General Programs to support "Peoples of the Pacific."



Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History



Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History

Laukani Village in Huon Gulf, Papua New Guinea (left), is being recreated in miniature.



Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands: Islanders and U.S. Marines get together for a feast.

CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS IN THE PACIFIC WAR

BY GEOFFREY M. WHITE AND LAMONT LINDSTROM

GUADALCANAL—TARAWA—Saipan: For the Allied and Japanese combatants, World War II in the Pacific Islands consisted of a series of military encounters in distant jungles and far-flung atolls spread across thousands of miles of ocean. Written histories record these events in a language of military move and countermove—of strategies, battles, victories, and defeats. But in the shadows of this war epic lies another story—that of small communities of islanders caught up in events beyond their control, and often beyond their imagining.

When Pacific islanders are mentioned at all in Western or in Japanese chronicles of war, they are usually cast in supporting roles as “loyal natives” who variously serve heroically or suffer stoically. However, when viewed from a different perspective—that of the island communities themselves and their own histories—the events of the Pacific war take on a quite different significance. Local remembrances record the war as a moment in social history involving encounters with new kinds of people and new technologies—encounters that deeply affected identity and aspirations for the future all over the Pacific.

The influx of armies into remote missionary and colonial outposts irrevocably ruptured the status quo of prewar society. Particularly in the southwest Pacific region of Melanesia, where established colonial regimes separated European “masters” from native “boys,” the sudden encounter with new sorts of outsiders less concerned with maintaining a guise of superiority introduced new

ideas and greatly accelerated moves toward political autonomy and independence. Often taken for granted by anthropologists and historians, wartime events possess local significance in the context of island cultural traditions and longer histories of contact and change. Our research project, supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities, focuses on the war’s cultural encounters as they are recollected on two Melanesian islands—Santa Isabel in the Solomon Islands and Tanna in Vanuatu, New Hebrides. Building upon eighteen months of previous ethnographic work, we spent four additional months of fieldwork in each place, living among the inhabitants and recording their stories.

By framing our study as an investigation of *recollections*, we are concerned with local historiographies as well as the details of particular wartime events. In the tightly knit villages characteristic of most of the rural Pacific, events of significance are recreated in stories, songs, skits, and ceremonies in which members of the community are both performers and audience. Not so much concerned with recording historical “truth,” these narratives function as shared repositories of past experiences. Judging from the vast number of stories and songs that continue to circulate, wartime events are an important part of the historical discourse that many Pacific islanders use to represent themselves in the modern world.

THE WONDERS OF WAR

The extensive coding of war events in island oral histories is due not simply to the sheer magnitude of the war, but to its social, cultural, and political salience. The war came at a critical moment in the history of many island communities struggling to define their relations with colonial authorities and the wider world. It presented opportunities for improved status and political involvement, and offered new ideas and skills that could be used to challenge entrenched colonial regimes. In areas where islanders had become increasingly restless under domineering colonial officers, the encounter with powerful, exotic, and often friendly military personnel was a potent catalyst for change. Memories of these encounters, and the social and

political changes the encounters produced, are enduring relics of the war. The scale of wartime events was enough to ensure a place in island memories, bringing both technological and cultural shock. On the island of Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands, for example, the number of Allied and Japanese servicemen who died in six months of fighting was nearly double the total indigenous population of 15,000. The amount of military hardware that moved through the region was fantastic by any standard, but incredibly so for remote islands without roads, wharfs, or airstrips. From 1942 to 1945, four million tons of cargo were shipped to the Pacific for the U.S. Army alone. The Navy had its own supply lines; so did other countries—Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. This cargo was stockpiled at bases around the Pacific, some of which grew to the size of small cities in areas that previously had seen only coconut plantations. So great was the infusion of cargo that at the end of the war vast quantities were simply dumped or destroyed. At Kukum docks on Guadalcanal the U.S. Army burned, buried, or dumped at sea 58,831 tons of materiel worth \$19,888,587. The network of base roads, airfields, Quonset huts, storage facilities, wharfs, and hospitals that was left behind became the site of the Solomon Island capital after the war.

The first reaction to the technological onslaught was one of amazement. A song by the laborers who were recruited on Vanuatu recalls the time:

*Happiness, astonishment here;
We saw many things:
airplanes, submarines, tractors, autos.
The land was too small;
They were like the sand and
the stars in the sky,
impossible to count.*

Even though the colonial authorities geared wartime wages to the prewar plantation economy (one pound a month or about four dollars American), people quickly discovered that extra dollars could be acquired through trading in artifacts and doing odd jobs. In this way, an islander might earn the equivalent of a month’s wage in a single day. Frederick Osifelo, a Solomon Islander from the island of Malaita, recounts

Dr. Geoffrey M. White began his field work in Melanesia in 1973. He has completed the first dictionary of Cheke Holo, the language of Santa Isabel in the Solomon Islands. Lamont Lindstrom began research on Tanna, Vanuatu, in 1978. He has produced a dictionary of one of the island’s languages, Kwamera. Among the books the two have written are The Pacific Theater: Island Representations of World War II and The Big Death: Solomon Islanders Remember World War II. White is a research associate at the East-West Center in Honolulu; Lindstrom is an associate professor of anthropology at the University of Tulsa.

**...WE WOULDN'T TAKE ANY BECAUSE WE WERE AFRAID...
BUT THE AMERICANS SAID,
"YOU ALL EAT THESE THINGS. THIS IS OUR FOOD.
LET'S ALL EAT WHILE WE ARE ALL STILL ALIVE."**

in his autobiography *Kanaka Boy* (University of the South Pacific, 1985) his involvement in this new enterprise:

The demand by American Marine and Army personnel for such things as sea-shells, carving, walking-sticks, grass skirts, combs and so on, resulted in even people of my age focussing on making or finding something to sell. I was fourteen years old in 1942/43 and actively involved in making walking-sticks, combs and grass skirts. At night we went out to the reef with torches or lit coconut leaves in search of sea-shells. Sometimes we sent our stuff to Lunga with relatives working in the Labour Corps so that they could sell them for us; at other times we sold them ourselves when the warships visited Auki.

Islanders' fascination with military abundance is easily overstated if stripped of its social and historical context. It was not simply material wealth and technological prowess that were important, but rather their meaning within local understandings of power, prestige, and political relations. For Melanesians, status and intergroup relations are built up through the exchange of wealth; so the encounter with military personnel who bartered or gave away huge stocks of food, clothing, and equipment left deep impressions. Food—a singularly important medium of exchange and symbol of social relations—emerges repeatedly in islanders' stories of encounters with Americans. Isaac Gafu, a Solomon Island laborer recruited to work on Guadalcanal, recalls:

We had already been working for four months before the Americans started arriving in great numbers. They came with their cargo and you ate until you could not eat anymore so you threw the food away. When the boxes would break open and food would fall out all over the place

we wouldn't take any because we were afraid. . . . But the Americans said, "You all eat these things. This is our food. Let's all eat while we are all still alive."

The easy exchange of goods and services that grew up around Allied bases suggested at least the possibility of more egalitarian relationships with Westerners than those that characterized prewar society. War-time commensality departed from previous patterns which accentuated hierarchy and the separation of islanders from Europeans. Jonathan Fifi'i, leader of a Solomon Islands work detail, emphasizes these differences in his stories of the American soldiers (recorded by David Akin):

They asked us to come inside their houses. They were not really houses, but what they called 'tents,' big pieces of canvas. They invited us inside, and when we were inside, we could sit on their beds. We got inside and they gave us their glasses so we could drink out of them too. They gave us plates and we ate with their own spoons. That was the first we had seen of that kind of thing. We talked about it like this, "Those people like the British and the whites before, it was terrible because they were not kind to us! These people here are really nice to us. We can all sit on one bed, and we all eat together."

It was not only eating together that altered conceptions of native self and Western "other." Every time an islander and a soldier did the same job, played the same game, wore the same clothes, or addressed each other with the wartime colloquial "Joe," the established code of separation was violated. Wartime recollections in the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu are replete with statements like Fifi'i's that make explicit contrasts between military and colonial officials. Thomas Nouar, in charge of

a World War II labor crew from southeast Tanna, recalls:

The French and English demanded to feed us. They fed us but gave us bad food. . . . I don't know his name but I showed it to the boss in the ship. The ship boss took me and explained the problem to a boss living on the small island of Iririki. He told me to throw the food into the launch. The launch sped to the islet Iririki and I went into the office with the food on a plate. We went to see an American officer, a general. I brought the food and showed them what we were eating—stinking salt meat. It stunk even though we boiled and boiled it. Bad Fiji taro. He took the food and led me, the police coming along with guns, and we two went to find two other big-men sitting in another office. One was white and one black. We went in and they discussed the problem and at the same time, that evening, the Americans had already sent us rice. And they gave us meat; and gave us different fruits and all different foods. And they gave us clothing, old clothing; they stacked up used clothing in a huge pile. Trousers, coats—you passed by and if you saw your size you took it.

Whatever the realities of wartime labor relations, veterans of island labor corps in Vanuatu and the Solomons contrast American generosity with colonial attempts to maintain the prewar norms. Islanders resented administrative efforts to constrain their relations with the Americans. As Tannese workers saw it:

They only let America feed us but America didn't give us money. The French and the British gave money to us. They paid us but the money was small! We worked hard for it. . . . What bad treatment.

Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands, 1944: The huge stacks of goods on U.S. bases gave rise to a new pidgin term for abundance, "staka."

The danger of "contamination" from contact with easygoing Americans and their overly generous dispensation of military surplus, was not lost on colonial officials. A British officer in the Solomons lamented the American influence: "He (the native) is a welcome visitor in their camp now, and it can be safely assumed that he will find there all the anti-British talk that he wants."

Authorities in the Solomons and Vanuatu issued directives restricting the movement of islanders in and around bases. In the Solomons, British authorities asked the American commander on Guadalcanal to circulate a memorandum that began:

It has come to the attention of the Commanding General that certain practices on the part of military personnel prejudicial to the full utilization of native labour and the control of natives by British authorities are becoming prevalent. These

practices include—overpayment for services or commodities, employment of casual labor without adequate supervision or control. . . and permitting natives to wander through camps and military areas and encouraging this latter bad practice by feeding or making gifts to these casual natives.

*Major General Patch
March 19, 1943.*

NATIVES AND "MASTERS"

Because neither ordinary American military men nor islanders cared much for these dictates, such attempts to regulate their interaction were ultimately subverted. Many islanders acquired small stockpiles of military clothes, blankets, cutlery, and other equipment, along with thick bankrolls of American dollars. More important, they acquired new perspectives on their own identity and political status that contributed

to anticolonial sentiments and post-war movements for autonomy. On the surface, there is an apparent disjunction between the dedication of island soldiers to the cause of their former "masters" and the widespread skepticism toward colonial practices that war recollections reveal. Even though the stories of island veterans are full of tales of bravery and sacrifice, one may also hear countervailing strains of doubt, tension, and antagonism, although these dissonant elements are muted—crowded out by motifs of dedication and devotion more consonant with conventional narratives of war. Indeed, the hegemony of the victors' heroic history has shaped islanders' own accounts, especially as they are elicited by and incorporated in the works of military historians.

The themes of loyalty and sacrifice are prominent in those areas that were occupied by the Japanese and



National Archives, U.S. Army Signal Corps



U.S. Naval Construction Battalion Center

retaken by Allied forces, usually with intense fighting. It was in these regions that invasion and counterinvasion created great uncertainty about the political future. Large populations that had only recently adjusted to the control of an outside colonial power found themselves once again thrust into a situation where government was either confused, distant, or nonexistent. The hasty evacuation of Australian and British colonial officers from northern New Guinea and the Solomons, in the face of the Japanese sweep southward in early 1942, shattered reputations colonialists had attempted to build as powerful protectors and pacifiers.

Many people in rural areas who still only dimly understood the colonial apparatus faced the Japanese advance with open curiosity. And the Japanese occupiers, for their part, often attempted to capitalize upon anticolonial sentiments with a rhetoric of solidarity with native peoples exploited by white oppressors. In some cases, these policies won them supporters; more often they were received with puzzlement and fear by people who wished primarily to survive a war that was not theirs.

For many people along the north coast of New Guinea and in the northern Solomons where the Japanese came and stayed for as long as three years, the question of how to deal with these newcomers became a serious and potentially fatal dilemma, as it did for Agi Nagawe of Butibam village in New Guinea. Because Nagawe had helped the Japanese with various jobs, the Australians jailed him for several months when they returned. He was



Col. Michael Curtin (USMC, ret.)

Above: Three Seabees barter with local traders for fruit, betel nuts, walking sticks, and grass skirts. Left: Seghe, New Georgia, Solomon Islands, 1943: Members of Donald Kennedy's coastwatching unit train with rifles.

released for service with the New Guinea Infantry Battalion only to be killed in action far from home. For others, assistance rendered to Japanese occupiers resulted in sentences of "treason" and execution. In one of the more notorious cases, a local leader named Emboge took advantage of Japanese occupation to arm his followers, and ultimately challenge even the Japanese in an effort to reassert local autonomy forfeited decades earlier to the Australians. As reported by Hank Nelson in *Taim Bilong Masta* (Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1982), he told the Australian officer who finally arrested him: "You people ran away and we were left here. We had to live here. We tried you out and you were hard on us, and we thought we'd try the Japanese. When they failed us we armed ourselves with all the left over rifles and settled our own differences."

Despite his plea, Emboge and fifteen others were hanged.

Stories such as those of Nagawe and Emboge received little play in the accounts of war that circulated. Loyalty and bravery were preferable islander images. Perhaps the most well-known story is that of Jacob Vouza, a member of the Guadalcanal constabulary, who was caught and questioned by the Japanese but refused to divulge any information. Stabbed twice and left to die, Vouza managed to crawl to a U.S. Marine position and describe the enemy location. His story was widely publicized even as the fighting raged, most notably in Richard Tregaskis' war chronicle, *Guadalcanal Diary* (Random House, 1943). Since then, the scores of volumes about the Guadalcanal campaign generally include at least passing mention of Vouza as a symbol of islander support of the Allied war effort.

Another oft-told story involves a "coastwatcher," one of the men who remained hidden in the islands to spy on Japanese movements and ra-

dio the information to Allied command centers. This particular man, Donald Kennedy, was a European and the leader of a group of thirty or so Solomon Islanders. His second-in-command was Bill Bennett, a Solomon Islander of mixed European and local ancestry.

Their forays in a thirty-foot boat against Japanese patrols are described in the British Colonial Office annals, and in later years in Walter Lord's *Lonely Vigil* (Viking, 1977).

In the most dramatic encounter, the battle of Marovo Lagoon, Kennedy and the crew aboard the *Dadavata* chased a Japanese vessel with all guns blazing, ultimately ramming her and killing her entire crew. During the battle, Kennedy was shot in the leg, and several members of his crew were wounded in a grenade explosion after Bennett panicked and turned the wheel the wrong way.

Bennett himself would recount this over the years: His testimony, in fact, contributed to Kennedy's being awarded the Distinguished Service Order. Bennett told this version not only to Walter Lord but also to us and our colleagues doing ethnohistorical research in the Solomons.

In 1987, after Kennedy had died, Bennett changed his story and said it was not the Japanese but he who had shot Kennedy, out of long-suppressed rage spawned by repeated humiliations inflicted by Kennedy. Several of the Santa Isabel men in Kennedy's force recalled being tied to a 44-gallon drum and whipped for minor mistakes or infractions. Bennett himself says that on one occasion he was forced to put on a 50-pound pack and march around the compound for four hours. The latter punishment was meted out when he reportedly failed one night to find Kennedy a willing village girl.

Bennett also noted that the grenade explosion that wounded most of the men on deck in the last moments of conflict was probably not a

Japanese grenade at all, but one thrown foolishly by one of their own men.

Bennett's alternative accounts of the battle of Marovo Lagoon, the heroic and antiheroic, summarize our interests in the functions of war recollections and the contexts of their telling. When Bennett was interviewed by military historians, he focused on heroic action and islander loyalties. When involved with our ethnohistory project—the war from the "local point of view"—Bennett narrated a tale of colonial repression and violent reaction. Whether one, neither, or both of his stories are *true* is not our central concern. Rather, we are interested in how people use war narratives and songs in the present to tell stories about themselves, about their communities, and about their relations with the wider world. Just as the cargo and food-sharing stories of labor-corps veterans highlight concerns with colonial inequalities that foretell the eventual independence of most Pacific Island nations, Bennett's alternative narratives present an image of "self" appropriate to the context of their telling.

The history of postwar political development in the Pacific shows a rapid acceleration toward the formation of independent island nations. Whatever the details of this development, the perception in many parts of Melanesia is that the achievement, decades later, of self-government and independence manifests ideals first articulated and espoused widely during the war.

In societies that, until recently, had no written history, tales of the past survive only insofar as they are useful in the present. Stories and songs of the Pacific war, too, will survive because they are "good" to tell. □

The East-West Center received \$91,829 in 1987 from the Interpretive Research category of the Division of Research Programs to complete "Cultural Encounters in the Pacific War: Text and History."



Courtesy of New Britain Museum of American Art

Arts of the City, 1932, part of Benton's mural cycle on the popular arts, The Arts of Life in America. Right: Thomas Hart Benton.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, TOM BENTON!

BY
VALERIE
LESTER

THE FILM *Thomas Hart Benton: An American Original* is like Benton himself and the America he celebrates: rambunctious, punchy, gaudy, and controversial. Filmmaker Ken Burns has crammed his documentary with images and anecdotes, jazz and country music, humor and pathos, and he illustrates the life of one short man who towered in the artistic life of his country.

Benton's friends and enemies recount his story, which explodes with the color and life of the America he painted. They describe the pace, the funkiness, the out-and-out energy of the man and his work. This is what they tell: Thomas Hart Benton was born in 1889 in Neosho, Missouri. His father was a lawyer and politician elected four times to Congress as "The Little Giant of the Ozarks." His great uncle, Thomas Hart Benton, was the first U.S. senator from Missouri and had wounded Andrew Jackson in a duel. Tom was spoon-fed politics and thrived on the con-

troversy it spawned. At an early age he accompanied his father on campaigns, and as the years went by he was naturally expected to follow in his footsteps; however, drawing was Tom's passion, and his mother encouraged him in defiance of her husband. Col. Maecenas Benton did not take well to his son's desire to be an artist, and the combat raged: Tom Benton ran away from home and became a cartoonist at seventeen; his father prevailed and sent him to military school instead of art school; then Tom countered and entered the Chicago Art Institute. Tom distanced himself even further by going to Paris where he was a small fry in a city of genius. He caroused and carressed and haunted the Louvre until his mother brought him home, where he caused such a stir that he was packed off to New York, where he worked like a whirlwind and fell in love with the only woman who could stand a lifetime with him, Rita Piacenza, who adored him, married him, and managed him.

Not wanting to be part of a mainstream that was still wowed by Europe and the impressionists, Benton tried every imaginable approach to

painting and was unsatisfied until he found himself more and more under the influence of Rubens, El Greco, and Tintoretto. Tintoretto always painted from a wax model, and Benton started to make models, too. Muscles and sinew in clay became muscles and sinew in paint, thanks to Tintoretto; daring, vibrant colors shouted of El Greco.

But New York began to sour for Benton. He was loud in his disdain for the critics. Back in Missouri, his father was dying, and Benton went home to make amends. And again he fell in love, this time with the heart of America and what he felt was the reality of his country. "Benton began to represent the Midwest in his painting, paralleling that



Photo by Peter A. Juley, National Museum of American Art

Valerie Lester is a Washington, D.C., playwright and teaches composition at the George Washington University.



Courtesy of Florentine Films



Courtesy of New Britain Museum of American Art

Clockwise: Filming the Benton murals, *A Social History of Missouri*, in the Missouri state capitol. *The Sun Treader* (Portrait of Carl Ruggles), 1934. *Arts of the West*, from the series *The Arts of Life In America*, which was created for the library of the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York City.

of Mark Twain in writing," suggests Henry Adams, curator of American art at the Nelson-Atkins Museum. "And like Twain, at first what looks simple in Benton's work ends up being complicated."

When Benton returned for a time to New York, he was filled with images of that other America, the one independent of coastlines; this passion finally exploded in the huge mural, *America Today*, a political and historical epic. When another invitation came to him to paint a mural, this time for the Missouri state capitol in Jefferson City, it wasn't hard for him to accept. He moved back home and created *A Social History of Missouri*, his masterpiece, sparing no one in his gibes and representations,

including his father and brother and "Boss" Tom Prendergast. Benton was his father's son, waging politics with his paintbrush.

He was outrageous. He painted nudes to hang in saloons. The city fathers could, if they cared to, see themselves in the elders who ogle Suzannah, or in the peeping Tom who leers at Persephone. Benton became more and more intemperate, especially about what he called the "the limp-wristed world," and finally bit the hand that fed him—the Kansas City Art Institute. He was fired about the same time as the regionalism he represented fell from favor, and abstract expressionism moved to the foreground.

Thomas Hart Benton scorned a



Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art (Gift of the Friends of Art)

world that he saw as devoid of reality, and in which, ironically, one of his own students, Jackson Pollock, was to become a superstar. Benton turned back to the land, struggled to paint mountains, and cursed the fashions of the times. But the pendulum was to swing. As Benton said about surviving to a ripe old age: "You outlive your enemies." By the end of his life, realism was creeping back into American art and the public wanted more Benton. A huge mural was commissioned by the Country Music Foundation of America; on January 19, 1975, Thomas Hart Benton completed *The Sources of Country Music*. He had dinner with his wife, told her that he thought he had finished his work, and went out to his studio with the intention of signing the mural. There he died of a heart attack. The man who had raged so harshly at the world slipped quietly from it.

Maybe the sum of Ken Burns's marvelous film and all that will be and has been written about Thomas Hart Benton can do justice to the man and his furious artistic energy, but it's a matter of conjecture. Only his paintings come close. □

As part of the centennial of the birth of Thomas Hart Benton, NEH provided \$40,000 to the New Britain Museum of American Art in Connecticut to conserve the Benton mural cycle, "The Arts of Life in America," and \$240,000 to the WGBH Educational Foundation in Boston to make a documentary of Benton's life. The grants came from the Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations Program of the Division of General Programs.

NOMADS

Masters of the Eurasian Steppe

BY SUSANNE ROSCHWALB

A LONG THE TRADING routes from Peking to Constantinople, nomads traveled on horseback for three millennia, carrying with them precious commodities and ideas about religion, art, and technology.

The cultural significance of these wanderings in the history of Eurasia is the basis of "Nomads: Masters of the Eurasian Steppe," a landmark exhibition featuring the largest archaeological-ethnographic collection ever to leave the Soviet Union.

Among the 1,400 artifacts are gold ornaments, weapons and saddles, textiles and clothing, utensils, jewelry, leather goods, musical instruments, religious and ceremonial articles, and a yurt, the portable dwelling used by Eurasian nomads.

The exhibition was organized by the Academy of Sciences in Moscow and Leningrad and the Natural His-

tory Museum of Los Angeles County. It has been showing in Los Angeles and Denver, and moves in mid-November to the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C.

The story of the exhibition is a tale of two men: Russian anthropologist Vladimir Basilov and the late American Nobel Laureate, Richard P. Feynman.

Feynman, a leading theoretical physicist of his day, was an inveterate traveler. One of his obsessions was Tuva, a small Soviet republic in central Siberia. He and a friend, a bongo-playing math teacher named Ralph Leighton, were fascinated by the obscure republic that had once been an independent country and had a capital city called Kyzyl; they made a pact in 1976 to go there.

"Any place that's got a capital named K-y-z-y-l has just got to be interesting," Feynman said on the *Nova* television series. "The whole idea was to have an adventure."

Feynman, who taught physics at the California Institute of Technology for thirty-six years and won the

Nobel Prize for physics in 1965, did not want to go to Tuva as a formal guest of the Soviet government.

An alternative way was found. On a trip to Moscow in 1985, his friend Leighton met Vladimir Basilov, one of the organizers of "Nomads," which, Leighton learned, contained artifacts from Tuva. "We got this idea," Leighton recalls. "We'd bring the exhibit to California, and we'd become appointed members of whatever museum receives it. Then we'd go to Tuva as representatives of the museum to inspect the archaeological sites and make arrangements."

In 1986, Leighton flew to Scandinavia to see the traveling exhibition, returned home, and approached Peter Keller, a programming official at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County. Keller liked the idea of hosting the show and formal negotiations with the Soviets began.

But it took until February of 1988 to reach agreement. The invitation for Feynman and Leighton to go to Tuva came too late. Feynman had died a few days before.

An early twentieth-century photograph shows the domed felt yurts of the Kazakhs.





Peter the Great's Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad

Kazakh shaman, early twentieth century, playing a kobyz, a traditional violin-type instrument made from a single piece of wood with horsehair strings.

Leighton ultimately made the trip. And the venture that had begun as a lark resulted in a major exhibition in the United States, supported with a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

For Basilov, who is head of the Department of Central Asian and Kazakhstan Research of the Mikloukh-Maclay Institute of Ethnography in Moscow, the exhibition is the culmination of ten years of effort.

That the nomads were not just barbaric tribes is the exhibition's message. "They created their own culture in spite of being viewed as barbarians by the sedentary population," says Basilov. "We shouldn't think that they just rode with their animals—dirty and joyful with their

food. They thought about the possibility to make everything they possessed light, not heavy, not breakable, so convenient to their way of life." Although there still are nomads living in the Soviet Union and parts of Mongolia, Basilov says they have settled into occupations such as sheepherding, moving their flocks between permanent dwellings.

The way of life still has "the flavor of their own essence of culture," Basilov says. "Some elders that live today remember that in their youth they had this way of life."

Central Asia comprises the great expanse behind the Himalayas where almost all rivers run, not to the sea, but inland. There they disappear into great basins such as the

NOMADS: Masters of the Eurasian Steppe

This exhibition covers the periods from the Scythians of 800 B.C. to the Huns, the Mongolian empire of Genghis Khan, and finally, the tribes of the mid-twentieth century. It will be in Washington, D.C., through February 18, 1990.

In conjunction with the exhibition, the Smithsonian Institution will be offering two symposia:

- *"Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery,"* November 16 and 17. This scholarly symposium will bring together six American and twelve Soviet scholars to explore the geopolitics of Central Asia. Registration and program information are available from the Office of Program Services, Room 3123, Ripley Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560.

- *"History on Horseback,"* November 18. Presented by the Smithsonian Resident Associate Program, this all-day seminar will bring American and Soviet scholars together to explore Mongols and Mongolia. This is a ticketed event. Contact the Resident Associate Program, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560.

Peter the Great's Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad





Kazakh Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography, Alma-Ata

Reconstruction of the "Golden Man." More than 4,000 gold objects, most of them costume ornaments, were found in the grave of a Sakian nobleman.

Gobi Desert or feed the inland lakes—such as Baikal and Balkhash and the Caspian Sea that lie along the rift zones of the Eurasian continent. These rivers fringe the steppe, vast grasslands that can support herds of grazing animals but are generally too cold and arid for the growing of crops. Along the rivers, lakes, and skirts of mountains in this land of nomadic herdsmen lie irrigated regions supporting dense populations dependent upon agriculture.

Central Asia thus contains within it a great contrast of ecology between the steppe and the sown.

The nomadic way of life, based primarily on the keeping of animals for transport and food, had perhaps its greatest impact on world culture through the technologies of warfare. The technique of adapting the horse for battle—saddles, stirrups, mounted archery, coordinated maneuvers, specialized weapons, and clothing such as trousers for the rider—were discovered or developed by the nomads.

The horse harness, which today seems such a simple apparatus, was not invented all at once. Several millennia passed before man, having tamed the horse, became a rider and invented the bridle and saddle complex used by equestrians today. The bridle was the most ancient element. Its earliest remains date from the third millennium B.C.

The invention of a hard wooden saddle and stirrups did not occur until the sixth century among the ancient Turks of central Asia and south Siberia.

Many depictions of fifth- and sixth-century horsemen from the lower reaches of the Yangtze, the mountain valleys of Korea, and the Japanese islands have survived. They are all similar to one another and sharply different from depictions of riders in preceding epochs in that the mounted riders' feet are seated in stirrups. The first form of stirrups, a special wooden step attached to the left side of the saddle, was not used for riding but only as an aid in mounting. It soon became clear that stirrups improved a rider's stability and maneuverability.

Warfare was not the only form of relationship between the steppe nomads and the peoples of southwest Asia and central Europe. Diffuse trade and cultural contacts also united the dissimilar worlds.

By way of the nomads, bronze mirrors passed from Olbia to the Volga, beyond the Don and into the foothills of the Urals; ornaments of Greek work made their way to the Caucasus. Scythian aristocracy prized gold and silver ornaments manufactured by Greek craftsmen.

One showpiece is the so-called Golden Man, excavated in 1969–70 by archaeologists from the Kazakh Academy of Sciences working at the Issyk burial site in southeast Kazakhstan. The remains of the corpse and the grave goods, buried in the

fifth or fourth century B.C., were preserved in full. More than 4,000 gold objects, most of them costume ornaments, were found in the Golden Man's grave. A profusion of decorative gold plaques were sewn to his garments. Those on his belt depicted stylized deer; a horse and elk decorated his dagger sheath.

A section is also devoted to bowed musical instruments. Today scholars of music seem united in the opinion that the first bowed instruments were created by the nomads and were borrowed by sedentary peoples. The first mention of a bow was in Persia in the ninth century; in China, a bowed zither is spoken of in the ninth or tenth century; in Europe, fiddles are depicted in the tenth century. The wide variety of bowed string instruments in Asia, Africa, and medieval Europe has led scholars to the conclusion that the European violin now in broad use went through a long process of trial and error before it reached its contemporary shape.

"This exhibition represents an exciting glimpse into a world about which very little is known outside the Soviet Union," according to Craig Black, director of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County. "Not only have these pieces never been exhibited in the United States; some have not even been shown in the Soviet Union."

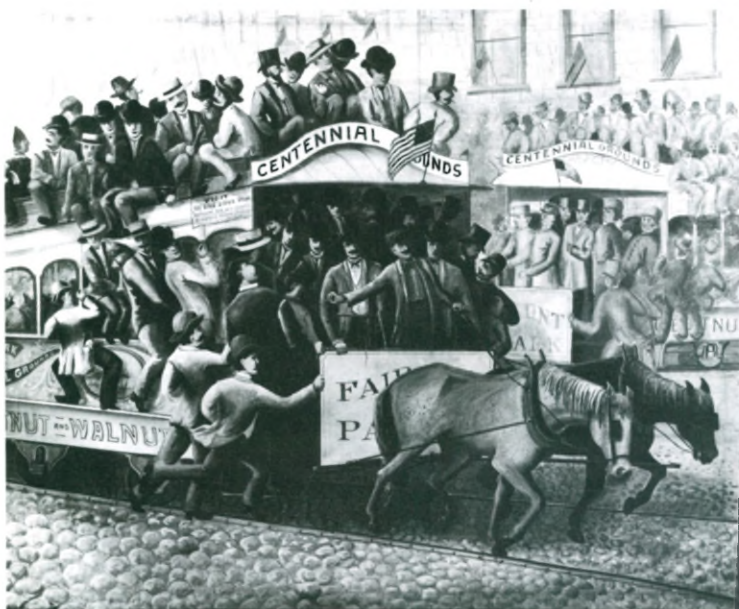
The artifacts come from eight Soviet collections, with the majority from Peter the Great's Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad and the Leningrad division of the Institute of Ethnography of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

Thomas W. Lentz, curator of ancient and Islamic art at the Los Angeles Museum of Art, commented: "It is unlikely that this group of objects from so many Soviet sources, many of them known to scholars only from obscure academic publications, will ever again be assembled for audiences in this country." The exhibition will be in the United States through mid-February. □

In 1989 the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County was awarded \$225,000 in outright funds from the Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations Program of the Division of General Programs to support "Nomads of Eurasia."

CALENDAR

November ♦ December



Courtesy of Historical Society of Pennsylvania

"Visions and Revisions: Finding Philadelphia's Past" opens as a permanent exhibition at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in December.



Musée du Louvre

The art and way of life of the middle class under France's Louis Philippe are considered in "The Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830 to 1848," which runs through December at the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri.



Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi

This bust of Demeter, found near the modern Viale Paolo Orsi, will be among the objects shown in "Syracuse: The Fairest Greek City," an archaeological exhibition starting in November at the Emory University Museum in Atlanta.



Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome

"Gardens and Ghettos: The Art of Jewish Life in Italy," an exhibition at the Jewish Museum in New York City, covers the Roman Empire to the mid-twentieth century; through February.



University Museum of Archaeology/Anthropology

The Maya and Christian calendars are explored in "Time and Rulers of Tikal: Architectural Sculpture of the Maya" through February at the Museum of Natural History in Denver.



"Mozart's Fortepiano Concertos" will be performed on the instruments for which they were written, and discussed at a symposium November 16-17 at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.



Courtesy of Florida Museum of Natural History

The early Spanish explorer, Hernando DeSoto, is portrayed in "First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the Southeastern U.S.," an exhibition at the Florida Museum of Natural History in Gainesville through December.

—Kristen Hall

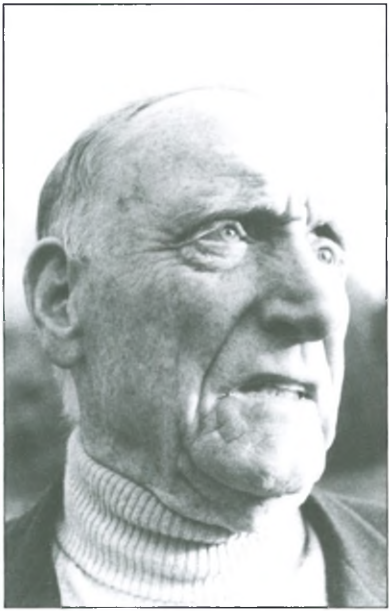


Photo by William Ferris

IN MEMORIAM ROBERT PENN WARREN 1905-1989

ROBERT Penn Warren, winner of three Pulitzer prizes and the 1974 Jefferson Lecturer in the Humanities, died this past September at his home in Connecticut. His novel, *All the King's Men*, was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1947, and two volumes of poetry, *Promises* and *Now and Then*, won Pulitzers in 1958 and 1979. In 1986, Daniel J. Boorstin, the librarian of Congress, named him the nation's first poet laureate.

In the 1974 Jefferson Lecture, "Democracy and Poetry," Warren had this to say:

I suppose that I do think of poetry as a passion of the soul—though the lingo is high-falutin. Even a nourishment of the soul, and indeed of society to boot, in that it keeps alive the sense of self and the sense of a community. It even, in the same act and the same moment, helps one to grasp reality and grasp his own life. Not that it will give definitions and certainties. But it can help us to ponder on what Saint Augustine meant when he said that he was a question to himself.



NOTEWORTHY

Brown-bag Culture

It's not often you can pick up sushi, Japanese cartoons, and a lecture on oriental culture on your lunch break. But if you're an employee at Merck and Co. in Rahway, N.J., all you have to do is sign up for InTHINK, a program developed by the New Jersey Committee for the Humanities (NJCH) and the New Jersey Department of Higher Education in an effort to bring humanities programming to employees of corporations.

The program came about in 1987 after the state education department formed a Business/Humanities Advisory Council. The department heard about a lunch-hour program on the Constitution that the New Jersey humanities council had developed for Johnson and Johnson, Inc. The department then offered to provide funding if the humanities council would provide staff support and programming. Six corporations sponsored the first effort, with two choosing programs on music, two on art, and two on American literature. Since then twenty-two companies have participated in InTHINK, including RJR Nabisco Brands, Inc.; AT&T; RCA; Mobil Research and Development Corporation; and Prudential Life Insurance. InTHINK provides a scholar, along with texts and other materials. The corporations supply logistics and sometimes underwrite a brown-bag lunch.

According to NJCH Special Projects Manager Marnie Allen, the program on Japan was developed to meet the needs of companies who have increasing business dealings with Japanese corporations. The sushi was a special touch by Merck.

Rehnquist and the Constitution

A lot of attention is given to the decisions of the Supreme Court, but

often little is known about the people behind the decisions. That is where a scholar like Sue Davis steps in. Davis used a 1985 NEH Summer Stipend to write *Justice Rehnquist and the Constitution*, published this spring by Princeton University Press. The book explores the judicial philosophy of the early career of our current chief justice through an analysis of his opinions, votes, and public addresses. "The thesis is that a philosophy of legal positivism underlies his judicial works," says Davis. "Understanding the values and ideas of the justices is essential to comprehending the Supreme Court as a decision-making body."

Preservation Grants

The word *library* conjures up images of quiet rooms where one goes to read, study, and reflect. But behind the scenes many libraries have serious problems with deteriorating collections. In a continuing attempt to address the problem, the National Endowment for the Humanities has announced \$15 million in preservation grants to twenty-five institutions. The grants, ranging from \$2,800 to \$2.5 million, will be used to microfilm books, photographs, monographs, and videotapes in danger of disintegrating from acid residues. The grants represent the largest amount allotted by NEH for preservation. The New York Public Library will use its \$2.5 million grant to preserve 40,000 volumes from its American history and culture collections. In the words of NEH Chairman Lynne V. Cheney, "These projects will help preserve a significant part of our cultural legacy so that it may be available to future generations of scholars."

—Carole Parish

Ex Libris

BOOKS PUBLISHED RECENTLY WITH NEH SUPPORT

N·E·H

AWARD WINNERS

◆ Art Libraries Association of North America—Wittenborn Award

Washburn, Dorothy K., and Donald W. Crowe. *Symmetries of Culture: Theory and Practice of Plane Pattern Analysis*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988.

◆ Art Libraries Society of North America's George Wittenborn Award for one of the outstanding art books produced in North America in 1988.

Forman, Benno M. *American Seating Furniture*. Winterthur, Del.: Winterthur Museum, 1988.

◆ American Association of Museums, Museum Publications Award of Distinction

Lentz, Thomas W., and Glenn Lowry. *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989.

◆ Choice—Recommended Outstanding Book of 1986–87

Szondi, Peter. *Theory of the Modern Drama*. Edited and translated by Michael Hays. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

◆ Choice—Recommended Outstanding Book of 1987–88

Frank, Joseph, and David I. Goldstein, eds. *Selected Letters of Fyodor Dostoyevsky*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1987.

◆ College Art Association Alfred H. Barr, Jr., Award

Jaye, Michael C.; Robert Woof; and Jonathan Wordsworth. *William Wordsworth and the Age of English Romanticism*. New Brunswick, N.J., and London: Rutgers University Press, 1987.

◆ Gustavus Myers Center for the Study of Human Rights in the United States

Southern, David W. *Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Relations: The Use and Abuse of "An American Dilemma," 1944–1969*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987.

◆ Modern Language Association Award

McKeon, Michael. *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

◆ Modern Sino-Japanese Relations Award, 1988

Reynolds, Douglas R. "A Golden Decade Forgotten: Japan-China Relations, 1898–1907," *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 4th ser., no. 2 (1987), 93–153.

◆ New York State Historical Association, Henry Allen Moe, second place award

Grier, Katherine C. *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors and Upholstery, 1850–1930*. Rochester, N.Y.: Strong Museum; Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

◆ Organization of American Historians Award

Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: American's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

◆ Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies Hubert B. Herring Memorial Award for best scholarly book of 1988.

◆ Rocky Mountain Publishers Association Art Book Award, runner-up in quality art book category.

Esser, Janet Brody, ed. *Behind the Mask in Mexico*. Sante Fe: Museum of International Folk Art and Museum of New Mexico Press, 1988.

◆ Pulitzer Prize, 1989

McPherson, James M. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

◆ Washington Art Directors Association Award

Kimball, Greg D., and Marie Tyler-McGraw. *In Bondage and Freedom*. Richmond: Valentine Museum; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

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Addiss, Stephen. *The Art of Zen*. Lawrence: University of Kansas; New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989.

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Berrin, Katherine, ed. *Feathered Serpents and Flowering Trees: Reconstructing the Murals of Teotihuacan*. San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, 1988.

Bilski, Emily D. *Golem: Danger, Deliverance, and Art*. New York: Jewish Museum, 1988.

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The Endowment's Front Office

BY JOY EVANS

Confused about how to get NEH information? Want to know what's new at the Endowment that's pertinent to you? Need to know when your application should be submitted? This column answers frequently asked questions received in the Endowment's front office—the Office of Publications and Public Affairs.

Q: I'm looking for sources of humanities funding for (pick one):

- ☐ myself
- ☐ my faculty and staff
- ☐ my organization

A: OPPA responds to hundreds of inquiries a week from people like you who want to know how and when to approach NEH. With more than thirty-five NEH program offerings, sometimes it's hard to know where to start.

Q: You mean, instead of contacting six different NEH offices to ask about their programs, I can ask OPPA all my questions at once?

A: Yes. We can give you the latest about current or new programs, changes in deadlines, and what application forms to use. In short, we have *Endowment-wide* information that will affect early decisions you need to make about applying.

Q: What if I know which program I want? Must I wind through a bevy of bureaucrats, starting with OPPA?

A: Of course not. Besides, there are no bureaucratic runarounds at NEH. (Well, hardly any.) We encourage you to discuss the specifics of your appli-

cation with our program staff members as early as possible. You *should* contact the program first if you know the fit is right. That's one of the reasons staff names and telephone numbers are listed in the "Deadlines" pages of *Humanities*. Program staff will always provide you with *correct* deadlines and *current* guidelines.

Q: You seem to be stressing that I seek *correct* application deadlines and forms. Are you hinting that they sometimes change?

A: They do change, but not like Alice's experiences in Wonderland. Here's what happens. NEH establishes its application deadline dates about two years in advance. We then put together a yearly printing schedule to coincide with the deadlines. From year to year, some application requirements change, so we capture them in the new guidelines produced on the printing schedule. Up-to-date guidelines and application forms are ready at least two months before a deadline, and in some cases, much earlier.

Q: So changes are planned in advance and incorporated into the guidelines. I'm still wary. What if a new program is added or a deadline changed during the year? How can I find that out?

A: You have three options.

1. Subscribe to *Humanities*, published bimonthly. The Guide section lists new activities and deadlines.
2. Get the *Overview of Endowment Programs*. It's revised twice a year in January and July, and it's one of our most popular publications. It describes all of the Endowment's programs, lists two years' worth of application deadlines, gives the addresses and phone numbers of state humanities councils,

which are additional sources of humanities funding, and gives advice on applying. Any Endowment office will send it to you. And it's free.

3. Contact OPPA with even a postcard requesting general information about what you want. Send it to:

Humanities Endowment
OPPA, Room 406
Washington, DC 20506

Or visit. Every cabby in town knows the Old Post Office Building at 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

Q: Just one minute! You mean I have to *write* to you every few months? At that rate, I won't have time to prepare an application. Can't you just put me on the mailing list?

A: Unfortunately, we just don't have the resources to maintain large mailing lists right now. However, we *do* promise to mail the material you need within three working days. Also, we welcome your phone calls. Put our number in your Rolodex now—

202/786-0438,
8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., EST.

Q: What else does OPPA provide?

A: We can provide multiple copies of our publications for conferences. If you come to town and want to meet several staff members to discuss grant programs, we can help set up appointments. If you edit a newsletter and want to announce NEH programs and deadlines to your readers, we will meet *your* deadlines by providing information promptly. If you need information about special activities, such as the Jefferson Lecture or the Frankel Prizes, we've got it. Or if you're missing one of our Chairman's reports or an issue of *Humanities*, let us know and we'll send you a copy. □

Joy Evans is the public information officer in NEH's Office of Publications and Public Affairs.

DEADLINES

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.

	Deadline	For projects beginning
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Higher Education in the Humanities—Lyn Maxwell White 786-0380	April 1, 1990	October 1, 1990
Institutes for College and University Faculty—Barbara A. Ashbrook, 786-0380	April 1, 1990	October 1, 1990
Core Curriculum Projects—Frank Frankfort 786-0380	April 1, 1990	October 1, 1990
Two-Year Colleges—Judith Jeffrey Howard 786-0380	April 1, 1990	October 1, 1990
Elementary and Secondary Education in the Humanities—Ralph Canevali 786-0377	December 15, 1989	July 1990
Teacher-Scholar Program for Elementary and Secondary School Teachers— Angela Iovino 786-0377	May 1, 1990	September 1991
Division of Fellowships and Seminars —Guinevere L. Griest, Director 786-0458		
Fellowships for University Teachers—Maben D. Herring 786-0466	June 1, 1990	January 1, 1991
Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars—Karen Fuglie 786-0466	June 1, 1990	January 1, 1991
Fellowships on the Foundations of American Society—Maben D. Herring, 786-0466	June 1, 1990	January 1, 1991
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Travel to Collections—Kathleen Mitchell 786-0463	January 15, 1990	June 1, 1990
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Directors	April 1, 1990	Summer 1991
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Preservation—George F. Farr, Jr. 786-0570	December 1, 1989	July 1, 1990
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DEADLINES

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.

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Public Humanities Projects—Wilsonia Cherry 786-0271	March 16, 1990	October 1, 1990
Humanities Projects in Libraries—Thomas Phelps 786-0271		
Planning	February 2, 1990	July 1, 1990
Implementation	March 16, 1990	October 1, 1990

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Each state humanities council establishes its own grant guidelines and application deadlines. Addresses and telephone numbers of these state programs may be obtained from the division.

Guidelines are available from the Office of Publications and Public Affairs two months in advance of the application deadlines.

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