

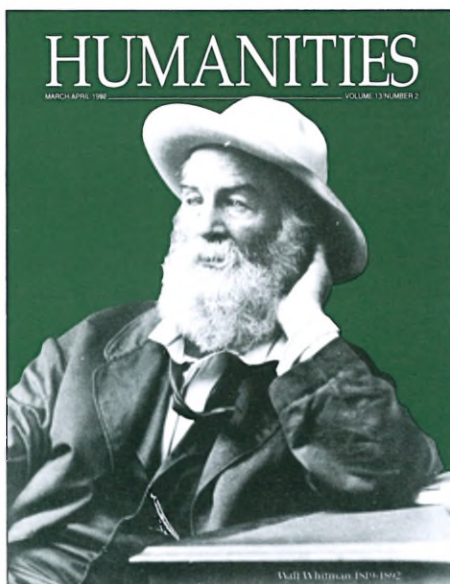
HUMANITIES

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Walt Whitman 1819-1892



Walt Whitman in an 1872 photograph by G. Frank E. Pearsall. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

Humanities

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The Walt Whitman Centennial

He was a printer's devil, a country schoolmaster, a newspaperman, a builder of houses, a wartime nurse, a government clerk, a poet. Walt Whitman, who died one hundred years ago this March, brought a new voice, a new vernacular to American poetry.

Like Hawthorne and Emerson and Melville, Whitman felt that he had dwelt long enough within the cultural traditions of Europe. He saw in America—and analogously in himself—an emergent greatness and celebrated it in a small volume of untitled poems printed in 1855, *Leaves of Grass*. "I sound my barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world," he crowed in one of them.

He was exuberant, egotistical, and shocking.

Critic Mark Van Doren later wrote that Whitman owed a clear debt to Emerson, citing the book's epigrammatic style, the nature of things said, and "the quality of the egoism." Van Doren added: "From Emerson he learned his fundamental lesson, that a man could accept and celebrate himself in cosmic language. He could transfer his vision from the eccentric, the unique self to the general, the impersonal one. He could move at once from doubt of Walt Whitman, to faith in Man, of whom he might take what he called 'Myself' as representative. Bound as he was to brood upon his own nature, he found in Emerson a way to do so which would legitimize his emotions, liberate himself, and fascinate the world."

The untitled poem was to become "Song of Myself," and Whitman was to continue the exploration of self and nationhood for the rest of his life. The twelve poems and ninety-five pages of the original *Leaves of Grass* grew to 293 poems and 382 pages by the sixth edition in 1881. The poems were in their final form, although Whitman kept tinkering with what he called the "annexes" at the end. In later life, most of it spent in Camden, New Jersey, Whitman received the occasional visitor and wrote some more. He began building a mausoleum to bring together his scattered family. And he began a final edition of *Leaves of Grass*.

In January of 1892, two months before he died, Whitman prepared an advertisement for the *New York Tribune*:

Walt Whitman wishes respectfully to notify the public that the book *Leaves of Grass*, which he has been working on at great intervals and partially issued for the past thirty-five or forty years, is now completed, so to call it, and he would like this new 1892 edition to absolutely supersede all previous ones. Faulty as it is, he decides it is by far his special and entire self-chosen poetic utterance.

In this issue of *Humanities*, we look not just at Whitman but at two others who flourished in the late nineteenth century. Although some, like Mark Twain, slighted Whitman's work, others found in the search for a distinctive American vision an inspiration for their own endeavors. In art, a fledgling Winslow Homer was drawing for the illustrated periodicals of the day, developing a fluidity of form that would be carried into his more serious painting. And in architecture, H. H. Richardson, newly returned from study in Paris, was addressing the question of designing for the new materials and techniques of the industrial age.

They were to foreshadow the new American century.

—Mary Lou Beatty

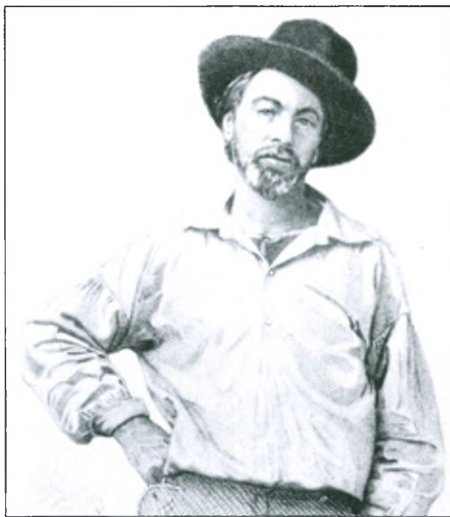
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A Conversation with ... ATTILA POK & PETER HANAK

THE CHANGING FACE OF EDUCATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE WAS THE TOPIC WHEN NEH CHAIRMAN LYNNE V. CHENEY MET RECENTLY WITH EDUCATORS IN BUDAPEST AND PRAGUE. IN THIS PASSAGE SHE TALKS WITH ATTILA POK, SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF HUNGARIAN HISTORIANS AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE EUROPA INSTITUTE, AND PETER HANAK, HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE INSTITUTE FOR HISTORY OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

Lynne V. Cheney: First you might explain to me what the Hungarian Academy of Sciences does.

Attila Pok: When it was originally founded it was a body of distinguished scholars. It didn't have the function of day-to-day managing and organizing the activity of scholars because scholarship was organized through university chairs.

After the Second World War, following the Soviet pattern, the academy was reorganized as something like a ministry of scholarship. It was believed that scholarship, just as other things of life, can be administered and planned and managed.

So the academy and the research institutes of the academy were used for research and the university chairs did the work of teaching; and in an artificial way, teaching and research were divided.

This system had disadvantages, but also some advantages, because in the fifties, especially in the late fifties, early sixties, there was a great number of very prestigious scholars who were not allowed to teach at the universities, but still they were allowed to do some research

work in the research institutes. Whatever they could publish was under control, but anyway they could survive as scholars.

From the late sixties and early seventies on, the intellectual climate became more liberal and our institute especially gained in prestige. Our budget came from the state, and if the senior leader of the research institute could convince the responsible politicians that this or that project was very important, that it might enhance the prestige of the academy, and thus enhance also the prestige of socialist Hungary, then money was no problem.

Now the aim of the academy is to get a really autonomous position so that it isn't dependent in its scholarly activity on the government or anybody else. But at the same time, the parliament has to put a certain amount of money in the budget at the disposal of the academy.

At the present moment, however, when the whole country is in a very difficult economic situation, all expenses that have no direct social use, that do not produce immediate returns or profit are difficult to get. This is now the great problem of the academy, that the parliament wants to



Peter Hanak, Attila Pok, and Lynne V. Cheney

Courtesy of U.S. Information Service

subsidize only those things of research which are directly productive even those only to a limited extent; and we thus have a very great problem in getting enough money for our work.

This is, of course, a disadvantage, but there are also very positive changes. First of all, the whole intellectual climate is now much more liberal than it used to be. Secondly, completely new forms of subsidizing scholarly research have turned up, foundations and so on, so that an institution like the academy as a whole and the research institute within it doesn't expect all its expenses to be covered by the state budget.

It is difficult to explain the new situation to scholars who were used to just applying for something and they either got it or they didn't get it, and the reason was not financial but political. They have to be persuaded to consider foundations and various other forms of indirect financing of research when they are developing their projects.

For a very long time, scholars, especially in the field of humanities, had no idea about the financial side of research, and I think that in the very long run, this new awareness might be an advantage. More realistic projects might be worked out, but this period of transition we are in is very, very difficult.

Cheney: One of the questions to be decided, I understand, is who will grant Ph.D.'s, whether this will continue to be a function of the academies or whether this will be returned to the universities.

Peter Hanak: This is the task of the universities.

Cheney: Why was it assigned to the academies in the past? Was it an attempt to weaken the universities?

Pok: It was an attempt at centralizing and controlling academicians and their universities. You couldn't, for example, be appointed to a certain position at the university without having an academic degree, so while in principle the university had the right to appoint, it was in fact not the right of the university because if that person didn't have that degree they couldn't be appointed. So it was another way of trying to keep everything under control; and there were

ideological criteria, as well, for getting this or that degree.

Cheney: What kind of ideological criteria?

Hanak: You have now a wonderful mathematician in the United States, Jean Kollar, a Hungarian and a genius in mathematics at twenty. But he was, first, religious and, second, didn't follow the Marxist line so he couldn't get the support he needed. Therefore, he could not go to the Soviet Union. Consequently, Kollar went to the United States, got a job in Princeton, got married, and now you have an expert, an excellent Hungarian.

Pok: In order to get a degree, you had to pass a number of examinations, not only a special examination in your own field, but also exams in the ideological philosophy in Marxism and Leninism.

Cheney: On these ideological exams, what kind of questions would you have to answer?

number of universities the content fundamentally changed.

For example, at the faculty of law, at Budapest University, a very good chair for real political science developed. It was also quite remarkable that some of these chairs also became the centers of what is generally described as reformed communism. Relatively young intellectuals within the party were trying to achieve certain changes by maintaining the framework but slowly transforming it. But there were other universities where the material used for teaching was exactly the same as in 1962.

Cheney: One professor I talked to said that many Hungarians learned two languages, so to speak, two intellectual languages. One was the language of Marxist-Leninism, and the other was a more private language. Does this fit with your experience?

Hanak: This is ideological bilingualism. Yes, because, for example, a family has a family language for the

“TO A HUNGARIAN STUDENT THE PROFESSOR
IS AN AUTHORITY. THE AMERICAN STUDENT
CONSIDERS THE PROFESSOR A PARTNER.”

—POK

Pok: Maybe you were asked about what Lenin said about the role of the state. These exams were taken very seriously. At every university when you started your curriculum, you also had to choose some sort of ideological subject, such as political economy or scientific socialism. There were special chairs for all this, and you can imagine how many people had this as a background and who were teaching this and lived on teaching it. The quality, of course, varied.

Cheney: You couldn't teach capitalism or free market economies in a positive way, could you?

Pok: No. But it kept changing, so the history of the seventies and eighties in Hungary is extremely interesting. The old framework survived. It remained the same, so that the students at university kept learning all these ideological subjects, but at a

children, and then at school there is another language, so we were accustomed to have two faces and split consciousness, if you want, something for the public life and something for family and society life.

My society, for example, was mostly composed of oppositional scholars, but in public life, including here or the institute, one had to take Marxist-Leninist ideology into account. Now we don't have to. And we don't.

Cheney: When I talk to scholars in the former Soviet Union, they talk about not being able ever to get the books that they wanted. Was that a problem in Hungary, too?

Pok: It was not easy to buy sometimes the very expensive source publications, for example, but if somebody had a peculiar research interest and was in need of a specific book, one could either within the frame-

work of a trip or with the help of a library exchange generally get it.

Cheney: We have been talking about the difficulties that the old regime caused at the college and university level. Do you pay attention to the schools?

Pok: You mean primary and secondary?

Cheney: Yes.

Pok: We are sometimes asked to give lectures for primary and secondary

prepares you to pass this examination, that's his business.

Cheney: Is the examination you mention a good one?

Hanak: This is a very controversial problem. Some want to abolish this so-called German and Hungarian "maturity" examination. And some are for such an examination. It would be very hard for us to have a number of different examinations because we are a small country. We can have a

if you have a Xerox machine in the corner then you can copy a lot of things. And you can distribute them.

It was the same with personal computers. Now we have got a whole desktop publishing system, and some of the publications that we have prepared were also made with the help of this system.

Cheney: How did you get that? Were you able to get state money for it?

Pok: It was step by step. One, the very first one, we got with the help of the Soros Foundation. Whenever we had, for example, the task of publishing something very important, then we could ask for further support and sometimes it arrived in the form of another computer.

Cheney: When you look at how education used to be under the old system and you compare it with now or where you want to be, what was the greatest weakness?

Pok: Of the former system?

Cheney: Yes.

Hanak: If you want a very quick and simple answer, it was the lack of pluralism, the thinking in pluralistic forms, where there are alternatives. Up to the mid-eighties that was the biggest problem, I would say. From the mid-eighties, we had some pluralistic thinking, but only at the higher level.

Pok: I remember lecturing at a great number of secondary schools in the countryside in the mid-1980s, and I must say that if I compared the intellectual atmosphere of those secondary schools to some prestigious secondary schools in Budapest, they were completely different worlds, as if they were not in the same country. The rural students were really unable to think in a pluralistic way.

I could make the same comparison between American and Hungarian students. The greatest shock for me when I started teaching American students was that their background knowledge was generally more limited than that of an average Hungarian student, but they were much more willing to think and ask questions. Much more.

The Hungarian student knew more, but was unwilling really to think.

It was not just the amount of information but their whole approach also

**"THE GREATEST SHOCK FOR ME WHEN I
STARTED TEACHING AMERICAN STUDENTS WAS
THAT THEIR BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE WAS
GENERALLY MORE LIMITED...."**

-POK

school teachers. We are sometimes asked to revise history textbooks for primary or secondary schools. Right now there is a very, very great difficulty in that primary and secondary schools are in great need of a textbook for the post-World War II period.

Cheney: I am sure.

Pok: It's not that all the former history books cannot be used because some of them are good for earlier periods. But for the post-World War II period, they are not only permeated by ideology, but they deal with problems that are unimportant from the present point of view. They devote much attention to the congresses of the Communist party or the various factions, let's say, within the Communist party.

A lot of things have been omitted that are important. In this work our institute and historians again have an important role.

One thing that has changed now is that some schools—religious ones, for example—don't have to use the official textbook published by the Ministry of Education. The ministry works off the national curriculum, which is compulsory for every school. The final examination that students take at age eighteen is based on this curriculum, but how the teacher prepares you with the help of what books, pre-

variety of schools—private ones, religious only—but not a variety of examinations.

Cheney: The private schools are supported by the state?

Hanak: Yes, and the foundations.

Cheney: Are American foundations important here? I hear about the Soros Foundation?

Pok: Yes, Soros is a very great help. He was the very first American to establish a foundation in Hungary and it does many things: scholarships for students and teachers of English, enrichment of libraries. If anywhere at a cultural institution you see a good-quality copy machine, there is some possibility that this was bought with the help of the Soros Foundation.

Cheney: When I was in Russia, in the former Soviet Union, I remember talking to historians who said that they did get a copy every month of *Foreign Affairs*, but there were fifty historians and only one copy. I said, very foolishly, why don't you Xerox it? They had no Xerox machine and no prospect of getting a Xerox machine. We sometimes forget how important these things are.

Pok: I must say that the lack of Xerox machines was due not only to economic problems but to political and ideological problems as well, because

to the professor. To a Hungarian student the professor is an authority. The American student considers the professor a partner. They are building up something together.

If a Hungarian student asks a question and the professor says, well, I'll come back to that next time, everybody forgets it by next time. But generally, in the case of American students, they will ask "Did you prepare your answer for me and have you read what I submitted?"

There is certainly nothing like an evaluation sheet at Hungarian universities.

Cheney: Student evaluations?

Pok: Student evaluations which the student has to complete. When I teach my American students, at the end of every term they have to complete an evaluation form. It couldn't be imagined in Hungary.

Cheney: Is it a good idea?

Pok: Yes. It is. It all came to my mind when you asked about the weaknesses of the old system. The greatest weakness of the system was that it didn't develop a person able to participate in a pluralistic society where he has to make decisions every day, so the end results or the end product of this educational system was a more or less well-trained subordinated person or subject.

Cheney: Still, your students know a lot, you said.

Hanak: The interest is very great for history in central Europe, which makes it all the worse that history was simplified to schemes and dogmas.

The personal experiences of the fathers and grandfathers of the students did not fit with the history students were being taught. Instead of learning about the Russian siege of Budapest, for example, they learned about the Russian "liberation."

The personal experiences I could give to my children became very important for us. Our children did not learn in school, for example, about the extermination of Jews, and there was no word of this problem for forty years.

Cheney: In the textbooks?

Hanak: In textbooks, in the media, because it was—how you say—for each party it was something inconvenient, something...

Cheney: Awkward.

Hanak: Awkward, that's a good word. It was almost prohibited to speak of the Hungarians in the Second World War because we fought against the Soviet Union; no memorial statues for the victims of the Second World War.

Pok: The Hungarian victims.

Hanak: The Hungarian victims. We had to teach that we fought an unjust war against the Soviet Union, which is true because it was not a very progressive thing, but that had nothing to do with the individual soldier. His family had to be silent about him.

Pok: One problem we have now, that it might be strange to hear about from a historian, is that one often has the feeling that too much attention is being paid to the past. Politicians in parliament deal more with the past than with the present, which is their proper task.

Of course this is understandable because if there are unclear things in history or uncertainty about facts, then that's a problem people want to

Pok: There might be different reasons for it. First of all, I think there is a long-standing tradition that certain things that couldn't be expressed politically were expressed in the form of historical analogies.

So problems of the day were meant, but the person was actually writing about some historical subject. That was also the role of literature and art. There were a number of things that intellectuals and artists could say that politicians could not.

Another reason might be that so many traditional politicians from the socialist regime have been completely discredited. Therefore, we need new people who haven't been discredited politically, and this vacuum has been filled by a number of intellectuals, free intellectuals.

Cheney: If I come back and visit you in five years, how will your lives be different?

Hanak: (laughter) Come back in two years.

"WHO KNOWS WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN THE
EX-SOVIET UNION, IN YUGOSLAVIA, IN
ROMANIA, IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA? WE ARE
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—HANAK

come to terms with. But there is an overemphasis on clarifying historical problems, and if you made a content analysis of the speeches given in parliament, of how much was dedicated to various periods of Hungarian history and how much to real, burning, present problems, it would be surprising to see how much attention is given to the past.

Hanak: Our president used to be a historian, and so, too, the minister of war or defense, and the minister of foreign affairs.

Cheney: It is unusual. In the United States, intellectuals very seldom become political leaders, but we see this in central Europe. Why is that?

I am uncertain how to answer the question because we are greatly dependent on our neighbors. Who knows what will happen in the ex-Soviet Union, in Yugoslavia, in Romania, in Czechoslovakia? We are dependent on foreign factors.

Our party system is not in good shape, or final shape; therefore we don't know what trend will be victorious. Still I think that until 1995 or 1996, our greatest problems will be economic. So if you go to our ministry, I hope you will say that humanities are one of the most important things for the coming twenty years, as important as technologies, and as important as any technological knowledge. □

A Conversation with...
RADIM PALOUS



THE CONVERSATION CONTINUED IN PRAGUE WITH
RADIM PALOUS, THE NEW RECTOR OF CHARLES
UNIVERSITY. DR. PALOUS IS THE UNIVERSITY'S
FIRST FREELY CHOSEN RECTOR, ELECTED
BY THE SENATE FACULTY.

Radim Palous: Perhaps I should describe the university for you. Charles University was founded by the Czech king Charles in 1348—there's none older in central Europe. In all of Europe, only the Sorbonne is older, and Oxford, Cambridge, some of the Mediterranean universities. In 1998, we'll celebrate our 650th year.

There are sixteen faculties and 30,000 students, and that's enough. We don't wish to be bigger. We have more than 3,000 teachers from Marienbad to Dubrushka.

Lynne V. Cheney: I've heard about your new social science department. Tell me how it came to be.

Palous: In the old university, there had been a faculty of journalism, which was nothing more than a school for teaching Marxist-Leninist propaganda. After I was elected rector of the university in 1990, I established instead the faculty of social sciences, in which also the former institutes of economics and politology were included.

I appreciate very much the help of the Mellon Foundation and other U.S. institutions' helping us in postgraduate education, particularly in economics.

Cheney: What was the climate for teaching under the old regime?

Palous: There were three political parties, so-called, but it was really a Communist party and two fictional offshoots. They were all dependent on the Communist leadership. Each teacher, even in subjects like medicine, had to have special permission from the Communist party to teach.

Cheney: It must have been particularly difficult in the humanities.

Palous: In the sciences, there were no problems. Sulfuric acid is always sulfuric acid. There is no Marxist-Leninist view of sulfuric acid. There was no one philosophy of sulfuric acid; there was no Marxist-Leninist philosophy of it. There was just sulfuric acid.

For philosophers and historians, it was different. In philosophy, it was not possible to teach any philosophical trends that turned from Marxism. One couldn't interpret, or if it was done, it had to be done carefully. Historical research was always risky.

Our twentieth century is very different from the American century. Our republic lived only twenty years after 1918. It was led by an intellectual, Masaryk, who was a friend of Woodrow Wilson and a professor of philosophy at this university. Then came World War II and then the Soviets. Now, after 1989 we are free. And again we are led by an intellectual.

Cheney: You spent many years as a dissident before you were elected rector of the university.

Palous: Thirteen. I had three times to leave my job. I have two Ph.D.'s, one in philosophy. For a time, as a non-Marxist philosopher I couldn't continue. So I studied chemistry.

In the 1960s I went back to philosophy; 1967 was my rehabilitation. I went up against one of my opponents in argumentation to qualify for an assistant professorship. I made it and became leader of the department. There was the "Prague spring," and hopes were high. But then came the Russian occupation, and I had to leave the leadership of the department. I could stay at the university, but I was never sure of my fate. Then I got involved in Charter '77. That was a group petitioning the government to abide by the constitutional charter. We were saying, "Please follow your constitution." It became the rallying point for dissidents. I signed the document, and within fourteen days of its publication I had to leave the university. I was fifty-two years old. I became a coal stoker. But I didn't stop with my philosophy or my teaching.

Cheney: How could you possibly keep up your teaching?

Palous: We had "flat seminars," held in private flats or apartments. I was teaching the non-Marxist view in secret. And I think I shall never in my life have such audiences as I had in the flats. The students weren't there to get degrees or qualify for professions. They were there because they wanted to learn.

Cheney: And they took a risk in order to learn.

Palous: The police would come and arrest me, arrest them.

Cheney: That kind of experience is so hard for people who live in a free society really to understand. It seems a nightmare.

Palous: You can also think that we have had important moral experiences that other societies have not. We have something spiritually valuable to offer the Western world. We lived under a watchdog regime with Western understanding: We know totalitarianism, and we know democracy. We mix these experiences and offer much to the humanities, that is, a history, a philosophy, that has been deepened by what we have been through. So despite these sufferings, we still have much to be thankful for.

Cheney: I am amazed that after all you've been through, you talk about being grateful. Do you think your democracy is secure here now?

Palous: No, it's not secure. It has had deep problems since the first hour of existence. Right now we are very worried about our borders, particularly the Ukraine. And there are other difficulties. Democracy is in each epoch a task, not a given reality.

Cheney: What is the role of a university in a democracy?

Palous: To educate, in the sense that Plato talked about; to draw students out from the dark to the light; to move from closure to openness, to an understanding of the truth—which is something that cannot be changed.

Cheney: There are many on university campuses in the United States who hold a different view. They would argue that truth doesn't exist, that only perspectives do, and that the job of scholars is to explore different perspectives.

Palous: To be educated we must understand the truth. And that means literally to stand under it. It is above us, not we above it. □

Walt Whitman, ca. 1854-55. This portrait was the frontispiece to the first edition (1855) of *Leaves of Grass*. Stipple engraving by Samuel Hollyer after a daguerreotype by Gabriel Harrison.



THE HALF DECADE of 1850-1855 saw the appearance of an unusually rich cluster of literary works in America:

Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) and *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851), Melville's *Moby-Dick* (1851) and *Pierre* (1852), Thoreau's *Walden* (1854), and Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1855). Representing the first flowering of a national literature with characteristically American settings and themes, the period is known as the American Renaissance.

Not a rebirth in the sense of a recovery of the lost arts of the past, it was rather a confluence of two streams of thought that emerged in early nineteenth-century America: a determination to cut loose from imitation of European literary forms, and a desire to explore the millennial belief that an ideal new world was forming in America.

The dream of realizing a heavenly commonwealth on earth was early projected upon America, but Puritanism, which began as a quest for freedom from the English church, became an orthodoxy in its own right based largely on Old World habits of thought, and the dream faded. The American Revolution broke with the past, however, reviving a belief in America's special mission. The quasi-religious assumptions of the Declaration of Independence—freedom, equality, and the inalienable rights of the individual—transformed the original dream of a sanctified commonwealth into a secular one of exemplary democracy.

When Ralph Waldo Emerson pronounced America's declaration of cultural independence from Europe in his "American Scholar" address of 1837, he was actually articulating the transcendental assumptions of Jefferson's earlier declaration of political independence. In the ideal new world envisioned by Emerson and his transcendentalist associates, America was to become a perfect democracy of free and self-reliant individuals.

Because the transcendentalists considered the potentialities of the individual to be infinite, the possibility of achieving the democratic ideal seemed, for them, within reach. Bringing Emerson's metaphysics down to earth, Thoreau asserted that in America one can live entirely without encumbrances and thus can realize the transcendental doctrine of self-reliance. Emerson wanted to visualize Thoreau as the ideal scholar in action that he had called for in the "American Scholar," but in the end Emerson regretted Thoreau's too-private individualism, which failed to signal the vibrant revolution in national consciousness that Emerson had prophesied. "Instead of engineering for all America," Emerson wrote of Thoreau, "he was the captain of a huckleberry-party."

For Emerson, what Thoreau lacked, Whitman embodied in full. On reading his complimentary copy of *Leaves of Grass*, Emerson saw in Whitman the "prophet of democracy" whom he had sought—the poet-seer with the charisma to propel transenden-

talist ideas into the national consciousness and to awaken Americans to a sense of the sublime social perfection that lay within their grasp.

The other writers of the American Renaissance were less sanguine about the fulfillment of the democratic ideal. Hawthorne, even while portraying Hester Prynne's assertion of transcendental freedom as heroic, concluded that such antinomianism leads to moral anarchy. And Melville, who saw in the story of the *Pequod* a metaphor for the misguided assumptions of democratic idealism, declared the transcendentalist dream unrealizable. Ironically, the literary vigor with which both Hawthorne and Melville explored the ideal showed their deep sympathy with it even as they dramatized its delusions.

Thus the writers of the American Renaissance waged a kind of imaginary debate over the American democratic ideal, with Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman affirming it as vibrantly emergent, and Hawthorne and Melville warning that it was sadly specious. Although the Civil War seemed to corroborate the ideals of freedom and democracy, the rise of realism in literature and of pragmatism in philosophy during the latter half of the century revealed that the debate was not over. That the debate continues heatedly to this day, in issues ranging from civil rights to multiculturalism, only reinforces the epic significance of the American Renaissance and the revolutionary legacy of which it, too, was a part. □

—James S. Turner

the American Renaissance

Whitman's Wanderings

BY FRANCIS MURPHY



ON JULY 21, 1855, America's most distinguished literary figure, Ralph Waldo Emerson, sent a letter to a resident of Brooklyn, a poet completely unknown to him, acknowledging the "wonderful" gift of *Leaves of Grass*. In reading it, Emerson said, he felt "happy"—the volume had given him "great joy." It was, he added, "the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom" contributed to the world of letters by an American. He wasn't sure until he saw an advertisement for the book in a newspaper whether the speaker named in it, "Walt Whitman," was a real or fictive person, but when he learned he "could trust the name as real and available for a post-office," he felt like putting his own writing aside and striking out to meet him. Had Emerson actually done so, he would have found a remarkable man living in less than remarkable circumstances, a far different writer from those college-educated men he knew in Concord, Massachusetts.

In July 1855, Whitman, thirty-six years old, was living on Ryerson Street in a house purchased by his mother. By the time he received Emerson's letter, his father, a farmer turned carpenter, had been dead two weeks, and Whitman must have been thinking about his responsibilities regard-

ing his mother and his retarded brother, with whom he shared a room. His father had questioned his son's "bohemian" ways, but in spite of his seeming lack of direction and indolence, Whitman was the soul of responsibility and had been working since he left school at the age of eleven or twelve.

What attracted him more than anything else was the world of newspapers. In 1846 he served as editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle*, and in 1848 he went with his brother Jeff to New Orleans to work on the *Crescent*. He returned to Brooklyn to work on the *Freeman*, a daily newspaper supported by Free Soil Democrats. But in 1855 he was self-employed as a builder and thinking of himself with increasing confidence as a writer. He was the author of a temperance novel and, in addition to editorials, had written poems and essays. He kept his hand in as a compositor by setting the type for the 1855 *Leaves* himself. He needed neither Harvard nor Yale College; instead, the city became his university. As a newspaperman he got to know its preachers and politicians, its artists and writers, its libraries, theaters, opera houses, and museums, and, above all, its ordinary men and women—carpenters and craftsmen like himself, firemen and cabdrivers, mechanics, sailors, and ferrymen. In the volume he sent Emerson, he told his readers that, "chilled with the cold types and

cylinder and wet paper between us," he was impatient to leap from the book's pages and insinuate himself into their lives:

*If you are a workman or a workwoman, I
stand as nigh
as the highest that works in the same
shop. . .
If you meet some stranger in the street
and love him
or her, do I not often meet strangers in
the street and love them?
If you see a good deal remarkable in me I
see just
as much remarkable in you.*

It was too close for comfort for some readers, but in publishing his *Leaves* Whitman had found his true voice and vocation; henceforth being the author of *Leaves of Grass* would be a full-time job. He was already thinking of a revised and expanded edition for 1856.

Emerson was not alone in admiring Whitman's book, but Whitman was

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never a part of any literary establishment, especially after the poems of the "Children of Adam" and "Calamus" sections appeared in 1860 and made it difficult for the reader not to confront his homosexuality. He found his readers both here and in England among men and women of all social classes, the self-educated as well as the highly taught. He was shunned in Boston by Longfellow and Lowell and patronized in New York by William Dean Howells, who should have known better and who seconded the remark of an anonymous critic who said that in reading *Leaves of Grass* it was necessary to "hold your nose." He suffered more than a mere literary snub, however, when in June 1865 he lost his much-needed job in the Department of the Interior in Washington, D.C. The secretary, James Harlan, a preacher now turned politician, announced that he would examine every employee for his "fidelity" and "moral character." When Harlan discovered a corrected copy of the 1860 edition of the *Leaves* in Whitman's desk, he dismissed him. Whitman's firing was widely publicized. Fortunately, he found employment almost immediately in the attorney general's office where, as the *Brooklyn Eagle* smirked, they were "not so particular about morals."

It was the Civil War that took Whitman south. In December 1862, he saw his brother George's name on a list of wounded and left Brooklyn for Virginia and the war front. Whitman's efforts on behalf of the soldiers he found there and in the hospitals of Washington made him beloved by many, and a visit planned for weeks was extended for several years. For one moment Whitman must have debated whether nursing was his true calling, but the impulse to write poems really never left him. Home for a visit in November 1863, he wrote:

I feel to devote myself more and more to the work of my life, which is making poems. I must bring out Drum Taps. I must be continually bringing out poems. . . . The life here in the cities, and the objects, etc. of most, seem to me very flippant and shallow somehow since I returned this time. . . .

Drum-Taps and "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" are the two great products of Whitman's wartime years.

After the Civil War it was not only New York that seemed shallower to him. America itself had failed in her promises. Part of Whitman's disgruntlement may have been caused by physical exhaustion. He often told friends that the war years took a terrible toll on his health, and in 1873 he suffered a stroke that left him partially paralyzed. He looked, and cultivated the look, of a much older man. But not everything he wrote can be explained by mere bad temper. The republic of American artisan-craftsmen he once envisioned had, in this gilded age, been replaced by an

(treating the Civil War as if democracy had its origins there and not in the Revolution). He was always cagey, but he became more and more evasive about his personal history and sometimes traded his integrity for popularity. He wanted nothing more than to have a large audience and to be a kind of prophet of American democracy. He prolonged his visit to his brother's house in Camden, New Jersey, after the death of his mother, and in 1884 he bought a small house on Mickle Street where he spent his remaining years. Although not very much read, he was famous and sought out by the great as well as the humble. Earlier, when he was at his brother's house on Stevens Street, he was visited by Oscar Wilde, who

The spotted hawk swoops by and accuses me, he complains of my gab and my loitering.

I too am not a bit tamed, I too am untranslatable, I sound my barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world.

The last scud of day holds back for me, It flings my likeness after the rest and true as any on the shadow'd wilds, It coaxes me to the vapor and the dusk.

I depart as air, I shake my white locks at the runaway sun, I effuse my flesh in eddies, and drift it in lacy jags.

I bequeath myself to the dirt to grow from the grass I love, If you want me again look for me under your boot-soles.

—"Song of Myself," from *Leaves of Grass*

oppressed crowd of industrial laborers in a country driven by impersonal greed. Whitman's best work after the war can be found in his prose collections *Specimen Days* and *Democratic Vistas*, where he scorned an America "canker'd, crude, superstitious and rotten"—a nation that had failed all but the rich.

In these years Whitman began to rewrite not only his own history (offering his *Leaves* as a "veteran's testimony") but his country's as well

said "I come as a poet to call upon a poet." Wilde's mother had read selections from *Leaves of Grass* to him when he was young, and Wilde often quoted the poems when he was a student at Oxford. Whitman offered his guest some homemade elderberry wine in a not-too-clean glass. When asked later if, given his epicureanism, he had any hesitation about drinking it, Wilde responded that he would have swallowed it had it been vinegar. □

Whitman and the Bohemians

TWO DECADES AFTER the death of Walt Whitman, his legacy lived on in the cultural revolution that erupted in Greenwich Village on the eve of the First World War. To those in the crusade to reform the inequities and pretense of American society and its stale art forms, Whitman was a prophet whose liberating vision touched the core of their radical creed.

While associated with the preceding century, Whitman's life and words embodied a bohemian defiance that spoke directly to this modern generation of freethinkers. *The Masses*, *The Little Review*, *Seven Arts*, and other progressive "little magazines" born in the village between 1912 and 1919 paid repeated homage to Whitman in their pages. The Liberal Club on MacDougal Street, founded in 1913 as a "Meeting Place for Those Interested in New Ideas," extended frequent lecture invitations to Horace Traubel, the poet's former assistant, confidant, and literary executor. The Brevoort Hotel on Fifth Avenue at Eighth Street, an oasis for local intellectuals with a temporary cash surplus to expend, welcomed members of the International Whitman Fellowship in its basement café.

Mabel Dodge, the moneyed hostess whose Greenwich Village salon ignited the fuse of a chain of left-wing protests and daring creative ventures,

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BY JAN SEIDLER RAMIREZ

adopted for her stationery Whitman's dictum, "Do I contradict myself? Very well then, I contradict myself." Isadora Duncan, idolized by countless village writers and artists for pagan sensuality, freely attributed her uninhibited dance technique to Whitman's inspiration. Max Eastman, Floyd Dell, Emma Goldman, Harry Kemp, and James Oppenheim were other members of the village avant-garde who acknowledged the potent impact of Whitman's democratic gospel, confident individualism, and unapologetic sexuality on their radical psyche.

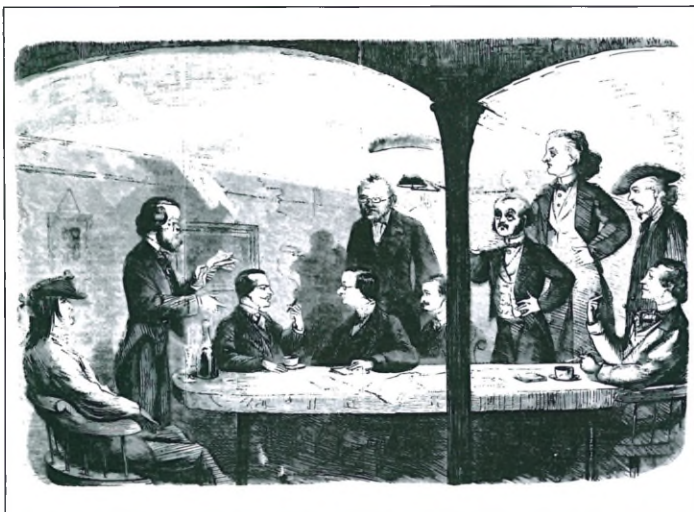
A spiritual participant in New York's counterculture of the early twentieth century, Whitman in his own day had consorted with a clique of clever literati and libertarians who conferred on Greenwich Village its original notoriety as a bohemian bridgehead shortly before the Civil War. This drama had unfolded in a dim and smoky rathskeller at 653 Broadway, just north of Bleecker Street, run by a genial Swiss-born German named Charlie Pfaff. The stage was a vaulted dining alcove in the tavern's cave-like basement that Pfaff reserved for the use of his literary regulars, the subterranean setting seeming to authenticate its occupants' divorce from Manhattan's main-street manners.

The cast of unorthodox characters

who congregated there consisted of a somewhat fluid circle of aspiring journalists, thespians, writers, and wits whose mentor-in-residence was Henry Clapp, drama critic, feminist, Fourierist, and sporadically employed editor. Some of the group, including Clapp, had visited Paris and actually observed at firsthand the Latin Quarter underworld immortalized in the recently published tales of Henry Murger. Pfaff's became the testing ground for their attempts to transplant "la vie de Bohème" to New York.

Whitman first entered the orbit of self-described "Pfaffians" in 1858 after terminating his editorial tenure at the *Brooklyn Daily Times*. His patronage of this Manhattan salon, which entailed a lengthy trip from his Brooklyn home to the Fulton Ferry, a river crossing, and a ride on the uptown Broadway stage, certainly consumed a significant share of Whitman's new-found leisure time. Distance was incidental, however, when the awaiting rewards were contemplated: a feast of stimulating conversations and access to Pfaff's celebrated wine cellar, heady cheeses, and savory German pancakes.

Whitman's renown as author of *Leaves of Grass* preceded his admittance into Pfaff's inner sanctum. A number of his barroom companions are known to have read the volume, including Henry Clapp, who warmly praised it. The frontispiece engraving that accompanied the first edition in 1855, depicting a coatless, bare-necked Whitman in a pose of unflinching nonchalance, also would have pro-



New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

jected the image of a man custom-ordered for the bohemian court taking shape at 653 Broadway: a willful deserter from the world of buttoned collars and genteel deportment.

Whitman's embrace by the Pfaffians was both immediate and advantageously timed. In 1858, the *Saturday Press* made its debut with Clapp as its founder and presiding editorial voice. Ambitious and underfinanced, the publication was conceived as a forum for fresh, often irreverent perspectives on contemporary literature, drama, art, and politics. The controversial weekly, denounced by some as a beer-hall house organ, also devoted space to showcasing the newest American writing, stepping on many traditional toes in the process. The promotion of Whitman quickly emerged as one of its special causes. In December of 1859, the *Press* published his poem "A Child's Reminiscence," retitled "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," and over the next twelve months featured twenty-five additional items by or about Whitman, including letters, reviews, and parodies. This attention served to fuel interest in Whitman's poetry while inflating his public perception as a fixture at Pfaff's.

In talk, conduct, and outlook, Pfaff's cadre of rebels resembled the Left Bank characters depicted in Murger's stories. They kept late hours, drank liberally, worked irregularly, and championed free expression as an inalienable right. Creatively inclined, short of money, and professing to loathe respectability, they gathered

The New-York Illustrated News (6 February 1864) depicts the bohemian patrons of Pfaff's rathskeller (left) as they described themselves, and (right) as they were characterized by members of a rival club.

in this Broadway lair to lament their unrecognized genius, castigate bourgeois society, and impress one another with the audacity of their opinions. Reports of their insurgent table talk soon leaked to the press, luring curiosity seekers to inspect this bohemian nest for themselves.

Sightseers were rarely disappointed by the posturings of Pfaff's nonconformist clientele. Whitman, who would often recite poems-in-progress to his tavern companions, proved a special house attraction. When the young Ohio journalist William Dean Howells encountered him at this village resort in 1860, he was intrigued by Whitman's rough dress, casual manner, and striking appearance, with "branching beard" and "Jovian" cloud of hair. Admiringly, he recalled the poet as an "imperial anarchy" in literature.

Although proud to have been published in the *Saturday Press*, Howells was less than awed by Whitman's bohemian colleagues, whose "whirling words" sounded less original than he had anticipated. Fresh from a call on New England's literary lions, Howells was offended also by the Pfaffians' contempt for these esteemed authors. Their immoderate drinking and incessant smoking also disturbed his self-restraint. Evidently Ralph

Waldo Emerson shared Howells's impressions when he dropped by Pfaff's for a look, describing its denizens as "noisy and rowdy firemen."

In addition to Henry Clapp, crowned head of the *Bierstube*, who provoked the disapproval of these upright men-of-letters? Ironically, many were individuals who would graduate to the ranks of mainstream authorship following a short-lived but exhilarating adolescence as cultural renegades. Drama critic William Winter, editor and novelist Thomas Bailey Aldrich, anthologist and stockbroker E. C. Stedman, and travel writer, poet, and future diplomat Baynard Taylor were among these brief-blooming bohemians. Other camp followers clung more tenaciously to their radical convictions, however. Several courted scandal by frequenting the nearby League for Free Love at 555 Broadway and by penning accounts of their hallucinatory experiments with hashish. More than a handful would die young as victims of alcoholism, poverty, suicide, and a "restless craving for mental excitement," so Whitman concluded.

Two women also risked the notoriety of fraternizing with the Pfaff's set. Propriety mattered little to actress Ada Clare, who had defied her genteel southern upbringing by moving to New York, entering the moral limbo of the theater, and bearing a son out of wedlock—the putative child of composer-pianist Louis Gottschalk. A contributing columnist to the *Saturday Press* and ardent supporter of Whitman's controversial poetry, Clare ruled New York as the "Queen

of Bohemia" during the height of her celebrity. When slanderers began to assail Clare after her grisly death from rabies in 1874, Whitman defended the actress, insisting that she had led "a gay, easy, free, loose, but not ungood life."

Thespian and poetess Adah Isaacs Menken shared Clare's enthusiasm for Whitman, composing passionate free verse—punctuated with allusions to her own affairs—that exhibited his influence. Shocking polite ideals of femininity came easily to Menken, who made a practice of consuming brandy and smoking cigars with her male compeers at Pfaff's. Her appearance in the melodrama *Mazzeppa*, wearing flesh-colored tights and strapped to the back of a horse, was a much-publicized *succès de scandale* of the New York stage.

Although he relished the impassioned atmosphere of Pfaff's and for three years descended regularly into its basement club room, Whitman never himself acquired a proper bohemian temper. He preferred to observe rather than partake in his friends' debates, sipping the house libations while others guzzled. As the Civil War began to scatter the Pfaffian corps, Whitman became more aware of the unreal air that separated his tavern merrymaking from the somber mood now gripping the city. In "The Two Vaults," an unfinished poem dating from this period, he contrasted Pfaff's convivial hideaway with an image of the "myriad feet" passing overhead on Broadway, musing, "As the dead in their graves, are underfoot hidden/ and the living pass over them, recking not of them...."

Whitman's subsequent departure from New York and dedication to nursing the war-injured did not erase his fond memories of Pfaff's. He dispatched occasional letters to those still in residence, assuring them of their eternal enshrinement "in the portrait-gallery of my mind & heart." Less and less a maverick as time went on, Whitman continued to value his early associations with this perch of the culturally adventurous. In 1881 he hunted up Charley Pfaff in New York at his relocated place of business on 24th Street, hoping to taste

A WHITMAN SAMPLER

The Museum of the City of New York has organized a ten-week program of activities collectively titled *Democracy's Poet: A Walt Whitman Celebration*, which will take place at several cultural institutions in New York City and on Long Island from late March through May.

Marking the centennial of the poet's death, the project will look at both the historical and the mythical Whitman through lectures, symposia, readings, panel discussions, tours, workshops for teachers, and living history performances. The two essays on Whitman printed in this issue were written for the project.

On March 26, the day Whitman died in 1892, a program of music and poetry readings at the Poet's Corner of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine will kick off the activities.

Participants in subsequent events include nationally known poets speaking about the influence of Whitman's poetry on theirs, and major Whitman scholars speaking about his life, times, and poetry. There will also be walking tours to explore Whitman-related sites on Long Island, notably his birthplace at Huntington Station, as well as the lower Manhattan haunts of one of New York's first bohemians.

For a detailed program brochure, call 212/534-1672, ext. 226.

Other NEH- Supported Whitman Projects

- *Walt Whitman: Complete Poetry and Collected Prose* was the first volume published in the Library of America, a series of authoritative editions of classic American writers.
- An hourlong Walt Whitman documentary was filmed as part of the acclaimed PBS series *Voices and Visions: The Work and World of the American Poet*.
- At the University of Iowa in Iowa City, Ed Folsom is conducting a study of the aesthetic, political, philosophical, religious, and social responses that Whitman's poetry and prose has inspired among peoples and cultures around the world.
- A descriptive bibliography of Whitman's works is being compiled by Joel A. Myerson at the University of South Carolina in Columbia.
- A summer seminar for secondary school teachers on the poetry of

Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson took place at Columbia University in New York City.

- A fellowship was awarded to David S. Reynolds of Rutgers University, Camden, New Jersey, to do research on "Walt Whitman and His Times: *Leaves of Grass* and American Culture," and Susan D. Dean of Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, received a summer stipend to study "Whitman's Liminality: The Quaker Ground of *Leaves of Grass*."
- Younger Scholar awards have gone to Richard A. Majerus of Central University, Pella, Iowa, to study "The Influence of Shakespeare on Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*" and to Melissa B. Hall of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, to examine "James Fenimore Cooper and Walt Whitman: Responses to Two Periods in American Urbanization."

anew something of the *bonhomie* of the past. The two proceeded to share a bottle of vintage wine and reminisce about the veterans of Pfaff's, Whitman

noted wistfully, over "big, brimming, fill'd-up champagne glasses drain'd in abstracted silence, very leisurely, to the last drop." □

H.H. RICHARDSON

An American Idiom in Architecture

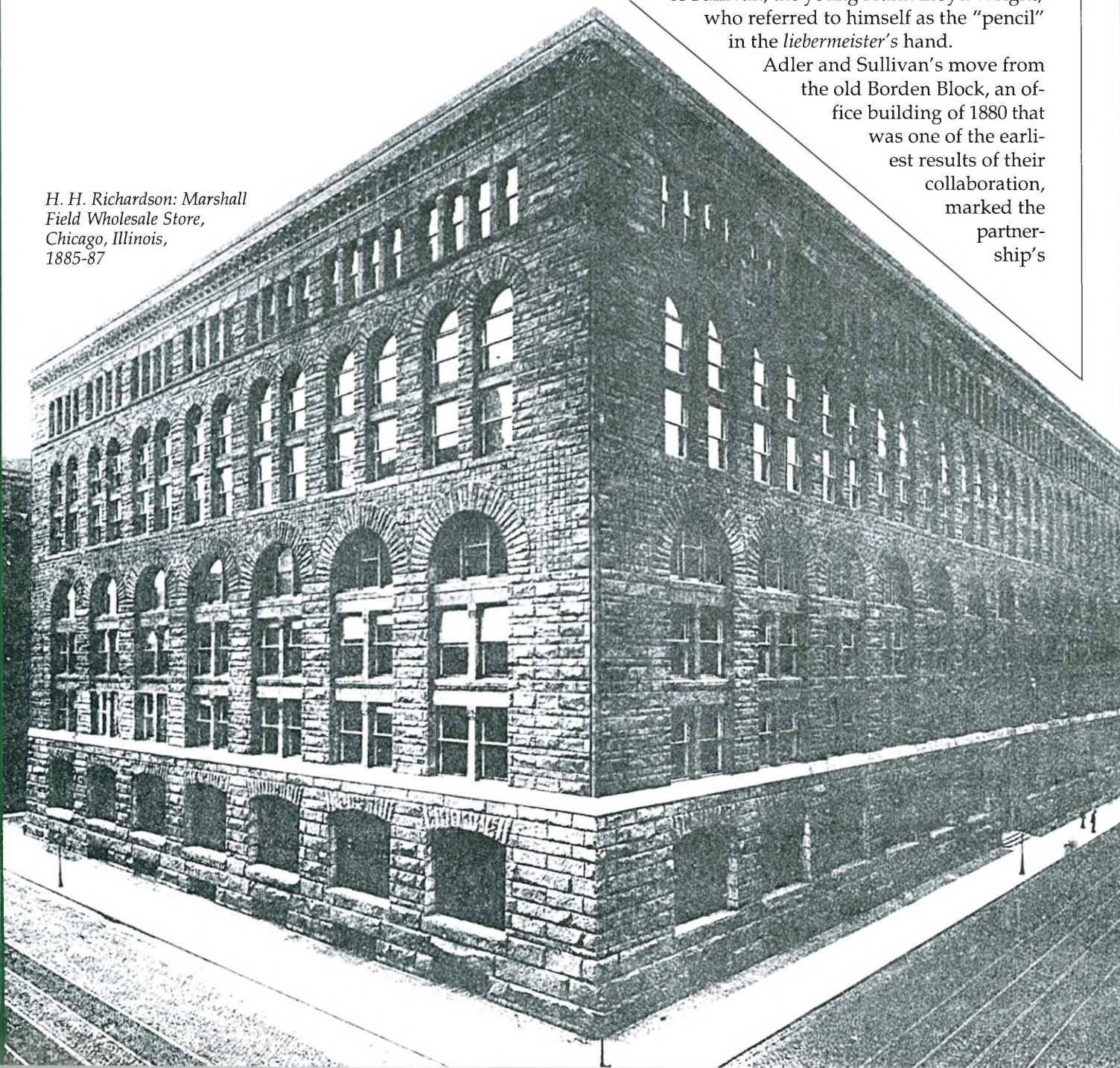
BY JAMES F. O'GORMAN

*H. H. Richardson: Marshall
Field Wholesale Store,
Chicago, Illinois,
1885-87*

AFTER THE DEVASTATING FIRE OF nearly two decades earlier, completion of the new Auditorium Building was a symbol of resurgence for the city of Chicago. On dedication day in December of 1889, President Benjamin Harrison and the diva Adelina Patti were on hand to add luster to the occasion. The new building, with its blunted tower, would house a hotel, offices, and an opera house for the rebuilding city.

On the sixteenth floor of the tower, an event of equal importance, though less heralded, had taken place. The architects of the new building, an engineering specialist named Dankmar Adler and his partner, a young designer named Louis H. Sullivan, had just moved their offices there, and in the next six years would make their mark as a major presence in the architectural history of the United States. With them came a protégé of Sullivan, the young Frank Lloyd Wright, who referred to himself as the "pencil" in the *liebermeister's* hand.

Adler and Sullivan's move from the old Borden Block, an office building of 1880 that was one of the earliest results of their collaboration, marked the partnership's



arrival among the foremost architectural firms in the city, and it heralded the beginning of a number of urban commercial works upon which the corporate fame of the firm and the individual fame of Louis Sullivan would principally rest: the Wainwright Building in St. Louis, the Union Trust Building in St. Louis, the Chicago Stock Exchange Building, and the Guaranty (later Prudential) Building in Buffalo. Corporate tranquility and accomplishment were short-lived, however, for Wright left in 1893, and in 1895 the partnership itself dissolved, with each of the principals pursuing an independent career.

The generational influence in architecture stretched in another direction as well. The other was toward the work of H. H. Richardson, who died just before the Auditorium materialized but whose recently finished Marshall Field Wholesale Store in Chicago had a major impact upon it. The confluence of these three creative personalities—Richardson, Sullivan, and Wright—represented in 1890 the past, present, and future of a paramount interlude in late nineteenth-century American architecture.

Writing about this period a half-century later, Wright fleetingly mentions late-night sessions with Louis Sullivan, with the master doing all the talking, not, as one might suppose, about the state of their profession or the work of their contemporaries, but about the greats of literature, philosophy, and music. He "venerated" Whitman, Spencer, and Wagner, in particular. Wright adds: "But later I discovered his secret respect, leaning a little towards envy (I was ashamed to suspect), for H. H. Richardson. Just the same and nevertheless he liked and trusted me" (Wright's emphasis). Wright's jealousy, still strongly expressed after so many years, was reflected in his lifetime reluctance to



Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-86) in 1879.

credit Richardson with any impact on his master's or his own work.

The period in which Wright joined Sullivan, the late 1880s, marked the apogee in American architecture of "picturesque eclecticism," a term used to denote both the dependence of most architects on the variety of forms available from the history of building both classical and nonclassical, and their characteristic design of buildings of dramatic, asymmetrical silhouette and sophisticated, accretive detail. The result was the riot of creations once popularly labeled "Victorian horrors." Richardson's work was a revival of French and Spanish Romanesque architectural forms. Like his contemporaries, he was an eclectic architect, but his work stood apart from theirs: Richardson disciplined the picturesque aspects of contemporary design in favor of a return to architectural fundamentals: solid wall, arched void, roof, mass, light and shadow, and natural materials, usually ashlar stone. Unlike the sophisticated pastiches of his contemporaries, his works were "primitive" in the sense that they were elemental, forceful interpretations of building

programs and historical forms. This set him apart from his peers.

At the end of his all-too-brief career, in the mid-1880s Richardson designed for Chicago two works of seminal importance in the development of Sullivan and Wright: the Field Wholesale Store and the John J. Glessner house on Prairie Avenue south of the Loop. These works certainly provided immediate inspiration in the evolving careers of Sullivan and his assistant.

We have only Wright's belated and highly colored notes about the interaction between Sullivan and him in their Auditorium loft high above the metropolis by the lake. Wright suggests that the master held him a captive audience for his thoughts until he had to make a dash for the last commuter train to his suburban home. The exact content of those soliloquies is lost, but the scenario of teacher and student is one Sullivan himself recreated for his

"Kindergarten Chats," a series of papers originally published in *Interstate Architect and Builder* between February 1901 and February 1902. Just as Wright noted in his *Autobiography* that Sullivan needed to think out loud even to the point of forgetting Wright's presence, so the narrator of the "Chats" at one point remarks, "I thought aloud. You happened to be present."

As Wright observed, Sullivan had only contempt for the works of his contemporaries, and the "Chats" begin by bashing a number of recent picturesque or eclectic Chicago buildings. Number VI, however, containing the quote about the narrator's obliviousness to the presence of his pupil, is devoted to the Marshall Field Wholesale Store.

"Let us pause, my son, at this oasis in our desert," begins Sullivan, and in an interruption in his stream of vitriol, he conveys some of the most moving praises ever directed by one American architect toward the commercial masterpiece of another. Among the paeans, one in particular bears repetition: "Buildings such as this, and there are not many of them, stand as landmarks, as promontories, to the

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navigator. They show when and where architecture has taken on its outburst of form as a grand passion—amid a host of stage-struck-wobbling mockeries." So Sullivan saw Richardson's Marshall Field store when he wrote the "Chats," and so he must have valued it when he was designing the Auditorium itself a few years earlier. Sullivan penetrated the Renaissance-Romanesque references of the Field store to grasp its essential character as a quiet and massive foil to the shrill histrionics of contemporary work.

When H. H. Richardson stepped off the transatlantic liner at New York in October 1865, he had just turned twenty-seven years old, had just ended an educational exile in Paris begun before the outbreak of the Civil War, and had decided to begin his career in architecture, not in his native New Orleans nor in his adopted Boston but in New York City, the metropolis fast becoming the financial and cultural capital of the United States. With his disembarkation he joined the few academically trained architects in the country, and he could expect to assume an important place in his chosen profession. Although he was "prepared for a hard time for some months," as he wrote his brother in an unpublished letter now at Harvard University, he had "confidence in ultimate success." Richardson carried with him off the ocean liner a vague desire to create a "bold, rich, living architecture" that was to have, as it came near realization during the next two decades, a varied and profound impact on the course of American building.

Born in Louisiana in 1838 and educated at Harvard College during the second half of the 1850s, Richardson had trained for his career at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, in the atelier of Jules Andre, and in the office of Theodore Labrouste. From his youth in the South he brought a knowledge of the compact, hip-roofed classical architecture of the ante-bellum era; and in Cambridge and Boston he must have noticed the austere granite architecture of midcentury. In Paris he followed Richard Morris Hunt, who had studied and worked there in the 1840s and 1850s, as an *élève* of French theory and practice in architecture, an experience matched by no other American-born architect at the time of his return from abroad.

The architectural situation in this country when Richardson returned just after the Civil War revolved around a series of questions posed by practitioners and theorists alike: How are we to incorporate the new materials and techniques of the industrial age such as plate glass and structural metal? What in the modern world is the role of the professional architect, and what, for that matter, is a "professional architect"? How are we to plan and articulate the varieties of new buildings made necessary by a pluralistic society? How, in a progressive, sophisticated era, are the findings of historical scholarship to be incorporated into the process of design? In what style are we to build? For Richardson personally, however, the chief question seems to have been, How might I establish an individual and a national identity within the world of architectural design? It was the kind of question that, in broader cultural terms, also preoccupied Emerson and Whitman.

American designers and builders had always followed the lead of European fashion, first as shapers of the colonial outposts of England, Holland, France, Spain, and other Old World countries, and after independence, as provincial exponents of the successive classical- and medieval-inspired international styles. By the Civil War, American architects were profitably aware of developments in three European national centers in particular: England, where the polychromatic picturesque Gothic-derived architecture popularly associated with the name John Ruskin was the dominant mode from the late 1840s; France, where the academic classicism of the neo-Greco era and the Second Empire vied with Viollet-le-Duc's theories of metallic building based upon a rational analysis of Gothic structure; and Germany, where Renaissance- and Romanesque-inspired arcuated blocks carried the name *Rundbogenstil*. Immigrant architects as well as publications out of each of these countries provided American designers with knowledge of the latest in European theory and design.

The proliferation of available prototypes led to visual profusion and confusion. Richardson's first works reflected this situation. Possessed of a library of architectural reference works both English and French, he was well prepared to oscillate between

the two sources as his early commissions warranted.

Richardson, to be sure, did not change direction overnight. It becomes noticeable in two Boston ecclesiastical works of the early 1870s. The Brattle Square and Trinity churches display one of the sources with which he had begun to experiment: the *Rundbogenstil*-related Boston granite style and the Romanesque of the south of France and of Spain. This shift from current English and French quotations set Richardson apart from his contemporaries and sent him in a direction toward his mature and disciplined works of the decade's end.

Trinity Church is a triumph of design—eclectic design—a building that since its completion has ranked among the top works of architectural genius in this country. As he had on a project for the Connecticut State Capitol, Richardson here drew upon Ecole methodology, but here he also deployed historical forms out of the distant past that would enrich the local lithic tradition. Early thumbnail sketches for the church echo that of an 1863 Ecole project for a casino. On the back of the letter inviting him to compete for the commission and on various other fugitive scraps, the architect developed his central-plan, pyramidal-mass church by summarizing the elements of the design into a simple geometric synthesis, then elaborating it. Around the central point radiate the squat chancel, transepts, and nave, in the pattern of a modified Greek cross; above the central point in the finished building rises the Romanesque granite masses and details. The organization and stone patterning of the east end, for instance, were derived from the twelfth-century churches of the Auvergne. The central tower was inspired by that of the cathedral of Salamanca. And as a Romanesque pyramid, Trinity as a whole owed something to Ecole projects such as Guadet's 1864 Prix-de-Rome-winning Hospice in the Alps. The result was an eclectic pile unlike any other church then standing in this country. To this day it contrasts sharply with Cummings and Sears's contemporary New Old South Church across Copley Square, an asymmetrical, polychromatic, Victorian Gothic pile of accumulated and nervous detail. Romanesque Trinity, coherent, balanced, and serene, was Richardson's first exercise in disciplining the

picturesque. It immediately distinguished the architect in his own time, and it generated an important new phase in the evolution of late nineteenth-century American architecture known as the Richardson Romanesque. Richardson had begun to create an architecture of his own.

As practiced intermittently by its originator, the Richardson Romanesque was in fact an eclectic mode combining elements of three general styles, the bold, primitive characteristics of which were particularly attractive to him: the Syrian Early Christian, the Byzantine, and the French and Spanish Romanesque. Richardson was to find strength in these sources, using them from Trinity onward either in combinations or by absorbing their lessons into even more basic

formal solutions to a variety of building problems.

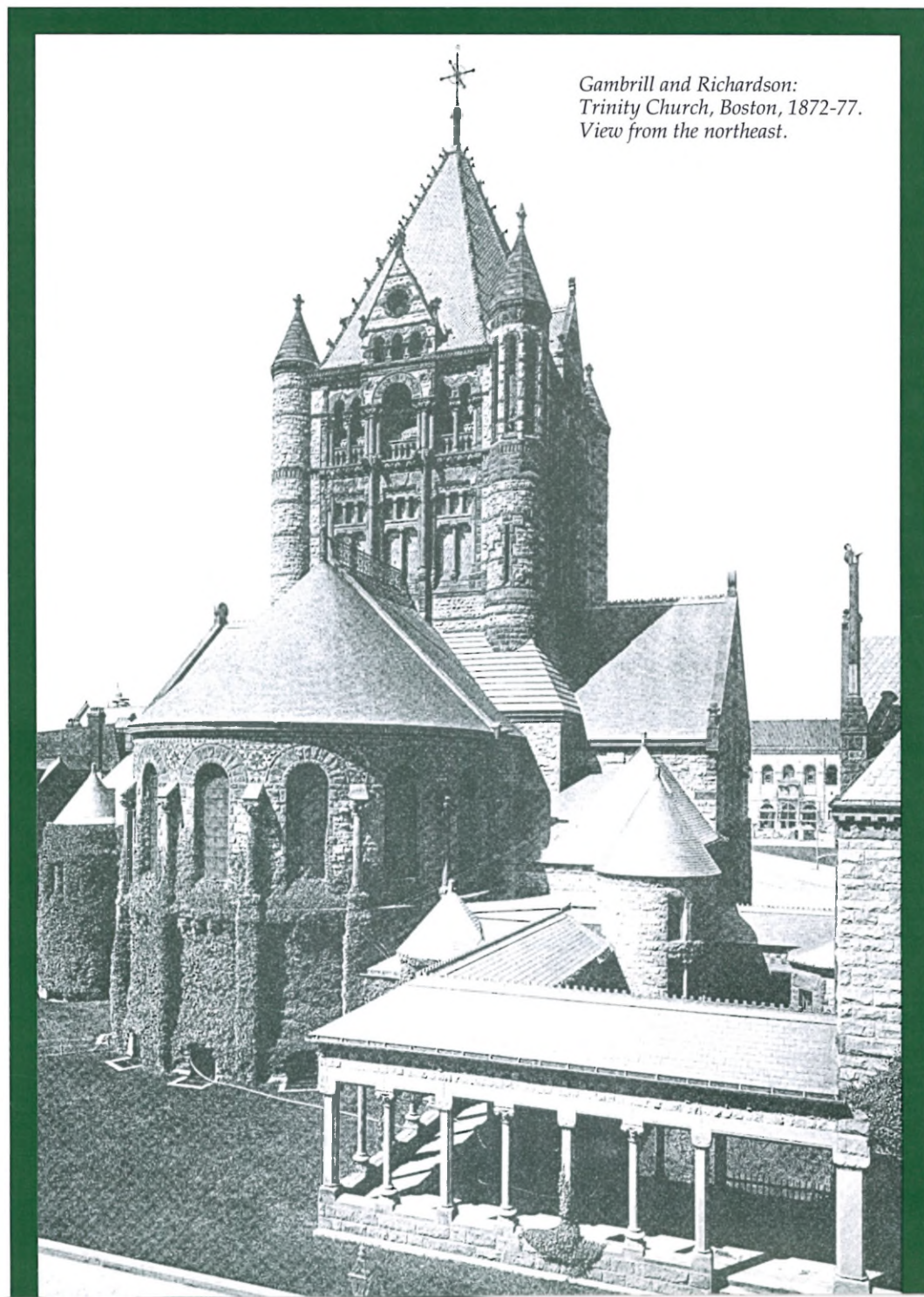
The mighty Allegheny County Courthouse in Pittsburgh (1883-88) with its attending jail ranks as one of his major achievements and is without doubt his most impressive surviving monument. The courthouse is lucidly organized and richly formed in keeping with its function as a public building both serviceable and ceremonial. It rests upon a 200-by-300-foot rectangular plan in which served and "servant" spaces are clearly defined. Wings contain primary spaces, such as the two-story, cross-ventilated courtrooms, that are separated by one-story secondary spaces containing judges' chambers, jury rooms, and consultation rooms directly accessible from a corridor surrounding a central

courtyard. Details are derived primarily from either Early Christian or Romanesque lithic forms. Low-sprung Syrian arches built of exaggerated voussoirs of a type Richardson had seen on a brief trip to Spain in 1882 surround the entrances; Romanesque arcades mark salient features such as the courtroom level. The main stair-hall is formed by an array of semicircular stone arches smaller in size but nearly as grand as the Roman fantasies of Piranesi, whom Richardson had studied as a student in Paris.

Its central tower, which with its ancillary towers served a state-of-the-art ventilating system based upon that of the Houses of Parliament in London, formed a visual exclamation point marking the civic center in the urban landscape.

In the brief decade between the dedication of Trinity in 1877 and Richardson's death in 1886, the identifiable "Richardson Romanesque" image was established. Some of his colleagues and successors quickly began to incorporate his characteristically heavy forms into their already rich vocabulary. Richardson Romanesque was applied to a series of design problems, including the commuter railroad station, the small-town library, the monumental public building, the urban commercial block, and the city residence.

If European-trained, cosmopolite Richardson harbored thoughts of creating an architecture distinct from its European sources, an architecture corresponding to his reading of the American society of his time, those thoughts in likelihood had come to him through the circle of New England intellectuals, some of whom were his friends, clients, and colleagues. Emerson had long ago issued a call for a national culture generated by an individual self-reliance. "Insist on yourself; never imitate,"



*Gambrill and Richardson:
Trinity Church, Boston, 1872-77.
View from the northeast.*

Photo by Baldwin Coolidge, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities

he had written in 1841. Important to Richardson among these intellectuals was his neighbor and sometime collaborator, Frederick Law Olmsted, the landscape architect and environmental theorist. Olmsted was spreading the awareness of the transformations in American society that were creating the concentric urban pattern of the 1880s: the urban commercial core and suburban domestic rings all connected by the radiating commuter railroad system. The new or evolving building types born of the new or evolving social patterns, especially the urban commercial block and the detached, single family house, as well as the commuter depot and the small-town public library, required more imaginative responses. As Emerson had concluded in his essay "Art" (1841), "it is in vain that we look for genius to reiterate its miracles in the old arts; it is its instinct to find beauty in the field and roadside, in the shop and mill." That Olmsted and others thought this applied to Richardson's ultimate achievement is suggested by the fact that the 1888 Van Rensselaer monograph on the architect, sponsored in part by Olmsted, bears as the epigraph on its title page the lines immediately preceding these from Emerson's essay.

That Richardson did indeed find inspiration not only in the stone architectures of Europe but also in the American mill and in the American field was soon to become apparent. In seeking appropriate forms for city and suburb, for market and domicile, he was able to add to his beloved round-arched lithic sources those which he could identify as indigenous to or developed within the American context.

Richardson built for nearly all aspects of contemporary American society, providing solutions to religious, educational, commercial, civic, transportation, domestic, recreational, commemorative, medical, and governmental programs. Among his mature works, there are four building types that carry the weight of his achievement: the suburban library, the commuter depot, the commercial block, and the detached single-family house. Richardson gave these four building types his indelible stamp in the brief decade between the dedication of Trinity Church and his death, and they were building types associated with the historical transformations in

American society that occurred with quickening pace in the years following the Civil War.

These types can be plotted on the radiating pattern of American urban development during these years: The commercial block is a central urban form; the library and depot belong to the suburban towns ringing the commercial center; and the home might be located anywhere along the radius from inner city through suburbia to exurbia. Like massiveness and quietude, function and location were formative factors in Richardson's solutions to these building problems. Drawing upon the environmental vision of Olmsted, Richardson seems to have attempted to generate architectural forms appropriate to their content and their context, that is, their position within contemporary society. In so doing he was to create prototypes for urban commercial and suburban or rural domestic buildings that were to inspire, among other subsequent works, the office buildings of Louis Sullivan.

Until the mid-1880s, Sullivan more or less ran with the crowd. During the second half of the decade, however, he had perhaps read enough of Emerson, and certainly enough of Whitman, to agree with the sentiment expressed in "Self-Reliance" that "whoso would be a man, must be a non-conformist," and in *Leaves of Grass* that "works made here in the spirit of other lands, are so much poison in the United States." In 1887, having discovered Whitman's celebration of "self and nation" (to borrow Justin Kaplan's apt characterization), he wrote to the poet that he, too, was "reaching for the basis of a virile and indigenous art." And as it happened, it was to the virile mature works of Emerson's Massachusetts neighbor, H. H. Richardson, works that seemed to respond with vitality to the call for a cultural nationalism, that Sullivan turned for guidance. Here was the precedent that was living rather than dead. When he needed vivid forms to fulfill his clients' needs, he found those of Richardson useful models, and he thus assumed a historical relationship with his recently deceased precursor.

Near the end of his life, Sullivan recalled the "fairy tale" tower of Richardson's Brattle Square church as a "special delight" in contrast to

what he then called a dead language of Italian and French classicism he encountered at MIT in the early 1870s. Although in 1903 he wrote that he doubted that Richardson had much influence upon his "mental growth," the older architect did have demonstrable impact upon his maturation as a designer. The unveiling posthumously of his last commercial masterpiece, the Marshall Field store, and the publication of Van Rensselaers's handsome and unprecedented *Henry Hobson Richardson and His Works* in May 1888 (one of three publications in Sullivan's library devoted specifically to Richardson and his work), all served to focus attention on the man and his achievement at the very moment Sullivan was engaged with Adler in creating the cornerstone of his fame, the Auditorium Building. It was Sullivan's adaptation of Richardsonian quietude and massiveness that established that work as his first major accomplishment.

The clearest statement of the impact the Field store had on Sullivan, as we have seen, is found in the "Oasis" chapter of the "Kindergarten Chats." Of the Field store Sullivan said in effect what Whitman had said of his own work: "who touches this touches a man." Here, Sullivan wrote, is "a male, for it sings the songs of procreant-power, as the others have squealed of miscegenation." Here, he wrote, "stone and mortar . . . spring into life"; here was a "rich somber cloud of manliness"; here he "would place a modest wreath upon the monument of him who stood alone, an august figure in his art"; here was a structure "simple, dignified and massive." These and other phrases from the "Oasis" suggest that Sullivan read Richardson the man as he read Richardson's building. As Philip Brooks had said in his eulogy to the older architect, "the man and his work are absolutely one," and both were exceptional within the context of the architectural profession of the day. Richardson was an Emersonian individualist, a Whitmanesque force, the example of whose inchoate works suggested a direction for Sullivan to follow, creatively, without mimicry. □

To study "Three American Architects," in 1988 James F. O'Gorman received a \$27,500 College Teachers and Independent Scholars grant from the Division of Fellowships and Seminars.



"Ashby's Feat of Horsemanship," an illustration by Winslow Homer for John Esten Cooke's Civil War novel, *Surry of Eagle's Nest* (1866).

Winslow Homer: The Years as Illustrator

BY DAVID TATHAM



MORE THAN ANY other major American artist of his generation, Winslow Homer (1836-1910) was a product of the Industrial Age. This at first seems paradoxical in the instance of an artist whose great subject was the natural world and whose paintings show little of the urban and industrial life that surrounded him. Yet, as we will see, a major influence in Homer's career was the mechanization of pictorial printing in the 1850s. It determined his way of seeing and his way of recording, an essential element of his genius as a painter.

David Tatham is professor of fine arts at Syracuse University in New York and the author of Winslow Homer and the Illustrated Book (© 1992, Syracuse University Press), from which this article is adapted.

In these things Homer differed from the most important of his near-exact contemporaries in American art: John La Farge, Homer Dodge Martin, Thomas Moran, Elihu Vedder, and James Abbott McNeil Whistler, all of whom committed themselves to careers as fine artists at relatively early ages and scarcely looked back. Homer was still a journeyman draughtsman for book publishers and pictorial weekly magazines during the years in which the others established themselves as painters. He was twenty-six before he seriously took up painting in 1862, and he was nearly forty before he ceased contributing drawings to mass-circulation weeklies.

The others, each in a distinctive way, set out on one or another of the paths leading to European high culture. Moran looked to Turner and English painting, Vedder to Italy and a host of sources from the High Renaissance to the Macchiaioli, La Farge and Martin to France and the Barbizon School, Whistler to the

Parisian avant-garde. Each transcended or transformed these and other early influences, but remained in self-concept and public image a fine artist with distinct European ties. By contrast, Homer spent the first twenty years of his career oriented almost wholly to American society and popular culture. His paintings emerged not from the study of European and American fine art (with which he was well acquainted), or even from any significant formal art education, but from his work as an illustrator for a new wave of magazines and books directed to the general public. It is to these publications, their makers, and their audiences that we must look to find the first clues to his development.

The decade of the 1850s—Homer was fourteen at its start—saw the beginnings and early flourishing of the illustrated weekly magazine in America. This new species of popular journal typically consisted of sixteen large pages, eight in letterpress and eight devoted to uncolored, wood-engraved pictorial matter. Some pictures illustrated the fiction and the features on current events and foreign cultures that made up the contents of most issues, but others were original compositions, often views and genre subjects without significant accompanying texts. With the rise of the illustrated weeklies, pictorial matter began to approach parity with the printed word as a means of communication in popular magazines.

The voracious need of the new journals for drawings assured able draughtsmen in the 1850s a reasonably good income. Those who drew regularly for the magazines in that decade—Homer and Thomas Nast are its most celebrated (and dissimilar) products—seem to have gained a positive sense of association with a successful enterprise, even if in its factory production and all-inclusive audience the enterprise was at odds with many of the precepts of fine art.

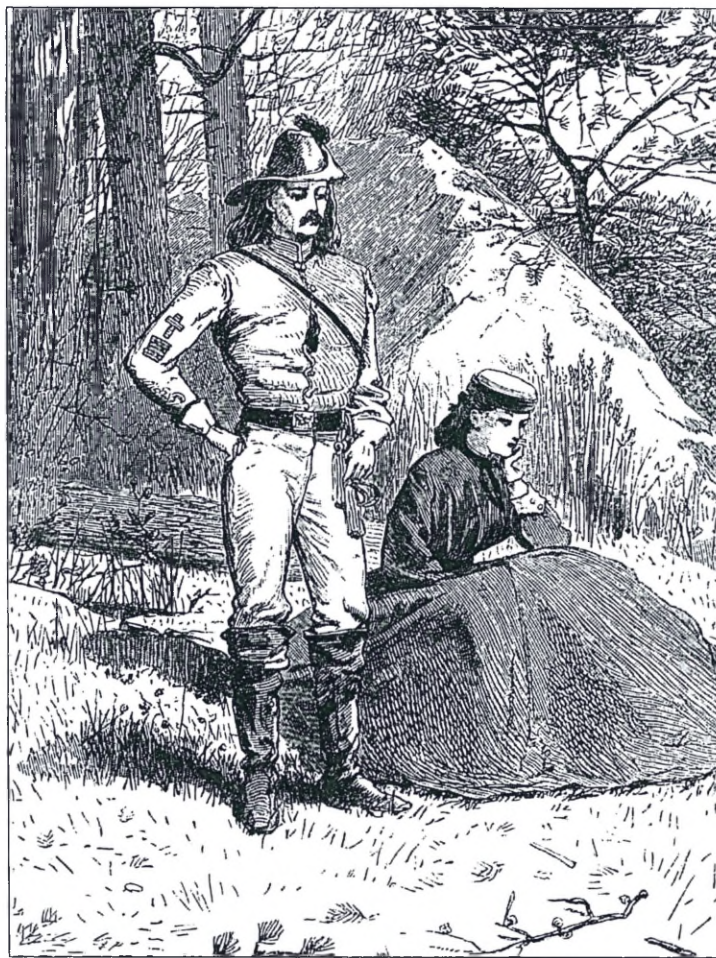
The first successful illustrated weekly magazine in America, *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, came into being in Boston in 1850-51. In 1857, renamed *Ballou's Pictorial*, it published Homer's first original work. By the close of that year, two other major weeklies with national circulation flourished in New York, offering the Boston journal formidable competition. These were *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, founded in 1854, and *Harper's Weekly*, founded in 1857. Homer contributed to *Harper's* beginning in its first year and to *Leslie's* in the mid-1860s.

Part of the appeal of all three magazines was timeliness. As early as the 1850s, illustrated weeklies published accurate renderings of such topical subjects as the inauguration of a President or the ruins of a disastrous fire within two weeks of the event, and for the period this was remarkably quick printmaking. Another part of their appeal was inexpensiveness, a product of the high-speed, high-volume presses that made timeliness possible. By the end of the 1850s, when the national population had grown to about 31 million, the combined weekly circulation of *Ballou's*, *Harper's*, and *Leslie's* exceeded a quarter of a million. As copies passed from hand to hand, the number of readers for each issue was much greater than that figure. They found in pictures as well as words a steady stream of news, fiction, his-

tory, geography, and novelties of many kinds, all reinforcing the values and anxieties of a middle-class society rapidly and optimistically settling into the Industrial Age.

The machines, processes, attitudes, and tastes that brought about the success of these magazines left their mark on the arts of the book. For more than a generation the book trade took its lead in many matters of illustration from the new journals. Some publishers, such as Harper and Brothers, brought forth both illustrated books and magazines. Some artists, such as Homer, contributed to both kinds of publications.

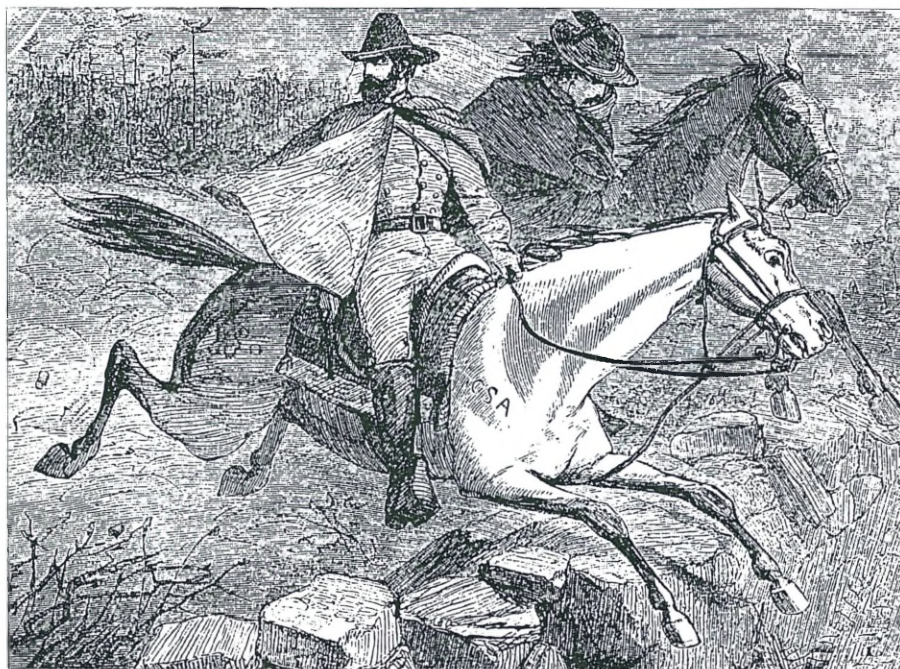
Homer observed the early years of *Gleason's Pictorial* from relatively close quarters and with family encouragement. He had been born in Boston in 1836 to parents of old Yankee stock and had begun to draw regularly when still a boy. His education in Cambridge public schools apparently included little formal art training, but his mother, who was an able amateur artist, taught him what she knew of drawing and watercolor. She approached the making of art essentially as a copyist, using both printed pictures and nature as sources. At eighteen, he was apprenticed to the Boston lithographer, John Henry Bufford, whose copy-work assignments instilled the idea that the making of art was essentially a matter of transcribing the appearances of things. This idea, reinforced by the reportorial spirit of the weeklies and the long-standing realist tradition in American painting, remained the foundation of Homer's art throughout his career, even though he later transcended it in original ways.



"The Autumn Woods"

Homer's professional reputation grew steadily. From his early twenties he was a respected, nationally known graphic artist and, beginning at age thirty, a leading American painter. It is too simple to say that he merely drew what he saw, since he typically selected, edited, simplified, recomposed, and otherwise rearranged the visual facts of his experience into the drawings he made for *Ballou's Pictorial* and *Harper's Weekly*. He included in these depictions of everyday life subtle and usually benign pictorial commentaries on his own middle-class values, essentially urban, mercantile, genteel, and old Yankee, softened by life in Cambridge. He was not a satirist. He had none of the instinct for combat that propelled Nast's partisan critiques of American culture, or the inventive imagination that undergirded Nast's success.

Homer moved to New York City in the fall of 1859. *Ballou's Pictorial* was on shaky ground and about to go out of business; the move put him in closer reach of the Harper publishing firm, which became his mainstay for several years. It also placed him in the center of the American art world. Though he had not yet begun painting in oils, his intent to work in that medium was already clear. He told Joseph Baker, his fellow apprentice at Bufford's, that he meant to be a painter, and a good one. In 1859 his brother Charles gave him a copy of an English translation of Chevreul on color, a book of no particular value to an artist who drew only for wood engravers but of great interest to Homer's generation of painters. In later life he referred to it as "his Bible." Why he waited until 1862 to begin to work in oils is an intriguing question. If he had begun earlier his first subjects would probably have been lively street, farm, and home scenes of the sort that he had been supplying to *Ballou's Pictorial* and *Harper's Weekly*, instead of the altogether more serious Civil War subjects that established his reputation as a painter.



"General Jackson's Escape"

Homer's battlefield excursions for *Harper's* were ultimately to push him into a new genre. In February of 1866, he was signed on to provide four drawings for a Civil War novel being published in New York by Bunce and Huntington. The book was John Esten Cooke's *Surry of Eagle's Nest*. Cooke, a Virginian, had been a popular writer of southern historical fiction in the 1850s, and during much of the Civil War had served the Confederacy as an officer on Jeb Stuart's staff. His description of himself fit the heroes of his novels: "I am a Virginian, a monarchist, what is called a Cavalier by blood, and strain and feeling." The war gave him the subject for his most popular novel, *Surry of Eagle's Nest*. He wrote it in about two months in the fall of 1865. When it appeared less than a year after the end of the conflict, the novel's sympathetic view of the Confederacy at first occasioned resistance among book dealers in the North. The book quickly became a national best-seller, however, exhausting two printings and going into a third within three months. In many essentials, the fictional *Surry* is autobiographical. Like Cooke, he is a Confederate cavalry officer whose adventures associate him closely with most of the illustrious figures of the war in Virginia, among them Stuart, Jackson, Johnston, Beauregard, and Lee. Unlike Cooke, *Surry* also manages to spend time with Union general George McClellan. The plot follows the course of the war from 1861 to early 1863 and incorporates Cooke's firsthand knowledge of several battles. Weaving through this quasi-documentary account of the early years of the war is a fictitious subplot of exceedingly improbable people and events.

Bunce and Huntington chose well in asking Homer to illustrate the book. He had observed and recorded the war in Virginia for *Harper's Weekly* and had already exhibited some of his first paintings of Civil War subjects. He was now seriously involved in painting but far from making a living from it. The publishers probably knew nothing of his *Prisoners from the Front*, however, since it was still in progress and yet unshown when he was invited to illustrate *Surry*. But one passage in the book, probably by coincidence, presents an image remarkably similar to Homer's painting. In describing the varied types that constituted the Confederate army, Cooke wrote:

All classes were mingled fraternally in its ranks.... Here was the high spirited boy, raised in his elegant home on the banks of the Shenandoah, and the hardy and athletic mountaineer from beyond the Alleghanies (sic). The pale and slender student lay down side by side with the ruddy son of the poor farmer, who had dropped the handles of the plough to take up the musket.

The three prisoners in Homer's painting serve well enough as examples of Cooke's high-spirited boy, hardy mountaineer, and poor farmer's son.

For all its melodramatic clichés, *Surry* was the most substantial text Homer had yet treated. Three of his illustrations are scenes of high drama, but one, *The Autumn Woods*, which serves as the frontispiece, represents a quiet moment. The figures are Surry and May Beverly, whom he loves, though she is affianced to another man. The figure of Surry and the Cavalier-like high-spirited boy in *Prisoners* have a common source, almost certainly one of Homer's wartime sketches. At the edge of the woods near the Beverly ancestral mansion, and within earshot of the guns of battle, May sits "upon a mossy rock, beneath a little pine, and looking down." Cooke soon has them embrace, but Homer best served the curiosity-arousing purposes of a frontispiece by keeping them apart, contemplative rather than active, introducing them as two distinct characters of unspecified relationship. The image of May Beverly is one of several variants of a young woman whom Homer painted and drew in 1864 and 1865. She can be seen wearing a similar pillbox hat in his paintings *The Initials* (1864), *The Red Feather* (1864), and *The Croquet Player* (1865). She has been identified as Mary Fiske of Massachusetts, a friend of Homer's in those years.

The quietude depicted in *Autumn Woods* was already typical of Homer's paintings of young men and women. It remained so for the next few years in his depictions of croquet games, mountain excursions, and seaside promenades. The large forms of the illustration, the broad surfaces of reflected light, the contrasts of line, the carefully worked-out composition in which, among other felicities, he repeats the shape of May's mushroomed skirt in the large rock behind her, are all controlled by a naturalistic vision, but one that reverberates quietly with a Japanese "feel" in its simplicity of forms and even in Surry's figure.

In contrast to this contemplative scene, the other three illustrations are of vigorous action. In *Ashby's Feat of Horsemanship*, Surry's compatriot Turner Ashby attends to a Union cavalryman who meant to intercept him. Ashby "seized...[him] by the throat" and then, "borne on at a furious speed upon his powerful white horse, Ashby dragged his adversary clear out of the saddle, never relaxed his clutch, and in a moment was beyond pursuit, still dragging his prisoner by the side of his horse." In the nocturnal *Gen. Jackson's Escape*, Surry and Jackson press their horses to clear a stone wall as they flee a pursuing Federal scouting party. "I cleared the wall and the General followed," says Surry, but Homer shows them jumping together rather than in sequence, unifying the action in time and space.

Combat between Mordaunt and Fenwick, another night scene, represents the culmination of violence in the recurrent struggle between the novel's fictional arch-enemies, Confederate Colonel Mordaunt and the traitor Fenwick. With their horses shot from under them—Homer shows one felled steed in the distance—the swordsmen closed in mortal combat.



"Combat between Mordaunt and Fenwick"

Mordaunt drove him, step by step... toward a gigantic oak, which stretched its gnarled branches above, in the moonlight—and then, Fenwick could retreat no further.... Rushing upon him, with his sabre at tierce point, Mordaunt drove the keen weapon through his breast, and the point was buried in the tree beyond.

Earlier in the book, Mordaunt had put a bullet through the same chest, but Fenwick survived and resumed his nefarious ways. Now, Cooke in text and Homer in picture leave little doubt that Fenwick has at last reached his deserved end, but few things are so simple in Surry's plot. The traitor recovers from even this.

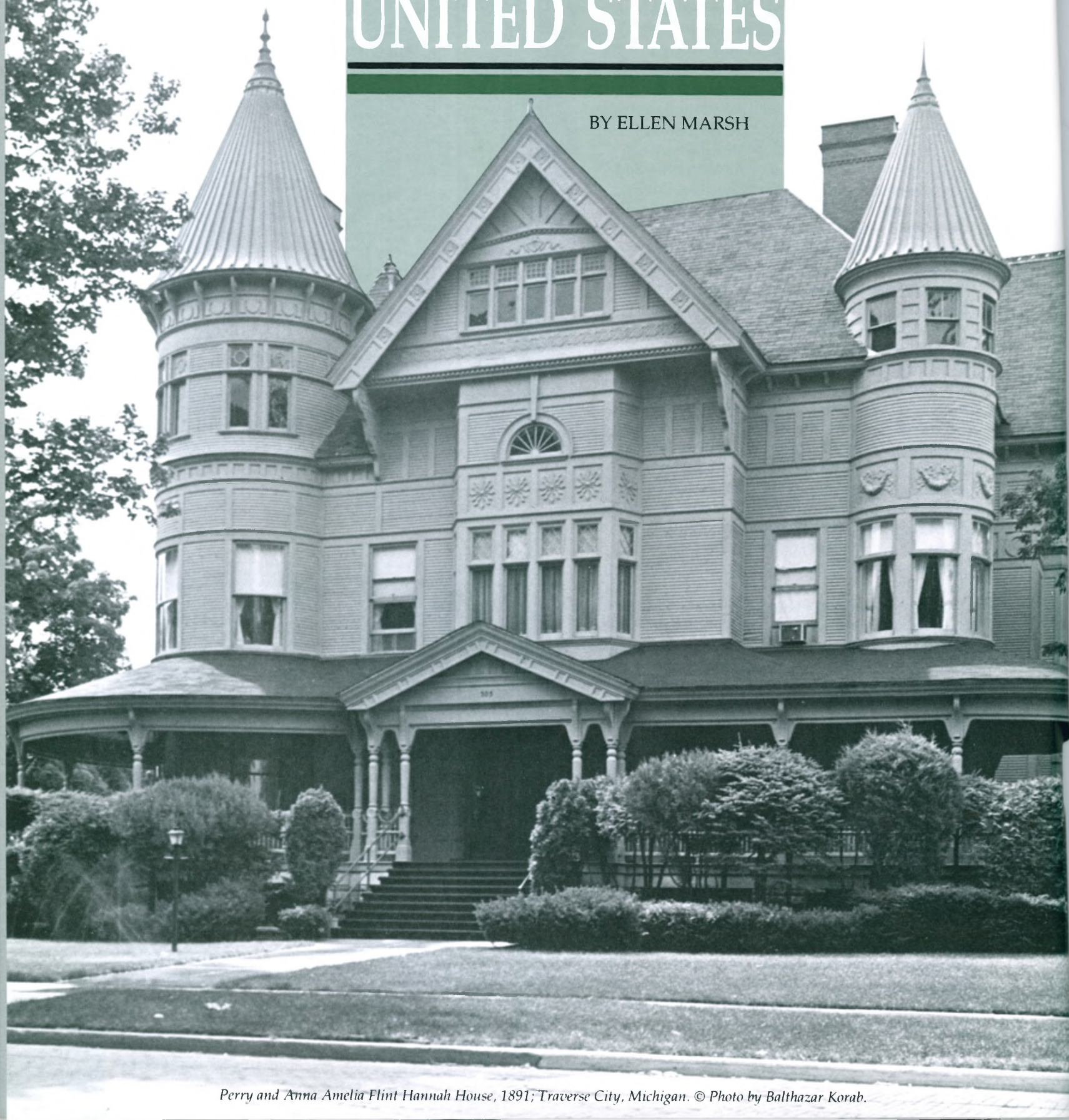
Homer had spent some weeks in Virginia during the war, and he returned in the 1870s, but no evidence has come to light connecting him to Cooke on these visits. It is one of the curiosities of the history of American illustration that directly after the Civil War a Confederate officer and a Union artist-reporter, who may never have met, should jointly produce the most enduring illustrated novel of the conflict. □

Publication of Winslow Homer and the Illustrated Book was supported by a \$7,000 subvention grant from the Division of Research Programs.

BUILDINGS

of the UNITED STATES

BY ELLEN MARSH



Perry and Anna Amelia Flint Hannah House, 1891; Traverse City, Michigan. © Photo by Balthazar Korab.

ON A QUIET COUNTRY road in Monroe County in southeast Michigan one of the state's Centennial farms can be found, designated as such because it has been owned by the same family for more than one hundred years. The stone farmhouse was built by Theophilus and Roxanna Osgood, who left western New York State in the mid-1830s to farm 160 acres in Michigan Territory. For ten years, they lived in a primitive wooden house until they could afford to build a proper house in a provincial Greek Revival style, using the construction they remembered from back home, coursed cobblestone. The Osgoods painstakingly collected cobblestones, three to four inches in size, from nearby Stony Ridge and had a local mechanic lay them in regular horizontal courses in the walls of their new house.

Forty known surviving farmhouses of coursed cobblestone construction, built between 1829 and the 1870s, embellish the landscape of southern Michigan. The cobblestones were a legacy of the Ice Age, polished, rounded, and deposited by glaciers, and were used in houses from upper New York State to Wisconsin, wherever the stones were common. Sometimes the builders selected cobblestones of all one color; other times the stones were set into herringbone patterns or just in straight courses. These houses, made of local materials by local people, eloquently evoke the histories of their builders and occupants. "Vernacular buildings like the cobblestone houses are important," says Kathryn Bishop Eckert, acting state historic preservation officer for Michigan. "They are close to the land, the place, and the people."

Eckert describes cobblestone houses in *Buildings of Michigan*, the first complete architectural history of the state. It is one of the first volumes in *Buildings of the United States*, a major

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series under the editorial direction of the Society of Architectural Historians in Philadelphia. When completed, this project, whose initial volumes have been supported by NEH, will be the first comprehensive, state by state architectural survey and guide to the built environment of the United States. In addition to the volume on Michigan, three other volumes in the series will be published this fall by Oxford University Press: *Buildings of Iowa* by David Gebhard and Gerald Mansheim, *Buildings of Alaska* by

days, especially after the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, settlers such as the Osgoods left worn-out farms in western New York State and New England for fertile farmland in southern Michigan, building in the style that they remembered from the East.

Nineteenth-century entrepreneurs were quick to discover the cornucopia of resources left by the Ice Age. Besides the rich soil in the southern part of the state, there were lakes large and small, rivers, minerals, and countless acres of pine and hard-



An 1890 photograph of the Osgood House, 1846; Bedford Township, Michigan.

Alison K. Hoagland, and *Buildings of the District of Columbia* by Pam Scott and Antoinette J. Lee.

The story of Michigan architecture begins with the arrival of nomadic Paleo-Indians more than 12,000 years ago, to a half-frozen land still in the grip of the Ice Age. The wigwams, longhouses, and lodges of the native peoples have disappeared. The Norton burial mounds west of Grand Rapids survive as one of the few visible reminders of the times before the Europeans arrived. French and English traders, soldiers, and missionaries followed the water route from Canada in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and constructed forts, trading posts, and houses. In territorial

wood forests. From around 1830 to 1910, logging was a principal Michigan industry. "Michiganians love wood," Eckert says. "We have wood houses of all kinds, from elaborate Queen Anne mansions of the lumber barons to the simple log houses of the trappers and traders."

One of the mansions was built in Traverse City in 1891 for a prosperous lumberman, Perry Hannah (1824-1892), and his wife. Noted Grand Rapids architect William G. Robinson designed the Queen Anne house, which has gables, turrets, a generous wraparound porch, and more than forty rooms. Queen Anne houses can be found throughout the United States, but the imaginative use of

Courtesy of Harold Osgood

wood in the Hannahs' house unmistakably connects it to the Michigan lumber industry. The house is ornamented with intricately carved and decorated wood inside and out; every room is paneled in a different hardwood. "This lavish use of wood," Eckert suggests, "identifies the house equally with the pine and hardwood forests of Michigan, and with Hannah, whose life was shaped and sustained by that forest."

Stone, rather than wood, was the natural building material for the rocky

arose in Detroit in the early twentieth century. Eckert mentions the River Rouge plant, the executives' houses at Grosse Pointe, the workers' houses clustered around massive Saint Florian church in Hamtramck. Saint Florian parish was formed in 1907 to serve Detroit's burgeoning community of Polish immigrants, who had come to work in the automobile plants.

Michigan's geography, another gift of the Ice Age, offers miles of wild shoreline along the Great Lakes, many rivers, and thousands of inland lakes.



Grand Hotel, 1887; Mackinac Island, Michigan.

terrain of the Upper Peninsula. Eckert says, "Many buildings in this part of the state are made of native red sandstone or rocks from mine workings." The mining industry—copper and iron—that dominated the Upper Peninsula created specialized building types. For instance, in Calumet, a roundhouse, warehouse, blacksmith and machine shops, and other buildings (ca. 1880-1910) are reminders of the once-prosperous and now defunct Calumet and Hecla Mining Company. The buildings were designed by company engineers and were constructed of mine-waste rock, brick, and Lake Superior red sandstone rubble. Many of these buildings are still used, although not for their original purposes.

Some of Michigan's mining and lumbering fortunes were invested in the new automobile industry that

From the late nineteenth century, mid-westerners have enjoyed their holidays at Michigan resorts. Mackinac Island, for instance, has splendid "cottages" built by the affluent, while simple cabins for working-class vacationers can be found on the state's shoreline, rivers, and lakes. But of all the resort buildings, Eckert says, "the Grand Hotel exceeds all superlatives ever written to describe its stately majesty and festive quality." The Grand Hotel, prominently sited on a high bluff overlooking the Straits of Mackinac, was a joint venture of three railroad companies to promote the use of their transportation systems. George Mason, a Detroit architect, designed the building, which was constructed of local white pine by Michigan architect-builder, Charles W. Caskey. Among the guests at the hotel's gala opening in 1887 were the

Algers, Newberrys, and Blodgetts, all lumber barons; the Potter Palmers and Marshall Fields; and the meat packers, the Armours and Swifts.

In the course of working on this project, Eckert visited nearly every site mentioned in the book. Not only high-style, architect-designed buildings are listed, but also vernacular houses of all periods and styles, parks, statues, cemeteries, factories, bridges, even utilitarian structures such as the nation's first automated carwash (1946) in Detroit. The volume includes buildings constructed as recently as 1990, such as furniture manufacturers' corporate headquarters and research centers in Holland, Grand Rapids, and Zeeland.

Michigan has many special architectural elements. For instance, because of its long shoreline Michigan has more lighthouses than any other state in the union. Bay City was the home of the Aladdin Company (1906 to 1981), one of the most prolific manufacturers of mail-order houses from the end of World War I through the 1920s. Homeowners across the country ordered bungalows, Queen Anne, American foursquare, and colonial revival houses from the firm, whose catalogue even offered plans for industrial towns, complete with stores, churches, schools, warehouses, hotels, and dwellings. Michigan also boasts the bottle house (1939-42) in Kaleva, which has 60,000 glass bottles sparkling in its exterior walls. John J. Makinen designed and built the house to use surplus and obsolete bottles from his bottling plant. In a flight of fancy, bottle bottoms across the front of the house spell out "Happy Home."

Eckert delights in the William W. Maier house (1940s) as the ultimate expression of Michiganians' fascination with wood: Maier developed a technique for siding the exterior walls of buildings with concrete shaped in the form of logs. The chimneys of his house resemble tree trunks—all in concrete. "We even love imitation logs," Eckert remarks. "You can find Perma-Log houses in the middle of a forest, sometimes as a facing over a real log house."

The Buildings of the United States series, begun in 1986, is modeled after the Buildings of England, a forty-



© Photo by Balhazar Korab

Saint Florian Church, 1925-28; Hamtramck, Michigan.

six volume series by the British art and architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner. Pevsner noted that the U. S. was the only major Western nation that lacked a comprehensive study of its national architectural heritage.

Osmund Overby, editor in chief of the project, says that four or five volumes will be published each year until the series is complete. Most states will be represented by a single volume. Introductory material in each

volume will discuss the development of the state and its architectural history, placing it in a national and international context. Descriptions of the structures and sites are accompanied by maps.

Overby is hopeful that the series will help prevent destruction of the nation's architectural treasures by fostering a deeper appreciation of their beauty and historic importance: "We expect to find our books in

glove compartments of tourists' automobiles as well as in university libraries." □

To support a series of guidebooks to buildings of the United States, since 1986 the Society of Architectural Historians in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, has received \$150,000 in outright funds and \$152,906 in matching funds from the Interpretive Research program of the Division of Research Programs.



SEPHARDIC JEWRY & 1492

BY JANE S. GERBER

ON THE NIGHT of August 2, 1492, the ports of Spain were clogged and frantic as the last of Spain's 200,000 Jews attempted to flee before the deadline of their expulsion had passed. Entrepreneurial and frequently predatory sea captains had flocked from Italy and North Africa as news of the forced flight of the Jews spread through the Mediterranean. Because northern Europe was closed as a result of prior expulsions, the crowds of refugees pressed into the southern ports.

That same night, Christopher Columbus loaded his three vessels in the port of Palos. In the opening lines of the log of his first voyage, he noted the coincidence of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and the embarkation of his crew for their journey of discovery.

Five hundred years later, the quincentenary of these historic events invites reassessment; the two events are intertwined in more than simply coincidence of date.

The history of the Jews of Spain is frequently described by the word *convivencia*, or "living together," which refers to a putative golden age of intercommunal and interethnic cooperation among the Jews, Muslims, and Christians who lived in Iberia from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries. *Convivencia*, however, did not mean religious toleration. In the peninsular battles between the domi-

nant faiths of Christianity and Islam, Jews periodically suffered forced conversion, first at the hands of the Visigothic Christians in the seventh century, then under the Muslim Almohades in the twelfth century, and finally through the combined fury of Christian prelates and mobs in the late Middle Ages.

Sephardic Jewry, named after the Hebrew word for Spain, *Sepharad*, represented one of the two major currents of Jewish life in the diaspora, the other being Ashkenazic Jewry in Germany. Viewing themselves as descendants of the ancient Judean aristocrats and priests exiled by King Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C.E., Spanish Jews derived textual proof of their ancient and noble origin from a reading of the prophet Obadiah (I, 20): "the exiled of Jerusalem who are in Sepharad shall inherit the cities of the Negev." With a sense of the future based on the biblical promise that they would ultimately return to the land of Israel ("the cities of Negev"), they developed a false sense of both their security in Spain and their special destiny.

The Muslims conquered the Iberian Peninsula in 711. Until 1150, a Judeo-Arabic tradition flourished in Spain as Jews—exploring fields of special interest to Muslims such as jurisprudence, philosophy, and theology—combined rabbinical, exegetical, and philosophical traditions in a rare cultural amalgam. By adapting forms and motifs from the courtly Arabic poetic tradition at the cultural centers of Cordoba, Granada, and Seville, Jews also fashioned secular and reli-

gious poetry in Hebrew that has been the hallmark of Sephardic civilization. Jews made contributions as well in medicine, cartography, astronomy, and mathematics—areas of inquiry in which questions of divergence of faith from the majority played no role.

As the Christian reconquest of Iberia progressed, beginning with the fall of Toledo in 1085, Jews found themselves increasingly within the Christian orbit. By the thirteenth century, the theological anti-Semitism of northern Europe made itself felt on the peninsula. Special campaigns of the newly formed Dominican order aimed at undermining the Jewish faith. Eventually, the pluralism that had assured the Jews a niche in Spanish society gave way to an exclusivist national principle as the Christian forces expelled first Jews and then Muslims.

But before the breakdown of the *convivencia*, medieval Spanish pluralism was particularly suited to Jewish needs by affording an atmosphere in which a distinctive Jewish culture could emerge and flourish. Jews derived security and a special position as intermediary between two hostile global forces, each of which found it convenient at times to use the Jews to further its own cultural or political ends. Both the Muslims, after their defeat of the Christian forces in Spain in the eighth century, and the Christians, after their reconquest in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, recruited the Jews to repopulate and rebuild devastated provinces. More than once, rulers granted Jews economic opportunities unavailable to them elsewhere in Europe.

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In addition, Sephardic Jewry often served as a bridge between Christian and Muslim civilizations by translating the wisdom of one into the language of the other. When the Christian king Alphonso X, also known as Alphonso the Wise, wanted to gain insights into the wisdom of the Arabs, he surrounded himself with Jewish translators equally at home in Catalan, Hebrew, Arabic, and Castilian. In the process, Jews absorbed many of the modes of expression, artistic standards, and innovations of both civilizations.

By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with the retreat of Muslim power and the advance of the *reconquista*, religious polemic became a major issue in Jewish life. Jews sought and received contractual promises of protection from monarchs, a practical necessity as Christian Europe became increasingly inhospitable to Jews. Soon Jews were called upon to defend their faith in public disputations, first in Barcelona and later in Tortosa. These confrontations were actually trials of Judaism in which the judgment of religious perfidy was foreordained. Forced sermons were introduced into the synagogues, with the king himself—as was the case with James I of Aragon—sometimes leading the ideological attack. Not even the exhortations of skilled defenders of Judaism such as Moses Nahmanides could avert the violent anti-Semitic riots that the missionary friars' charges of deicide stimulated in cities throughout Spain. By the fourteenth century, Jews were increasingly isolated and beleaguered as they confronted libelous accusations of host desecrations, well poisonings, and blood libels—the scurrilous charge that Christian blood was used in Jewish rituals.

Finally, on June 4, 1391, anti-Jewish riots broke out in Seville and quickly spread through Spain and Mallorca. By the time public order was restored a year later, entire Jewish communities had disappeared. Approximately

50,000 Jews had been murdered, thousands had fled, and perhaps as many as 200,000 more had converted under duress when faced with the choice of conversion or death.

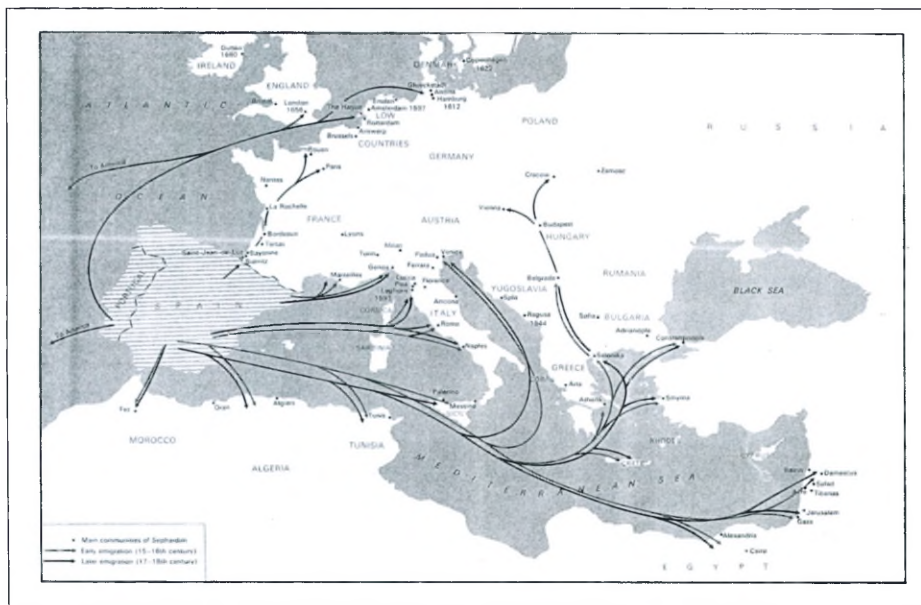
These converts, or *conversos*, also known as “new Christians,” were to become a chronic problem in Spanish society. Conversos were not taught how to be Christians, and therefore even sincere converts often retained traces of Judaism in their daily and religious practices. Because they were not permitted to change their place of residence after conversion, the conversos remained the neighbors, relatives, and business partners of Jews who had not converted. It was impossible to know who was a sincere convert, who was a backsliding Christian, and who was a “judaizer.” Nor could anyone really determine who had converted out of loss of faith and who out of fear.

Many frightened Jews who had become reluctant Christians struggled valiantly to maintain ties with their families and with their former faith. Yet any assistance to a converso by the Jewish community was tantamount to abetting “heresy” and could result in reprisals against individual

Jews, ranging from fines to burning at the stake, or against the entire Jewish community in the form of expulsion from its home city.

Jewish-Christian relations leading up to the expulsion in 1492 are the subject of continuing debate among historians. A major issue is that Spanish Christendom, which had sought conversion of the Jews for centuries, found itself unprepared for the success of new converts. No longer restricted by anti-Jewish legislation, conversos, also known derisively as *marranos*, or swine, began to rise to unprecedented heights in Spanish municipalities, in the court, and even in the church.

This success caused a great backlash. Stinging satires were composed and attempts were made to separate conversos from the rest of the population, throwing them back upon the mercies of the Jewish community. In 1449, anticonverso riots exploded in Toledo, leading to the promulgation of laws requiring proof of “purity of blood” to hold office in the university, the army, the religious orders, and the municipalities. What had begun as religious prejudice against the Jews had ended up as a lethal blend of racial and religious discrimination



Sephardic emigration from the Iberian Peninsula after the expulsion of 1492.

From *The Other Jews: The Sephardim Today*
by Daniel Elazar. © 1989 Basic Books, Inc. By permission.



against anyone of Jewish ancestry.

Ultimately, it was the converso problem that provided the pretext for the introduction of the Inquisition in 1481 and the decree of expulsion in 1492. The rationale for expulsion set forth by Ferdinand and Isabella, with the guidance of inquisitor Tomas de Torquemada, was that the presence of Jews on Iberian soil prevented the true conversion of the conversos. Once Granada had fallen in January 1492, a nation united in territory and faith—the dream of the monarchs—could now be realized. Many streams of social pressures converged to provide the backdrop for the expulsion of the Jews, but the converso issue dwarfed all other factors.

The consequences of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 reverberated throughout the Jewish world, affecting many European nations. Some 150,000 refugees departed from Spain in August 1492. Most of them chose the nearest refuge, Portugal, only to be confronted with another expulsion that amounted to a virtual forced conversion in 1497. As a result, the Iberian Peninsula remained the home of crypto-Judaism for centuries. Converso influence continued for generations, with many of the great classics of sixteenth-century Spanish and Portuguese literature being penned by Sephardic Jews, now newly converted Christians. As converts or offspring of converts, these Jews were compelled to conceal their inner identity through a variety of subtle artistic means. After the introduction of the Inquisition in Portugal in 1536, periodic *autos-da-fé* sent waves of Portuguese “new Christians” into exile. The “purity of blood” doctrine as well as the Inquisition’s relentless campaigns against “judaizers” and “heretics” sapped the vitality of Spain and Portugal at their moment of greatest expansion.

The outcasts of 1492 who found refuge in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire infused new vitality into

ancient Jewish communities, beginning a new chapter of Jewish renewal in the Mediterranean. It took at least one generation for the exiles to find their bearings. But find their bearings they did. They reconstituted hundreds of communities, built new schools, and wrote new commentaries on old works. They attempted to retain the forms of social structure that they had known in Spain, calling their new congregations by the names of their old homes. A remarkable fidelity not only to Spain but to its regions and dialects continues to this day.

The most pronounced characteristic of the Sephardic refugees was undoubtedly their faithful retention of the Spanish language. Pre-expulsion Spanish was preserved in Ladino (Spanish written in Hebrew characters) and was spoken and written by Sephardim until the twentieth century. Whether they resided in Salonica or Sarajevo, Amsterdam or Aleppo, Rhodes or Seattle, faithfulness to this pre-Columbian Spanish endured as a hallmark of the Sephardic diaspora. The seventeenth-century traveler Domingo de Toral was astonished to find Jews in Aleppo, Syria, who not only recited thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Spanish ballads but were also conversant with the works of the Spanish cultural giants who were his contemporaries—Lope de Vega and Gongora.

Ladino—the language of daily communication as well as of nostalgic longing—united the Sephardim as a minority within a minority in an international diaspora that spanned several continents. Many of the oral traditions of fifteenth-century Spain remained alive only through the care with which Sephardic exiles preserved the *romanceros* and ballads their forebears had carried as part of their spiritual baggage in 1492.

The Sephardic identity was kept alive long after the emigrant generation by fidelity to the Spanish language and culture, which frequently

demarcated Sephardic Jews within the communities among whom they found a new home. Defying all laws of immigrant acculturation as well as Jewish custom, the indigenous Jewish communities sometimes felt compelled to emulate the Sephardim by virtue of their numbers, noticeable pride, and tenacious loyalty to their Sephardic legacy. Indigenous groups of Jews in Italy, Greece, Morocco, and elsewhere practically lost their ancestral cultures as they absorbed and were absorbed by the Sephardic refugees.

The arrival of the Sephardim shook up the sleepy Mediterranean Jewries as the newcomers, trying to understand what had gone wrong with their history, struggled to readjust. Sephardic exiles were characterized by restlessness and a deep sense of malaise, and many sought an outlet for their trauma in messianism. Others sought comfort in writing history to record their national disaster for posterity. Still others turned inward to explore the depths of their soul in kabbalism, especially among a select group of Sephardic exiles in Safed in Palestine.

Some converted Jews lost all faith. Neither fully Christian nor fully Jewish, they began to question all revealed religion and attempted to work out their uncertainties in philosophy and the picaresque novel—two cultural pursuits that were left open to them in postexpulsion Spain. Others could not rejoin a structured Jewish community after having lived a veiled existence as crypto-Jews. This was the case with the philosophers Baruch Spinoza and Uriel d’Acosta.

The presence of such diversity in the European Jewish community—mystics and believers in false messiahs, rationalists and devotees of the latest salon culture from Madrid, transplanted Portuguese merchants trading in all the emporia of Europe and the Near East—brought new dynamism to western Europe and its greatest seventeenth-century city, Amsterdam.

Scholars today are divided on many

central issues of Sephardic history, such as the influence of the Jews on Spanish culture. Some deny the Jews' impact on Spanish life altogether, while others see the Jews' expulsion as the prime cause of Spain's decline.

Another area of debate is the impact of the conversos on Spanish Christianity. While many conversos sought anonymity in the religious orders, they virtually controlled the order of St. Jerome in the sixteenth century,

and others formed the majority of the followers of Erasmus, the Christian humanist from Holland, in sixteenth-century Spain. They championed some of his ideas for church reform and worked openly for a more liberal Christianity in which they hoped to find acceptance by "old Christians." Scholars debate the degree to which the hostility of orthodox Christians toward these converso reformers, because of their connection with a

Jewish past, thwarted the evolution of a more liberal Christianity in Spain at that time.

Other areas of debate are the reasons for the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, the Jewishness of the conversos, and even the possibility that Christopher Columbus's ancestors were conversos. Some scholars speculate that Columbus's forebears were victims of the pogroms of 1391 and that they arrived in Genoa, Italy, soon thereafter as Christian converts. Such conjecture might explain why Columbus always considered himself a foreigner and, although a Genoese, apparently used a somewhat archaic Spanish rather than Italian in speech and writing.

Whatever the merits of theories about the converso background of Columbus's forebears, the story of the great Spanish explorations must include the converso factor, because it was conversos such as courtiers Gabriel Sanchez and Luis Santangel who financed the first voyage; confiscated Jewish property paid for most of the second.

The quincentenary of the Jewish expulsion offers an opportunity to examine some of the epochal events taking place inside Spain and Europe generally at a time when Europeans were casting their glances beyond the horizon, and perhaps to find deeper connections between events at home and Spanish encounters an ocean away. □

On April 5-8, a conference on "The Spanish Jews and the Expulsion of 1492" will take place at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles. USC received \$32,061 from the Conferences category of the Division of Research Programs.

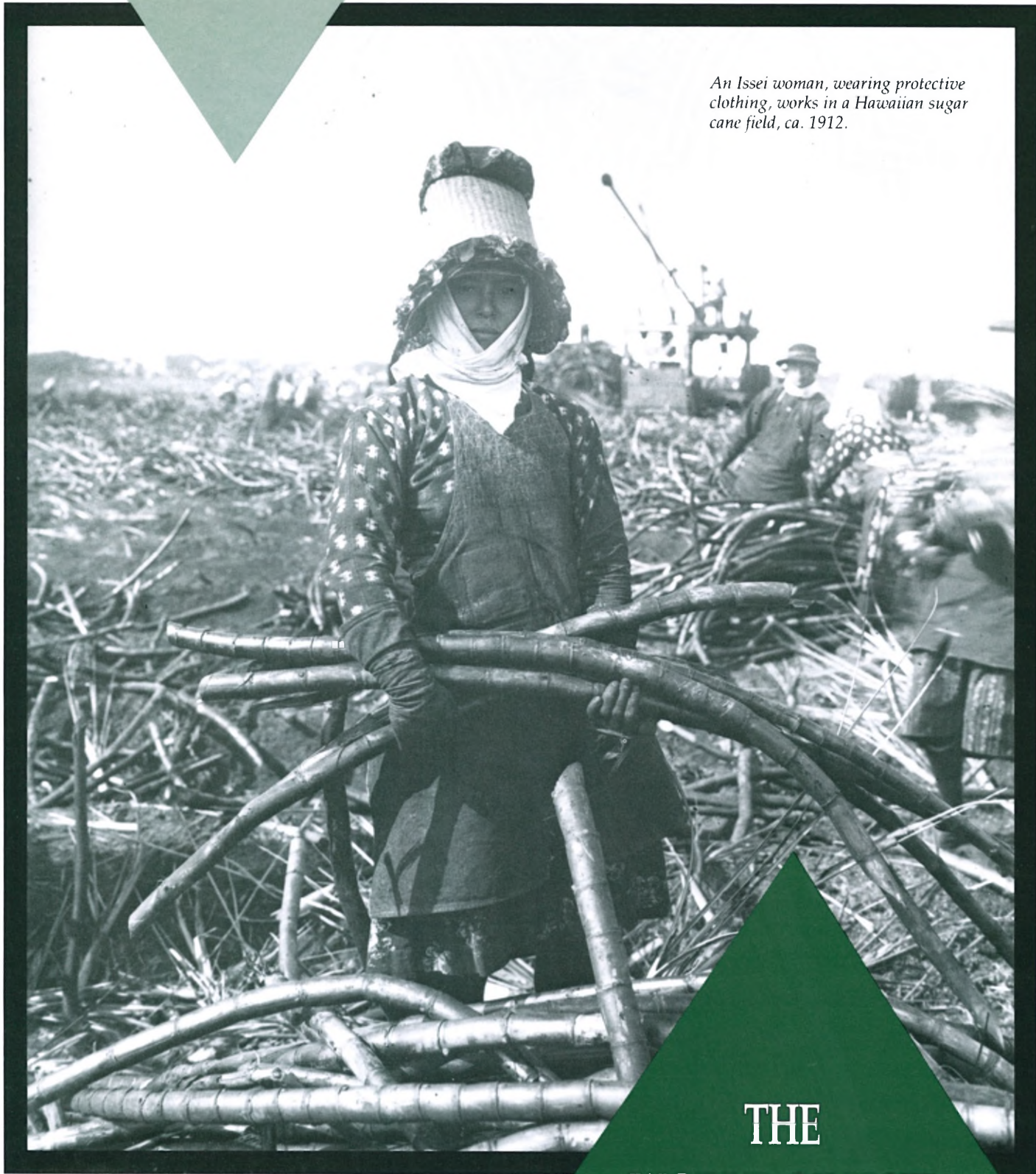
On November 8-11, a conference on "Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World, 1391-1648" will take place in New York at Columbia University, the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS), and the Jewish Museum. JTS received \$13,800 from the Conferences category.



Catalan Atlas (detail), ca. 1375, attributed to Abraham Cresques (1325-87), a Majorcan cartographer who served the rulers of Aragon. The Catalan Atlas is one of the outstanding cartographical achievements of its period.

An Issei woman, wearing protective clothing, works in a Hawaiian sugar cane field, ca. 1912.

Photo by R. J. Baker, courtesy of Bishop Museum



THE WORLD OF ISSEI

BY STEVEN WOLF

A DECADE AGO, SOME business people from Los Angeles' Little Tokyo, mostly Nisei (second generation Japanese Americans), and a group of Nisei veterans who fought in the American army during World War II merged their mutual interest in establishing a

Steven Wolf is a staff writer for the Los Angeles Downtown News.

national museum devoted to Japanese American history, but particularly to the memory of the thousands of Japanese Americans who were evacuated from the West Coast to relocation camps during the war. For both groups—as for America—one of the war's tragic ironies was that, even as Nisei fought to preserve liberty and democracy against fascism, their stateside parents and relatives were

ostracized *en masse* out of suspicion of disloyalty.

The lasting legacy that they envisioned has now materialized as the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles, California. But when the museum opens its doors this April, its inaugural exhibition will not address the camp experience. Instead, museum staff chose to take a longer view with an exhibition on the cir-

cumstances and experiences of the Issei, the first generation of Japanese immigrants who came to Hawaii and the American mainland between 1885 and 1924, seeking to better their lot. The camps will be the subject of a future exhibition.

"We don't want to be known only as 'those people from the camps,'" says Akemi Kikumura, an actress turned anthropologist who is curator of the NEH-supported exhibition, titled "Issei Pioneers: Japanese Immigrants to Hawaii and the Mainland, 1885-1924." "We want to show that the history of Japanese Americans is part of the larger picture of immigration to America."

Starting such a museum in the forties or fifties would have been unthinkable, Kikumura says. "That was a time when Japanese Americans were trying to heal the wounds, trying to forget about the war, trying not to make themselves very conspicuous." The residue of anti-Japanese sentiment that lingered after the war, she says, discouraged any expression of ethnic pride.

"From the sixties onward, however, there have been a lot of gains by minority groups, and today more than ever we need dialogue to see how our experiences are similar and how we can work together. We see the museum as a means of educating other Americans and peoples of the world about who Japanese Americans are and how we fit into American society."

The museum itself—the former Nishi Hongwanji Buddhist Temple, originally constructed in 1925—is designated as a historic site by the City of Los Angeles. "Our largest artifact," Kikumura calls it, noting that it long served as a place of worship for the Issei and a center for many nonreligious community activities. Renovation of the triangular-shaped building was completed early this year.

The Issei experience begins with the voyage in 1885 of nearly a thousand Japanese men, women, and children, all laborers, aboard the ship *City of Tokyo*, bound for the Polynesian kingdom of Hawaii. They left Japan in hopes of earning enough wealth in the American-run sugar industry there to return home and buy land that would secure a modest prosperity for their families.

Hailing primarily from the Yamaguchi and Hiroshima prefectures, they were lured from meager, over-taxed livelihoods as small farmers by

American recruiters who offered three-year contracts at \$15 a month—many times as much as they could get at home—to work on the Hawaiian sugar plantations. Thousands more followed over the next few years, constituting the first large-scale migration from Japan and foreshadowing the migration of Japanese laborers to the continental United States.

After their contracts were up, many workers returned to Japan as they had intended. But when Hawaii became an American territory in 1900, workers whose contracts ended were free to go wherever they wanted, and many chose to seek further fortune on the American mainland, where the rapidly expanding lumber, railroad, fishing, and agriculture industries called for a large supply of cheap labor.

From the time of their arrival in port cities such as San Francisco and Seattle, they stood out by their appearance as "aliens ineligible for citizenship." In 1790, Congress had restricted the right of naturalization to "free white persons." In 1870, that right was extended to "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent." The Chinese and the Japanese, however, were excluded.

In 1905, the xenophobic reaction of American labor unions to a competitive Asian work force, as well as unsubstantiated fears that the Japanese,

recent victors in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, would soon be enlisting the aid of their Issei cohorts in an invasion of the West Coast, resulted in the formation in California of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League.

Partly because of this intensification of discrimination and partly because of the threat of economic losses to the Hawaiian sugar industry due to the drain of Japanese laborers from Hawaii to the mainland, in 1907 the Gentleman's Agreement was formed between Japan and the United States. By this pact, Japan agreed not to issue passports to laborers, effectively choking off Japanese emigration to the U.S. and at the same time ensuring an adequate labor supply in Hawaii by preventing workers from leaving.

For its part, the U.S. agreed to let Japan issue passports to the relatives of workers who were already American residents. This provision allowed for the immigration of "picture brides," whose marriages were arranged by custom. Their arrival hastened Issei settlement and adjustment to life in America by enabling family and community life to emerge and thrive.

In 1924, with the Issei population numbering around 180,000 on the mainland and 200,000 in Hawaii, Congress passed the Immigration Act, which prohibited further immigration from the East and climaxed a thirty-



The former Nishi Hongwanji Buddhist temple, Los Angeles, California, in the 1930s. The building has been renovated to become the Japanese American National Museum.

Courtesy of Japanese American National Museum, Minutake Family Collection

five-year attempt to limit and then terminate Japanese immigration.

"This is a complex story that has many parts," says Kikumura, pointing out that the exhibition seeks to dispel two common misconceptions. One is that the Issei were all alike, a view which has led all too easily to some malicious stereotyping. Illustrating this diversity, she explains: "One man who boarded a ship at Yokahama for Hawaii thought that everyone else on the ship already knew English because he couldn't understand them; in fact they were speaking other dialects of Japanese. Japan did not have a uniform culture."

This diversity formed itself into distinct Issei cultures, Kikumura says—one in Hawaii, the other on the mainland. Issei community in Hawaii was plantation based and self-contained, as befitted a permanent settlement, with schools, stores, churches, temples, and a male to female ratio of 3 to 1.

monly appreciated, although they were divided on how best to "get along," as a comparison in the exhibition of the lives of two Hawaiians, Takie Okumura and Frederick Kinzaburo Makino, shows. Okumura, a Christian minister, advocated accommodation with Western culture and counseled against confrontation with white oppression. Makino, publisher of the newspaper *Hawaii Hōchi*, advocated fighting American oppression in American courts, an option that many Issei pursued, if only with little result.

In the exhibition, which is designed to tell the story from the Issei perspective, visitors will encounter the painting *Going to America*, by Henry Sugimoto, depicting a young man leaving Japan. Another Sugimoto painting in the exhibition, *To Find a Job*, depicts an itinerant laborer, or "blanket carrier," as he moves with the seasonal work from California to Alaska. There will be a video station

Marveling at the resourcefulness of the Issei, Kikumura describes one outfit cobbled together by Haruno Tazawa, an Issei woman who worked on a Hawaiian sugar plantation and who, now in her nineties, lives in Hawaii.

"The sugar cane is like knives, and women would dress like a samurai to protect themselves," says Kikumura. "The only thing showing was their eyes. Mrs. Tazawa wore a Japanese jacket with a mandarin collar, shoes that she made of denim and rubber from tires, pantaloons, a calico shirt we think was from Spain, hand coverings, and leggings."

While there are more than 2,000 Issei still alive today, virtually all of whom are in their eighties and nineties, sources of artifacts for the exhibition were limited, says Kikumura, because of the great quantity of materials confiscated when the Issei and their children were shipped out to the camps following the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Some Japanese Americans even destroyed their own property, as was the case with Teiko Tomita, who burned her Japanese-language *tanka* poems fearing that they would incriminate her as a traitor during the war. Her poems, rewritten from memory while she was in a relocation camp, will be on display.

The material culture of the Issei will be presented in an archipelago of display stations covering the themes of family, community, work, and the creativity of the Issei. But the artifacts provide only hints of Issei vitality and steadfastness, Kikumura says. To broaden the educational impact of the exhibition, she and her associates have arranged a series of twelve lectures by scholars, who will speak on topics such as immigration history, ethnic identity, and the American dream, to coincide with the exhibition.

The image of the cherry tree, symbol of Japan, rooted in American soil is a long-standing metaphor for the transplanting of Japanese culture in America, says Kikumura. One might interpret the opening of the Japanese American National Museum this spring as the fruit of that effort. □

The Japanese American National Museum received \$220,000 in outright funds and \$50,000 in matching funds from the Museums program of the Division of Public Programs.



Teiko Tomita's ink-stone box with ink and brush and her diary written in poetry (1939-47).

In contrast, Issei culture on the mainland was migratory and even more predominantly male, with a male to female ratio of 24 to 1. In the first decades of the twentieth century, while only a tiny fraction of one percent of the continental U.S. population was of Japanese descent, roughly 40 percent of the Hawaiian population was, and still is to this day.

The other misconception is that the Issei were passive, self-effacing victims of racial oppression. In fact, Kikumura points out, they were scrappier in their struggle for civil rights than is com-

at which to view rare home movies taken by the Issei of their work and community activities.

Among the exhibition's artifacts will be photographs, identification tags, original labor contracts, even the original brocade envelope that carried the treaty governing immigration from Japan to Hawaii, diaries, letters, poetry, newspapers, movie posters of silent-film star Sessue Hayakawa, a charcoal iron, cooking utensils, sewing baskets, and perhaps rarest of all, work clothing, hard to find because it usually wore out or was discarded.

THE NUMBERS GAME



Teachers of U.S. History Emphasize Twentieth Century *Teachers of World History Focus on Earlier Eras*

BY JEFFREY THOMAS

Table 1: The Top Ten Course Topics Given Most Extensive Coverage by High School History Teachers
(in descending order of coverage)

U.S. HISTORY

1. World War II
2. Great Depression & New Deal
3. World War I
4. The 1920s
5. Current Issues
6. The 1960s & Civil Rights
7. Cold War
8. Vietnam War
9. The Recent Past
10. Postwar Domestic America

WORLD HISTORY

1. Rise & Spread of the Great Monotheistic Religions
2. Ancient Rome: Foundations, Republic, and Early Empire
3. Greek Civilization from Homer to the Peloponnesian Wars
4. World War II
5. Renaissance
6. World War I
7. Ancient Rome: Later Empire, Legacy, and Limitations
8. Democratic Revolutions
9. Totalitarianism: Nazi Germany & Stalinist Russia
10. Reformation & Its Effects

HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS of U.S. history are spending more classroom time teaching the twentieth century than the early history of the nation, running counter to the oft-stated complaint that teachers run out of teaching time at the end of the school year without having arrived at the end of the syllabus.

A survey of general enrollment history teachers by the National Center for History in the Schools at UCLA shows that teachers devote more classroom sessions to the study of World War II than to the founding and development of the English colonies. More time is given to the Vietnam War than to the American Revolution (*Table 1*). Topics receiving only passing attention, according to the multiple choice questionnaire, were antebellum reform, the ratification of the Constitution, Puritanism, the Great Awakening, and America before European contact.

The survey was conducted among 481 schoolteachers during the 1989-90 school year as part of an analysis of teaching being carried on by the center, whose work is funded by a \$1.8 million grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Among the topics covered by the study were teaching methods and materials,

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

and coverage of subject. The center is now in the process of developing content and performance standards in history for kindergarten through grade 12 under a joint \$1.6 million grant from NEH and the U.S. Department of Education. The standards are expected by 1994.

Unlike their U.S. history counterparts, world history teachers—despite the disintegration of the Soviet satellite structure in then-current events—gave scant attention to twentieth-century history, with the exception of World Wars I and II. Topics receiving the greatest attention were the classical Mediterranean world, the rise of the great monotheistic religions, and the Renaissance. Covered in less depth were the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and the Industrial Revolution. A number of historical eras were treated in one or two classroom sessions, the survey found, including the early histories of non-Western civilizations, the Ottoman Empire, the Chinese Revolution, and the Cold War.

The main teaching tool for both groups of high school teachers was survey textbooks (*Table 2*). More than 90 percent used a regular history textbook at least once a week. About half used maps once a week. Few were frequent users of such basic materials as biographies, documents, and literature of the period.

Table 2: High School History Teachers' Use of Selected Instructional Materials in the Classroom

Instructional Material	FREQUENCY OF USE (%)					
	Never or Seldom		1-3 Times a Month		Once a Week or More	
	U.S.	World	U.S.	World	U.S.	World
Textbook	2.6	4.7	2.7	4.2	94.6	91.1
History books other than textbooks	31.3	37.1	44.4	38.0	24.3	24.9
Literature of the historical period	57.5	56.7	34.7	32.9	7.7	10.4
Biographies and autobiographies	52.3	59.9	42.2	34.0	5.4	6.2
Literature about the historical period	56.4	51.9	35.4	38.2	8.2	9.9
Historical documents	29.7	42.3	54.8	46.2	15.5	11.5
Journals and newspapers of the period	58.8	67.6	31.5	22.4	9.7	10.0
Oral history/audio tapes	60.8	63.3	29.6	29.5	9.5	7.2
Films, film strips, video tapes	12.1	11.3	62.1	66.4	25.8	22.2
Computer software	88.4	91.0	9.7	8.6	2.0	0.5
Historical maps (beyond textbook)	12.7	14.9	33.5	36.0	53.8	49.1
Museum resources and artifacts	91.1	87.6	7.7	11.4	1.2	1.0
Art and architecture of the period	89.3	63.7	10.3	32.1	0.4	4.3
Music of the period	90.0	85.8	9.2	13.7	0.8	0.5

Table 3: High School History Teachers' Use of Selected Classroom Activities

Classroom Activities	FREQUENCY OF USE (%)					
	Never or Seldom		1-3 Times a Month		Once a Week or More	
	U.S.	World	U.S.	World	U.S.	World
Lecture	3.9	7.4	10.4	7.9	85.7	84.7
Discussion	1.1	2.3	8.4	7.4	90.4	90.3
Writing answers to questions	6.5	4.3	23.6	22.2	69.9	73.6
Writing essays and reports	23.2	21.3	57.6	59.9	19.1	18.9
Debates	72.8	69.1	25.7	26.3	1.5	4.7
Simulations and games	60.2	66.4	34.4	28.9	5.4	4.7
A cooperative learning game (e.g., jigsaw)	61.5	59.4	28.3	25.5	10.1	15.1
Creating a newspaper	95.4	94.3	4.6	5.2	0.0	0.5
Dramatization	85.8	88.1	13.0	10.9	1.1	0.9
Creating models	91.1	86.2	8.1	12.4	0.8	1.4

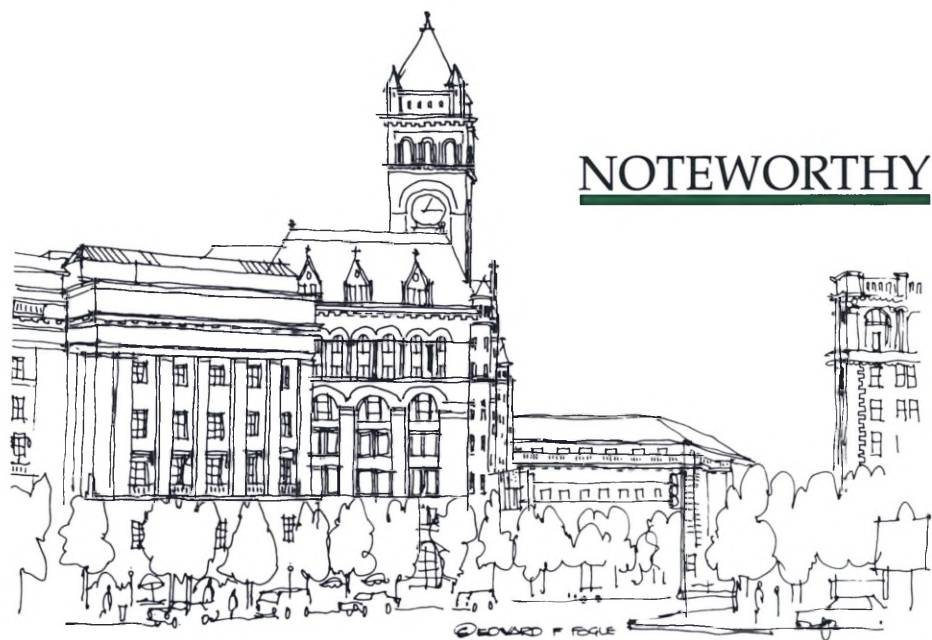
A combination of classroom lectures and discussions was the preferred instructional method for about nine out of ten U.S. and world history teachers (Table 3). Nearly one in five reported assigning essays and reports at least once a week; slightly greater proportions said they seldom or never made such assignments. Nontradi-

tional approaches such as simulations and games, cooperative learning, and dramatizations were used relatively infrequently.

Most seemed satisfied with departmental support for items such as projectors and television monitors but were less satisfied with support for items such as supplementary books,

outside speakers, and field trips.

The bottom line, however, was not school-funded resources. When asked to identify the conditions that would have to change before teachers can teach history more effectively, both U.S. and world history teachers put "home support" first, followed closely by "student effort." □



NOTEWORTHY

Improving History Education

The National Center for History in the Schools is beginning a two-year study to set standards in teaching history aimed at matching higher achievement levels in other parts of the world.

Established by NEH in 1988 to study the teaching and learning of history in U.S. schools, the UCLA-based center will now receive an additional \$1.6 million from NEH and the Department of Education to create and implement voluntary standards for kindergarten through grade 12.

Of history curricula in the U.S. today, center director Charlotte Crabtree says, "It's a rush through the centuries from the meeting of the three worlds in the fifteenth century up until yesterday. Teachers run out of steam by the time they reach World War II."

What students need, Crabtree asserts, is specific guideposts. "These standards will include events, institutions, and people struggling to achieve ideas and values. They will cover both the achievements and failures of the U.S."

A national coordinating council, comprised of fifteen members from historical organizations, will be established to oversee a larger task force of thirty-five teachers, school administrators, university scholars, state legislators, and education association members. The group aims to have standards in place for both U.S. and world history by the spring of 1994.

Crabtree, who led the successful effort to implement a new multicultural history framework for kindergarten through grade 12 in California, says that the bottom line is "to bring students to a richer understanding of what makes us a nation."

Romance Renewed

*...I wouldn't give a garlic
for my life; but, my lady, you were
My sustenance, my friend and rampart,
My tower and bulwark.*

Pretty heady stuff for the twentieth century. To strengthen the teaching of thirteenth-century French medieval romance in a contemporary setting, the French department of Mount Holyoke College is videotaping a performance of Jean Renart's *The Romance of the Rose*, with English narration and dialogue.

"More and more students and teachers perceive video not just as entertainment but also as a significant pedagogical tool," says Margaret Switten, director of the NEH-supported project and professor of French at Mount Holyoke. Switten is modeling the project after an earlier NEH-funded undertaking at Mount Holyoke, which she also directed, on the medieval lyric.

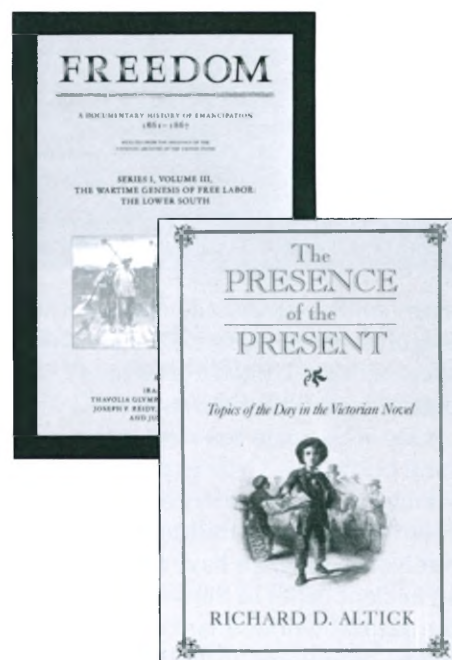
In Renart's *The Romance of the Rose*, the heart of a war-mongering emperor is transformed by a beautiful young girl, and love, inevitably, conquers all. The production was performed by the Folger Consort in Washington, D.C.; the play was written as a lyric

anthology, with much of the dialogue sung as ballads. Switten expects the videotape and accompanying teaching materials to be available in December 1992.

Awards for NEH Books

Awards have been given to three NEH-supported books. *The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Lower South*, edited by a group of scholars at the University of Maryland, has won the 1991 Thomas Jefferson Prize from the Society for History in the Federal Government. It is volume 3 of *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*. This is the edition's second Jefferson Prize, which recognizes "outstanding contributions toward the understanding of the history of the federal government in an edited collection of documents."

Richard D. Altick's *The Presence of the Present: Topics of the Day in the Victorian Novel* is the winner of the



1991 Phi Beta Kappa Christian Gauss Award for "outstanding works of literary scholarship or criticism."

A House Divided won a citation from the Gustavus Myers Center for the Study of Human Rights in the United States. The book, written by Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney, was the companion to an NEH-supported exhibition at the Chicago Historical Society on slavery and the Civil War.

—Robin L. Baur

Alfonso Ortiz

Advocate of Native American Traditions

THERE WERE CULTURES and civilizations here fully as diverse, as complex, and as interesting as any in Europe for centuries before Columbus was even a gleam in his father's eye," says Alfonso Ortiz, a Pueblo Indian and an anthropologist who teaches at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.

Author of *The Tewa World* (1969), about the world view of his native tribe, and coeditor of *American Indian Myths and Legends* (1984), Ortiz has increasingly found himself in the spotlight as a spokesman on native American issues during the Columbian Quincentenary year.

Native American cultures have survived despite the widespread belief at the turn of the century that indigenous cultures were soon to disappear forever, he says. "Even on the East Coast, where native Americans have long since been dispossessed of their ancestral lands, numerous tribes still maintain themselves by gathering, telling the ancient stories, and reenacting the tribal ceremonies." While many native American languages are forgotten, he says, some 200 are still spoken in the United States today, mostly west of the Mississippi.

One of the main reasons for this cultural buoyancy, Ortiz explains, is the vitality of native American religions: "Native American traditions throughout North America have in common an ancient belief in the sacredness of the natural world. Plants, animals, rivers, mountains, even the sun, the moon, and the stars—all are enmeshed in a pulsating web of interdependent relations in the natural world. The native American perspective offers a way of integrating the human imagination into nature."

After the Industrial Revolution, European Americans replaced this reverential understanding of nature with a utilitarian one, resulting in

James S. Turner is assistant editor of Humanities.

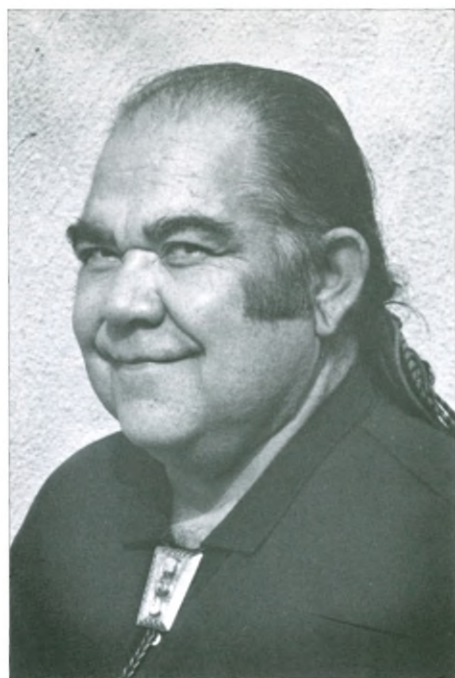
urban man's alienation from nature, he maintains. Yet he does not posit the native American sensibility as an absolute standard outside of the native American community. Much of his advocacy takes the form of combatting stereotypes, such as the pejorative application of the word "primitive" to Indian cultures.

"The indiscriminate use of this term encourages a smug sense of superiority," he says. "But who's to say that one religion is more primitive than another, that alphabet-based writing is more sophisticated than petroglyphs, pictographs, bark writing, and calendar sticks? Until recent decades, we haven't known how to interpret them. But that's not because the record-keeping systems are primitive; it's because our knowledge of them is primitive. Our failure to understand does not make other cultures 'simple'—somewhere further down on the scale of evolution; it's a reflection on us. There really are no primitive cultures or primitive religions or primitive arts in the pejorative sense in which the term is taken—as less reflective than modern ones."

The world—especially the United States—is simply not a homogeneous place, Ortiz emphasizes: "Cultural diversity is represented in the United States to a degree unparalleled in human history. We are the first truly global nation on earth. All the major cultural clusterings of the earth are represented here—African, a variety of Asian, even Pacific Islanders, European, Mexican, South American."

Anthropology, he says, begins with the observation that to be human is to be diverse. "But it doesn't necessarily follow that to see diversity is to respect it. That's one of my tasks—to teach respect for that diversity by demonstrating that different cultures have their own internal coherence, reasonableness, and they help people come to grips with the challenge of living in their environment."

His students, who include native



Courtesy of Alfonso Ortiz

Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Anglo Americans, have to grapple with this idea. "They may feel privately that their own culture or religion is the best of all possible worlds. But they're at least willing to say that other ways are legitimate."

On the other hand, Ortiz still encounters students who ask him questions such as, just when are native Americans going to stop living on reservations and become Americans? "I look at them and say, 'Let's get one thing straight. What you term reservations are the last tiny islands that Indian people have left of a continent that they once traveled freely over. They walk on the dust of maybe a hundred generations of forebears.'" Traditional ceremonies on these lands are spiritually linked to the land's specific geographical features in ways that European Americans don't easily appreciate, he says.

He tells his students: "Since the 1960s, with the onset of a more permissive cultural ethic, it's been okay to have an identity in addition to the American one. It's not disloyal or subversive. It enhances your Americanness to have a distinct language, especially if it predates Columbus."

He adds: "American higher education still hasn't figured out how to integrate diversity into either the curriculum or the student body. To prevent future generations of people from being unable to cope with cultural diversity, you need to stress it heavily at the elementary level. That's going to be important in preparing for the future." □

CALENDAR

March ♦ April

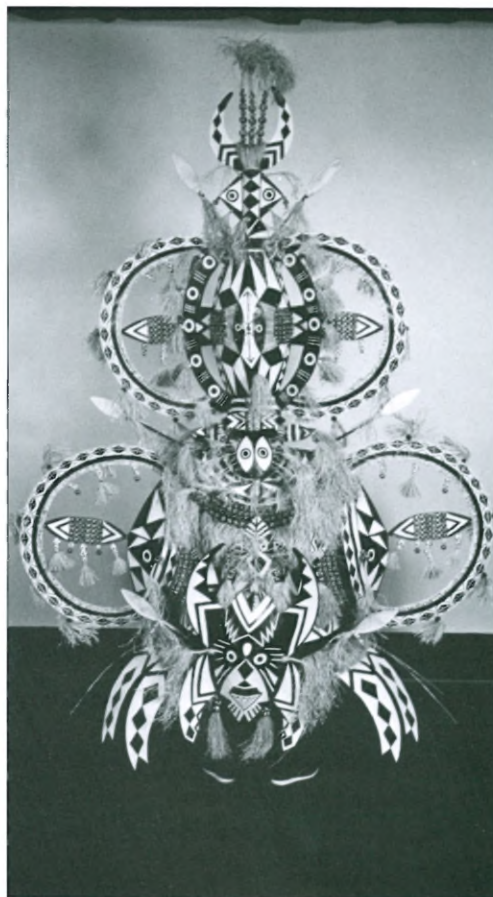


Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley

"Seeds of Change," a traveling exhibition based on the Columbian Quincentenary exhibition at the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of Natural History, will be on view in March in Seattle, Washington; Salem, Oregon; Omaha, Nebraska; Montpelier, Vermont; and Birmingham, Alabama.



Latin American theater, from the early twentieth century to the present, will be the focus of an international conference April 28-May 2 at the University of Kansas at Lawrence.



Saint Louis Art Museum

The historical and cultural background and spread of Caribbean Festival Arts is examined in an exhibition opening in April at the Seattle Art Museum in Washington.



Beinecke Library, Yale University

A conference will be held March 5-7 to examine the thirteenth-century Lancelot-Grail cycle of the Arthurian romances at the University of Texas at Austin.



James Earl Jones hosts two episodes of the PBS series *Long Ago & Far Away*: on March 7, "Frog and Toad are Friends," and on March 14, "Frog and Toad Together."

HUMANITIES GUIDE

FOR THOSE WHO ARE THINKING OF APPLYING FOR AN NEH GRANT

CODIFICATIONS OF information have been prepared for centuries. As scholars unearth new materials or rediscover territory charted by their forebears, new compilations of information become necessary to communicate newly discovered facts or new estimates and new ideas about old evidence.

The Endowment's Reference Materials program supports dictionaries, historical or linguistic atlases, encyclopedias, concordances, reference grammars, data bases, text bases, and other materials that codify information essential to research in the humanities. Grants also support projects that will help scholars and researchers locate information about humanities documentation or determine the usefulness or relevance of specific materials for their research. Eligible projects include bibliographies, bibliographic data bases, catalogues raisonnés, and descriptive catalogues, indexes, union lists, and other guides to materials in the humanities. Support is also available for projects that address issues related to the design or accessibility of such reference works. Many of these projects make available unknown materials; others facilitate research by bringing together widely dispersed information that individual users would find difficult to obtain.

The Dictionary of American Regional English, for instance, identifies and explains American regional expressions that are not included in standard dictionaries. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* compiles information on all aspects of Byzantine civilization drawn from multilingual sources while also providing new interdisciplinary perspectives and a reevaluation of previous scholars' findings.

Because reference works or scholarly guides cover information on many branches of knowledge or treat a topic comprehensively, projects to develop these works are often collab-

Helen C. Agüera is a program officer for Reference Materials in the Division of Research Programs.

Reference Materials

BY HELEN C. AGÜERA

orative, requiring a carefully concerted effort by experts from several disciplines. During the planning phase, project directors need substantial consultation with others in the field to determine the scope of the work and the most appropriate method of accomplishing it. In preparing a reference work, project staff must solicit and edit contributions from dozens and sometimes hundreds of collaborators while at the same time monitoring the work of indexing, cross-referencing, and fact checking.

Before submitting a proposal, the applicant should have completed most of the preliminary planning, such as meeting with consultants and potential participants. Unless the planning phase is well advanced, the applicant will not be able to provide much of the information requested by the program guidelines. Proposals to compile encyclopedias, for instance, are expected to contain a preliminary list of the entries to be covered and a list of the prospective contributors. Applications should also demonstrate that agreements have been made with institutions that hold materials essential to preparing the work or with those that will provide necessary resources such as office space.

Applicants should not assume that the significance of the project will be self-evident. It is important to discuss the proposed work's scope and intellectual content, including specific examples of how it will make pos-

sible new investigations or facilitate scholarly or general reference. If the project will also be valuable for classroom instruction, this potential should be described. Proposals for electronic tools or guides should describe the contemplated reference work with particular care because NEH evaluators may include scholars unfamiliar with new technology as well as those with advanced technical expertise.

Likewise, a full discussion of the proposed methodology, such as editorial policies, and inclusion of sample entries are essential to the success of a Reference Materials application. Many proposals for important reference works with excellent staff fail to receive funding because the methodology is not clearly described or the samples are inadequate. Samples should reflect as closely as possible the format and content of the final work because they will be carefully scrutinized by scholars who know the subject matter. Any limitations in the samples should be indicated and the missing features discussed. Samples of dictionary entries in particular should reflect the applicant's knowledge of lexicographical procedures and practices. Entries for bibliographies, similarly, should adhere to accepted scholarly standards.

Applicants may request up to three years of support on a single application; renewal applications are often filed by applicants whose work exceeds three years.

Since Reference Materials applications generally require substantial documentation and budget justification, applicants are encouraged to consult with program staff and submit a draft proposal for advice at least six weeks before the application deadline.

The next application deadline is September 1, 1992. For applications materials and further information, write or call the Reference Materials program, Division of Research Programs, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, DC 20506; 202/786-0358.

RECENT NEH GRANTS

BY DISCIPLINE

Archaeology & Anthropology

Archaeological Conservancy, Santa Fe, NM; Mark P. Michel: \$285,000. An increase in the revolving preservation fund used to acquire and preserve endangered archaeological sites in the United States. **CP**

Museum of New Mexico Foundation, Santa Fe; Bruce D. Bernstein: \$350,000 OR; \$100,000 FM. A permanent exhibition on the prehistory, history, and contemporary period of the Indians of the Southwest. **GM**

U. of California, Berkeley; Cathleen A. Keller: \$49,864. Documentation of the Egyptian archaeology collection. **PH**

U. of California, Los Angeles; Christopher B. Donnan: \$300,000 OR; \$150,000 FM. A temporary, traveling exhibition on the art and culture of the Moche, a pre-Columbian culture that flourished in ancient Peru. **GM**

U. of California, Los Angeles; Doran H. Ross: \$50,000. Planning for a traveling exhibition, catalogue, symposium, and educational programs on the art and material culture of the Murik of Papua New Guinea. **GM**

Arts—History & Criticism

Asia Society, NYC; Vishakha N. Desai: \$50,000. Planning for an exhibition, catalogue, and programming on 18th-century Korean art. **GM**

Brooklyn Historical Society, NY; Irene Tichenor: \$25,000 OR; \$25,000 FM. Documentation of Brooklyn graphics collections. **PH**

Chicago Historical Society, IL; Robert I. Goler: \$49,992. Documentation of the stained glass collection. **PH**

High Museum of Art, Atlanta, GA; Ronni Baer: \$50,000. Planning for an exhibition, catalogue, and public programs on the art of the Dutch painter Gerrit Dou, 1613-75, and his contemporaries. **GM**

Hood Museum of Art, Hanover, NH; Timothy R. Rub: \$153,755. A traveling exhibition, catalogue, and programs on the Panathenaic festival, the major civic and religious event that was held annually in ancient Athens. **GM**

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, CA; Earl A. Powell III: \$42,045. Planning for a traveling exhibition on the contributions of American Egyptologists and institutions to the understanding of ancient Egypt. **GM**

Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC; Mahrukh Tarapor: \$250,000 OR; \$100,000 FM. An exhibition, catalogue, and public programs on the art and culture of Islamic Spain from the 8th to the 15th century. **GM**

Some of the items in this list are offers, not final awards. *Grant amounts* in each listing are designated as FM (Federal Match) and OR (Outright Funds). *Division and program* are designated by the two-letter code at the end of each listing.

Division of Education Programs

- EH Higher Education in the Humanities
- ES Elementary and Secondary Education in the Humanities

Division of Public Programs

- GN Humanities Projects in Media
- GM Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations
- GP Public Humanities Projects
- GL Humanities Programs in Libraries and Archives

Division of Research Programs

- RO Interpretive Research Projects
- RX Conferences
- RH Humanities, Science and Technology
- RP Publication Subvention
- RA Centers for Advanced Study
- RI International Research
- RT Tools
- RE Editions
- RL Translations
- RC Access

Division of Preservation and Access

- PS Preservation
- PS U.S. Newspaper Program
- PH National Heritage Preservation Program

Office of Challenge Grants

- CE Education Programs
- CP Public Programs
- CR Research Programs

Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, TX; Katherine S. Howe: \$50,000. Planning for a traveling exhibition examining the work of Gustave and Christian Herter, German-born furniture makers, and their contributions to the history of American decorative arts in the 19th century. **GM**

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA; Peter C. Sutton: \$200,000 OR; \$200,000 FM. An exhibition, catalogue, and public programming on the art of the Flemish baroque period that highlights the work of Peter Paul Rubens, 1577-1640. **GM**

Museum of Photographic Arts, San Diego, CA; Arthur L. Ollman: \$20,000. Self-study to create a long-range plan for interpretive humanities exhibitions and programs. **GM**

Nelson Gallery Foundation, Kansas City, MO; Wai-kam Ho: \$250,000 OR; \$100,000 FM. A temporary, traveling exhibition, publications, and public programs on the work of the Ming Dynasty artist Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, 1555-1636, and his contemporaries. **GM**

Oakland Museum, CA; L. Thomas Frye: \$100,000. Interpretive programs with an exhibition of American Indian artifacts from the Brooklyn Museum's Stewart Culin collection that will demonstrate his collecting strategies and the histories of individual objects. **GM**

Philadelphia Museum of Art, PA; Joseph Rishel: \$750,000. Construction and reconfiguration of spaces related to the reinstallation of 53 galleries of European art, and the conservation of objects for these galleries. **CP**

Queens County Art and Cultural Center, Inc., Flushing, NY; Marc H. Miller: \$44,211. An exhibition on Louis Armstrong and African American art and culture in the 20th century. **GM**

Textile Museum, Washington, DC; Mattiebelle Gittinger: \$100,000. An exhibition, catalogue, and educational programs on the textile arts of the T'ai people of Southeast Asia. **GM**

U. of Kansas, Lawrence; Stephen H. Goddard: \$150,000. A traveling exhibition and educational programs on the graphic art of the Belgian avant-garde, 1880-1900. **GM**

U. of Missouri, Columbia; Susan Langdon: \$49,528. Planning for an exhibition, catalogue, and educational activities on the art and culture of Greece in the Age of Homer. **GM**

U. of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, San Juan; Enrique Vivoni-Farage: \$49,925. Planning for an exhibition on the historical and cultural significance of Spanish Revival architecture in Puerto Rico, 1900-50. **GM**

U. of Rochester, NY; David Peelle: \$98,800. Preservation of sound recordings from the Eastman Audio Archive's Howard Hanson Collection that contains performances of Hanson's compositions and programs held at the Eastman School of Music. **PS**

Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, MN; Elizabeth N. Armstrong: \$150,000. A traveling exhibition, catalogue, and public programs on Fluxus, an international artistic movement most active between 1962 and 1978. **GM**

Yale U., New Haven, CT; Susan P. Casteras: \$49,851. Planning for an exhibition, catalogue, and programs on the Grosvenor Gallery, London, in the context of late-Victorian art and culture, 1877-90. **GM**

History—Non-U.S.

Arts Foundation of New Jersey, New Brunswick; Carol F. Dickert: \$196,000 OR; \$14,000 FM. A four-week summer institute for 40 New Jersey teachers and administrators, grades 5 through 12, on the life and times of Leonardo da Vinci. **ES**

B & O Railroad Museum, Baltimore, MD; John H. Ott: \$20,000. Self-study for long-range interpretive programming and collection development plans. **GM**

Brown County Historical Society Museum, New Ulm, MN; Charlene Akers: \$20,000. Self-

study to determine humanities themes to be explored in future public programs. **GM**

Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, MA; Luke H. Wenger: \$258,000. Endowment of programs and publications, especially *Speculum*. **CR**

U. of Illinois, Chicago; Gerald A. Danzer: \$107,065. A five-week summer institute for 30 Chicago high school history teachers on maps and the relation between cartography and history. **ES**

History—U.S.

Bay State Historical League, Waltham, MA; Cynthia Robinson: \$25,000. A seminar for the staffs of local historical societies on the history of Massachusetts and the nation in the 1790s. **GM**

Brooklyn Historical Society, NY; David M. Kahn: \$375,000. Endowment of three humanities positions and the expenses needed to raise these funds. **CP**

Chicago Historical Society, IL; Russell L. Lewis: \$300,000 OR; \$50,000 FM. A temporary exhibition, catalogue, and public programs on Chicago during World War II. **GM**

Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford; Christopher P. Bickford: \$20,000. Self-study. **GM**

Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; Martha S. Wiske: \$167,980. A collaborative project for 30 Boston-area high school history and social studies teachers on the migration of African Americans to the North. **ES**

Hawaii Maritime Center, Honolulu; Evarts C. Fox, Jr.: \$285,000. Endowment for a new education department in maritime history that will include salaries for an education specialist and an assistant and expansion of the education program. **CP**

Historic Hudson Valley, Tarrytown, NY; Joseph T. Butler: \$50,000. Documentation and computerization of the Historic Hudson Valley collections. **PH**

Jewish Museum, NYC; Adina Back: \$200,000. To support an exhibition, catalogue, and public programs on the relationships between African Americans and American Jews in the 20th century. **GM**

Lehigh County Historical Society, Allentown, PA; Sarah E. Nelson: \$20,000. A self-study to create an intellectual framework for interpreting the society's historic sites. **GM**

NYC Department of Records and Information Services, NYC; Seth D. Janofsky: \$138,259. Preservation of 720,000 photographic negatives that depict the built environment of New York City. They were produced from 1939 to 1941 under the auspices of the Works Projects Administration. **PS**

Newberry Library, Chicago, IL; James R. Grossman: \$31,000. Planning for an exhibition with interpretive catalogue, public programs, and educational materials on historian Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis and its legacy. **GL**

Ohio Historical Society, Columbus; Marjorie J. Haberman: \$446,326. Microfilming of 405 Ohio newspaper titles, comprising 1.5 million pages, as part of the U.S. Newspaper Program. **PS**

Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence; Albert T. Klyberg: \$177,871. A temporary exhibition, catalogue, public programs, and a news-

paper series on suffrage requirements historically and the Dorr Rebellion of 1842. **GM**

Shaker Village, Inc., Canterbury, NH; Scott T. Swank: \$304,000. Restoration of four historic buildings and the creation of an endowment for general operating costs, public programs, and annual maintenance of the historic site. **CP**

U. of Arkansas, Fayetteville; Lynne M. Hayman: \$248,555. Cataloguing of newspapers in Arkansas repositories that will add 3,400 titles to the national newspaper database, as part of the U.S. Newspaper Program. **PS**

U. of Florida, Gainesville; Augustus M. Burns: \$124,505. A collaborative project for 60 high school social studies teachers and administrators that will include two three-week summer institutes on the Supreme Court's role in defining civil rights. **ES**

U. of Texas, Austin; Harold W. Billings: \$372,009. Microfilming of 93 Texas newspapers, comprising 427,000 pages, as part of the U.S. Newspaper Program. **PS**

Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; William R. Chamberlain: \$12,767. Planning for a survey of newspapers in state repositories and a strategy for cataloguing and preserving Virginia newspapers, as part of the U.S. Newspaper Program. **PS**

Interdisciplinary

American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA; Edward C. Carter II: \$293,425. Renovation and equipping of the library component of Benjamin Franklin Hall, and creation of an endowment fund to meet increased maintenance costs. **CR**

Amherst College, MA; Willis E. Bridegam: \$500,000. Expansion and renovation of the college library, purchase of equipment, and endowment of two staff positions. **CE**

Arizona Historical Society, Tucson; Steven M. Harvath: \$207,725 OR; \$50,000 FM. Implementation of a traveling exhibition on the conquest of New Spain. **GM**

Art Institute of Chicago, IL; Jane Clarke: \$100,000. Publications and public programs on Asian art, history, and culture in conjunction with the reinstallation of the museum's collections of East Asian art. **GM**

Association of Research Libraries, Washington, DC; Jutta Reed-Scott: \$678,954. Retrospective conversion of monographic records in the National Register of Microform Masters, which will enable libraries and scholars to have access to some 474,000 records. **PS**

Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, NY; Leon Botstein: \$500,000. Construction and furnishing of a library addition and creation of an endowment for library acquisitions in the humanities. **CE**

Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee, FL; Bonnie G. McEwan: \$49,916. Planning for an exhibition and related media that will interpret the site of the San Luis mission, capital of Spanish West Florida from 1656 to 1704. **GM**

Carlyle House Historic Park, Alexandria, VA; Lesley B. Gilmore: \$38,555. Planning for a series of exhibitions and programs on African American history at 11 institutions in Alexandria, Virginia. **GM**

Chicago Botanic Garden, Glencoe, IL; Lisa C. Roberts: \$12,707. Self-study of the garden's resources and interpretive programs. **GM**

Children's Museum of Boston, MA; Kenneth S. Brecher: \$750,000. Endowment for humanities programs, renovation of the entry and lobby space, and fund-raising expenses. **CP**

Colorado State U., Fort Collins; J. Edward Schamberger: \$190,000. A five-week institute for thirty Colorado middle and high school teachers on the history, literature, and art of 19th-century New England. **ES**

Concord Museum, MA; Robert A. Gross: \$50,000. Planning of a permanent exhibition on the history of Concord from precontact to the present. **GM**

Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; Anne R. Kenney: \$676,755. Microfilming of 10,000 brittle volumes from the Echols collection on the literature and languages of the Southeast. **PS**

Council for Basic Education, Washington, DC; A. Graham Down: \$562,500. Endowment of the Independent Study in the Humanities Fellowship program, which provides summer fellowships to outstanding precollegiate educators throughout the nation. **CE**

DePaul U., Chicago, IL; Doris R. Brown: \$500,000. Construction of a new library and creation of an endowment to cover costs of acquisitions in the humanities. **CE**

Denver Art Museum, CO; Gordon F. McEwan: \$375,000. Endowment for staffing and programs of the Center for Latin American Archaeology with the provision of interim funds until the endowment is raised. **CP**

Emory U., Atlanta, GA; Joan I. Gotwals: \$750,000. Creation of an endowment fund for library acquisitions in the humanities. **CR**

Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, IL; Deborah L. Mack: \$400,000 OR; \$200,000 FM. A long-term exhibition on the natural history and cultures of Africa and the diaspora. **GM**

Frick Collection, NYC; Charles A. Ryskamp: \$750,000. Development of an endowment for the art reference library enabling the library to maintain services to its national constituency. **CR**

Fruitlands Museum, Harvard, MA; Robert D. Farwell: \$10,000. Self-study. **GM**

Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; Richard C. Schulhof: \$49,507. Planning for a permanent exhibition on the history and cultural significance of the Arnold Arboretum. **GM**

Heard Museum, Phoenix, AZ; Martin E. Sullivan: \$500,000. Construction of classrooms and space for a new resident scholars program in the humanities and creation of an endowment for residencies and the operating costs. **CP**

High Desert Museum, Bend, OR; Jonquil B. LeMaster-Rock: \$48,101. Planning for a permanent exhibition on the native Americans of the Great Basin and the Plateau. **GM**

John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI; Norman Fiering: \$383,180. Endowment of two staff positions and of the activities of a Center for New World Comparative Studies. **CR**

Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, NE; Graham W. J. Beal: \$500,000. Endowment of three existing curatorial positions and the renovation and expansion of the library and education areas. **CP**

Kansas City Public Library, MO; Daniel J. Bradbury: \$237,500. Creation of an endowment fund for humanities acquisitions and public programs. **CP**

Kansas Library Network Board, Topeka; Mary D. Burchill: \$35,785. Development of a statewide preservation plan for Kansas. **PS**

Mississippi State Department of Education, Jackson; Sam L. Slick: \$206,125. Two seven-week summer institutes on the French and Spanish heritage in Mississippi for 100 high school teachers of French and Spanish. **ES**

New York Public Library, NYC; Irene M. Percelli: \$205,293 OR; \$50,000 FM. Cataloguing of 2,000 newspaper titles and the microfilming of 250,000 newsprint pages, as part of the U.S. Newspaper Program. **PS**

Oakland Museum, CA; Therese Heyman: \$40,858. Documentation of photographs by Dorothea Lange, 1885-1965. **PH**

Philadelphia Jewish Archives Center, PA; Franklin C. Muse: \$57,071. Microfilming of records of the Jewish Publication Society, including institutional documents, publication committee reports, scrapbooks of reviews, author correspondence, and Bible materials. **PS**

President and Fellows of Harvard College, Cambridge, MA; Sidney Verba: \$2,746,884. Microfilming of 30,810 brittle volumes from the library collections that relate to American business history, American education history, Italian history, and Russian and Soviet history and culture. **PS**

Research Libraries Group, Inc., Mountain View, CA; Patricia A. McClung: \$906,224. Microfilming of 11,703 brittle books from collections in Yale, Columbia, Cornell, Princeton, and Stanford important to scholarship in American history, Asian studies, Turkish history, and the history of science. **PS**

SUNY Research Foundation/Buffalo, NY; Frederick C. Tahk: \$166,666. Endowment of conservation internships for third-year graduate students in the Art Conservation Department. **CR**

Saint Bonaventure U., St. Bonaventure, NY; Richard P. Reilly: \$250,000. Development of library collections in the humanities by establishing a restricted endowment fund. **CE**

Saint Joseph's College, Rensselaer, IN; John P. Nichols: \$375,000. Construction of a new humanities core education center. **CE**

Southwest Texas State U., San Marcos; June C. Hankins: \$151,200. A four-week summer institute for 30 Texas high school history and English teachers on definitions of ethical citizenship in literary, historical, and political texts. **ES**

Stanford U., CA; Charles Palm: \$953,783. Microfilming of 60,615 items from the Hoover Institution's pamphlet collection dealing with revolutionary change in 20th-century Europe. **PS**

Texas A&I U., Kingsville; Joe S. Graham: \$200,000. A traveling exhibition, catalogue, and programs on the history and significance of the ranch in South Texas from 1750 to the present. **GM**

U. of Arizona, Tucson; T. L. McCarty: \$162,701. An 18-month collaborative project for 35 Arizona elementary and high school teachers that includes a summer institute, an academic year workshop, and a weeklong seminar on native Americans in the Southwest. **ES**

U. of Arizona Press, Tucson; Stephen F. Cox: \$237,500. Creation of an endowment fund to cover publication costs of scholarly works in the history, philosophy, language, and literature of native American and Latin American cultures. **CR**

U. of California, Berkeley; Joseph A. Rosenthal: \$82,314. A conference to develop a curriculum model designed to train conservators of circulating library collections and the administrators who will teach the methods and plan the projects that will implement the curriculum. **PS**

U. of New Hampshire, Durham; Willem deVries: \$84,000. A four-week summer institute on the relationship between science and the humanities for 40 Maine and New Hampshire high school teachers of science and the humanities. **ES**

U. of New Mexico, Albuquerque; Robert L. Migneault: \$305,790. Support of New Mexico's participation in the U.S. Newspaper Program by entering 2,600 newspaper titles into a national newspaper database. **PS**

U. of South Carolina, Columbia; Catherine W. Horne: \$234,000. An exhibition, publications, and educational programs on African American celebrations in South Carolina from emancipation to the civil rights movement. **GM**

U. of Texas, Austin; Thomas F. Staley: \$228,869. Development of working guidelines and procedures for the application of the diethyl zinc (DEZ) process for mass deacidification of archives and manuscript collections. **PS**

Williamstown Regional Art Conservation Laboratory, Inc., MA; Gary C. Burger: \$285,000. Endowment for staff research and development, intern training, outreach services, and workshops. **CP**

Yale U., New Haven, CT; James R. Vivian: \$750,000. Endowment for humanities programs at the Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute, which brings the university and public school teachers together to improve humanities teaching and learning in the local schools. **CE**

Yale U., New Haven, CT; Marcia A. Watt: \$1,916,518. Microfilming of 20,100 embrittled volumes from the library's collections of materials important to research in political science and the history of economics. **PS**



Language & Linguistics

Ohio State U., Columbus; Frederic Cadora: \$44,768. A summer institute for secondary school teachers on Arabic language and culture. **ES**

U. of Wisconsin, Madison; Joan H. Hall: \$79,207. Production of master and service copies of 1,843 audiotaped interviews with informants who participated in the fieldwork for the *Dictionary of American Regional English* between 1965 and 1970. **PS**

WETA-TV, Washington, DC; Richard Hutton: \$562,000. Endowment of a program fund for the initial research and development of humanities productions. **CP**



Literature

Auburn City Schools, AL; Elizabeth D. Burgess: \$24,135. A masterwork study project for 14 middle and secondary school English teachers of Auburn, Alabama, on African American literature. **ES**

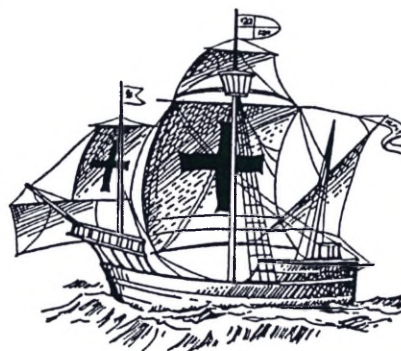
Bank Street College of Education, NYC; Judith R. Pasamanick: \$381,172. Three four-week summer institutes for 120 New York City elementary and middle school teachers on the narrative process of the oral tradition of folk tales and other genres. **ES**

Eastern Kentucky U., Richmond; Harry Brown: \$18,416. A masterwork study project on poetry for 15 middle and high school English teachers. **ES**

Huntington Theatre Company, Boston, MA; Pamela K. Hill: \$28,579. A masterwork study project for 15 humanities teachers from the Boston area on 17th- and 18th-century Restoration comedy, the works of James Shirley to those of William Congreve. **ES**

U. of Chicago, IL; Ralph A. Austen: \$23,892. A masterwork study project for 15 Chicago elementary and secondary school teachers on the African oral tradition. **ES**

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DIVISION OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS

James C. Herbert, Director • 786-0373

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.

	Deadline	Projects beginning
Higher Education in the Humanities • Lyn Maxwell White 786-0380	April 1, 1992	October 1992
Institutes for College and University Faculty • Barbara A. Ashbrook 786-0380	April 1, 1992	October 1992
Core Curriculum Projects • Frank Frankfort 786-0380	April 1, 1992	October 1992
Two-Year Colleges • Judith Jeffrey Howard 786-0380	April 1, 1992	October 1992
Elementary and Secondary Education in the Humanities • F. Bruce Robinson 786-0377	March 15, 1993	December 1993
Teacher-Scholar Program • Angela Iovino 786-0377	May 1, 1992	September 1993
Special Opportunity in Foreign Language Education	March 15, 1993	October 1993
Higher Education • Elizabeth Welles 786-0380		
Elementary and Secondary Education • F. Bruce Robinson 786-0377		

DIVISION OF FELLOWSHIPS AND SEMINARS

Marjorie A. Berlincourt, Director • 786-0458

	Deadline	Projects beginning
Fellowships for University Teachers • Maben D. Herring 786-0466	June 1, 1992	January 1, 1993
Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars • Joseph B. Neville 786-0466	June 1, 1992	January 1, 1993
Summer Stipends • Thomas O'Brien 786-0466	October 1, 1992	May 1, 1993
Travel to Collections • Kathleen Mitchell 786-0463	July 15, 1992	December 1, 1992
Faculty Graduate Study Program for Historically Black Colleges and Universities	March 15, 1993	September 1, 1994
Maben D. Herring 786-0466		
Younger Scholars • Leon Bramson 786-0463	November 1, 1992	May 1, 1993
Study Grants for College and University Teachers • Clayton Lewis 786-0463	August 15, 1992	May 1, 1993
Summer Seminars for College Teachers • Joel Schwartz 786-0463		
Participants	March 1, 1993	Summer 1993
Directors	March 1, 1993	Summer 1994
Summer Seminars for School Teachers • Michael Hall 786-0463		
Participants	March 1, 1993	Summer 1993
Directors	April 1, 1992	Summer 1993

DIVISION OF PRESERVATION AND ACCESS

George F. Farr, Jr., Director • 786-0570

	Deadline	Projects beginning
National Heritage Preservation Program • Richard Rose 786-0570	November 2, 1992	July 1993
Library and Archival Preservation Projects • George F. Farr, Jr. 786-0570	June 1, 1992	January 1993
Library and Archival Preservation/Access Project • Barbara Paulson 786-0570	June 1, 1992	January 1993
U. S. Newspaper Program • Jeffrey Field 786-0570	June 1, 1992	January 1993

To receive guidelines for any NEH program, contact the Office of Publications and Public Affairs at 202/786-0438. Guidelines are available at least two months in advance of application deadlines.

Telecommunications device for the deaf: 202/786-0282.

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DIVISION OF PUBLIC PROGRAMS

Donald Gibson, Director • 786-0267

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.	Deadline	Projects beginning
Humanities Projects in Media • James Dougherty 786-0278	September 11, 1992	April 1, 1993
Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations • Marsha Semmel 786-0284	June 5, 1992	January 1, 1993
Public Humanities Projects • Wilsonia Cherry 786-0271	September 11, 1992	April 1, 1993
Humanities Projects in Libraries • Thomas Phelps 786-0271		
Planning	May 1, 1992	October 1, 1992
Implementation	September 11, 1992	April 1, 1993

DIVISION OF RESEARCH PROGRAMS

Guinevere L. Griest, Director • 786-0200

	Deadline	Projects beginning
Editions and Translations • Margot Backas 786-0207		
Editions • Douglas Arnold 786-0207	June 1, 1992	April 1, 1993
Translations • Martha Chomiak 786-0207	June 1, 1992	April 1, 1993
Publication Subvention • Gordon McKinney 786-0207	April 1, 1992	October 1, 1992
Reference Materials • Jane Rosenberg 786-0358		
Tools • Helen Agüera 786-0358	September 1, 1992	July 1, 1993
Guides • Michael Poliakoff 786-0358	September 1, 1992	April 1, 1993
Challenge Grants • Bonnie Gould 786-0361	May 1, 1992	December 1, 1991
Interpretive Research • George Lucas 786-0210		
Collaborative Projects • David Wise 786-0210	October 15, 1992	July 1, 1993
Archaeology Projects • Rhys Townsend 786-0210	October 15, 1992	April 1, 1993
Humanities, Science, and Technology • Daniel Jones 786-0210	October 15, 1992	July 1, 1993
Conferences • David Coder 786-0204	January 15, 1993	October 1, 1993
Centers • Christine Kalke 786-0204	October 1, 1992	July 1, 1993
International Research • Christine Kalke 786-0204	April 1, 1992	January 1, 1993

DIVISION OF STATE PROGRAMS

Carole Watson, Director • 786-0254

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.

OFFICE OF CHALLENGE GRANTS

Harold Cannon, Director • 786-0361

	Deadline	Projects beginning
.....	May 1, 1992	December 1, 1992

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