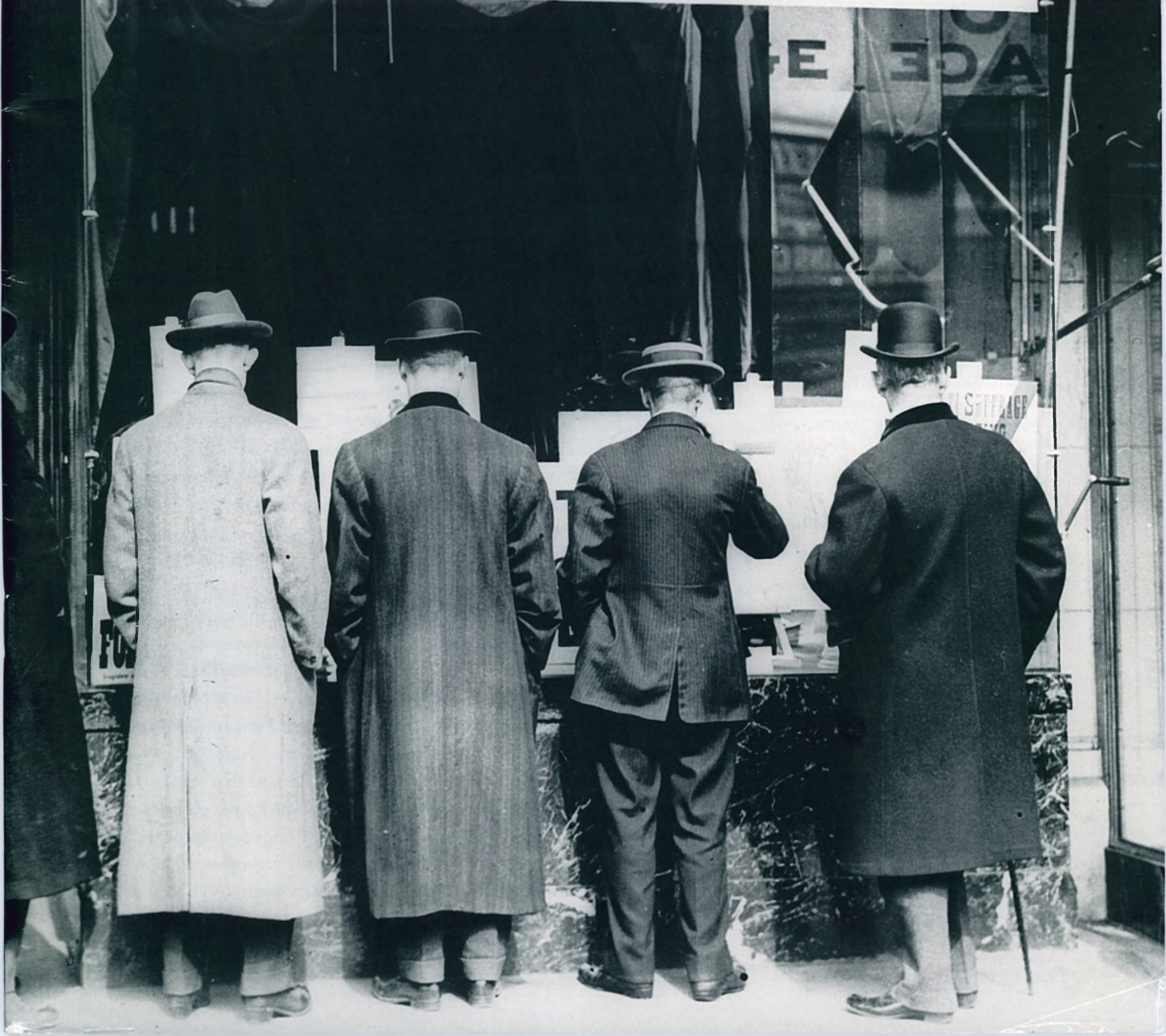


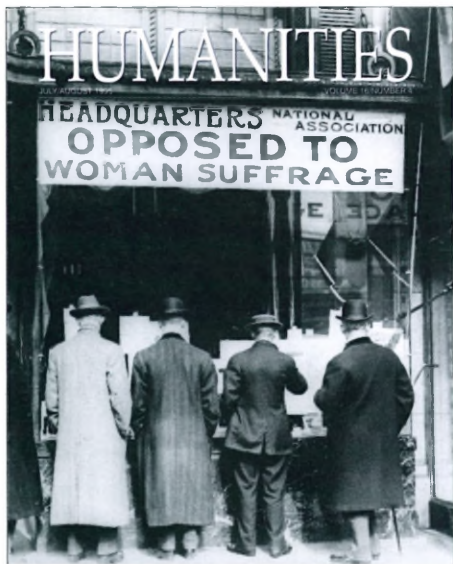
HUMANITIES

JULY/AUGUST 1995

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HEADQUARTERS NATIONAL
ASSOCIATION
OPPOSED TO
WOMAN SUFFRAGE





National anti-suffrage association. Early twentieth century. Harris & Ewing Photos.

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Humanities

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Boswell and Company

"Shakespeare is not more decidedly the first of dramatists, Demosthenes is not more decidedly the first of orators, than Boswell is the first of biographers," the historian Thomas Babington Macauley tells us. "He has distanced all his competitors so decidedly that it is not worth while to place them. Eclipse is first, and the rest is nowhere."

Having said that, the historian is less than kind about Boswell himself. "He was, if we are to give any credit to his own account or to the united testimony of those who knew him, a man of the meanest and feeblest intellect. Johnson described him as a fellow who had missed his only chance of immortality by not having been alive when the *Dunciad* was written. Beauclerk used his name as a proverbial expression for a bore. He was the laughingstock of the whole of that brilliant society which has owed to him the greater part of its fame."

Who was this man of such contradiction? On the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of his death, we visit the "Boswell factory" at Yale, where for the past forty-five years, scholars have been studying and annotating a long-lost cache of the man's papers. Their recovery has led to a reappraisal of Boswell beyond biographer of Samuel Johnson to that of chronicler of history.

"The Boswell papers," William Zachs writes in this issue, "offer documentary history in its broadest sense—literary, political, legal, philosophical, agricultural, and social—at a pivotal period in modern history. The second half of the eighteenth century was a period of enormous changes in the world order, a period of revolutions, in America, in France, in the balance of power in Britain's Parliament. The Industrial Revolution of the time would change the way of life of every man. In Boswell's journal, the events and the ideas that brought about these changes are recorded as the stuff of daily life."

But even as the scholars open up new dimensions of Boswell, it is for biography that he remains famous. Some latter-day literary historians see in his papers—recording in intimate detail Johnson's private life and even his own—an approach which was to change our expectations of biography in a fundamental way. We touch on this question again in this issue of *Humanities* in the lives of some twentieth-century figures of historical importance.

"When I got hold of the usher's diaries that allowed me to know where Franklin and Eleanor were every single day during this five-year period, it just seemed natural to tell it through their eyes," historian Doris Kearns Goodwin tells Endowment Chairman Sheldon Hackney. Her latest book, *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II*, has won this year's Pulitzer Prize in history. She discusses public perceptions versus private realities in the Roosevelt marriage and how that relationship intertwined with public policy. We also see Eleanor Roosevelt briefly a decade after her husband's death in another guise—campaigning for world peace—as we look at women and their struggle for equal rights in the seventy-five years since passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.

—Mary Lou Beatty

HUMANITIES

The Magazine of The National Endowment for the Humanities

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July/August 1995

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Franklin & Eleanor:



By Batchelor (detail).
New York Daily News. September 27, 1944.

Endowment Chairman

Sheldon Hackney talks

with biographer

Doris Kearns Goodwin

about her latest book,

No Ordinary Time:

Franklin and Eleanor

Roosevelt: The Home

Front in World War II,

which won this year's

Pulitzer Prize in history.



Doris Kearns Goodwin

A Conversation with Doris Kearns Goodwin



Sheldon Hackney

No Ordinary Couple

Sheldon Hackney: Let me ask you why you turned to Eleanor and Franklin, when so much has been written about them and about the Roosevelts. Was there something in particular that drew you to this subject?

Doris Kearns Goodwin: What drew me originally was the story of the American home front during the war. I had gotten interested in the war during my work on the Kennedy family because of Joe Kennedy's involvement in Britain. It's like opening a whole world once you get involved in World War II. I realized as I got into it more and more that, despite all the books that had been written on the war itself, much less had been written on what happened here at home during that time. So originally I was simply going to write a more general history of the home front during the war, and went to the Roosevelt Library to start talking to the head of the library there, a man named William Emerson. In my first conversation with him, he persuaded me that Franklin's leadership of the war at home had really not been looked at in anywhere near the depth that his role as comman-

der-in-chief had been and that it was a subject that, despite the millions of words that have been written about him, could be worthy of study. And then, once I got into it, Eleanor's critical role as his partner in making sure the war was a vehicle for social justice came out. I didn't know that when I started. It was a great added treasure.

Hackney: I think that their relationship, which is endlessly fascinating and richly treated in your book, takes over the account, in a way. Was that a surprise to you?

Goodwin: I think what happened is that when I started to try and figure out how to render the home front, I realized that the way to make it accessible would be to tell it through the story of the people themselves. Most of the books written on the home front were essay style, where there'd be a chapter on civil rights, a chapter on the economy, and a chapter on something else. Once I realized I wanted to do it as a narrative, and when I got hold of the usher's diaries that allowed me to know where Franklin and Eleanor were every single day during

this five-year period, it just seemed natural to tell it through their eyes. Luckily, they went everywhere, so that if I wanted to talk about a factory and its mobilizing or an army camp being set up, they had visited it.

Hackney: How much was the public aware at the time of the nature of their relationship, which was quite special and different, I think?

Goodwin: Probably not very much. My guess is that, after she wrote her memoir in the late 1930s, mostly the public knew that she had had a difficult childhood. They were aware of that. They knew nothing about Lucy Mercer. They knew Missy LeHand was an important secretary and that articles had been written by Doris Fleeson and others about her role as a special adviser to Roosevelt. They knew that Harry Hopkins was living in the White House and he was close to Roosevelt, and that was a subject of some controversy. They did not know that Lorena Hickok lived in the White House. She kept that arrangement private so that no one knew she was actually living there. They probably knew some things about

the role of Sara Delano Roosevelt and that she was a powerful figure. But it would be the merest outlines. They had no idea, I think, of the estrangement that was a characteristic of the Eleanor-Franklin relationship. They saw mostly the partnership side.

Hackney: What is amazing about their relationship was the estrangement in conjunction with mutual respect.

Goodwin: Exactly. I'm convinced that they never stopped loving each other and never stopped respecting and admiring each other. Even though it wasn't a relationship that fit the normal pattern of a close marriage, it had so many other qualities to it that it still had an enormous vitality. That was the part that I was so happy to discover because some of the other books had suggested that their marriage was really over from 1918 on and it simply devolved into this political partnership. My own sense from looking at it closely was that so much more was still going on.

Hackney: The other thing that the public was shielded from to an extent at that time was his physical condition. I'm old enough to remember a little bit about Roosevelt in the press, and that he was never perceived by the general public to be a wheelchair-bound person. That's not possible today, is it?

Goodwin: It took an enormous effort in many ways on the part of the press not to cover him in his wheelchair or on his crutches. They saw him being carried from a building to a car or vice versa dozens of times, and never allowed that sight to be shared with the public at large.

In fact, when I was in California during my book tour, I had dinner one night with Gregory Peck, who happened to be reading my book. He told me this wonderful story about when he was a young boy, he was at a harbor where Roosevelt's boat was coming in, and he had no idea that Roosevelt was paralyzed. He knew

he'd had polio, as everyone did, but assumed he'd just been left a bit lame. He saw him being carried off the boat, and he said he just felt chills and felt shock and was near tears, because that was his first awareness. But then they carry Roosevelt off the boat and put him in a chair. Roosevelt put on his hat, he put his cigarette holder in his mouth, he smiled this fabulous smile, waved to the crowd, and everyone started cheering. And Peck said then he felt fine. He said it was Roosevelt saying to everybody, "I'm fine. Don't worry about me." So it's interesting to realize that hundreds, if not thousands, of people must have had the experience of seeing him in one of those situations, but somehow it never got communicated to the country at large. It didn't become a matter of great gossip. I think people probably were feeling

a sense of pride over what he was dealing with rather than feeling compelled to tell everybody, "Did you know . . ."

Hackney: It may even be that individuals who saw him in those situations did not come away with that as the dominant image.

Goodwin: I think that's a very good point. Just as Peck wouldn't have left immediately, wanting to say, "Oh, my God, the President's paralyzed," he felt just the opposite from watching his reaction to it. That's exactly right.

Hackney: There are a couple of anniversaries that we're approaching. One is the anniversary of the end of World War II, which your book nicely

commemorates. It's also the seventy-fifth anniversary of women's suffrage. Not that your book has anything to do with that, but Eleanor's role is really quite fascinating in that regard because

'Gosh, Mrs. Roosevelt, It Sure IS a Small World!'



Houston (Texas) Post, September 8, 1943.

Photos from Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

she created for herself such a visible and important role in the White House.

Goodwin: Absolutely.

Hackney: I realize that there were a lot of people who were her detractors. But as I was reading your book, I was struck by how widespread the respect for her was in the country, across social classes. It seemed to me that there wasn't as much hostile reaction to her bending the gender roles as one might think.

Goodwin: That surprised me, too. It's almost a sad commentary on today to realize that fifty years ago—though she was so far ahead of her time, though there was a certain segment of the country, particularly in the South, upset with her activities on civil rights—that you look at those Gallup polls and there was a very large acceptance for the fact that she was going to speak her mind and be honest about things and be out front. Seventy percent, it would seem, by 1940 had become accustomed to this independent force.

Hackney: The issue wasn't salient, as they say in academic circles.

Goodwin: Exactly. It allowed people to see her out there, but not wake up

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in the morning and worry that their wives were suddenly going to become Eleanor Roosevelt. I think it also was because she was not willing to back down. She was so certain when she was criticized that it was for her political views. She didn't take it personally, so that she didn't go back and forth on what she should be. Somehow, once she became this activist First Lady, it became so much a part of her that she was going to do it no matter what, and he gave her that freedom as well, so that somehow that was communicated. Think about public reactions to political figures—even when they don't agree with them, when somebody seems strong and clear-headed about what they are, they accept and respect that even if they don't agree with what they're saying.

Hackney: Good point. They're both extraordinary people. She was so constantly pushing him into areas that he would not have gone into without her pushing, and he evidently—resent would be too strong a word, but that didn't please him all the time—but he nevertheless saw her as extraordinarily valuable and responded.

Goodwin: I think most of the time when she was arguing for issues that went beyond what he was willing to do, he agreed fundamentally with what she was arguing for. He had that same humanitarian sense inside of him, but he just couldn't move as fast as she did because he had to worry about the practical realities. But he was glad she was pushing him to the edge of where he could go.

I think he knew it was good politics to have her out there, particularly what she was able to do for him with the black community. For every one of those pictures that were taken of her with her arm around a black person that was circulated through the South and produced negative response, those same pictures helped to bring the blacks into the Democratic fold in the North. She was much more their heroine than he was in many ways. It was both prudential and idealistic that he was willing to let her be where she was.

Hackney: We're living, I think, in a rather fragmented moment in our country, and feeling that increasing fragmentation. A lot of people look back to the pre-1960s era, but also to World War II as the good war, a time when, for all the troubles, the country seemed to be united in trying to accomplish a single moral goal. Yet when reading your book, it becomes clear that the home front was quite fractious.

Goodwin: Right.

Hackney: There were a lot of different interpretations of what the national interest was, it seems. Did that surprise you?

Goodwin: I think so, in part because of the nostalgia that older people

attach to that period. Overall, even with all the fractiousness, there was a remarkable degree of unity. If you're looking at the era from a long-distance lens, you're still going to see a time when there was a common enemy and a great camaraderie and a sense of intense commitment to the cause itself. When you bring that lens up closer and you look inside those five years, as I eventually did, you see a somewhat different picture of riots and black markets and isolationists still not quite dying out. There was a lot of divisiveness at every step along the way, which makes what Roosevelt was able to do even larger in a certain sense in terms of the ability to hold this country together at that period of time.

Hackney: Which were the most important fissures on the home front? Was it the labor-management problems, the social issues?

Goodwin: I would guess that probably what most people felt would be the labor-management issues, because the strikes made such news and produced such anger on the part of the majority of the people, who felt they were destroying productivity and preventing the weapons from getting to the soldiers. Historically, perhaps, the civil rights issues are more important, but I suspect for the majority of the people at that time the labor-management would have been felt the most intensely.

Obviously, for people who were minorities, those fissures were critical and absolutely fundamental. What I found so interesting was, in reading some of the journals of black history, those historians understood perfectly well in a way that I'm not sure that general historians have, how critical these years were to the civil rights movement. Like so many others, I had dated the civil rights movement in my mind to the 1950s, whereas when you look carefully again at this period, so much of the seeds were set, from A. Philip Randolph's threatened march on Washington to all the ferment in the military. There was the understanding

Burck's Cartoon



"I do wish she'd hurry back!"

Minneapolis Times, October 26, 1942.

that mass protest could have an impact on public policy, the move that took place during the '40s from the more decorous kind of interest-group pressure, which hadn't been working, to mobilizing the masses on behalf of civil rights. That later shaped the movement in the fifties, but it really started in the forties.

Hackney: I think that's right. You might go back to the thirties, to the New Deal proper, and pick up some seeds of change beginning with the appointment of significant figures in the Roosevelt administration and a Supreme Court decision or two. But really, it's during the war, it is the economic opportunity and the military service that create the sense of a brighter future for African Americans, and that there's no going back after the war.

Goodwin: That's right.

Hackney: It is ironic that the same thing happened in World War I, of course, and then there's the Civil War. So one could argue that war has been good for civil rights.

Goodwin: I think you almost have to argue that, even though it's not something one is happy about arguing. Early on in the war, Roosevelt in a certain sense predicted to Eleanor that democracy would become strengthened through the war itself. She somehow couldn't accept that until she saw, at the end of the war, that it actually had happened.

Hackney: There is the ideological consistency also. It seems rhetorically inevitable, doesn't it, if you're fighting against fascism abroad, that it's going to promote democracy?

Goodwin: The double-V victory campaign that the blacks waged made so much sense, you know. How can you be fighting for this abroad if we don't have it at home? It lends a whole vitality to the argument at that time. Plus just the economic requisites of jobs that need to be filled and military slots that need to be filled and the migration from the South to the North and the

West. It opened up that whole caste system that had prevailed before the war. That's what war also does—it produces change.

Hackney: It does indeed.

Goodwin: But without the right policies in there, the change could go in a different direction.

Hackney: Which is why Eleanor's role was so important, wasn't it, because she saw the necessity of democracy on the home front.

Goodwin: While she's not single-handed in arguing for that democracy in the home front, she's got the support of the civil rights groups and various other activist groups. What she provided was pressure at the highest level so that

there was access to make that argument felt in Washington circles. Without her being there, it's not clear what would have happened. Some of the things might have happened anyway—some of the economic needs for jobs and for blacks in the military. But

I don't know that they would have been pushed as quickly and with as much success if she hadn't been there to capture that movement.

Hackney: The encouragement she gave to Randolph and others is probably immeasurable.

Goodwin: Absolutely. It's an intangible thing that they knew there was a friend in the White House and therefore were able to be more aggressive about what they were asking for, too.

Hackney: Let me ask you about Franklin's character. This is a fascination of mine as well. Where do you think he got the self-confidence to make so many absolutely courageous decisions—the destroyer deal, the invasion of North Africa, lend-lease itself? A lot of times he was either going against the advice of his advisers or striking out with his own idea, in areas where he had no real personal experience.

Goodwin: I know. That's one of the great mysteries, I suppose, of not only leadership, but personality. I think most historians would agree that part of that confidence just came from the world in which he grew up—not just the mother's unconditional love for him but the whole ambiance of that Hyde Park world, where he knew he

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By Berryman.

Washington Star (?) December 26, 1943.



By Fred Seibel.

Richmond (Virginia) Times-Dispatch. August 31, 1941.

was at the center of his parents' world and the center of the Hyde Park estate. It was a very privileged world.

I was reading somewhere that he said that when he went to bed at night, he was able to go to sleep because he knew that he'd done the best he could and that probably no one else could have done much better, even if it wasn't perfect.

And then it's got to have been reinforced by the whole experience with polio. He saw himself almost flattened by the only time in his life, up until that point, when fate had dealt him an unkind hand. Yet he was able to patiently, year after year, work his way through, back to public life. When you've conquered that, it's got to give you an enormous confidence inside that you can conquer a lot of other things as well. Also, it gave him much more empathy toward ordinary people that his world itself would not have automatically granted him. People who say that it was a transforming experience are absolutely right.

Hackney: That's a very powerful argument, because in other ways, if you look at his life, his Groton experience was not successful. That should have hurt him. His Harvard experience was, in a way, but he wasn't in the inner circles there. I guess you can read his life before being stricken by polio in various ways. He was successful, yet he was not taken very seriously by a lot of people.

Goodwin: And I don't think he had the weight, the presence, that he had after the polio. He was ambitious—there's no question he had some drive, or he wouldn't have been running for the legislature and then trying to become assistant secretary of the Navy and running for vice president. Obviously, part of that was the Roosevelt name, but the Democratic Party must have seen something in that energy, in that vitality. But the situation is still just another politician running for office rather than seeing him with the kind of presence and weight and humanity and depth that he later shows. The only thing that can partly explain that is that he was deepened by the polio experience.

Hackney: One of the other remarkable things about him is how he, an aristocrat, could have such a remarkable ability to communicate with ordinary Americans.

Goodwin: Absolutely.

Hackney: Do you trace it to the same thing?

Goodwin: I was on a panel the other night about his fireside chats, and somebody asked a question about this. And as I thought about it, it seemed that the confidence that he had allowed him a certain equanimity. When he met with people, he didn't have to project himself onto them. He could listen to them. He really did absorb impressions. He was curious. Everywhere he went, he was learning from people, whether it was reporters that he would ask questions to or ordinary people that came into his office or people on the campaign trail. There's a great quote of Isaiah Berlin, where he says that somehow Roosevelt had absorbed the hopes and the fears and the loves and the wants of the American people so fully that he could represent them as their leader. Part of that may

be just an innate temperamental, sensitive antennae. His mother said that even when he was young that he somehow anticipated the needs of his parents, so he hardly ever went over the line of being a bad kid. They didn't have to scold him because he knew where he could go and where he couldn't. It seems like he had a very sensitive personality that could feel what other people were feeling.

Hackney: That's the up side of wanting to be liked.

Goodwin: You want to feel what they want you to be and think. That was part of his whole personality. I think that desire to want to be liked in part came out of wanting to re-create over and over again that little world where he'd been the center when he was a child. And because he's not overburdened with nervousness about himself or inferiority, while he's with other people he can truly just be with them and listen to them. Once he listens, he absorbs where they're at, and then that allows him to shape his language in their terms, but not slavishly. I think the examples you bring up of the destroyer deal and lend-lease show that he absorbed these impressions,

and enough to educate and lead. It's not like the focus groups that one hears about now, where the politician meets with a whole bunch of people and then the people's language is worked into the speech.

Hackney: You tell them what they want to hear.

Goodwin: Roosevelt studied the political polls of the time, studied the newspapers, talked to people, but that simply became the resources of understanding. His job, it seems to me he saw it, was to understand all

that and figure out, how do I now move them from point X to point Y? especially in the war, toward greater commitment to the Allied cause before they were ready for it; or in the Depression, toward a greater understanding of the role of government in a different way from what it had been.

Hackney: That's leadership, isn't it?

continued on page 34

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THE BOSWELL QUEST



"J. Boswell. Drawn from Nature."
Engraving by George Langton, ca. 1790

—Photo from the National Trust (Gunby Hall)

BY WILLIAM ZACHS

ON THE NINETEENTH of May 1795 James Boswell died in a rented house in his beloved London. The effects of habitual drinking and some eighteen bouts of venereal disease had hastened his end at the age of fifty-four. His death was mourned. Perhaps too many of his acquaintances knew him to be an intemperate libertine, but he also had more true friends than most men have in a lifetime. And among them he was loved for his large appetite for life and, as one friend explained, his "inexhaustible fund of good humour in society."

Few men had lived as fully, and to the extent that an obituary column might profile a life, his had been successful, even distinguished. His immortality was assured by his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (1785), and his *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791). In his last years he was called "the great biographer." As much the story of a great man's moral development as it is the chronicle of a life, the *Life of Johnson* would come to be regarded as the greatest literary biography in the English language.

Yet the dying Boswell was a disappointed man. The most important people in his life—including his wife Margaret and Dr. Johnson—were dead. He was heavily in debt and worried about the future of his five children. A coveted seat in Parliament and one at the bench of the Scottish court had both eluded Boswell, though his rank in society as the owner of a large Scottish estate and his abilities as a lawyer might have elevated him to either position. For a man of Boswell's social standing, literary fame alone was not enough.

A stark difference between outward appearances and inner turmoil would characterize most of James Boswell's life. He suffered from what he termed a hereditary

"All
That's

VOL. XCVIII...

KEY WEST GREETS
TRUMAN AS A HE
VACATION STAY

Thousands Line the Street
President Waves on His Way
to Winter White House

AVENUE IS NAMED FOR HIM

Executive Stops at New Bedford
on Flight South to Hear a
Sermon on Portents

By ANTHONY LEVIERO
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

KEY WEST, Fla., Nov. 7—A colorful and boisterous welcome, befitting his dual role of election-day miracle man and this town's No. 1 vacationer, was accorded to President Truman here this afternoon.

Key West displayed marine signal flags all over town and the city fathers called this Truman Day. Many thousands of the mixed population, and practically all the school children waved flags as they lined the streets to give Mr. Truman his warmest reception here. This was his fifth visit.

The townspeople are fond of the Chief Executive, who keeps this town on the tourist map, and they were happy because he will continue coming here for rest during the next four years.

Mr. Truman and his party reached Boca Chica Naval Air Station, eight miles from here, at 3:50 P. M. He had left Washington in the White House plane, the Independence, at 9 A. M. Then he motored through the cheering crowds to the cottage at the naval base that serves him as a retreat and temporary winter White House.

the News
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The New York Times

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NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1948.

Long-Lost Boswell Papers Found and Assembled Here



Lieut. Col. Ralph H. Isham with some items from the papers of James Boswell.

Priceless Literary Treasure of Thousands of Items Puts Biographer of Johnson and His Times in a New Light

By AUSTIN STEVENS

Assembling in this country, who believed his attainments were the most extraordinary every bit as great as his contemporaries', stood in literary history as a foolish, vain buffoon who chanced to write a great book over the week-end. The other of Samuel Johnson's

LIBERAL SENATORS OF GOP PLAN FIGHT TO OUST OLD GUARD

Aiken of Vermont Asserts That, With Dewey Beaten, Group Must Do Own Housecleaning

HELP TO TRUMAN PLEDGED

Flanders and Young Echo View — Bricker Defends Record of Party, Backs Labor Act

By CLAYTON KNOWLES
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 7—With the convening of the Eighty-first Congress still two months away, the broad outlines of the inevitable showdown between liberal and standpat Republican members of the Senate already were taking shape today.

Not an insignificant angle of this brewing battle is the question among many Republicans of whether President Truman, swept back to office with a safely Democratic House and Senate, is entitled to a greater measure of legislative support than he has received in the past two years.

Cast in a minority role for the next two years at least, liberal elements in Republican Senate ranks disclosed that only the considerations of an upcoming national election kept them from open revolt during the Eightieth Congress.

"Now that we are in the minority in Congress again," said Senator George D. Aiken,

TIMOSHENKO URGES SOVIET TO BE ALERT TO PROTECT PEACE

Says People 'Will Not Allow War' — Speech Accclaims Russian Revolution

CONDEMNS POLICY OF U. S.

Bulgarian Declares in Order of Day That 'Aggressive Plans of West' Will Fail

Text of Marshal Bulganin's
Order of the Day, Page 5.

By The Associated Press.

MOSCOW, Nov. 7—Marshal Semyon Timoshenko called on the Soviet Army today to remain in complete military preparedness but said the growing forces of peace "will not allow a new war."

The Soviet war hero spoke in Red Square as the Government observed the thirty-first anniversary of the Russian revolution by parading its military might before foreign diplomats and military observers.

[Marshal Timoshenko has not been prominently mentioned in Soviet Government affairs for several years. In July of this year he received the Order of the Red Banner but before that little had been said of him in Moscow dispatches since late in World War II.]

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By The

ATHENS, Nov. 7—The Government had postponed merchant marine scheduled for to be convicted bunal last week tivity.

The Ministry nounced the post not indicate what taken in the futu

The men had collecting money f the merchant mar to be sent to si Vafiades, leader of t directed guerrillas. ion to which the ten lawed along with th party in Greece.

Evatt Appeals

By A. M. ROSEN
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Nov. 7—Dr. Evatt, president of the Assembly, set a United precedent today by appeal

Soviet Mo In German

melancholia, or what we might today call a tendency toward manic depression. In a society fond of decorous reserve, Boswell was an extrovert even about his emotional upheavals. As he had told Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the radical philosopher, thirty years before in 1764, "I shall not conceal my weaknesses and follies. I shall not even conceal my crimes." It was a calculated risk.

Obituaries and remembrances by his contemporaries, while they praised Boswell's works, condemned his dissolute habits. In the years to come, his reputation declined. His son and heir, Alexander, considered even his father's association with Samuel Johnson (brilliant, perhaps, but of humble birth) an embarrassment to the "ancient" Boswell family. A character drawn by the eminent historian and essayist Thomas Babington Macaulay in the first part of the nineteenth century seemed to fix Boswell's tarnished image. In an 1831 review of a new edition of the *Life of Johnson*

Today, two hundred years after his death, James Boswell is not so easily dismissed. His *Life of Johnson* is perhaps better known and more widely read than the works of its formidable subject. The anniversary of Boswell's death this May was commemorated on both sides of the Atlantic by scholars and statesmen alike. In Washington Boswell devotees gathered at the British Embassy to mark the occasion, and in Edinburgh, where Boswell was born in 1740, the Faculty of Advocates hosted a conference to consider the achievements of their distinguished member. Two collections of essays devoted entirely to Boswell are being published in this anniversary year—*Boswell: Citizen of the World, Man of Letters*, edited by Irma S. Lustig, and *James Boswell: Psychological Interpretations*, edited by Donald J. Newman—adding to an already significant body of new Boswellian criticism. In September an exhibition at the Grolier Club in New York City is reassessing Boswell's life and works. The list of events and publications goes on.

But why the resurrection? The compelling reason is the extraordinary recovery in the first half of this century of Boswell's private papers—an unparalleled find that has enabled Boswell to tell his own story and to chronicle his times in a singularly comprehensive way. So rich are Boswell's manuscripts in literary and historical material that a team of editors have worked tirelessly for some forty-five years to annotate them and publish *The Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell*. So compelling is Boswell's autobiography—his frank account of a life lived with relish—that

one early part of it, the *London Journal*, 1762-1763, sold nearly a million copies when it was published in 1950. So central are these documents to the history of literature (though only part have been published) that the critic Harold Bloom recently declared them to be part of the "western canon."

The Discovery

In November 1948, James Boswell became front-page news. After twenty-five years of extraordinary effort, the American collector Lieutenant Colonel Ralph Heyward Isham had acquired and reassembled three main caches of Boswell's private papers, some ten thousand documents in all. Experts hailed the acquisition as the greatest collection of manuscript material ever assembled about a single man or a single period. One awed professor on examining the papers remarked that they were enough to keep fifty scholars busy fifty years. Long believed to have been destroyed, the papers had in fact been hidden away in the Irish and Scottish country houses and castles of Boswell's descendants.

Colonel Isham purchased the first group of Boswell's papers in 1926 from Boswell's great-great-grandson, Lord Talbot de Malahide, for about \$150,000. It was a delicate negotiation. The Talbots, like Boswell's executors and his earlier descendants, had been reluctant to acknowledge even the existence of the papers. They felt that the material was too personal and confessional to be made public. Indeed, before handing over the papers, they blotted out passages which they considered offensive.

Others had tried to secure the papers, but only Colonel Isham had had the necessary combination of charm, persistence, and money. After his purchase of 1926, he had also obtained the copyright in the manuscripts and Lord and Lady Talbot's assurance that there were no others to be found at Malahide Castle. However, a few years later the Talbots uncovered a second important cache in, among other places, a croquet box. Several smaller finds followed through the 1930s and '40s at the castle. A third large group had surfaced in the mid-1930s at Fettercairn House near Aberdeen, the home of a descendant of one of Boswell's executors, Sir William Forbes. These final papers came into Isham's possession only in 1948, after an expensive, fifteen-year legal battle in the Scottish courts.

Much as his executors and his family had wished to guard the private record of this far-from-private man's life, the reassembled papers revealed that Boswell had his own ideas about what posterity should know. He had

Journal, 16, May 1763

Mr. Johnson is a Man of a most dreadful appearance. He is a very big man is troubled with sore eyes, the Palsy & the King's evil. He is very slovenly in his dress & speaks with a most uncouth voice. Yet his great knowledge, and strength of expression command vast respect and render him very excellent company. He has great humour and is a worthy man. But his dogmatical roughness of manners is disagreeable.

In the *Life of Johnson* Boswell reduced this description to the remark that "though there was a roughness in his manner, there was no ill-nature in his disposition."

(and afterwards in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* article on Johnson), Macaulay pictured Boswell as an idle, drunken fool, a libertine who paraded his weaknesses, and (at best) a small man who had chanced to write a big book about Samuel Johnson. For nearly a century this view was dogma.

preserved not only the letters written to him but many of his own letters to others, either by keeping draft copies or by asking his correspondents to save and eventually return the originals. He had kept printers' copies and proofs of his major works, as well as original manuscripts and numerous related notes. The archive predictably included documents concerning his thirty-year legal career and the large Scottish estate he owned and managed. The most extraordinary and surprising documents of all, however, were the private daily journals Boswell had kept for well over thirty years.

The Boswell papers offer documentary history in its broadest sense—literary, political, legal, philosophical, agricultural, and social—at a pivotal period in modern history. The second half of the eighteenth century was a time of enormous changes in the world order, a period of revolutions in America, in France, in the balance of power between the British Crown and Parliament, and in political and religious philosophy. The industrial revolution that began in Boswell's Britain would change the way of life throughout the Western world in the next century. In Boswell's journal, the events and the ideas that brought about these changes are recorded as the stuff of daily life.

Boswell's fascination not only with himself but with others was passionate and all-inclusive. He sought out and became acquainted with some of the most remarkable men of his age—Johnson, Voltaire, Rousseau, David Hume, Edmund Burke, David Garrick, Sir Joshua Reynolds, the list goes on—and drew vivid portraits of their characters in dramatically rendered scenes. With equal enthusiasm he recorded human interaction in the everyday world—among small-town politicians, lawyers, clergymen, soldiers, innkeepers, laborers, prostitutes, criminals, and many others.

On one leaf of the journal we see Boswell, the precocious, God-fearing twenty-three-year-old, matching wits with Voltaire, the age's great skeptic on the matter of religion; on another Boswell, the middle-aged widower, deliberates on how properly to raise five young children. In one letter he urges William Pitt the Elder, the British Prime Minister, to champion the cause of Corsican independence; in another he sends instructions to his estate manager for manuring a field of

Ordinary is ~~common~~ ^{asked what he thought of this} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~beamed english dog.~~ ²
 On Tuesday the 2nd August the day of my departure from London having been fixed for the fifth. [Mr. Johnson came in the forenoon and sat some time >] Dr. Johnson did me the honour to pass a part of the morning with me [in >] at my chambers. [He said that he allways felt an inclination to do nothing. I [said >] observed it was strange to think that the most indolent man in Britain] so indolent a man [an indolent man² had written the most laborious Work THE ENGLISH DICTIONARY. [He said he had taken ten years to it,³ but that if he had applied properly] with proper application he might have done it in three. del]

—© Yale University

Excerpt from a manuscript leaf of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

On Tuesday [the] second of August >] August 2 the day of my departure from London having been fixed for the fifth. [Mr. Johnson came in the forenoon and sat some time >] Dr. Johnson did me the honour to pass a part of the morning with me [in >] at my chambers. [He said that he allways felt an inclination to do nothing. I [said >] observed it was strange to think that the most indolent man in Britain] so indolent a man [an indolent man² had written the most laborious Work THE ENGLISH DICTIONARY. [He said he had taken ten years to it,³ but that if he had applied properly] with proper application he might have done it in three. del]

² Printed 'the most indolent man in Britain' (so in the revises).

³ It was nearer to eight (Clifford, *Dictionary Johnson*, pp. 46, 122-23, 133).

oats. A page from the manuscript of the *Life of Johnson* (this one torn from Boswell's journal) reveals that the first description Boswell recorded of Johnson's physical appearance was much harsher than the published version.

Isham's Deluxe Edition

Between 1928 and 1934 Colonel Isham published in eighteen volumes the most important material from the first Malahide Castle find, which he at the time believed to be the extant Boswell archive. This elegant edition was limited to 570 sets and sold for the then fantastic sum of \$900 a set. Isham's aim was twofold: to put the most manifestly interesting of Boswell's writings quickly into print and to recoup the large sums he had laid out in the purchase.

Isham chose the English writer Geoffrey Scott as his editor. A one-time lover of Vita Sackville-West and friend of John Maynard Keynes and Edith Wharton, Scott was the author of the influential *Architecture of Humanism* and the masterfully written *Portrait of Zélide*, a biography of Isabelle de Charrière, the urbane Dutch novelist to whom Boswell had contemplated marriage in 1764. In the autumn of 1927 Scott began the work of selecting and organizing materials from the vast collection. He organized the projected volumes around unified subjects within a broad chronological sequence and wrote a brief explanatory preface for each of them. He would leave the time-consuming preparation of explanatory and critical commentary to future editors.

Even within the limits set for the Isham edition, Scott would feel daunted by the task. On December 27, 1928, the eve of the publication of the



Engraving by Thomas Rowlandson. From *The Picturesque Beauties of Boswell*, 1786.

first volumes, Scott wrote to Yale professor Chauncey Brewster Tinker, a key figure in eighteenth-century literary studies who had edited the *Letters of James Boswell* in 1924. For Scott the editorial process had been like "steering a very thin canoe loaded to the waterline with a priceless cargo through very rough waters between numberless rocks." He added, "The cargo is still in bales, scarcely unpacked; but at least it is not scattered on the waters or at the bottom of the sea. Don't envy the mariner." Had Scott known then that some two-thirds of the cargo of Boswell's papers had yet to be taken on board, his resolve

might have sunk. However, encouraging reviews of the first six volumes restored his sense of purpose. As he remarked to Tinker at the close of his lament: "I believe I am a useful—perhaps even a necessary—navigator."

On August 14, 1929, just eight months after the volumes came out, Scott died suddenly of pneumonia, his undertaking little more than one-third complete, and his ultimate plan to write a biography of Boswell scarcely begun. An unposted letter found in the pocket of a suit Scott was wearing at the time indicated to Isham who should succeed as editor. Scott had written to Frederick A. Pottle, an English instructor at Yale, to praise Pottle's recently published

bio-bibliographical study, *The Literary Career of James Boswell* (1929). This erudite work showed Pottle to be the exacting and sagacious editor Boswell's papers deserved. In 1929 Pottle boarded the canoe Scott had piloted and, five years later, brought to shore the remaining twelve volumes of Isham's precious cargo, a feat no less impressive than Scott's.

Word that further Boswell papers had been found somewhat inhibited the sale of Isham's edition (as did the 1929 stock market crash). Purchasers assumed that for \$900 they would be acquiring the whole of Boswell's private archive. In fact, some of the choic-

Continued on page 40

*Voting rights
for women became law
75 years ago, but it was
just the beginning of a
longer struggle.*

DRAWING NEW LINES

MEN ARE SAYING perhaps 'Thank God, this everlasting woman's fight is over,'" wrote a suffragist in an essay published a month after the first national election in which women voted. "But women, if I know them, are saying 'Now at last we can begin.'"

From the beginning, suffrage was embedded in a long and complex agenda of rights, among them the right to control property, of guardianship over children, and of access to education and to work in trades and professions. The temptation to concentrate on suffrage to the exclusion of other parts of the agenda was great, not only because it seemed to focus energies, but because it muted differences among the various interest groups which had come together in support of the franchise. Once the vote was achieved, it was also tempting to assume that the women's political agenda had been accomplished. Indeed, a cursory glance at most American history textbooks in use today will show that they treat the Nineteenth Amendment as the end of a strand in legal history.

But thoughtful activists of the time knew better. A suffrage amendment alone, for instance, was insufficient to make it easy for many African-American women to vote.

*Posting bills at suffrage headquarters in
Cincinnati, May 17, 1912.*

—Library of Congress

BY LINDA KERBER



Many southern states had excluded African-American men from voting by using literacy tests, poll taxes, and intimidation; in those states black women could vote no more easily than black men, and suffrage was an empty victory. The state of Georgia effectively discouraged white women from voting as well, by providing that any woman who did not choose to register to vote did not have to pay the poll tax. This law, which encouraged

as the League of Women Voters, with standing committees on Education, Women in Industry, Child Welfare, Election Laws, Social Hygiene, Food Supply, and Uniform Laws Concerning Women. Each committee had a complex lobbying agenda on issues on which it was thought women would have a substantial interest: minimum ages for child labor, mandatory school attendance laws, pure food and drugs, equal pay ("wages should be paid on

made by state legislatures. Forty-eight campaigns for each change; forty-eight variations on each theme. Virtually every item on the list required extended, difficult, and expensive legislative struggles. Some of these have been resolved only recently; others remain unresolved still.

Jury service is a good example of the difficulty of establishing authentically equal rights and obligations of citizenship. The Sixth Amendment promises



Equal Rights Amendment march in Washington, D.C., August 27, 1971.

women—and their husbands—to see voting as an expensive extravagance, was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1937.

When Puerto Rican women attempted to register to vote in 1920, the U.S. Bureau of Insular Affairs decided that the Nineteenth Amendment did not automatically apply to territories. Suffragist groups mobilized in Puerto Rico, lobbying throughout the next decade both on the island and in Washington, D.C. In 1929 the territorial legislature granted suffrage to women restricted by a literacy requirement: Not until Puerto Rico became a commonwealth in 1952 was universal suffrage established.

After the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, the National Women's Party, led by Alice Paul, continued to function, committing itself to the removal of a wide range of legal discriminations against women which still permeated the law of the United States. Its legal research department would prepare drafts of more than six hundred pieces of legislation. The National American Women's Suffrage Association quickly reconstituted itself

the basis of occupation and not on sex"), merit systems in civil service, and programs of venereal disease control. The agenda of the committee on Uniform Laws Concerning Women was devoted to an expansion of structural legal change.

Together, the programs of the two organizations embodied a fierce criticism of American law; they amounted to a demand for a Women's Bill of Rights. Many of the elements in the lists of legal discriminations had first been named in the Seneca Falls Declaration seventy-two years before; others were expansions of claims first voiced then. Removing legal disabilities still in place after suffrage required many new statutes, among them laws guaranteeing independent citizenship for married women; equal eligibility and obligation of women for jury service; equal rights of spouses to family property, to guardianship of children, and to divorce; equal inheritance practices; and equal ability to hold civil office, to make contracts, and to be notaries.

Supporters faced challenges very like those suffragists had faced: In a federal system, most of the changes have to be

a "speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed . . ." But no woman served on a jury until her state (or, in the case of Wyoming, briefly, her territory) had granted her the right to vote. Even then, if the jury statute had been written—or interpreted—in terms of male citizens rather than "electors," special legislation was required.

"Getting the word 'male' out of jury statutes," wrote Gladys Harrison, executive secretary of the League of Women Voters in 1930, "is requiring something very like a second suffrage campaign—laborious, costly, and exasperating." No women served on any jury in Illinois or New York until 1937; even then, a New York woman who received a call for service could check off a list which provided exemptions for "a practicing physician, surgeon or surgeon dentist having patients requiring his daily professional attention . . . a duly licensed embalmer . . . a member of a fire company . . . a captain, engineer or other officer, actually employed upon a vessel making regular trips . . . a woman." No woman served on any

jury in Florida until 1949, and then only if she went to the county courthouse and registered her willingness to serve, an act which was not a prerequisite for men. No woman served on any jury in Alabama, Mississippi, or Louisiana until after 1966. The Supreme Court did not require that men's names and women's names be added to jury pools on the same terms until 1975; only in April 1994 did the Court declare gender-based preemptory challenges illegal.

19TH AMENDMENT

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

When John F. Kennedy established the President's Commission on the Status of Women in 1961, its members were surprised to discover a dizzying jumble of laws defining women's citizenship. Members of the many Governor's Commissions on the Status of Women, established in response to the national initiative, were equally surprised. There had been much more resistance to the Women's Agenda of 1920 than its proponents had expected and than most people in the 1960s realized. No area of the law was free from explicit gendered qualifications. In criminal law, what counted as appropriate testimony on rape was substantially different from the rules governing testimony in other crimes; property law favored husbands' control of family estates; family law favored mother's custody of children; even in tort law, gendered considerations governed many definitions of harm.

It can now be understood, I think, that the legal agenda of Second Wave feminism was a continuation of what the suffragists of 1920 had hoped their vote would accomplish. In the years between, roughly, 1963 and 1975,

feminists recreated an active and dynamic relationships between women and the law. Building on what they had learned in the civil rights movement, and also on the still not widely known work of their predecessors in the years between 1920 and 1963, the activists of the 1960s and especially 1970s criticized the statutes and constitutions of their own states and of the federal government. They turned to legislatures, demanding new statutes. They turned to the courts, demanding that women receive authentically equal protection of the laws as provided in the Fourteenth Amendment. In a series of constitutionally significant cases—among them *Reed v. Reed* (1971), *Frontiero v. Richardson* (1973), *Roe v. Wade* (1973), and *Taylor v. Louisiana* (1975)—they achieved a radical transformation of the relationship of women to state power.

It was more than a century after the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment that the Supreme Court ruled for the first time that discrimination on the basis of sex could be a violation of equal protection of the laws. In that case, *Reed v. Reed*, the brief attacking an Idaho statute which gave fathers automatic preference over mothers in administering deceased persons' estates was written by the young attorney, Ruth Bader Ginsberg, who would go on to litigate other major cases which scrutinized the explicit gender lines that had permeated state and federal codes of law.

If many of these gender lines no longer exist, it is because of the work of those who understood that a suffrage amendment alone was not enough. The right to vote would need to be enforced against those who still wanted to exclude certain citizens from the polls. It would need to be extended to people who found the complexities of registration intimidating. And the suffrage would need to be *used*, not least to remove the legal disabilities which continued—and still continue—to pervade a political system created at a time when it was assumed that the only citizens who counted were male. □

Linda Kerber is Mary Brodbeck Professor in the Liberal Arts and Professor of History at the University of Iowa. In 1983 she received a \$25,000 fellowship for research on the history of women's education, and in 1994, a \$30,000 fellowship to work on "Paradoxes of Women's Citizenship: Gender and Civic Obligation."

A League of Their Own

AS PART OF the diamond jubilee celebration of the woman suffrage in 1995, the League of Women Voters has mounted a photographic panel exhibition entitled, "Women in Action: Rebels and Reformers 1920-1980." Supported by an Endowment grant of \$220,000, the exhibition will be in Gainesville, Florida, and Nashville, Tennessee, this August as part of a fifteen-state tour which winds up in Houston in December 1996.

"The exhibition honors many women who left a deep imprint on American political history even though their accomplishments were not recorded in textbooks," says Becky Cain, President of the League of Women Voters of the United States.

The passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 did not bring immediate political rewards for women in state and national legislatures, but readiness for political activism kept women working behind the scenes. They organized, lobbied, orated, held strikes, and sat on boards and committees, as they pushed for social betterment.

Social Reform

Educator, civil rights activist, and government adviser Mary McLeod Bethune (1875-1955), put her superb administrative skills to work as president of Bethune-Cookman College and leader of the National Council of Negro Women. She parlayed these skills into advocacy for

African Americans nationwide during the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

A renowned orator who never advocated violence, Bethune inspired grassroots activists with this metaphor: "If I



touch you with one finger, you would hardly feel it. If I tapped you with two or three together, you would know you have been touched. But if I should strike with a closed fist, you would certainly know you had been hit. And that is how we must strike at our problems."

Women's Rights

Equal Rights Amendment advocate and community leader Barbara Moxon (1922 -) built coalitions and lobbied the South Carolina state legislature to place women on state boards

and committees. As leader of ERA South Carolina from 1972 to 1982, she often spoke before state legislators. To her opposition she said: "I would note that if any of your wives state they see no

need for the ERA because they do not feel discriminated against, my reply is that because she has not been robbed does not mean she has no need for a police department."

Grassroots campaigns were not always successful. Despite the efforts of organized, articulate activists such as Moxon, the amendment failed ratification by three states.

Civil Rights

While all the activists profiled embody fortitude and leadership, the women who fought for civil rights displayed a special kind of valor. They fought to claim their rights under existing laws, and to topple unjust laws written to deny people of color

their equality. Fannie Lou Hamer (1917-1977), from Rulesville, Mississippi, helped found the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. She electrified the country with her broadcast account of being beaten after attempting to vote. Her words,

immortalized on her gravestone, reveal at once her exasperation and her hope for change, "I'm sick and tired of being sick and tired."

Labor

Labor activists accepted confrontation as a given in their commitment to workers' rights. As Texan labor leader Emma Tenayuca (1916-) said, "I went to jail many times." She was

barely out of high school in 1938 when the pecan shellers of the San Antonio area called her to lead their strike after their wages had been cut ten per cent. Called

"La Pasionaria" by strikers, Tenayuca rallied workers, was arrested, then acquitted, later saying, "It was a beginning, not an end. After that, workers weren't afraid to speak out. . . ."

Peace

While women founded the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom during World War I, Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1962) spoke for many after World War II when she asked, "When will our consciences grow so tender that we will act to prevent human misery rather than avenge it?" For many peace activists, including supporters of the League of Women Voters, the founding of the United Nations offered hope to "prevent misery."

After her husband's death, Roosevelt led the task of developing the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Accepted in 1948, the document has been called "a magna carta" for humankind. □

Priscilla Rachun Linn is curator of "Women in Action: 1920-1980."

Frances Willard's Crusade for Women's Equality

IN NOVEMBER 1856, seven-year-old Frances E. Willard and her younger sister Mary stood looking out a window in their Wisconsin farm home as their father and brother Oliver drove off to town to vote for presidential candidate John C. Fremont. Writing about this more than thirty years later in her autobiography, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, Willard recalls that she suddenly found herself ready to break into tears: "Somehow, I felt a lump in my throat, and then I couldn't see their wagon any more things got so blurred." Turning to her sister, she asked: "Wouldn't you like to vote as well as Oliver? Don't you and I love the country just as well as he, and doesn't the country need our ballots?" And





Frances E. Willard at nineteen.

*“Wouldn’t
you like to
vote as well
as Oliver?”*

BY CAROLYN DE SWARTE GIFFORD

Mary replied, “Course we do and ‘course we ought,—but don’t you go ahead and say so, for then we would be called strong-minded.”

For nearly all her public life, most prominently as president of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), Willard championed woman suffrage as part of a broad reform agenda that encompassed temperance, women’s economic and religious rights, the reform of the institutions of marriage, home, and family, and the support of measures advocated by the rising labor movement. She worked tirelessly during the late 1870s and early 1880s until she persuaded her organization to endorse the vote for women. She then encouraged WCTU members to take part in all aspects of the nation’s political life, from local elections to party primaries and

presidential conventions, to lobbying at the state and national levels.

Frances Willard was born in western New York in 1839 into a Yankee family of Puritan ancestry and liberal social beliefs. The family held strong antislavery views and took a great interest in all the important issues of the day, which they discussed among themselves and with friends and neighbors. Frances’s father, Josiah Willard, a working farmer, set an example of civic concern and social responsibility to his three children. After the family moved to Wisconsin, he held local office, headed the Rock County Agricultural Fair, was a trustee of the Wisconsin School for the Blind, and served a term as a legislator shortly after Wisconsin achieved statehood. Her mother, Mary Hill Willard, had a keen love of

democracy, and followed the freedom struggles of Poland and other European countries. She instilled in her daughter a great sympathy for heroes like Kosciuszko, who fought for Polish independence during the early nineteenth century.

Willard was part of the second generation of women’s rights reformers. She was only eight years old when the first women’s rights convention, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, met in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848 and issued a series of demands, including woman suffrage. For many years afterward, women’s rights pioneers like Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucy Stone bravely withstood a barrage of ridicule from an American public encouraged by the press. They were considered to be women “out of their

sphere,” too bold to be “true women.” Sometimes they were called “unnatural,” labeled “man haters,” and even “mannish women.”

In her late teens and early twenties, Willard herself had ambivalent feelings toward women’s rights reformers. In May 1859 she recorded in her journal her admiration for Lucy Stone’s courage; yet she also believed Stone’s stance to be too radical.

Less than a year later, however, Willard read an article entitled “Woman’s Influence in Politics,” written by the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, a popular, influential preacher. In the article, which appeared in the *New York Independent*, a Congregationalist weekly, Beecher argued that in the United States men have the right to rise as high as their capacities allow them and to participate in any civic

function, unhindered by class constraints—women, he believed, should have this same right. He maintained that in a free, democratic society, women should no longer be circumscribed into a particular sphere, no matter what custom or tradition had formerly decreed for their sex. Beecher especially argued for women's right to vote.

Willard copied long passages of the article into her journal, and highlighted the paragraph in which Beecher declared: "There is not one thing that man ought to do, there is not one thing that

ought to be done, which woman ought not to be permitted to do, if she has the capacity for it." He went on to insist that women's talents, as well as men's, are gifts from God, and women have the responsibility to develop the talents that God has given them, as do men. This argument appealed strongly to Willard. Beecher's article "expresses so truthfully, and so much better than I could, my views on the subject of 'Women's Rights,'" she wrote.

Willard believed that the nineteenth century would bring the emancipation of

women from the narrow confines in which they had lived their lives during previous centuries. "I am thankful to Thee, O God!" she wrote, "that I did not live in the world before the 19th century! That I have not acted my part and passed out from the scenes of the earth, but that I am in the midst of Reforms and Inventions and Civilization of the Present Age..."

In 1859, after graduating from North Western Female College in Evanston, Illinois, a private preparatory school, Willard was determined to become independent and

earn her own way in the world. She turned to school teaching, one of the few career choices open to middle-class women at midcentury. For nearly a decade she taught, first in one-room schoolhouses and then in several Methodist-sponsored girls' preparatory schools, including her alma mater. She encouraged her students' self-development, urging them to write well, speak on their feet, and gain knowledge that would enable them to become men's equals. Just as Willard had envied her brother's right to vote, she envied

WHILE STAYING in England, I set out to learn the safety-bicycle with its pneumatic tires and all the rest, the gearing carefully wired in so that we shall not be entangled. "Woe is me!" was my first exclamation, naturally enough interpreted by my outriders "Whoa is me," and they "whoaed"—indeed, we did little else but "check up."

The order of evolution was something like this: first, three young Englishmen, all strong-armed and accomplished bicyclers, held the machine in place while I climbed timidly into the saddle. In the second stage of my learning, two well-disposed young women put in all the power they had, until they grew red in the face, off-setting each other's pressure on the cross-bar and thus maintaining the equipoise to which I was unequal. Thirdly, one walked beside me, steadying the ark as best she could by holding the center of the deadly cross-bar, to let go whose handles meant chaos and collapse. Eventually I was able to hold my own if I had the moral support of my kind trainers, and it passed into a proverb among them, the short emphatic word of command I gave them at every few turns of the wheel: "Let go, but stand by." Still later everything was learned—how to sit, how to pedal, how to turn, how to dismount; but alas! how to vault into the saddle I found not; that was the coveted power that lingered long and would not yield itself...

If I am asked to explain why I learned the bicycle, I should say I did it as an act of grace, if not of actual religion. The cardinal doctrine laid down by my physician was, "Live out of doors and take congenial exercise"; but from the day when, at sixteen years of age, I was enwrapped in the long skirts that impeded every footstep, I have

detested walking and felt with a certain noble disdain that the conventions of life had cut me off from what in the freedom of my prairie home had been one of life's sweetest joys. Driving is not real exercise; it does not renovate the river of blood that flows so sluggishly in the veins of those who from any cause have lost the natural adjustment of brain to brawn. Horseback riding, which does promise vigorous exercise, is expensive. The bicycle, however, meets all the conditions and will ere long come within reach of all. Therefore, in obedience to the laws of health, I

A Conquest of the Bicycle

learned to ride. I also wanted to help women to a wider world, for I hold that the more interests women and men can have in common, in thought, word, and deed, the happier it will be for the home. Besides, there was a special value to women in the conquest of the bicycle in her fifty-third year, and one who had so many comrades in the white-ribbon army of temperance workers that her action would be widely influential. Then there were three minor reasons:

I did it from pure natural love of adventure—a love long hampered and impeded, like a brook that runs underground, but in this enterprise bubbling up again with somewhat of its pristine freshness and taking its merry course as of old.

Second, from a love of acquiring this new implement of power and literally putting it underfoot.

In 1893, Frances Willard, fifty-three years old and in poor health, determined to learn to ride a bicycle. She was staying with a

friend in England, Lady Henry Somerset, who presented her with a bicycle. Willard affectionately named the vehicle "Gladys."

Frances Willard supported by her trainers at Reigate Manor, England, in 1893.

also his right to continue his schooling at college. She felt strongly that women's educational disabilities must be remedied. She was certain that if women could only have the same educational advantages as men, they would soon stand side by side and share equally in life's possibilities.

Willard longed to widen and deepen her own education by travel in Europe, in order to "learn what the old world has to offer." Her own and her family's financial circumstances did not allow for such a journey, but she was fortunate that

the wealthy father of her good friend and fellow school teacher, Kate Jackson, offered to pay for a two-year stay in Europe for both his daughter and Willard. The young women were delighted.

In mid-March 1868, just two months before they sailed, they attended a lecture on woman suffrage by Theodore Tilton, newspaper editor and prominent women's rights speaker. For days following the lecture, the Evanston community talked excitedly about the subject. When Willard asked her brother Oliver, who had

just become an insurance agent, how he felt about the subject, he replied: "I'm sure I've no objection to women's voting only so it don't interfere with the *insurance business*!" On March 21, 1868, Willard announced in her journal: "Some how since I heard Tilton lecture, my purpose is confirmed—my object in life clearer than ever before. What I can do in large and little ways, by influence, by pen, by observation, for *woman*, in all Christian ways, that I will do. And may God help me!"

Because of Willard's determination to work for

the cause of woman, her European trip became more than a "grand tour" to soak up the intellectual and aesthetic wonders of the Old World. It was also an opportunity to study the situation of European women and to compare it to that of women in the United States. Willard began to analyze women's economic disabilities as well as their educational and political ones. She realized that overcoming women's second-class status meant reform in all areas of their lives.

After Willard returned from Europe in the fall of

Last, but not least, because a good many people thought I could not do it at my age.

It is needless to say that a bicycling costume was a prerequisite. This consisted of a skirt and blouse of tweed, with belt, rolling collar and loose cravat, the skirt three inches from the ground; a round straw hat, and walking shoes with gaiters. It was a simple, modest suit, to which no person of common sense could take exception.

As nearly as I can make out, reducing the problem to actual figures, it took me about three months, with an average of fifteen minutes' practice daily, to learn, first, to pedal; second, to turn; third, to dismount; and fourth, to mount independently this most mysterious animal. January 20th will always be a red-letter bicycle day, because although I had already mounted several times with no hand on the rudder, some good friend had always stood by to lend moral support; but summoning all my force, on this day, I mounted and started off alone. From that hour the spell was broken; Gladys was no more a mystery: I had learned all her kinks, had put a bridle in her teeth, and touched her smartly with the whip of victory . . . I had made myself master of the most remarkable, ingenious, and inspiring motor ever yet devised upon this planet.

Moral: Go thou and do likewise! □

Frances E. Willard's popular little book, published in 1895, was originally entitled *A Wheel Within a Wheel*. This excerpt is taken from a 1991 republication, *How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle—Reflections of an Influential 19th Century Woman*, with an introduction by Edith Mayo and edited by Carol O'Hare. By permission, Fair Oaks Publishing Company, Sunnyvale, California.



—Frances E. Willard Memorial Library, National WCTU, Evanston, Illinois

A RARE TREAT!

TO-NIGHT

The people of Jackson will have an opportunity of hearing an address from one of the finest platform speakers in America,

Miss Frances E. Willard,
THE FINEST WOMAN ORATOR

The world has ever produced.

THE LECTURE
—Will be given at the—
METHODIST CHURCH.

—Beginning at—

8 O'Clock P. M.
Come Early If You Wish Seats.
ADMISSION FREE!

At 4 O'Clock this Afternoon, at the same place,

Miss Anna Gordon,

Miss Willard's Private Secretary, Will

ADDRESS THE CHILDREN.

A Rare Treat is in store for the Little Folks. Let them all Come.

Jackson, April 17, 1889.

MISSISSIPPIAN PRINT.

A poster proclaims Willard's rhetorical talent.

1870, she developed a lecture entitled "The New Chivalry," based on her observations of women's situation in Europe and the Middle East. In it she predicted that it would be in "the new world," not the old, that women would become fully emancipated. She called upon the chivalrous men of America to champion the cause of woman, and work beside their sisters in bringing about a truly egalitarian society. Such rhetoric, in which she appealed to both men's and women's better natures to build a better world, would become a hallmark of her public speeches throughout her reform career.

For several more years, Willard continued to be an educator, as the president of the Evanston College for Ladies, and then as dean of women of Northwestern University, as the institution became coeducational. After resigning from her position at Northwestern in a dispute with the president over her authority at the university, Willard was faced with the prospect of finding another position and began to investigate possibilities, including the growing temperance movement with which she and her family had sympathized for many years.

Her autobiography tells of an event in her life in spring 1876, as formative as the one two decades earlier when she suddenly realized that as a woman she did not have the right to vote. As she remembered it years later, she was on her

knees in prayer early one morning, when "there was borne in upon my mind, as I believe, from loftier regions, the declaration, 'You are to speak for woman's ballot as a weapon of protection to her home and tempted loved ones from the tyranny of drink,' and then . . . for the first and only time in my life, there flashed through my brain a complete line of argument and illustration . . ." In August, attending a temperance camp meeting, Willard heard a speaker who used the phrase "Home Protection" in describing Canadian tariffs. She quickly appropriated the phrase and made it the rallying cry of the WCTU's push for woman suffrage.

During her first public speech calling for the vote for women, given at a

meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Women in October 1876, she combined the catchwords "Home Protection" with the line of argument and illustration she had been given, as she believed, by God, and produced a strong plea for woman suffrage. In her argument, she acknowledged women's right to vote—taking that as a given. However, she stressed the duty of women to gain the vote and use it on behalf of an endangered republic that needed women's participation, as well as chivalrous men's, to save it from "the Rum Power" that threatened it, just as "the Slave Power" had earlier in the century. That November Willard called for the Ballot for Home Protection at the national WCTU convention. Although some of the

leadership who did not believe in woman suffrage strongly disagreed with her stand, she sensed support from the membership. By 1879, Willard was elected president of the WCTU, a position she would hold for nineteen years, until her death.

During her tenure, Willard refined her argument, calling for women to seek the vote in order to "make the whole world homelike," and emphasizing how important it was to the nation to have "mother-hearted" women working alongside men for the reform that would free the nation from drink-muddled brains. Thousands of mainstream Americans were convinced by this reasoning.

Willard's greatest gift to the woman suffrage movement may have been her ability to shape the language of reform, to demand the vote not so much as a right but as a duty to the home. "Woman will bless and brighten every place she enters, and she will enter every place," she told them. Certainly, for Willard, one of the most important was the voting place. □

Carolyn De Swarte Gifford received \$64,000 in 1991 from the Editions program, Division of Research Programs, to support the preparation of a selected edition of the journals of Frances E. Willard. In 1994, the University of Illinois, Urbana, was awarded a Subvention grant of \$7,000 to support the publication of this edition of Willard's journals.

—Frances E. Willard Memorial Library, National WCTU, Evanston, Illinois

THE LOST CITY OF SHANG

For the past four years, a joint team of American and Chinese archaeologists has been searching for the ancient city of Shang, considered to be the first site of a literate civilization in China. To locate it, they are using such modern methods as ground penetrating radar (GPR) and aerial reconnaissance from the space shuttle.

The expedition, funded in part by NEH with participants from Harvard University and the Institute of Archaeology in Beijing, is looking for evidence of the early Shang society that existed ca. 2000-1500 B.C. Evidence of the Shang elite would ideally include bronze vessels, jade, and divinity writings.

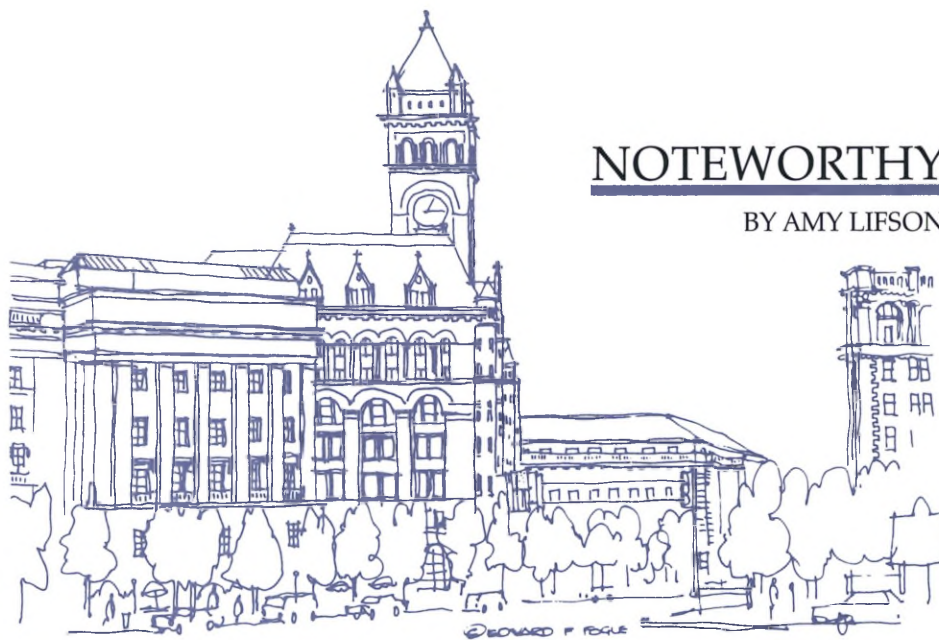
Robert Murowchick, director of research for the project led by K. C. Chang, says that Shang kings foretold the future using turtle bones. The shamans would ask the bones about the future (harvests, births, wars), heat the bones, and read the answer in the cracks that would appear. Often the answers would then be inscribed onto the bones. Several thousand of these exist from other archaeological excavations, including a record of a military expedition that describes the location of the city Murowchick and his team are looking for.

"What seems narrowed down by oracle inscriptions and maps is actually very big when you get into the field," says Murowchick. "It doesn't help that this is probably the most difficult area in China to carry out excavations, because the Yellow River has left nine to ten meters of silt through the centuries on top of the sites."

Using high-tech methods such as ground penetrating radar (GPR), usually used by coal and oil companies to locate minerals, the archaeologists are able to locate burial sites or building foundations of the ancient society before lifting a shovel.



Archaeologists during a dig at Panmaio.



NOTEWORTHY

BY AMY LIFSON

To help locate possible sites, the team compares aerial reconnaissance photographs—Japanese World War II photos in the 1930s, CIA photos in the 1960s, and space shuttle photos in the 1990s—for above ground clues to the ancient city.

Murowchick is encouraged about the project, because many house remains of the correct period have been found at nearby sites. But the project is not just about digging. "I see this project having two goals," he says. "One is clarifying the mysteries of early Shang, but the other is the transfer of ideas as to how archaeology is done. The Chinese are learning about geophysical techniques, and that it's OK to get their hands dirty, and the Americans are developing an appreciation for the vast knowledge and deep understanding of cultural history that the Chinese scholars bring to the work."

HONORS FOR HERTER BROTHERS

Gustave Herter arrived in New York from Germany in 1848 and began making furniture on the Lower East Side. Together with his brother Christian, who followed him in 1859, Herter Brothers became one of the most prominent and influential furniture makers in the country. The company's mastery of European techniques and attention to detail set a style in the United States until the turn of the century.

The catalog, *Herter Brothers: Furniture and Interiors for a Gilded Age*, is the recipient of the 1994 Henry Russell Hitchcock Award given by

the Victorian Society in America to the publication that makes the most significant contribution to nineteenth-century studies.

Billie S. Britz, cochairman for the awards committee of the Victorian Society, said, "The Herter Brothers catalog was a very impressive publication—an exemplary study of a complex subject. It was the unanimous choice of the selection committee."

The exhibition was organized by the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and the High Museum of Art in Atlanta. It continues at the Metropolitan Museum of Art through July 30.

PEABODY AWARDS

Two NEH-sponsored projects, the documentary *FDR* and the radio series *Wade in the Water*, received 1994 George Foster Peabody Awards for distinguished achievement.

FDR was produced by WGBH Boston for *The American Experience* series. The four-and-a-half-hour program tells about the life and political career of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, covering his personality and public role, and his relationship with his wife, Eleanor. Directed by David Grubin, *FDR* first aired on public television in October 1994.

Wade in the Water: African American Sacred Music Traditions, a twenty-six-episode radio series on the history of gospel music in America, was first broadcast on National Public Radio in January 1994. The series dealt with leading composers, lyricists, and musical traditions and featured performances by the Fisk Jubilee Singers, the Golden Gate Quartet and others. □



24 AUGUST 1995

LANDSCAPE AS BIOGRAPHY:



Gail Smith leading a sheep up the hillside at Smith Farm in Thetford, Vermont.

The barns and houses dotting the Vermont countryside offer a picture-book view of New England life, but the reality is less idyllic as farmers strive to pass the family livelihood to a new generation.

By Maggie Riechers

VERMONT'S FARMSTEADS

While the number of farms has dropped from more than 10,000 in 1950 to 2,000 today, the amount of land in production has grown larger. The story of who survived and who didn't is told in a new exhibition opening in August at the Vermont Folklife Center in Middlebury.

"Today's farmer echoes what farmers were saying 150 years ago," says Meg Ostrom, associate director of the center. "In earlier times success was achieved by what farmers called establishing a competency. Today the idea of success is defined by the ability to pass on a viable entity to the next generation."

Through profiles of ten families and comparisons of their farms' historical evolutions, the exhibition demonstrates how over the last two centuries Vermont's family farms have changed with the times.

"What was exciting when looking at the ten multigenerational farms," says Ostrom, "was a picture of very dynamic change—quite a different picture of the popular perception of the pastoral environment."

"We saw a pattern of adjusting to different crop specialties and a constant reorganization when the farm is handed down to the next generation," says Ostrom.

One such Vermont family, the Bottums, survived for two hundred years, only to fall behind the pace and see their farmland sold off for a real estate development. The Jackson family is farming still, into the fifth generation. The Smiths have kept their farm, too, but they follow a growing trend: They make their livings at other jobs.

"There's a constant fear that there are not going to be any farms in Vermont in the twenty-first century," comments Ostrom. "Yes, there will be, but they won't be dairy farms. Those who want to continue farming will find a new specialty."

On a multigenerational farm, the changes are marked in the farm structures, such as barns and outbuildings, and in the use of the land. These preserved elements can be regarded as records of the history of the farm and become a tangible family heritage, says Ostrom. Most retain traces from each period of Vermont's agricultural history, including the original eighteenth-century subdivision of the land into one-hundred-acre allotments. As such, the landscape itself holds clues to the family biography—its management and labor systems, its relationships among family members and between generations.

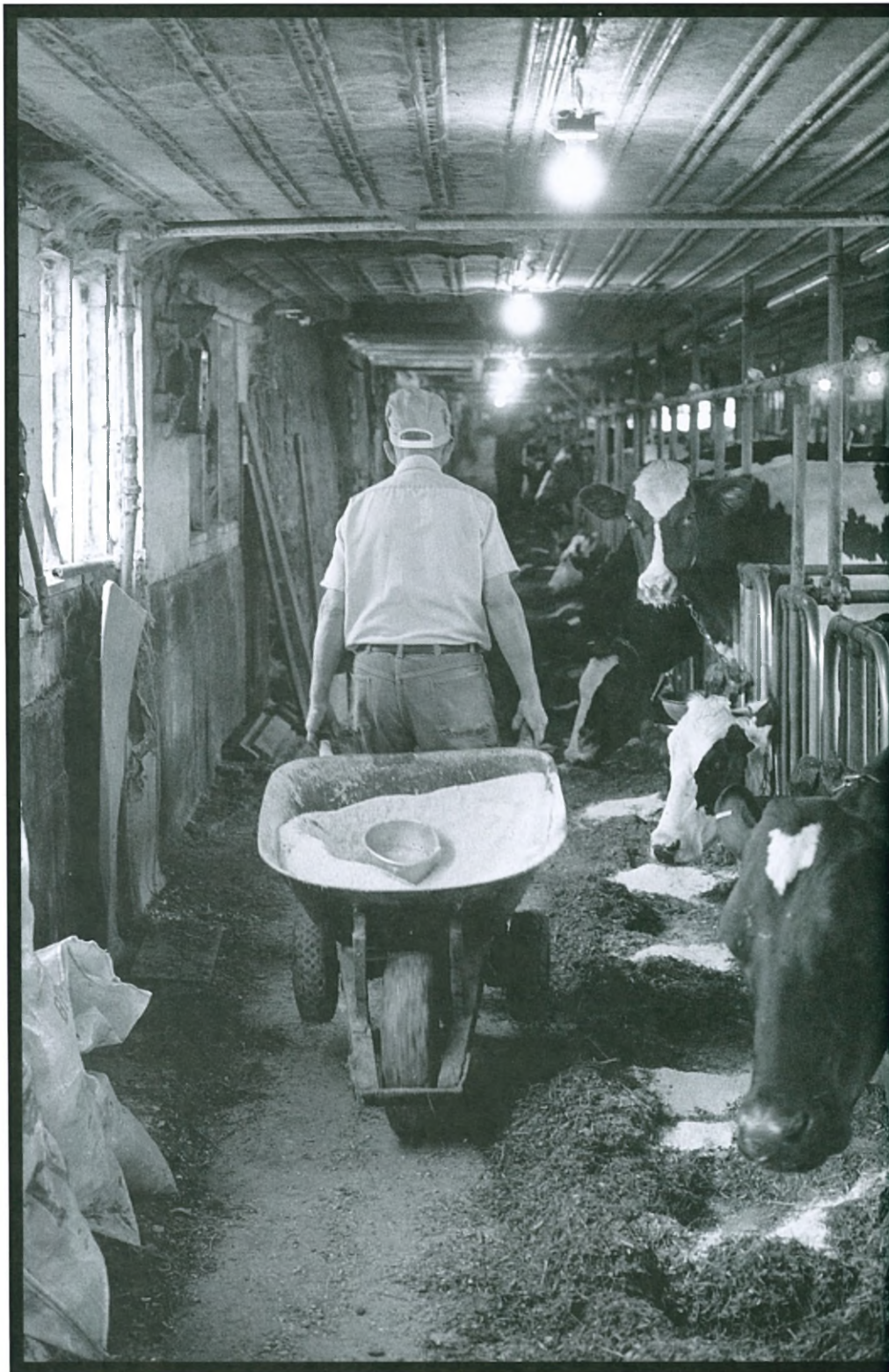
In Vermont, the twin handicaps of a short growing season and a rocky, hilly terrain are obstacles to overcome. In the first half of the nineteenth century, farmers almost exclusively grew wheat and raised sheep; in the twentieth century they diversified. Dairy farming became the dominant specialty after World War II, as it is today.

The exhibition provides examples of how farmers annexed and subdivided fields, expanded their work space in the barn and the house, and moved outbuildings to accommodate changes in production and processing.

At the same time, the technological revolution was moving the farmer from the plow to computerized feeding.

The Bottum family of Shaftesbury parallels that history. The Bottum Farm began in 1767 as a sheep breeding farm and evolved into a prosperous family farm neighborhood in the mid-nineteenth century. Known since the 1840s for its progressive agricultural practices, the Bottum family more than ably adapted to the many changes in sheep raising and, later on, in dairy farming. The exhibition uses family records and

Dean Jackson feeding cows at Road's-End Farm in Panton, Vermont.



photographs to illustrate the extent of the farm's success.

"In the twentieth century, the Bottum family was not swift enough in making changes in farm management and didn't instill the farming way of life in the next generation," says Ostrom. The neighborhood of farms established in the nineteenth century was sold off to developers in 1970 and only ten acres of the 450-acre farm remain with family members.

On the other hand, the fifth-generation Jackson Farm in Panton thrives today because of the changes made to its operation by each successive generation. The exhibition uses the Jackson Farm to illustrate how each generation put its imprint on the farm and its land. The changes in the Jackson barn attest to this fact. The building's various expansions and remodelings all occurred within a few years of a new generation taking over, in the 1880s, 1908, and 1959.

"The building telescopes changes in farming and dramatically demonstrates how buildings reflect change when a new generation takes over," says Ostrom.

The generations of Jacksons raised sheep from the nineteenth century until the 1950s, when the current family head, Dean Jackson, took over. He stopped using horses and bought tractors in 1956. Because prices for sheep were poor and prices for milk fairly high, Dean Jackson sold the sheep and expanded the size of the dairy herd. Later he doubled the size of the barn.

Today, Dean Jackson, in his seventies, still runs the Jackson farm with the help of his son and grandson. The farm encompasses 334 acres and has one hundred milking cows. Dean Jackson's grandson, with a degree in agriculture, is ready to shoulder the responsibility of the family farm when the time comes.

"The Jackson farm is as high tech as a farm in Vermont can be," says Ostrom. "The Jacksons are always looking at new kinds

of farm equipment, and the next generation, while still deferring to the grandfather, is ready to fill in."

Within the last decade, studies such as Thomas C. Hubka's *Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn* caused scholars to reassess previously held ideas that rural culture had stagnated and that farming stood enmeshed in a dormant culture.

"They found a settled farming community that had evolved a distinctive cultural character based on kinship ties, neighborhood mutuality, social conformity, as well as agricultural progressivism," Ostrow says. The Vermont Folklife Center built on the studies of nineteenth-century farming with one of its own, conducted from 1988 to 1990, of 175 farms of the postwar period. Conducted by Gregory Sharrow, the survey found that in the second half of the twentieth century, while family-based agriculture dramatically declined, the nineteenth-century social and cultural values identified by Hubka were still shaping the management of the farm enterprise.

From the findings came *Never Done*, a fifteen-part radio series which won a gold award from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The study also led the center to contemplate a few farms still more closely in terms of successive generations adapting to new technologies and new markets.

In charting the history, the exhibition researchers found that few owners work on the farm full-time anymore. Most have separate jobs to supplement the farm income. Such is the case of the Smith Farm in Thetford, a one-hundred-acre sheep farm, originally established in 1783 and in the same family since the 1890s. The farm has a long tradition of using nonagricultural work to support the farm, including



Ben Hulett surveys the remaining portion of Bottum-Hewlett Farm in Shaftsbury, Vermont.

smithing, milling, washing, mail delivery, and driving bus routes. The current owners also work outside the farm, the husband as a telephone repairman and the wife as a nurse.

The farm is a small hill farm that has expanded and then shrunk in size over the years to its current one hundred acres. The ancestors have stipulated that heirs continue to farm it, and as such, says Ostrom, "the family has a strong sense of keeping the farm going. It is a labor of love."

The Smith Farm is regarded as a prime example of how the landscape of the farmland is altered. The exhibition uses a computerized version of "a bird's eye view of the farm that provides clues to its past," according to Ostrom. It shows fence lines, stone walls, former sites of sugar houses, and even a horse graveyard.

Alterations in the land can be seen through the patterns of old stone wall and fence lines, indicating changes in boundaries and in livestock and crop production. "The imprint of a boundary is permanent," says Ostrom. "The land may change in use and you can read the history of the land through the field uses."

After its opening at the Vermont Folklife Center, the exhibition will travel around the state for the next year. It includes photographs, videotapes, models, maps, and artifacts, and uses written and oral histories to depict Vermont's family farms and the changes that have occurred.

Reading the past by looking at clues in the landscape is what "Making and Remaking Vermont's Farmsteads" is all about. "The exhibition reflects the farmers' point of view," says Ostrom. "The farmers know it is important to walk the land, and we hope to help the viewers see and understand the farm landscape." □

Maggie Riechers is a free-lance writer based in the Washington, D.C., area.

The Vermont Folklife Center received \$164,300 from Humanities Programs in Museums and Historical Organizations of the Division of Public Programs to produce a statewide traveling exhibition.



Doris Dwyer as pioneer Sarah Royce of the "California Trail Days" chautauqua.



J. Holmes Armstead, Jr., as trapper James P. Beckwourth of "California Trail Days."



Performers of the Great Plains Chautauqua Society, back row from left to right: Charles Pace (Du Bois); Anne Howard (Chopin); Doug Watson (Crane); and Carrol Peterson (London). Front row: Jeanne Eder (Zitkala-Sa) and George Frein (Twain).

On the Road Again

LOOKING FOR THE NEAREST CHAUTAUQUA

SUMMER IS HERE, school is out, and the chautauquas hit the road.

The Great Basin Chautauqua brings to Nevada a four-day tent show on the evolution and diversity of the American experience. For its fourth annual program, this year's theme, "Democracy in America," features programs for children each morning, book discussions and public policy forums for teachers and the public in the afternoon, and tent programs in the evening at the Rancho San Rafael Regional Park in Reno. Each morning, twelve young chautauquans from ages ten to sixteen will present characters from Nevada and American history. Scholars will bring to life the historical figures who have helped shape the

philosophy of democracy: on July 24, Thomas Jefferson; on July 25, Frederick Douglass; on July 26, William Jennings Bryan; and on July 27, P. T. Barnum and Horace Greeley. More than 1,000 people attended last year's program each night.

For the eleventh summer, the Great Plains Chautauqua Society pitches its tent in five states—Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota. On Friday through Tuesday evenings and Sunday afternoons, "American Writers of the Gilded Age" brings to life the works of Mark Twain, Kate Chopin, Jack London, W. E. B. Du Bois, Stephen Crane, and Zitkala-Sa. Scholars will lead a reading and discussion series on the major works

of the authors and the history of Indian treaties and policies.

For the children, there are stories by Twain, London, and Chopin, along with Dakota Sioux dancing.

Programs will be held in two cities of each state: through July 4 in Grant, Nebraska; July 7-11 in Schuyler, Nebraska; July 14-18 in Sisseton, South Dakota; July 28-August 1 in Huron, South Dakota; July 21-25 in Grand Forks, North Dakota; and August 4-8 in Jamestown, North Dakota. The chautauqua earlier this summer went to Larned and Fredonia, Kansas, and Woodward and Ponca City, Oklahoma.

The California Council for the Humanities will sponsor a chautauqua August 19-20 on two characters of the



Courtesy of Arizona Humanities Council

Michael Wurtz as Brigham Young in the Arizona chautauqua.



Courtesy of Arizona Humanities Council

Judy Nolte Temple as Mary Austin.

BY NICOLE L. ASHBY

"California Trail Days": James P. Beckwourth, a soldier and trapper who led the first party of explorers across the Sierra Nevadas, and Sarah Royce, a pioneer woman who traveled the Overland Trail, witnessed the Gold Rush, and left a recollection of her life in *Frontier Lady*. The program is held at the Donner Memorial State Park Museum in Truckee.

The Arizona Humanities Council is sponsoring a chautauqua presentation of novelist Mary Austin on July 8 at the Northern Gila County Historical Society in Payson, and Mormon leader Brigham Young on July 22 at the Pine/Strawberry Archaeology and Historical Society in Pine. □

ALABAMA—"School and University Partners for Educational Renewal," a continuing education institute July 10-28 for sixth, seventh, and tenth grade teachers of world history, will focus on the history and geography of Eastern Asia, in particular Japan, Korea, and China. The institute is for forty teachers selected from a statewide pool who have agreed to serve one year as "master teachers," disseminating knowledge, lesson plans, and resources to their colleagues. The summer institute will be at Birmingham Southern College, followed by twelve regional one-day workshops for an additional 300 teachers. In June, the program received a NEH Exemplary Award to sponsor an institute for teachers of world literature.

Other teacher programs in July: "Tragedy and Comedy: Literature as a Mode of Knowledge" for elementary and secondary teachers from Baldwin and Mobile counties July 3-28 at the Fairhope Institute of Humanities and Culture; "Summer Institute for Teachers of Alabama History" for fourth-grade teachers July 17-21 and ninth-grade teachers July 24-28 at the University of South Alabama.

A symposium for both teachers and the public will be conducted August 3-5 at the Friends of the Alabama Archives in Montgomery. Alabama literature, sacred music traditions, environment, and the experiences of Alabama's Indians, women, and African Americans will be among the topics. The symposium will feature keynote addresses by Clayborne Carson, director of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Papers Project at Stanford University and John Vlach, professor of American Civilization and Anthropology at George Washington University. For information, call 205/930-0540.

ARIZONA—The Arizona Humanities Council will sponsor a chautauqua presentation of novelist Mary Austin on July 8 at the Northern Gila County Historical Society in Payson, and Mormon leader Brigham Young on July 22 at the Pine/Strawberry Archaeology and Historical Society in Pine. Professor Judy Nolte Temple from the University of Arizona will portray Austin, and Archivist Michael Wurtz from the Sharlot Hall Museum library will portray Young. For the program in Payson, call 520/474-1541; for Pine, call 520/476-3375.

STATE BY STATE

COMPILED BY NICOLE L. ASHBY

CALIFORNIA—"Searching for San Diego," a local history project, will hold two neighborhood days. On July 8 "Hillcrest Neighborhood Day" will feature locally created exhibitions about the neighborhood, a lecture/discussion led by scholar Frank Nobiletti, and a presentation of the play *San Diego Lost and Found*, based on the oral histories of residents from four neighborhoods. The play will be the focus of "Barona Reservation Neighborhood Day" on July 15, featuring additional presentations and exhibitions by members of the Kumeyaay, descendants of San Diego's original residents. For information, call 619/232-4020.

On August 19-20 two chautauqua presentations will highlight "California Trail Days" at Donner Memorial State Park in Truckee. Scholar J. Holmes Armstead, Jr., will portray trapper James P. Beckwourth, and scholar Doris Dwyer, civic activist Sarah Royce. For information, contact 916/525-5055.

HAWAII—"Italian Journeys: Italy, North America, and Hawai'i" will be the focus of a series of lectures, readings, and forums for teachers and the public on Italy's contribution to world culture. The University of Hawai'i at Manoa will sponsor the series on Thursdays through July 20 at the Art Building Auditorium, and Saturdays through July 22 at the Campus Center Ballroom.

The dynamics of Asian-American cultural identity and expression will be explored in a one-day symposium, "Asia/America: Dialogues on Contemporary Asian-American Visual Art and Culture," August 5 at the Honolulu Academy of Arts Theatre. For information, call 808/732-5402.



A storyteller visits patients at the Methodist Children's Hospital in Indianapolis.

INDIANA—"A Dose of Good Medicine" is an outreach program which brings storytellers, poetry readings, video presentations, history performers, and special humanities projects to patients at Methodist Children's Hospital. Native American Gwen Yeaman will make an "Ethnic Visit" July 11, and Hank Fincken will be the presenter of "Johnny Appleseed" on July 25. Since March, a program has been sponsored twice a month and performances, when possible, are broadcast throughout the hospital on closed circuit television. For information, call 317/638-1500.

IOWA—For the "Iowa 75th Anniversary of Woman Suffrage March" August 26 in Des Moines, Jane Cox will give a historical representation of the Iowa woman, Carrie Chapman Catt, who helped garner support for the ratification of the nineteenth amendment in 1920. Catt was one of the founders of the League of Women Voters, a friend of Susan B. Anthony, and a charter supporter of the United Nations. Cox, an assistant professor of theater at Iowa State University, will give a performance at the beginning of the march and another at the end, on the steps of the state capitol. For more information, call 319/335-4153.

LOUISIANA—First of a series of summer teacher institutes, "Rediscovering the Middle Ages" continues through July 13 at Xavier University of Louisiana, exploring texts of the period the cultural development and intercultural contact among Europe, Arabia, India, China, and Africa. For information, call 504/483-7520.

July 3-27 at Loyola University: Focusing on the social significance of comedy, participants in the summer institute, "Comedy and Culture," will study comedy from ancient Greece to modern America, including oral folktales, fiction, film and television, animation, political cartoons, and the carnivalesque comedy of Louisiana. Call 504/865-2260 for information.

July 5-28 at Southeastern Louisiana University: "Negotiating Difference in Nineteenth-Century American Literature" will investigate how cultural differences are treated in fiction, autobiography, and criticism. James Fenimore Cooper, Harriet Jacobs, Mark Twain, Charles Chesnutt, and Alice Dunbar-Nelson are among the authors whose works will be discussed. For information, call 504/549-2100/2104.

July 12-August 5 at Northeast Louisiana University: "The Search for Home" will examine which traits result in a utopian home as opposed to which create a dystopian one, beginning with the Puritan ideals of Winthrop and Mather. For information, call 318/342-1489.

MARYLAND—"Galway Kinnell and the Cultural Legacies of Romanticism" will feature the American poet reading his work and discussing its relationship to romanticism, particularly the work of John Keats, on July 20 at the University of Maryland-Baltimore County.

Writers Jonathan Yardley and Patrice Gaines of the *Washington Post* will be the featured authors July 22-23 at literary workshops for Artscape '95 at the Uni-

versity of Baltimore. Four workshops will accompany the reading, discussing children's literature, short stories, mysteries, and writing about food.

A traveling exhibition, "The Old Central School and African-American Education in Calvert County," will open August 15 at the Mary Harrison Center at Northern High School. The six-panel exhibition spans the period from the end of the Civil War to the civil rights movement. After traveling to local schools and museums, the exhibition will settle in its permanent home at the historic Central School, the first multiroom school for African-American children in the county. For information, call 410/625-4830.

NEBRASKA—Chautauqua 1995 on the "American Writers of the Gilded Age" continues through July 4 in the western Nebraska community of Grant, and then moves to the eastern community of Schuyler July 7-11. The scholars/performers are George Frein as Mark Twain, Doug Watson as Stephen Crane, Jeanne Eder as Zitkala-Sa, Charles Pace as W. E. B. Du Bois, Anne Howard as Kate Chopin, and Carrol Peterson as Jack London.

The Nebraska Humanities Council and the Twelfth Night Theater Company will sponsor a conference July 5-8 at Creighton University in Omaha to help junior high and high school teachers—primarily English and drama teachers—discover new ways to use the humanities in teaching Shakespeare. The four-day workshop, "Shakespeare in the Classroom," will

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An African-American school in Calvert County, Maryland, circa 1909.

EN DIVINA LUZ: IN DIVINE LIGHT

BY NICOLE L. ASHBY

FOR THE FIRST time, New Mexicans can get a glimpse of the private sanctuaries of worship known as *moradas*, which have been shrouded in mystery for nearly two hundred years.

Built from natural materials such as adobe, wood, and stone, these one-story buildings resemble folk architecture rather than church architecture, and are considered more sacred than the village churches.

"As an artist, I fell in love with these buildings as architectural forms," says photographer Craig Varjabedian. "The dynamics of the structures within the landscapes for me were very powerful."

Varjabedian's work over the last six years in the remote villages of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado is the subject of a new exhibition, "En Divina Luz: The Penitente Moradas of New Mexico." It attempts to demystify not only the moradas but also the lay fraternity of Catholic villagers who built them, the Penitente Brotherhood.

During a symposium at the exhibition's national opening in Albuquerque, an eighty-year-old man stood up to say, "I've lived here all my life, was born here in the little village. But I've been absolutely terrified by the *hermanos* for years because I thought if I was ever outside when they were in procession, they would kill me." One of the Penitente Brothers on stage responded, "That was part of our black myth—to keep people away—but we never attempted to kill anybody. Never."

Varjabedian commented: "I think when you create an understand-

ing, you remove the fear that sometimes people have with the unknown."

The Penitente Brotherhood began in the late eighteenth century in New Mexico to fill the spiritual needs of the Hispanic community, and although many of the rituals were open to the public, their private ceremonies and devotions ran into disfavor with the Catholic Church in 1833. In the last fifty years, the Brotherhood has regained church acceptance, but the reputation for secrecy has remained.

"The only exclusivity—if there is any—is being a Catholic in good standing with the church," says Varjabedian.

"I was reading an article that the archbishop here

said the Brothers are a wonderful treasure among the flock. I think he's absolutely right. Part of the reason that they're a treasure is because they've kept Catholic Hispanic New Mexico alive."

Moradas—from the Spanish word *morar*, meaning to dwell—are still used by the Brotherhood as sanctuaries and meeting places, but many have become targets of vandalism and thievery. The oldest morada, built in the mid-eighteenth century, was nearly destroyed by fire in 1992.

In order to keep the moradas safe, Varjabedian promised the Brothers that their locations would be kept secret. The Brothers served as advisers on the

project and provided oral histories that were used in preparing the exhibition and a book.

In photographing the 150 moradas, Varjabedian chose to use black and white film rather than color because, as he explains it: "Color tends to be more about the color; black and white tends to be more about what's being photographed."

Supported by the New Mexico Endowment for the Humanities, the community traveling version of "En Divina Luz: The Penitente Moradas of New Mexico" can be seen July 22 to August 12 at the Peñasco Community Center; the national version is at the Philbrook Museum of Art in Tulsa, Oklahoma. □



MOONRISE OVER MORADA DUSK, LATE AUTUMN, NEW MEXICO, 1991.

©1991 Craig Varjabedian

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include lectures, demonstrations, and critical evaluations of performances.

Continuing: The exhibition, "Silver and Copper of Santa Clara del Cobre," concludes July 2, exploring the history and tradition of Mexican metallurgy from pre-Columbian to contemporary times. The exhibition is accompanied by lectures, discussions, and demonstrations by speakers such as artist Ignacio Punzo of Santa Clara del Cobre, metallurgist James Metcalf, also from Santa Clara, and Littleton Alston, an artist from Omaha. For information, call 402/474-2131.

NEVADA—"Democracy in America" will be this year's theme for the Great Basin Chautauqua Society's program July 24-27 at the Rancho San Rafael Regional Park in Reno. Scholars will bring to life the characters who have helped shape the philosophy of democracy: Clay Jenkinson as Thomas Jefferson on July 24; Charles Everett Pace as Frederick Douglass on July 25; Fred Krebs as William Jennings Bryan on July 26; and Doug Mishler and David Fenimore as P.T. Barnum and Horace Greeley on July 27. For information, call 702/784-6587.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Dartmouth College will host a teacher summer institute, "The World of Greece and Rome from Hadrian to Attila the Hun," July 5-13. The course is sponsored by the Classical Association of New England. For information, call 603/646-3393.

Elementary and secondary school principals will examine "The Classics and Educational Leadership: The Principal and the Heroic Life" July 9-14 at an institute at Thomas More College in Merrimack. Call 800/479-6269 for information.

Using Plato's *Apology of Socrates*, Melville's *Billy Budd*, Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, and Miller's *The Crucible*, teachers will discuss "Literature and the Law" July 16-21 at a summer institute at the New England College in Henniker. For information, call 603/224-6942.

NEW JERSEY—As part of "A National Conversation on American Pluralism and Identity," the council will launch a four-part radio call-in discussion series in July in partnership with WBGO-88.3 FM, a Newark radio station. "American Alternatives" will explore "The Individual and Community in America" on

July 25, and "Density and Diversity" on August 29. Each hour-long program will begin with an introduction and brief text reading; two humanities panelists will join the host for discussion. The program will be linked to other stations throughout the state and will conclude during the Council's "Humanities Festival Week" in October.

On July 9, Henry James's short story, "The Turn of the Screw" and two derivative works will be discussed at The Lawrenceville School by panelists Joyce Carol Oates, Benjamin Britten scholar Philip Brett, and Henry James scholar John Warner. Britten's opera of the same title and an Oates short story, "Accursed Inhabitants of the House of Bly" are based on the James' short story. The panel and audience discussion will follow with a matinee performance of the opera by the Opera Festival of New Jersey.

"Religious Diversity in America" will be the topic August 6-11 at Monmouth College in West Longbridge for the third of five new residential seminars for New Jersey educators. The seminar will focus on the field of comparative religion and will address Holocaust studies and world religions. Special topics include the history of religious communities in the United States and the growth of American secularism. Call 609/695-4838 for information.

NEW MEXICO—Photographs of *moradas*, private sanctuaries of worship built in the eighteenth century, will be the focus of a bilingual exhibition July 22-August 12 at the Peñasco Community Center. "The Morada Photographic Survey/En Divina Luz: The Penitente Moradas of New Mexico" is the culmination of a six-year photographic survey of more than 150 moradas across the state. The exhibition also will include excerpts from interviews with Brothers of the Penitente Brotherhood, the fraternity of lay Catholic villagers who built the moradas. For more information, call 505/988-1166.

Continuing to explore eighteenth- and nineteenth-century traditions in New Mexico, the museum at El Rancho de las Golondrinas is presenting "Living History Interpretive Programs," on weekends through September. Presentations include: "Spanish Colonial and Territorial Architecture and Construction," July 15-16; "Spanish Colonial Traditions and Lifestyles," July 22-23; "Tell Me A Story, Sing Me A Song: Storytelling, Music and Oral His-

tory in Old New Mexico," August 12-13; and "Faith, Religion, Santos and Santeros," August 26-27. For information, call 505/471-2261.

NEW YORK—"American Women/American Lives" will be the focus of an institute July 8-16 at the State University of New York at Albany. The seminar will discuss such issues as whether American history can be reexamined from a female perspective. Lecture topics include: "Work and Families in Colonial America," "Temperance and Abolition: Routes to Women's Rights," "New Deal Women and the Sexuality Continuum," and "The Challenge of Feminist Biography." A concert on "Images of Women in American Songs" by Linda Russell & Ensemble and several evenings of film screenings and discussions will accompany the lectures. For information, call 212/233-1131.

NORTH DAKOTA—Chautauqua 1995 on "American Writers of the Gilded Age" will appear in Grand Forks July 21-25 and Jamestown August 4-8. For information, call 701/255-3360.

OHIO—"Joining Hands in the Teaching of American Literature," a summer institute for private and public school teachers, will be held July 10-21 at Otterbein College in Westerville. The seminar is designed to deepen the understanding of both traditional and minority literature and to help create new approaches to teaching American literature for secondary and post-secondary students. For information, call 614/823-1659.

OREGON—World War II posters used to mobilize support for the Allied effort will be on display through July 12 at the Morrow County Museum in Heppner and from July 28 through September at the Sherman County Historical Society in Moro. "Produce for Victory: Posters on the American Home Front, 1941-1945," traveling exhibition, has been in Oregon since October. Presentations exploring life on the home front—particularly as it was experienced in Oregon—accompany the exhibition. For information, call 503/241-0543 or 800/735-0543.

PENNSYLVANIA—"Storyline," a radio call-in book discussion program that airs on WHYY-91 FM, will focus on contemporary women's

literature this summer: the short story, "Fleur," by Louise Erdrich on July 13 at noon; *Cat's Eye* by Margaret Atwood on July 25 at 8 p.m.; "The Abortion" by Alice Walker on August 13 at noon; and *The Women of Brewster Place* by Gloria Naylor on August 29 at 8 p.m. Local bookstores and libraries will feature the books used in the series. For information, call 215/923-2774.

SOUTH CAROLINA—"South Carolina as Part of the Appalachians" will be the focus of a teacher institute July 31-August 11 at the Roper Mountain Science Center in Greenville. The course will include lectures, discussions, workshops, and field trips. For information, contact 803/281-1188.

SOUTH DAKOTA—Chautauqua 1995 events on "American Writers in the

TEXAS—"The Past Is Prologue," a teacher training workshop for K-12 and college teachers, August 4-5 at the Schreiner College, will offer an evening of storytelling, based on American Indian learning stories, and a workshop. The program is designed to teach students the concepts of effective self-governance in a democratic society.

Council-sponsored media projects that will broadcast in July and August include: *Talking Trash*, a sixty-minute documentary film that explores America's garbage problem. The evolution of the "throwaway society" and the entry of the green movement into mainstream culture are among topics of discussion.

Another sixty-minute documentary, *The Desert Is No Lady*, will focus on nine contemporary Native American, Chicana, and Anglo women writers and artists of the Southwest. The film compares the ways each artist discovers and expresses her personal and cultural identity, and how each one's work is rooted in a vision of the landscape. Check local listings for date and time. Call 512/440-1991 for information.

VERMONT—On Wednesday evenings in July and August, poets of the northern New England area will read from their works at the St. Johnsbury Athenaeum. The "Readings in the Gallery" series, part of the council's 1995 campaign for literacy, will feature Mark Doty and Rachel Hadas on July 12; Luci Tapahonso and Ellen Bryant Voigt on July 26; Kenward Elmslie on August 9; and Forrest Gander and C. D. Wright on August 23. Programs are free and open to the public and followed by an informal reception. For information call 802/748-8291.

In another event keyed to its campaign for literacy, the council will sponsor a storytelling stage July 8 at the Onion River Arts Council's Midsummer Festival in Montpelier. Peter Burns and Cynthia Payne-Meyer will bring to life King Arthur and Morgan Le Fay, and Samuel Lloyd will recite tales from Shakespeare. For information, call 802/229-9408.

Children in Barton, near the Canadian border, will learn to unearth their family and community histories as part of the summer recreation program in July. The Barton Graded School and Pierce House Museum will host the program, featuring a writing and oral history workshop for children and their parents. Call 802/525-3583 for information. □



Carving on the 1895 Loeffl Carousel in Crescent Park, East Providence, Rhode Island.

RHODE ISLAND—"A Living Museum: The Loeffl Carousel" continues through August at selected sites, displaying photographs of the carousel built in 1895 in Crescent Park, East Providence. The exhibition includes more than thirty photos and incorporates oral histories from individuals who remember the carousel. For information, call 401/277-2669.

"Gilded Age" include: presentations in Drenttel Park in Sisseton July 14-18 and in Campbell Park in Huron July 28-August 1; a reading discussion on Jack London at the Huron Public Library on July 16; and a teachers institute in Grand Forks, North Dakota July 19-26. For information, call 605/688-6113.

Goodwin: That's exactly right.

Hackney: In an old style. It's the leader as educator, in a sense. Which is why the fireside chats are so fascinating in themselves.

Goodwin: I think so, too. The other night at the Museum of Broadcasting, they played excerpts from four or five of them. Somehow he really does understand that he wants something to happen from those talks. He's not just hoping people are going to like him. He wants to move opinion. And he does do that. They played part of the first talk, when he explains the banking crisis, and it's so clarifying to listen to him talk about why the crisis has occurred and what it means and what's going to get us out of it. And to be able to use the platform of the presidency to explain things to people that they then can feel confidence to take that next step of action, that's what a great educator is all about.

Hackney: I've played those tapes on long automobile trips and have been struck with how he was able to use such clear and simple illustrations without seeming to condescend.

Goodwin: That's the line that he never seemed to fall into. He wasn't an intellectual in a sense. He was a straightforward, descriptive kind of thinker, and he loved understanding how things worked. There's that wonderful anecdote from Frances Perkins about how he came up with the fire hose idea for lend-lease. He understood the way small communities worked, he understood the way farmers worked, because he had grown up in that world. So the neighborliness that allowed you to lend your hose when a house was on fire was part of what the American people still wanted to think about their country, as a neighborly country. He projects that metaphor onto America's relationship with England. That's a great leap.

He wasn't an intellectual in a sense. He was a very straightforward, descriptive kind of thinker, and he loved understanding how things worked.

Hackney: It is a leap, but that's a metaphor that works on several levels, which makes it even more powerful.

Goodwin: As some people pointed out, in some ways the whole metaphor made no sense at all, because he was saying that you give your fire hose to the guy next door, and you get it back after the fire's over, whereas it's not clear we were ever going to get back the tanks and the weapons that were going to be used. But nobody bothered to think in those logical terms, because he was creating an emotional connection.

Hackney: As you point out in the book, the subliminal message there is that, gee, if my neighbor's house is burning down, my house is threatened.

Goodwin: Exactly.

Hackney: And even if I don't get the hose back, I'm better off.

Goodwin: That was in some ways the most brilliant part of the whole lend-lease maneuver. It was able to reach people where they were at that moment: Okay, I'm willing if it helps to protect us by giving this equipment to England, and then we won't have to get in the war. I'll do it.

Hackney: Right.

Goodwin: Even though he knew at some level that it probably wouldn't be enough, he's not being hypocritical. He could have hoped maybe this

would stave off the Nazis, even though at some deeper level he understood there were going to be more steps needed. But that's all the public was ready for at that moment.

Hackney: He was—in his leadership techniques—he was capable of



The Berryman cartoon which appeared in "The Washington Star" yesterday, attacking rumor-mongers.

By Berryman.

Washington Star, February 17, 1942.

being quite manipulative and a little bit deceitful.

Goodwin: No question. He's a real politician, if manipulative means saying one thing and doing another or not being straightforward with the people who walked in his office and whom he would each give each one an assent to do something that he didn't really mean for them to do. It's interesting. When you think about the whole wartime leadership, even though I think the word manipulative could be used—deceitful or manipulative—there's something so much deeper that's going on.

Hackney: You treat this in the book. When Selective Service was instituted, he did make a statement on the radio that he would never send American troops into a foreign war.

Goodwin: I think it was a bad mistake on his part, and so did Eleanor, even right when he said it. Like any politician, he was goaded into that statement because even though at the beginning of the 1940 race, Willkie had been in some ways the best Republican that could have been nominated, as the fall moved along, the isolationists were getting to Willkie. Willkie was making more inflammatory statements, and other Republicans were, that Roosevelt was going to bury every fourth boy in Europe. And Roosevelt got more angry and angry. And then, as you suggest rightly, Selective Service passes and he

has to deal with that because the draft is coming in October. When he goes to Boston to make that speech, he knows what the Republicans are saying, and there was a certain kind of stubbornness in him that says, "Okay, I'm not going to let them claim that I'm sending those boys over to war." So he mistakenly, in my judgment—and that is deceitful and manipulative, that's different from this other stuff, the lend-lease—made that promise. He knows he can't really keep it, and he just made it to win the election. It came back to haunt him later, so it did not serve him well.

Hackney: There's always the higher-good argument, I suppose; that is, that he was doing it in a good cause.

Goodwin: I could argue that he's doing the lend-lease in a good cause, absolutely, and the destroyer deal, both of which may have had some manipulativeness to them. With this one, the reason why it's less justifiable is that he's feeling under siege in the election. Like so many politicians, he says what he needs to say.

In 1944, when he was running again, because he had gotten so much heat on that statement, he wanted to take it up again and talk about it. By that time, obviously, he was able to argue, well, it wasn't a foreign war, because we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. Logically he was able to say, "So I did keep my promise."

Hackney: That reminds me of some contemporary things, very narrow readings.

Goodwin: Exactly. But it was so interesting to see Eleanor—I don't remember whether it was her column or she just said it to him—she said, "I don't think you should be promising things that you can't keep." She saw right away, I think, that this was not the right thing for him to say.

Hackney: Yes. He was a great leader. What about as a manager?

Goodwin: I think the other side of his strength—that need to be liked, to want to make people feel good about him—revealed a certain weakness in his administrative style in the sense that when people came in, they got mixed messages from him. He pitted them against one another. To some extent it created energy and vitality, so there was a positive side to it all. But, I can agree with one of those disgruntled aides, Moley, who said that he might have made fewer enemies with his administrative people by being straightforward in the first place rather than trying to keep them going and never giving them a clear sense of mission.

Again, in the long run, it did allow for experimentalism to take place during the thirties.

When one program didn't work, he was willing to scrap it and go to another one. And in the forties, when one productive agency wasn't strong enough, he was able to go to a different one. A neat hierarchy may not have produced the energy.

The one argument that somebody made that I agree with totally was that, if you looked at the messiness of the Washington situation during the war in the short term, it looked horrible, but the point was that somehow it provided energy in the country at large. So many people got involved in the whole process of mobilizing for the war, it did work, so

that it didn't constrain energies, even though it might have wasted some energies in Washington. The most important thing was that he got the country moving as a whole.

Hackney: You touch upon another point that, in my bureaucratic experience, struck me as being quite true. In his management style, that is, managing chaos, that the more undifferentiated and nonhierarchical his team was, the more he kept control.

Goodwin: I think he had a real instinct for that drive to be at the center of things, and for keeping his options to himself. When the Republicans, for example, were arguing early in the war that he have a tsar of production, I think his reluctance to appoint Bernard Baruch to that position was knowing that then the constituencies and the power might devolve to Baruch. He wanted to keep it in his own hands—and for good reasons, too, not just for selfish reasons. If he wanted to keep that whole balance between the civilian and the military side, he wanted to be the one making the decisions.

Hackney: And that was the way to do it.

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"Power to Declare War."

New York Daily News. August 25, 1944.

Goodwin: I think so, too. It may have been that in the couple of years before Pearl Harbor, that keeping it so chaotic meant we didn't produce as much as we might have produced, but it's hard to argue with him when you see what eventually came out.

Hackney: He was extraordinarily good at using people. I mean that in the good sense, spotting talent and also making appointments that accomplished political goals as well as getting good people in position. But I get the feeling from reading your account and others that he never opened himself up fully to many people, and especially to men, even though he had men friends. Is that right?

Goodwin: Probably, with the exception of Harry Hopkins, that almost none of the other men that worked with him over long periods of time probably felt they knew him. And even Hopkins, I think, didn't know him fully. With women, he seemed able to be somewhat more relaxed and show a warmer and more unguarded part of his personality, but not even with them fully. There does seem to be just a permanent reserve in him from childhood on. I'm not sure anybody fully understands whether it was just a need to protect himself from the overbearing love of his mother, so that he had to keep his own counsel and not talk a lot to other people about what he was feeling. I think Eleanor was the one who said it just became a habit to keep his own counsel for all those years.

Politics reinforces that. A couple of people that I talked to who had worked for him in the White House just would reiterate what a wonderful person he was to work for, and you really believe them. They may be somewhat nostalgic, looking back from their eighties, but I think it's true. I think he was very decent to most of the people who were there, but they didn't know him.

I think about his wearing the armband in public after his mother died as the only real public statement he made about the impact of her death in the middle of that war. Compared to today, where the politicians would talk at length about an emotional experience like that, it's a different political culture. He's coming from a time where people, unlike today, didn't talk about their private feelings.



"Doble Nueve."

By Messaguer. 1943

Hackney: Right. We need to go back.

Goodwin: I think so, too. I think that's part of what he understood, that the mystery of the office depends in part on it retaining a sense of separateness from people. Even though he was accessible, even though he understood them, even though he talked in language that they could understand, he was not always available to them.

Hackney: He actually rather consciously did that, too, in the number of fireside chats.

Goodwin: I think he knew that to keep the drama of the office alive, you had to ration its appearances. That was a very conscious move on his part. And when he went on his vacations—the press probably wouldn't even allow this as much today—the press would be in a separate house, and they would be called if there were something important to say, but they weren't at his house hanging out at the window, catching him in informal settings. Even those press conferences, though they were more frequent than any other president's press conferences and more give-and-take took place in them, he's still president when he's giving those press conferences. He's got that presidential feel

behind him and he's in his office. I think there's something about the setting, as opposed to informal interviews with X, Y, or Z, that makes you president, and the country needs to see you as a president.

Hackney: Roosevelt had a marvelous ability to both be president and also to be in good spirits and seen as a friendly, open person.

Goodwin: And that's such a hard line to be able to walk on both sides of. We created this institution that some people have called the democratic kingship. You want the person to be democratic and accessible and warm in a certain sense, but you also want him to be the king. That's where the statesmanlike role comes. Somehow he was different from them, and they didn't feel like he was just one of them; on the other hand, as you said earlier, he was never looking down at them when he was different from them.

Hackney: Let me ask you one other thing about his friendships. What struck me and bothered me a bit is Missy LeHand and his inability to maintain a close relationship with her after the stroke.

Goodwin: That saddened me as much as almost anything emotionally about

him. One can understand, perhaps, that when somebody was no longer able to be what they were to him before, he couldn't deal with it, that he didn't know how to deal with real sadness or pain, and had been taught from childhood to just sort of stoically accept it and move on. But even if you understand that this was a habit that he'd been taught—that when something is painful, you just turn away from it—it was so hurtful to Missy to not be able to share in that last couple of years. I find it really—I don't find it acceptable that he did that. Somebody else might argue that he had the war to win and he didn't have time and psychologically he just couldn't, but when somebody needs you, you have to be willing to go through that pain, I think. It wouldn't have hurt him that much. As much energy as it might have drained to have to carry out those conversations that were one-sided with her, I wish very much he had done more of it.

Hackney: How do you feel about the renewed relationship with Lucy?

Goodwin: There, I really don't criticize him. My sense about his resumption of his friendship with Lucy is that it comes after Eleanor had not been willing to accept his offer that they become closer again and, in a certain sense, live once more as man and wife. It comes after Missy's stroke, after his mother is dead, and, most importantly probably, after he's been diagnosed with congestive heart failure. My own sense is that mostly what he's seeing in her is a memory of what it was like when his body was strong before it was giving way to the heart disease that was killing him. I think that if he could have believed that Eleanor would have understood it was simply a friendship at this point, the ideal thing would have been to tell Eleanor that

he was going to see Lucy every now and then. But he didn't trust that she would understand. Deception had to be practiced.

Of course, it all fell in on his head at the end. But I don't think he meant to humiliate Eleanor or to denigrate her. It was simply a need on his part for a certain comfort and companionship. He was lonely, and all these other women had gone from his life. It's funny when

you get involved with these characters. There are certain times when you feel angry with them, as I did about Missy LeHand. But as far as the resumption of the friendship with Lucy, I understood why he did that.

Hackney: One of the figures in this great story that one comes to have respect for is Anna.

Goodwin: I did indeed.

Hackney: She plays a remarkable role.

Goodwin: Oh, yes. The very first few months, when I was starting to write the book a long time ago, Esther Peterson, an old friend of mine who had worked in the Johnson administration and had known the Roosevelts, asked me to come to Washington to speak at a fund-raiser for the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. I'd just started the book, so I hardly knew anything, but I did go down. And it turned out that Anna's daughter, Eleanor Seagraves, was there. She was so helpful to me in giving me Anna's

letters and a whole series of material that allowed Anna to come to life. I eventually interviewed the other two children of Anna, Curtis Roosevelt and then her youngest son, Johnny Boettiger, and came with a much stronger feeling of that central role that Anna played in those last couple of years of his life. She seemed really mature and sensitive and understood the dilemma of the role she was being placed in, and I think carried it out with as much dignity as she possibly could have.

There seemed a real like-mindedness between Anna and her father. You just feel them laughing together over the same stupid jokes that he liked, and she could enjoy the movies and the adventure movies that he liked instead of the choices Eleanor would inevitably make, such as *The Grapes of Wrath* or a documentary on civil rights.

Hackney: That's right. Unrelenting.

Goodwin: Right. And I think Anna saw that part of her mother, even though she loved her mother, and realized that her father needed the relaxation. Again, it's partly interpreting, but from some of the things that Anna said later, you know she saw that he was dying, in a way that Eleanor never quite did. I think because Eleanor had gotten him through his polio, she was so believing that he would conquer this one as well, but Anna, with him more often, saw those slow signs of deterioration and made the judgment that if he would take some solace from resuming this old friendship when he still faced D Day and the Battle of the Bulge, then who was she to prevent this from happening. That was a courageous decision on her part. There have been some people who have been angry with her for doing that, but I understand why she did what she did.

Hackney: And Joe Lash plays a role in Eleanor's life similar, perhaps, to Lucy in Franklin's?

Goodwin: I think so. What Joe represents is the ideal son to her in a lot of ways. He's an intellectual and he's a liberal, and he's idealistic and passionate about politics, and she can share all of those things to talk about with him. And also, she loved him and he loved her, so that it makes her feel needed and wanted, and she was always not sure that anybody really needed her that way. And given the age difference—I think it just allowed her to feel that connection to a son that none of her four sons quite allowed her to have.

Hackney: Yes. Well, we could go on all afternoon. It's a wonderful book, and made more wonderful, I think, because the art of it is transparent actually, it's not visible to the reader. It's wonderfully constructed and written, and it's a great story.

Goodwin: Well, thank you so much. □

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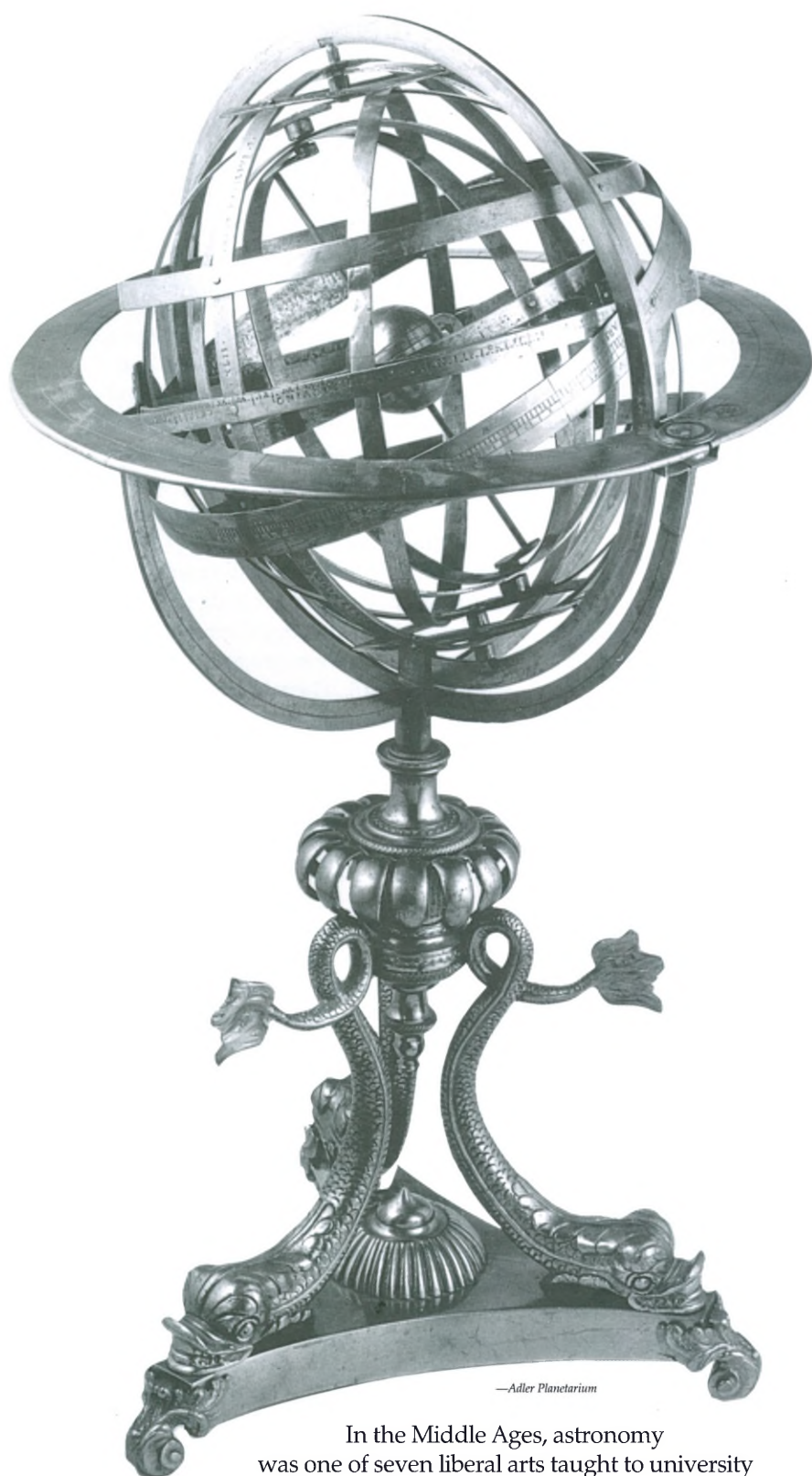
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from happening.

Calendar

JULY ♦ AUGUST

BY STEVEN SNODGRASS



—Adler Planetarium

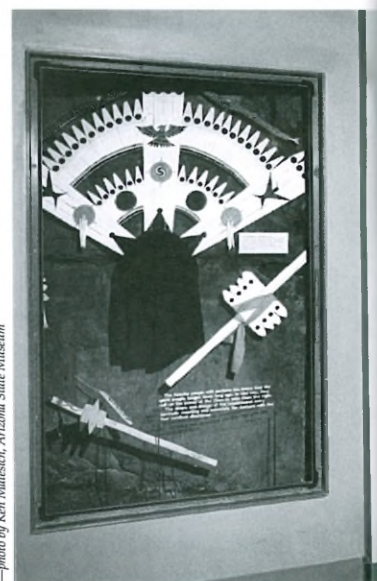
In the Middle Ages, astronomy was one of seven liberal arts taught to university students. "The Universe in Your Hands: Early Tools of Astronomy," a new exhibition at Chicago's Adler Planetarium, features astrolabes, armillary spheres, sundials, celestial globes, telescopes, and interactive exhibits, which reveal how astronomical instruments were used in Europe and the Islamic world.



—Queens Borough Public Library

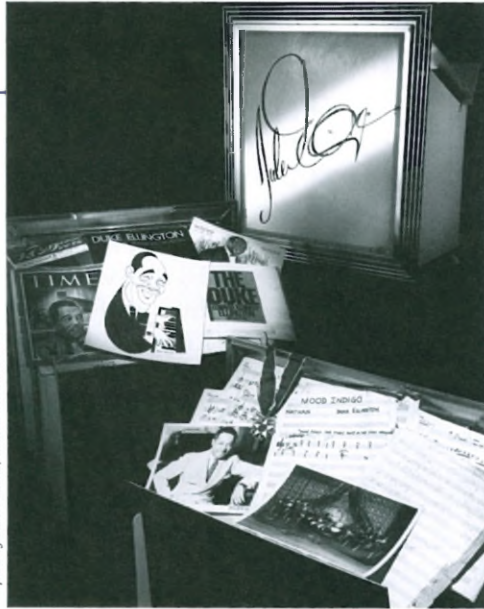
"Blueprint for Change: The Life and Times of

Lewis H. Latimer" looks at this inventor, engineer, draftsman, and writer who worked with Thomas Edison and Alexander Graham Bell and made significant contributions to the development of the electric lighting industry. A humanitarian, Latimer voluntarily taught poor immigrants and strove to end racial segregation. "Blueprint for Change" is at the Queens Borough Public Library in Jamaica, New York.



—photo by Ken Matresich, Arizona State Museum

ENDOWMENT EXHIBITIONS



—photo by Dave Penland, Smithsonian Institution

Drawing upon the National Museum of American History's Duke Ellington Collection, "Beyond Category: The Musical Genius of Duke Ellington" examines the role that the composer, orchestrator, bandleader, and pianist played in the evolution of jazz. "Beyond Category" was produced by the American Library Association and the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service.

◆ "The Idea of a System of Transcendental Idealism in Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel," an international conference, takes place August 27-30 at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire.



—drawn by Franks Weeks-Besse, Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Society

In July of 1700, an English merchant slaver left Jamaica bound for home. She never made it, sinking near Key West, Florida. "A Slave Ship Speaks: The Wreck of the *Henrietta Marie*" uses shipwreck artifacts to examine how the African, colonial, and European cultures involved in the transatlantic slave trade contributed to its existence. The exhibition is at Key West's Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Society.



The Arizona State Museum's "Paths of Life: American Indians of the Southwest" explores the cultures of the Seri, Tarahumara, Yaqui, O'odham, Colorado River Yuman, Southern Paiute, Pai, Western Apache, Navajo, and Hopi peoples by tracing a historically relevant theme for each group. "Paths of Life" was planned with representatives of the ten communities.

Footnote to the quoted passage from the *Life of Johnson. An Edition of the Original Manuscript* pp. 325-26 note.

This conversation is not in the journal, but the MS *Life* and Boswell's memoranda provide the clues that enable us to identify the unnamed friend as JB himself and the "imprudent publication" as *Letters between The Honourable Andrew Erskine, and James Boswell, Esq.*, which came out about the middle of April of this year. Croker (i. 474 note) guessed that the friend was Burke and the publication his ironic *Vindication of Natural Society By a Late Noble Writer* (1756), which was misread as the work of a disciple of Bolingbroke rather than the critic Burke was. Croker's identification was reported by Hill and duly included by Powell in his Table of Anonymous Persons (No. 53: "Perhaps Burke"). Indeed the true subject of the conversation could not have been detected from the printed text alone—JB saw to it that it should not be. The added clause "being somewhat anxious concerning the young gentleman's reputation," while not a transparent reference to himself as the object of his inquiry, was probably deleted to deprive the reader of the slightest clue. In any case, this deleted clause effectually disqualifies Burke as the unnamed subject: not only did JB not meet Burke until ten years later, but he would hardly have referred to him at the time of the present conversation, when Burke was thirty-four years old (and JB twenty-two), as a "young gentleman." JB had in fact been concerned for his reputation as the *Letters* were being published (see Journ. 12, 14 April), an apprehension fueled by the reactions of his own friends (M 142). In a letter of 30 May (C 214) Lord Auchinleck had called the publication a "fresh mortification," and Lord Kames imagined that was "one folly more which you repent of" (16 July: C 1651). Yet the *Letters* received some praise from the *Critical Review* for May (xv. 343-45) and the *Monthly Review* for June (xxvii. 476-79), which may have emboldened JB to risk sending a copy to S): "Send your letters to Johnson, & ask him to say freely whether you have or *may* have powers, or if you had better not try to *run*" (Memorandum, 21 July). In another memorandum four days later he enjoins himself: "Give *Rambler* time to look at letters & then have much of him." If S) expressed an opinion on JB's "powers" as revealed in the *Letters*, we have no record of it.—It remains to comment on S)'s allusion to "an election," which, as JB deleted his suggested explanation following it, cleared the way for Croker's wrong guess; though at this date Burke had not yet run for office and would not stand for election to Parliament until more than two years later. S)'s allusion, in fact, fits JB's own circumstances—and the pattern of his recurring to topics of personal concern in these early meetings—perfectly. Lord Auchinleck had proposed in his letter of 30 May cited above that JB aspire to be a Member of Parliament, and S) had a short time before the present conversation alluded to the same prospect But with the general suppression of his identity in the reported conversation JB could afford to let the allusion to "an election" stand, especially as it was needed to give point to S)'s response (which we may imagine was delivered with a sly obliquity).

Continued from page 14

est writings were to be among the later recoveries, including the London journal of 1762-1763 and the complete manuscript of the *Life of Johnson*.

The Papers Come to Yale

Isham's outlays through the 1930s and '40s for the two further caches of papers and other smaller Malahide Castle finds, as well as for legal fees, stretched him well beyond his limit. In 1949 he sold the bulk of his Boswell collection to Yale for \$450,000. His all-consuming goal of reassembling the papers had been achieved, but it had cost him his marriage and his fortune.

After the papers were safely housed in the Yale library, a group of scholars led by Frederick Pottle established *The Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell* in order to publish systematically the most important documents in the collection. The editorial committee was intent on rectifying the limitations of Isham's edition. There was now three times the original material to be dealt with, and even what had been published lacked much needed annotation. Also, moderately priced texts for scholars and general readers were considered essential.

To meet these aims, the committee conceived a publication program of some fifty volumes, in two separate editions: a trade, or popular, edition consisting mainly of the journal Boswell kept from 1762 through his last years; and a research edition consisting of three series: Boswell's correspondence; a manuscript edition of the *Life of Johnson*; and a thoroughly annotated edition of the journal. This last would include early journals included in the trade edition and the daily memoranda and notes from which Boswell typically wrote up his journal entries. It would also include a manuscript edition of the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*, based on original journal leaves Boswell had edited and in places altered substantially to serve as printer's copy. Also planned was an annotated catalog of the collection. Yet even this ambitious program would put into print only about forty percent of the entire collection, which today amounts to nearly fifteen thousand documents.

Journal A Best Seller

Pottle knew that the first trade volume, *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-1763*, would have a general appeal when it was published in 1950. But he did not expect that this frank and sexually explicit account of a twenty-two-year-old Scotsman's experiences in Britain's capital would sell well over a million copies. What an earlier generation might have found offensive was an object of utter delight to the new readers of Boswell's private papers. Translations appeared in six languages, and the Book of the Month Club distributed Boswell's account of himself loose on the town as a dividend to members. The poet W. H. Auden, reviewing the *London Journal* for *The New Yorker* on November 25, 1950, observed that "Boswell triumphs as a writer because . . . he is such a thoroughly ordinary man . . . in reading Boswell each of us is confronted by himself."

On the first page of the *London Journal* Boswell considered why he kept a daily record of his activities and feelings. In practical terms he wished to discipline himself and improve his writing. Yet he also imagined his journal would serve as a visible conscience, making him more likely to do well, or, if he should misbehave, compel him to be better. "A Man," Boswell began, "cannot know himself better than by attending to the feelings of his heart and to his external Actions from which he may with tolerable certainty judge what manner of person he is." Boswell wanted his journal to help him answer what would be an ever-pressing question in his life: Who am I?

In the forty-five years since the publication of the *London Journal*, the editors of the Yale Boswell Editions have enabled Boswell to reveal who he was. The extraordinary journals he kept throughout his life are now published in thirteen volumes, the last, *Boswell: The Great Biographer, 1789-1795*, appearing in 1989. To some, the journals confirmed Boswell's time-worn reputation as a sex-mad, sentimental, drunken egoist. But the honesty, the sheer entertainment, and the wealth of information they contain has kept many others reading. In a review of *Boswell: The Applause of the Jury, 1782-1785*, the novelist Rebecca West hit upon the enthralling mystery of the journals when she asked, "Why

do most of us read every scrap of information about Boswell, who was a truly awful man?"

To date, ten volumes in the Yale Research Edition have been published: five volumes of Boswell's correspondence; the first volume (of four) of *Boswell's Life of Johnson: An Edition of the Original Manuscript* (published earlier this year); Pottle's history of the Boswell papers, *Pride and Negligence* (1982); and the three-volume *Catalogue of the Papers of James Boswell at Yale University* (1993).

Of equal importance but separate from the Yale Editions proper are the two volumes of Boswell's biography: *James Boswell: The Earlier Years, 1740-1769* (1966) by Pottle; and *James Boswell: The Later Years, 1769-1795* (1984) by Frank Brady, Pottle's successor as general editor of the project. Unmistakable in both works is not only a masterly command of the material at hand, but also an engaging thematic portrayal of Boswell as his life and literary art evolved. No scholar has left his mark on the Yale Boswell Editions more than Frederick Pottle, nor trained more able editors in the service of Boswellian scholarship. Pottle's death in 1987 and Brady's the year before were severe losses to the project. However, they left a legacy of finely edited volumes, an editorial method, and a well-organized research office for the many editors who continue to prepare volumes in the editions.

Today, under the general editorship of Claude Rawson, prominent American and British scholars have been recruited as editors and an ambitious long-range program is in place to bring the publication of Boswell's private papers to a conclusion. An editorial committee, composed of scholars, publishers, librarians, and benefactors convenes annually to make major decisions for the Yale Boswell Editions. An advisory committee of some thirty individuals is on hand to provide expertise in many forms—from the translation of an obscure Greek passage to the solicitation of funds for the project. An office staff consisting of the managing editor,

copy editor, and office manager (together with a number of part-time workers) carry out the day-to-day operation.

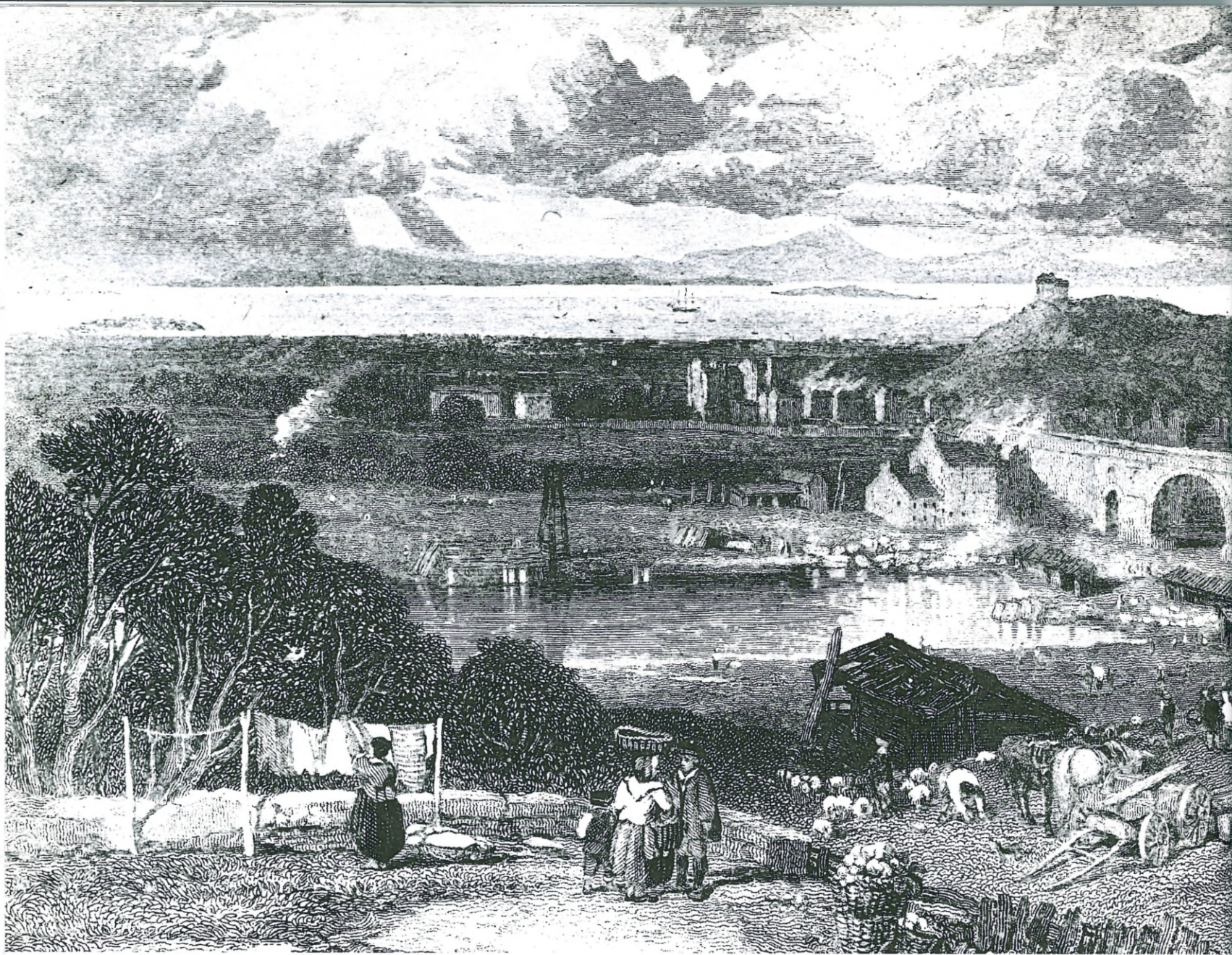
Inside the "Boswell Factory"

The guiding principle of the Yale Boswell Editions, simply put, is to let Boswell tell his own story. Achieving that end is far from simple. Boswell's papers are full of the shorthand, abbreviations, and mysterious allusions that one would expect in any man's private meditations and observations, but their meaning is further obscured by the passage of time.

The editor's first objective is to "establish the text," by deciphering and decoding the handwriting, transcribing even the idiosyncratic spellings and phrasings faithfully, and noting where the reading of a word or passage is uncertain. After the text is established, it is annotated. Here the editor must continually intervene to illuminate or explain, but without interjecting personal judgments and speculations. An implicit rule in such editing is *not* to "editorialize," but to let readers draw their own conclusions from the available evidence. The annotation provides factual explanations and a relevant context for any aspect of the text not obvious to a general scholarly audience.

Journal, July 14, 1763

I told Mr. Johnson that I put down all sorts of little incidents in [my journal]. "Sir," said he, "there is nothing too little for so little a creature as man. It is by studying little things that we attain the great knowledge of having as little misery and as much happiness as possible."



View from James' Court, Edinburgh, ca. 1773, engraved by W. Miller after the original by Clarkson Stanfield.

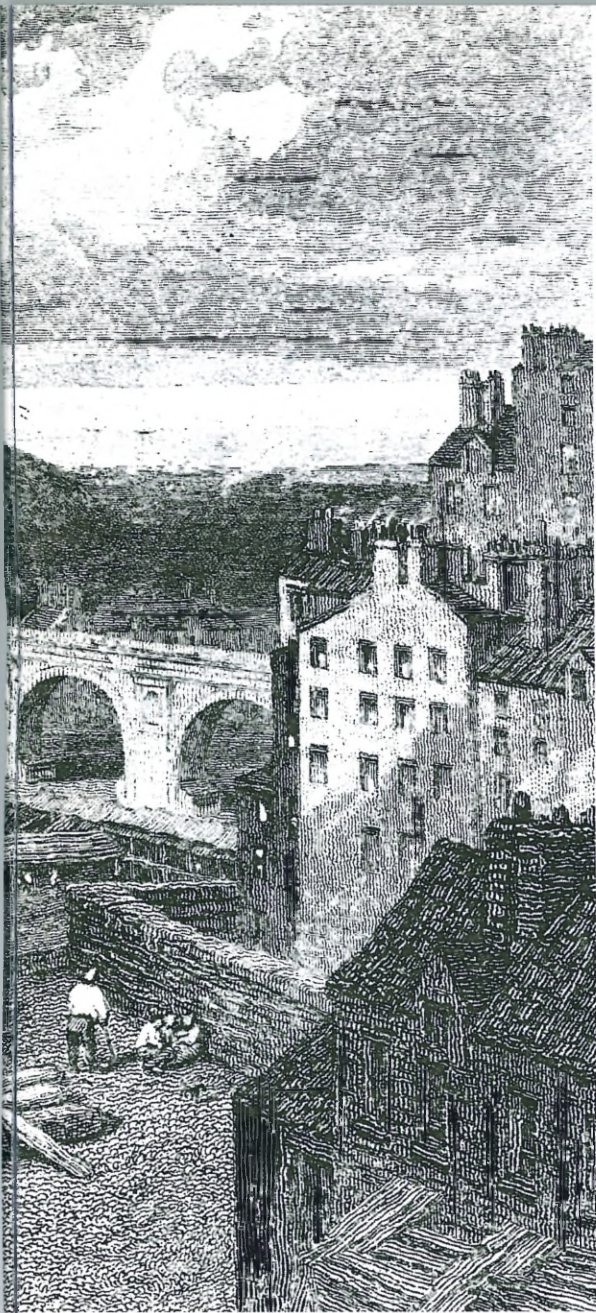
Occasionally Boswell alludes to something so obscure that no amount of research will unravel its mystery, and the editor, regretful but forthright, reports that fact. More often, however, he or she has unearthed far more about any one topic than a footnote could, or should, contain. In the course of such deep study, the editor will doubtless have drawn numerous conclusions about Boswell and his world, but only documented information that is pertinent to the text will find its way into a footnote, with an introduction and perhaps appendices supplying the broader background. Impartial editing is perhaps impossible, but every good editor aspires to it.

Boswell's editors carry out their research in the midst of teaching and other commitments, and typically

spend summer breaks at Yale to work on their volumes. Theirs is a traditional scholarship, time-consuming and without financial rewards. When they do establish and annotate the text, further pains are taken to vet their labors. Boswell office staff read the transcription against the original manuscript, scrutinize the annotation for accuracy and cohesiveness, do further research when necessary, and make sure that the Boswell collection has been fully exploited. Next, the copy editor conforms the volume to the edition's style sheet and typesets it in the office. Finally, proofreaders take charge before the final version is sent off to the publisher of the Yale Boswell Editions, Edinburgh University Press, which arranges for the production and distribution of each volume. (In North America, the books

are distributed under the imprint of Yale University Press.)

This year four new research volumes will be issued. Among those most eagerly anticipated is the correspondence between Boswell and his close friend, William Johnson Temple. Edited by Thomas Crawford, honorary reader in English literature at Aberdeen University, the letters are an epistolary saga that chronicles the lives of two very different men during a forty-year friendship. Temple, an introverted clergyman with radical leanings, often disagreed with the more conservative Boswell on the major political and philosophical debates of the eighteenth century. Their correspondence provides a first-hand view into the ways private citizens on both sides of an issue responded to the intellectual developments of the period.



Most of the letters in this absorbing correspondence were found among Boswell's papers at Malahide Castle and Fettercairn House, but about one hundred had been discovered in 1837 by one Major William Stone of the East India Company's Service, who was amazed to find that the fish he had bought at a shop near Boulogne was wrapped in a Boswell letter. Stone followed up his extraordinary luck and acquired further letters. An edition, *Letters of James Boswell addressed to the Rev. W. J. Temple, now first published from the original MSS*, was published in 1857. Until the Malahide Castle finds, it served as the primary biographical source on Boswell.

Such romantic discoveries probably can no longer be expected, but important Boswell manuscripts, typically letters, continue to surface. The Boswell

office regularly tracks these down, and, when possible, they are purchased by Yale's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, where the collection is housed.

Life of Johnson Manuscript

No Yale edition reveals the process by which Boswell wrote and the methods an editor employs more clearly than *Boswell's Life of Johnson: An Edition of the Original Manuscript*. Most agree that the documents relating to the composition of the *Life* are the greatest treasure of the collection. (A single leaf of the manuscript sold at auction in 1989 for \$45,000.) There are more than a thousand densely written leaves of the main manuscript itself, as well as an equal number of what Boswell called "Papers Apart." These separate sheets contain additional materials, such as letters and continuations of revised passages in the main manuscript that were to be incorporated before the final copy was sent to the printer.

Marshall Waingrow, the editor of the first volume of this work, confronted the daunting task of reconstructing the manuscript, a composite of Boswell's basic draft and layers of revision, by devising a system of transcription and annotation to show segment by segment the temporal order of Boswell's composition. He used several kinds of evidence to arrive at these important, though often minute, discriminations: the sense of the passage, the position of words on the page, changes in the impression of the quill, and even differences in the shade of the ink.

A brief passage from the manuscript edition of the *Life* shows Waingrow's system at work. But first a few essential pointers: 1) readings not intended as printer's copy are enclosed within square brackets; 2) the "j" indicates an alternative word or phrase interlined in Boswell's draft; 3) the ">" indicates a word or phrase superseded by what follows; 4) the "λ" indicates a later isolated addition; 5) 'del' means an even later deletion.

I [mentioned j spoke of >] mentioned an imprudent publication by [a certain Gentleman and >] [one of his friends and >] a certain friend of his at an early period of life and [λ being somewhat anxious concerning the

young gentleman's reputation λ del] asked if he thought it would hurt him. *Johnson*. "No, Sir; not much. It may perhaps be mentioned at an election."

The passage presented the kind of mystery Boswell's editors love to solve, in this case, who is Johnson's "certain friend"? First Waingrow turned to the standard edition of the *Life of Johnson*, edited by G. B. Hill and revised by L. F. Powell, where a "Table of Anonymous Persons" reports "Perhaps Burke." Waingrow knew that Edmund Burke, the great statesman and political writer, had as a young man written a satirical book mocking the way rational philosophy was being applied to theology, but that his effort at irony had been misread and taken at face value. Waingrow also knew that Burke's political star was rising at the time of Boswell's conversation with Johnson (August 1763) and that he would be elected to Parliament in 1765. Still, Waingrow doubted that Boswell was referring to Burke. Why, Waingrow reasoned, would he call Burke, a man then in his thirties, a "young gentleman" when Boswell himself was only twenty-two. Moreover, though Boswell knew of Burke's writings, the two men had not yet met. Waingrow nevertheless had to reassemble the documentary evidence for the "Burke theory" for readers before he could discount it.

The deleted passage, "being somewhat anxious concerning the young gentleman's reputation," led Waingrow to suspect that Boswell was referring to himself. Rereading the journals of 1763, he was reminded that Boswell had recently published a collection of letters between himself and his friend Andrew Erskine. Boswell had pinned high hopes on this juvenile book. Yet his *Life of Johnson*, which is at times as autobiographical as it is biographical, nowhere mentions this early book. Waingrow searched the journals and correspondence from the period for evidence of reactions to the publication. (A Boswell office file listing every Boswell document chronologically would aid in this task.) Waingrow learned that family and friends alike thought it was a foolish publication.

Wondering why Boswell said nothing in his journal about the disappointing reception his book received, Waingrow searched through the memoranda Boswell kept. He failed to

find what he was looking for, some evidence of Boswell's dashed literary hopes, but he happened upon something better. Boswell had given a copy of the book to Johnson for a final judgment on his talents (or lack of them) and later reminded himself to ask Johnson for his verdict. Waingrow found no evidence that Johnson ever responded and concluded not only that the "young gentleman" was Boswell but that Johnson probably knew what early publication he had in mind. Still, Waingrow did not yet have enough evidence to write a conclusive note; there was the matter of an election.

He knew that Boswell throughout his life would aspire, often vaguely and at times actively, to a seat in Parliament. His father, Lord Auchinleck, had suggested Parliament to him as a worthy goal in 1763. On May 30 his father had written Boswell a long letter admonishing him for leading what seemed a frivolous life. He questioned his son's judgment at publishing letters that "might pass between two young lads in the same way that people over a bottle will be vastly entertained with one another's rant." Lord Auchinleck urged that if only Boswell were to settle down and study the law, he might eventually be elected to Parliament.

Waingrow began to fit the pieces together. A recent conversation between Johnson and Boswell, recorded just pages before in the *Life*, concerned Boswell's prospects for entering Parliament. Waingrow concluded that Johnson had to know who the young gentleman was and what the publication was. He reread the original passage with fresh interest. He was ready to write his footnote.

This editorial process is repeated passage by passage, note by note, until by increments an entire volume of Boswell's writings has been accurately transcribed and elucidated. It is a process that Waingrow has called the "inner drama of scholarship." Textually speaking, Waingrow's edition restores a significant number of correct readings to the received text. Individuals Boswell deliberately left unnamed are now correctly identified, and the misidentifications of earlier editors corrected. Moreover, the inclusion of deleted passages reveals Boswell's creative process, editorial judgment, and his private opinions. In the end,

An interview with Voltaire in a letter to William Johnson Temple, 28, December 1764

At last we came upon Religion. Then did he rage. The Company went to Supper. M. de Voltaire and I remained in the drawing room with a great Bible before us; and if ever two mortal men disputed with vehemence we did. . . . For a certain portion of time there was a fair opposition between Voltaire and Boswell. The daring bursts of his Ridicule confounded my understanding; He stood like an Orator of ancient Rome. Tully was never more agitated than he was. He went too far. His aged frame trembled beneath him. He cried "O I am very sick; My head turns round" and he let himself gently fall upon an easy chair. He recovered. I resumed our Conversation, but changed the tone. I talked to him serious and earnest. I demanded of him an honest confession of his real sentiments. He gave it me with candour and with a mild eloquence which touched my heart. I did not believe him capable of thinking in the manner that he declared to me was from the bottom of his heart. He expressed his veneration his love of the Supreme Being, and his entire Resignation to the will of Him who is all-wise. He expressed his desire to resemble the Author of Goodness, by being good himself. His sentiments go no farther. He does not inflame his mind with grand hopes of the immortality of the Soul. He says it may be; but, he knows nothing of it. And his mind is in perfect tranquillity. I was moved; I was sorry. I doubted his Sincerity. I called to him with emotion "Are you sincere are you really sincere?" He answered "Before God I am." Then with the fire of him whose Tragedies have so often shone on the Theatre of Paris, he said. "I suffer much. But I suffer with Patience and Resignation; not as a Christian—But as a Man."

the reader is able to appreciate the passage much more fully and to gain a more intimate knowledge of the characters portrayed.

Waingrow's volume, like the other volumes in the Yale Editions, affords a microscopic view of Boswell's texts that enables historians and literary critics to ground their ideas more fully in documentary evidence. In the years to come research edition editors will complete the publication of the *Life of Johnson* manuscript, the correspondence, and research editions of selected journals. (The later trade volumes of Boswell's journal are sufficiently annotated to obviate a more in-depth edition.) When *The Yale Editions of the Private Papers of*

James Boswell are completed, readers may very well be able to say that they understand Boswell and his world better than he could. For a man who approached the arts of biography and autobiography as passionately as Boswell did, such a prospect might have been the ultimate personal triumph. □

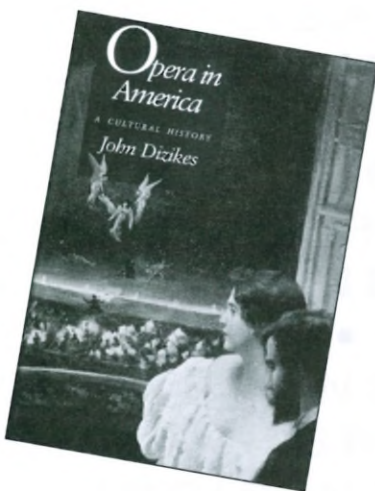
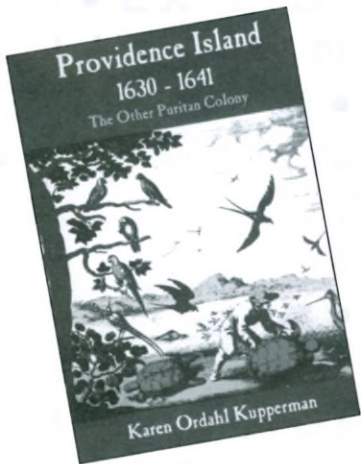
William Zachs is consulting editor of The Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell.

In 1995, Yale University received an Editions grant of \$140,000 from the Division of Research Programs to prepare an edition of the correspondence and literary manuscripts of James Boswell.

BOOKS

PUBLISHED RECENTLY WITH

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Award Winners

- **American Historical Association, Albert J. Beveridge Prize, 1994**, for outstanding historical writing in English on the history of the United States, Latin America, or Canada from 1492 to the present
Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. *Providence Island, 1630-1641: The Other Puritan Colony*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- **American Historical Association, George Louis Beer Prize** for outstanding historical writing in European international history since 1895
Weinberg, Gerhard L. *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- **American Historical Association, Herbert Baxter Adams Prize** for an author's first substantial book
Martin, John J. *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City*. Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- **American Historical Association, Herbert Feis Award** for the best book by a public or an independent scholar
Dalby, Liza Crikfield. *Kimono: Fashioning Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- **American Historical Association, Howard R. Marraro Prize** for best book in Italian history
Adamson, Walter L. *Avant-Garde Florence: From Modernism to Fascism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- **American Historical Association, Leo Gershoy Award** for outstanding work on 17th- and 18th-century European history
Woloch, Isser. *The New Regime: Transformation of the French Civic Order, 1789-1820s*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1994.
- **American Historical Association, Premio de Rey Prize** for best book in English on early Spanish history
Ruiz, Teofil F. *Crisis and Continuity: Land and Town in Late Medieval Castile*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.
- **American Philosophical Society, Jacques Barzun Prize in Cultural History**
Chickering, Roger. *Karl Lamprecht: A German Academic Life*. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1993.
O'Malley, John. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- **Association of American University Presses, Hiromi Arisawa Memorial Award** for humanistic publication in English on Japanese culture, finalist award
Takeuchi, Melinda. *Taiga's True Views: The Language of Landscape Painting in Eighteenth-Century Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- **Her Majesty Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands: The Order of Orange-Nassau** for twenty years of scholarship translating 17th-century records of the Dutch colony in America
Gehring, Charles T., director and translator of the New York State Library's New Netherland Project. Among his NEH-funded works is the following translation: *Council Minutes 1655-56*, New Netherland Documents. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995.
- **Berkshire Conference of Women Historians, Annual Book Award**
Goldman, Wendy Z. *Women, the State and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917-1936*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- **Columbia University: Bancroft Prize** for best work in American history, 1994
Jordan, Winthrop D. *Tumult and Silence at Second Creek: An Inquiry into a Civil War Slave Conspiracy*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.
- **Commonwealth Club of California, Gold Medal** for nonfiction, 1994
Dzik, John. *Opera in America: A Cultural History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- **Gettysburg College, Lincoln Prize, 1994**, for excellence in Civil War studies
Berlin, Ira et al., eds. *Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War*. New York: The New Press, 1992.
- **Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Book Award** for best scholarly book published on any aspect of American history, 1914-64

Leach, William. *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture*. New York: Pantheon, 1993.

■ **Jewish Book Council: 1994 National Jewish Book Award in Folklore and Anthropology**

Armistead, Samuel G., and Joseph Silverman. *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from Oral Tradition*. Vol. 3, *Carolingian Ballads I: Roncesvalles*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

■ **Louisiana State University Press: Jules F. Landry Award** for best manuscript submitted in the field of Southern history, biography, or literature, 1992

Jordan, Winthrop D. *Tumult and Silence at Second Creek: An Inquiry into a Civil War Slave Conspiracy*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.

■ **Mississippi University Women, Eudora Welty Prize** for best manuscript in a study related to Eudora Welty

Swain, Martha. "Ellen S. Woodward: New Deal Advocate for Women." Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

■ **Modern Language Association, Aldo and Jeanne Scarglione Prize** for the outstanding work in French and Francophone studies of 1994

Kavanagh, Thomas M. *Enlightenment and the Shadow of Chance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

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Sundquist, Eric J. *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

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■ **New York Times Book Review List of Notable Books, 1994**, in art, music and popular culture

Breslin, James E. B. *Mark Rothko: A Biography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

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King, W. D. *Henry Irving's Waterloo: Theatrical Engagements with Arthur Conan Doyle, George Bernard Shaw, Ellen Terry, Edward Gordon Craig, Late Victorian Culture, Assorted Ghosts, Old Men, and History*. Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

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Honey, Michael K. *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights: Organizing Memphis Workers*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

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■ **Southern Historical Association, Charles S. Sydnor Award** for a distinguished book in Southern history

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■ **University of Colorado: Eugene M. Kayden National University Press Book Award, 1993**, for best book in the humanities published by a university press

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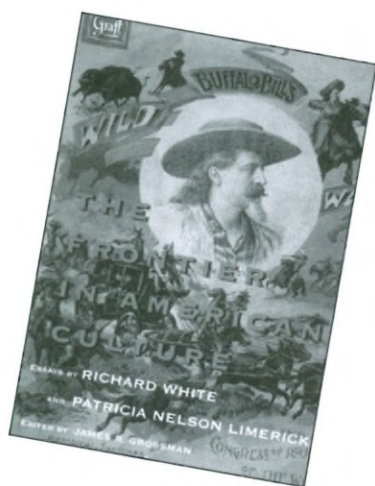
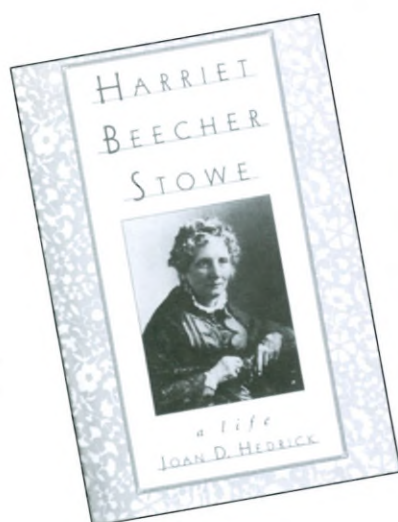
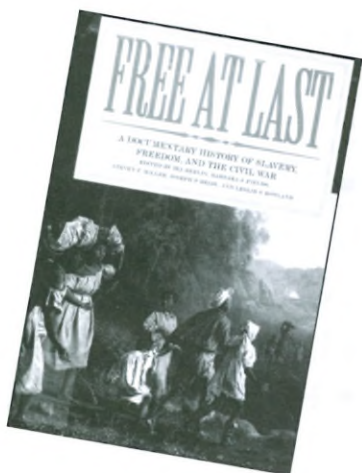
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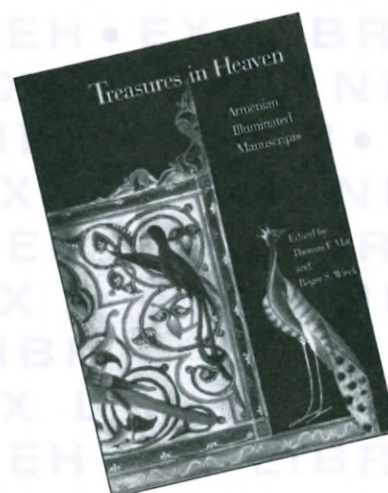
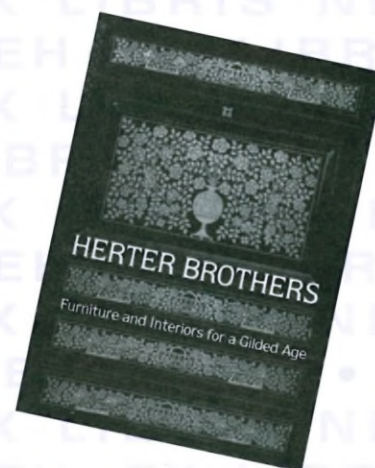
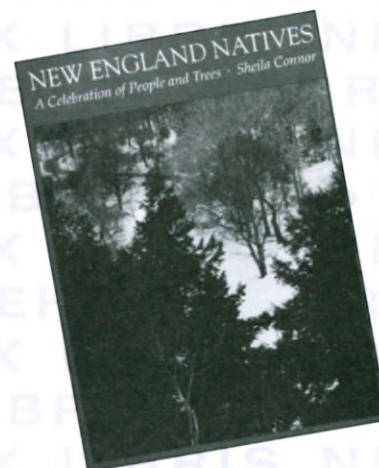
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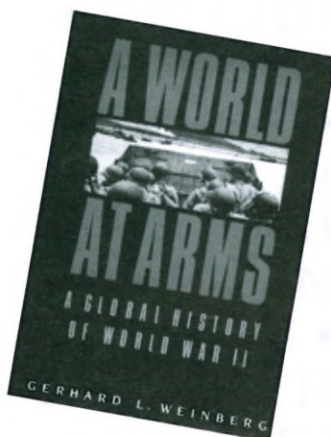
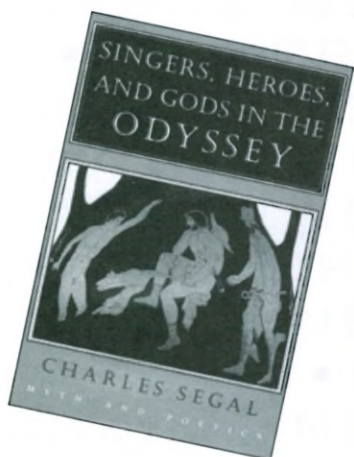
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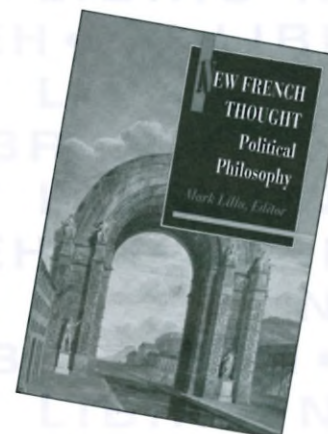
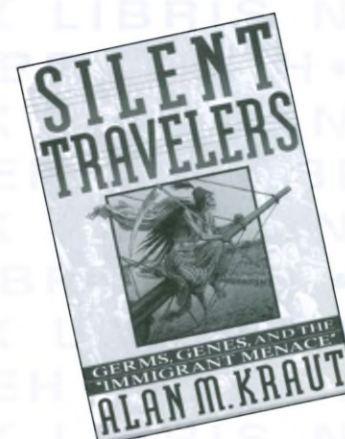


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