



Humanities

Lifeline: The Evolution of Biography

Henry James argued that all we ask of fiction, fundamentally, is that it be interesting. That, rather than significance, has also been the goal of artist-biographers, who put forth their claims for what is interesting in a life: its personal, its intimate, its idiosyncratic, its contradictory elements; its very shape.

Biography attempts to escape through self-definition the clutches of systems of meaning that disdain the random details of individual life, systems that use life-telling for lessons or theories.

Except in the nineteenth century—a period of dreadful back-sliding by the canons of post-Victorian biographical criticism—biography as a self-conscious form has willingly relinquished the dignity of history or religion, the telling of momentous public events, or of spiritual lessons. But in the process, biography has aspired to be interesting, has aspired to the dignity of art.

Although the modern tradition of biography, at least in the English-speaking world, traces its beginnings to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the form takes as its patron saint Plutarch, author of lives of Greeks and Romans who lived in the first century. Advocate of personality as a concern of life-writers, Plutarch wrote, in his preface to the *Life of Alexander*:

It must be borne in mind that my purpose is not to write histories, but lives. . . . As portrait-painters are more exact in the forms and features of the face, in which the character is seen, than in the other parts of the body, so I must be allowed to give my more particular attention to the marks and indications of the souls of men.

Here for the first time life-writing consciously separates itself from history and finds an evocative parallel in art.

What followed biography's classical period, which included Tacitus's *Life of Agricola* and Suetonius's *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, was the long, dark night of hagiography—the celebration, in the formula of saints' lives, of religious absolutes. The disinterest in human differentiation—which had its aesthetic equivalent in the iconic portrayal of saints—extended to the secular world as well. The first English biography of a layman, the *Life of Alfred the Great*, written by Bishop Asser at the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth, is a saint's life in political terms. There is, again, no sense of personality, only of idealized traits.

English biography can be said properly to begin in the era of the Renaissance with Thomas More's *History of Richard III*, written in 1513, and published in 1557. More's work, which would influence Shakespeare's characterization of the king, can by no means be considered a saint's life, secular or otherwise. Clearly motivated by malice—it was commissioned for Tudor propaganda—and frequently imaginary, particularly in its dialogue,

More's *Life of Richard III* is nonetheless an evocative portrayal of a particular man. "He was close and secret," wrote More, "a deep dissembler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly companionable where he inwardly hated, not hesitating to kiss whom he thought to kill."

More, in time, became himself the subject of a classic English biography by his son-in-law William Roper. This

Editor's Notes

"The biographer," wrote Desmond Morris, "is the novelist on oath." Although the facts cannot be invented, they can be given narrative form, re-creating for the reader the drama and meaning of a life once lived.

The Library of Congress recently undertook a survey to determine national reading preferences. It was found that more people had read a biography in the preceding six months than any other kind of book.

Small wonder! Just within the confines of these pages are people as different as Santayana and Louis Armstrong, George C. Marshall and Sylvia Beach. In each of their lives a new facet of history is revealed; we know another dimension of what it means to be human.

Perhaps the modern novel's abandonment of plot, character, and narrative line is responsible for biography's rise in popularity. The journey between birth and death is, after all, the universal experience. With its wealth of laboriously researched details, biography grows more particular—and more inviting—as the novel grows more abstract.

Is biography defined as history or literature? Good biographies join the two. Perhaps their growing attraction for readers may be explained by publisher Thomas Congdon who says, "In a world of facts, facts, facts, it's lives, lives, lives that matter."

—Judith Chayes Neiman

Humanities

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book and George Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, also written in the sixteenth century, were the first sustained narratives of individual lives written in the English language. These, although reverential and even solemn, are works of sixteenth-century humanism—reflected also in Holbein's portraiture of this time—avoiding allegorizing in the medieval style.

In the late seventeenth century, biography took its name and its first step toward modern self-recognition as a form. John Dryden, in his preface to *Plutarch's Lives, Translated from the Greek by Several Hands*, pronounced: "biographia the history of particular men's lives." Dryden allowed that biography was "inferior in dignity to history," but he hit on its central advantage: in "pleasure" it excels all other branches of history.

There is a descent into minute circumstances and trivial passages of life . . . which the dignity of (history) will not admit. There you are conducted only into the rooms of state; here you are led into the private lodgings of the hero: you see him in undress, and are made familiar with his most private actions and conversations. . . . The pageantry of life is taken away. You see the poor reasonable animal, as naked as ever nature made him; are made acquainted with his passions and follies, and find the Demi-God, a man.

This was biography seen for its own sake—for pleasure, for curiosity, for human sympathy—not construed as panegyric, or religious model, or philosophical typology.

No one of the age understood more completely, by instinct, what was interesting in people's lives than John Aubrey, who collected from 1669 to 1696, material for Anthony Wood's lives of Oxford graduates. Aubrey—whose notes showed a remarkable eye for the very traits which reveal, in Dryden's words, "the poor reasonable animal, as naked as ever nature made him"—wrote the shocked Wood in 1680:

I here lay down to you . . . the truth, and, nothing but the truth: the naked and plain truth, which is here exposed so bare that the very *pudenda* are not covered, and affords many passages that would raise a blush in a young virgin's cheek. So that after your perusal, I must desire you to make a castration . . . and to sew-on some fig-leaves.

The world, Aubrey sensed, at least the world of Oxford graduates, was not yet ready for "the naked and plain

truth." *Brief Lives*, Aubrey's notes, were not published for almost two centuries. A modern critic described Aubrey's data—filled with vivid detail told with great style—as "biographic ore," which later generations would mine.

The late seventeenth century did produce one great biographer and biographical theorist, Roger North, who argued that anyone's life could be made interesting, and wrote three masterful lives—of his brothers Francis Baron Guilford, Sir Dudley North, and Dr. John North. In an essay, unpublished until the twentieth century, North made the first full claims for biography as art. He argued that someone might "make gatherings and excerpts out of letters, books, or reports . . . but these are memorials or rather bundles of uncemented materials, but not the life." "There is," he insisted, "great art . . . in making good description of plain facts." To those who argued that only fiction could be made beautiful, "I answer," North wrote, "that the same ingredients that are usually brought to adorn fiction may come forward and be as well applied to the setting forth of truths, that is, choice of words, charming periods, interspersions of sentences, and facetious expressions."

The hunger for biography in the early eighteenth century had grown sufficiently by 1716 to warrant an attack by Joseph Addison on "a race of men lately sprung up . . . whom we cannot reflect upon without indignation. . . . These are Grub-street biographers, who watch for the death of a great man, like so many undertakers, on purpose to make a penny of him."

These were not, we can assume, all artists, but the very phenomenon of the Grub-street biographer suggests an exploding taste in the era for investigating the lives and the characters of men. The century was, of course, the age of the anecdote, and of those who constructed their lives to form them. It also marked the parallel rise of the novel and biography as independent genres. Most early novels were written as though they were biographies or autobiographies—an obvious example being *The History of Tom Jones, A Foundling*.

Samuel Johnson was the century's great biographical monument, both as writer and subject. Echoing Plutarch, Johnson pronounced that the biographer "must often pass slightly over

those performances and incidents which produce 'vulgar greatness' and lead the thoughts into domestic privacies and display the minute details of daily life." His own biographical work ranged from the pungent *Lives of the Poets*, which combined life-telling and criticism (an ongoing dilemma for biographers), to his remarkable *Life of Savage*, which, in its insistence on truth and psychological insight, is the first example of a rich, complex portrayal of a tortured, unlikable subject, viewed with honesty and human sympathy.

It is of course Johnson's life written by Boswell that provides the fullest testimony to biography's capacity for artistic realization—the one unquestioned masterpiece. It might also be argued that it is the supreme statement of its time, what one critic called a "flamboyant proclamation of the importance of an individual."

Boswell knew that he had created a masterpiece. "I am absolutely certain," he wrote in a letter to William Temple, "that my mode of biography, which gives not only a history of Johnson's visible progress through the world . . . but a view of his mind in his letters and conversations, is the most perfect that can be conceived."

Boswell, thus, gave biography its credo, and its model, and also its notoriety. The public's reaction to Boswell's commitment to write no "panegyric," but a life honestly rendered, brought to the fore a wide-ranging discussion in journals and salons about the aspirations of biography. Boswell was attacked not only for his depiction of Johnson's faults but also for his revelation of private conversations. And even those who recognized the work as a monument to Johnson, not an attempt to betray him, wondered at Boswell's appetite for the smallest details of his life.

It is possible that the very force of Boswell's achievement may have chilled the climate for biography by revealing the form, in its portrayal of human weaknesses as well as strengths, as dangerous. In any case, the nineteenth-century reaction against the eighteenth century's devotion to the truths of human nature led to what Harold Nicolson, from the vantage



point of this century, called "the catastrophic failure of Victorian biography." The Victorians, in their devotion to respectability, opened "a gap," wrote another modern critic, "between what man knew of man—the hard-won advances of three centuries—and what man permitted himself to know."

Biography again became didactic, burdened with concerns extraneous to the honest, rounded portrayal of a life. The biographer, in an age of hero-worship, produced secular saints' lives. "The history of mankind," wrote Thomas Carlyle, "is the history of its great men: to find out these, clean the dirt from them, and place them on their proper pedestals."

In technique the biographer placed his trust in documents, letters, and speeches piled on with little selection or interpretation. "The biographer," wrote the discouraged American critic Thomas Sergeant Perry "gets a dustcart into which he shovels diaries, reminiscences, old letters, until the cart is full. Then he dumps the load in front of your door. That is Vol. I. Then he goes forth again on the same errand. And there is Vol. II. Out of this rubbish the reader constructs a biography."

The nineteenth century did have its biographical classics which, allowing for the standards of the day, rank as true achievement. If the biographer avoided the inner man, the man of impulse and of emotional complexity, he could be brilliant in conveying his public impact. One of the greatest of these works was A.P. Stanley's *Life of Thomas Arnold, Head-Master of Rugby* (1844). In it there is no real sense of Arnold's private self, his conversations, his deepest thoughts, hopes and fears. "What is felt by the reader," writes A.O.J. Cockshut, "is what Stanley had felt . . . the intensity of Arnold's effect."

Benjamin Disraeli pronounced: "It is the private life that governs the world," but his insight went unheeded by biographers of his century. One exception, and an exception only in part, was J.A. Froude's epic four-volume biography of Carlyle based on his seventeen-year close friendship from 1864 to 1881.

From our vantage point, Froude struck, for the most part, the classic pose of the nineteenth-century disciple-memorialist. But there was a difference, which resulted in a furor beyond anything Boswell experienced. Froude's work, although still a formula

for heroism, was no mere tale of uplift and public glory. He revealed to his readers the tragic events of Carlyle's private life brought on, in great part, by what one critic has called "a repulsive egoism issuing in an insane irritability." Froude showed all too clearly the domestic snakepit Carlyle shared with his abused wife Jane. The resulting furor virtually buried the biography under a mound of abuse.

This is not the place to rehearse the reasons for the demise of Victorian sensibility. Suffice it to say that for biography the post-Victorian age—anti-heroic, psychological, ironic—begins with the shot fired in 1917 by Lytton Strachey, second in influence only to Boswell in shaping artistic expectations for life-writing. His preface to *Eminent Victorians* amounts to a declaration of independence for a form colonized by ponderous Victorian moralism:

Those two fat volumes, with which it is our custom to commemorate the dead—who does not know them—with their ill-digested masses of material, their slipshod style, their tone of tedious panegyric, their lamentable lack of selection, of detachment, of design? . . . How many lessons are to be learned from them? . . . To preserve, for instance, a becoming brevity—a brevity which excludes everything that is redundant and nothing that is significant—that, surely, is the first duty of the biographer. The second, no less surely, is to maintain his own freedom of spirit.

Strachey made biography more artistic, more readable, finer, but in the process he made it far more difficult to achieve. Strachey's lacquered style, his ironic detachment, his control of his materials, and his psychological insight became, as standards, clumsy in the hands of his own disciples. The post-Victorian discovery of the private, the psychological reality became too easily exercises in iconoclasm. The biographer-muckraker became a specialist in the discovery of hypocrisy, determined to diminish rather than to understand and portray.

The Strachey influence was unhealthy in another respect. In his emphasis on the artistic effect, Strachey himself, and his disciples most of all, could easily forget obligations to the honest portrayal of the material. The

Stracheyan biographer, determined not merely to fling a mass of documentation at his reader but to arrange and interpret it, often manipulated his evidence to secure a more striking effect.

Others were even more likely to succumb to the artistic temptation—frustrated, as biographers often are, by the limitations of the material available to them. André Maurois, in the twenties, began a tradition of romantic biography, very nearly fictionalized, with his *Ariel: A Shelley Romance* (1923)—which he later regretted having written. In later years Catherine Drinker Bowen would shape materials honestly researched into the impression of conversation to heighten the novel-like quality of her work. Finally, and beyond the pale, Irving Stone would produce completely fictionalized biography—such as *Lust for Life* and *The Agony and the Ecstasy*. This approach has little to do with the legitimate uses for fiction of real lives—such as Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*, Somerset Maugham's *The Moon and Sixpence*, or Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*.

But when the biographical yearning for the dignity of art was kept within bounds, it supported an outpouring of artistic energy that continues unabated. The terminology of biography became permanently wedded to art. Edmund Gosse's definition of biography, composed for the *Britannica*, has become classic: "the faithful portrait of a soul in its adventures through life." Biography, particularly biography marked by brevity and distilled characterization, is often referred to as a "portrait," or a "profile," as in the *New Yorker* tradition, or a "cameo," or a "vignette," or a "sketch" or even a "silhouette."

For all the achievements and vigor of the new biography, serious questions remain. The ambitious biographer has made himself a specialist of the inner man, but the question must be raised—how much can we know of him? The Victorians knew what they did not want to know and set rather effective guidelines for what they could know. They believed in the public man, the man of record, and found it rather easy



James Boswell, 1740 - 1795



Samuel Johnson, 1709 - 1784



Benjamin Disraeli, 1804 - 1881



to deliver him up to posterity. But in our psychological age, the biographer needs to know more—the motives, the masks, the knowledge a man keeps hidden from himself, the struggle and mystery of personality. “We know,” as James Clifford has argued “that every man who has ever lived works from his own set of symbols and responses to them, that he has his own subconscious motivations and drives. The question is whether a biographer can possibly discover these fundamental forces in his subject.”

In his search for tools for the discovery of the inner life, the biographer is apt to misuse psychoanalysis. Yet the great biographer must be sensitive to its possibilities. “Our success,” writes Leon Edel, author of the masterful five-volume biography of Henry James, “will depend entirely on the extent to which we use these shining new tools . . . We must beware of jargon. . . . What we must try to do is to translate the terms in a meaningful way and into language proper to ourselves. Critics who babble of the Oedipus complex do . . . a disservice both to literature and to psychoanalysis.”

Thus the biographer yearns to understand but proceeds with caution, using his tools suggestively, searching out evidence by intelligence and instinct. He does not, if he aspires to art, capitulate to the biography of little risk, the dry, documentary “laundry-list” version—biographies that resist selectivity, that attempt only the documentation not the *simulation* of a life. That, in the end, is what the biographer-artist seeks to achieve, admitting what he cannot know, coping with gaps of evidence, with the disorder of human existence, and the anarchy of personality. He must, if he can, create out of these bits and pieces an artistic whole—a coherent vision of a life—one not merely told to, but experienced by his reader.

If he is without talent, he will achieve very little. Hugh Kenner has written that “biography is finally fiction, and, save in the most trustworthy hands, it works the way imperfect fiction does, filling sag with cellulite generalities when the data continuity requires are lacking.” Filling that sag, that gap, is precisely the biographer’s problem of form—and it is to the extent to which he can fill it with fealty both to historical truth and to literary standards that he can lay his claim to artistic achievement.

Perhaps in the end, with his obligations to fact and his aspirations to art, the biographer struggles with the impossible. “The invented character,” Virginia Woolf once wrote, “lives in a free world where the facts are verified by one person only—the artist himself. Their authenticity lies in the truth of his own vision. The world created by that vision is rarer, intenser, and more wholly of a piece than the world that is largely made of authentic information supplied by other people. . . . The artist’s imagination at its most intense fires out what is perishable in fact; he builds with what is durable; but the biographer must accept the perishable, build with it, imbed it in the very fabric of his work.”

But, for all that, Woolf gives the biographer his due, and his hope as an artist:

By telling us the true facts, by sifting the little from the big, and shaping the whole so that we perceive the outline, the biographer does more to stimulate the imagination than any poet or novelist save the greatest. For few poets and novelists are capable of that high degree of tension which gives us reality. . . . [The biographer] can give us the creative fact; the fertile fact; the fact that suggests and engenders.

—Marc Pachter

Marc Pachter is historian of the National Portrait Gallery and the editor of *Telling Lives: The Biographer’s Art*.



Virginia Woolf, 1882 - 1941

LIVES THAT MATTER

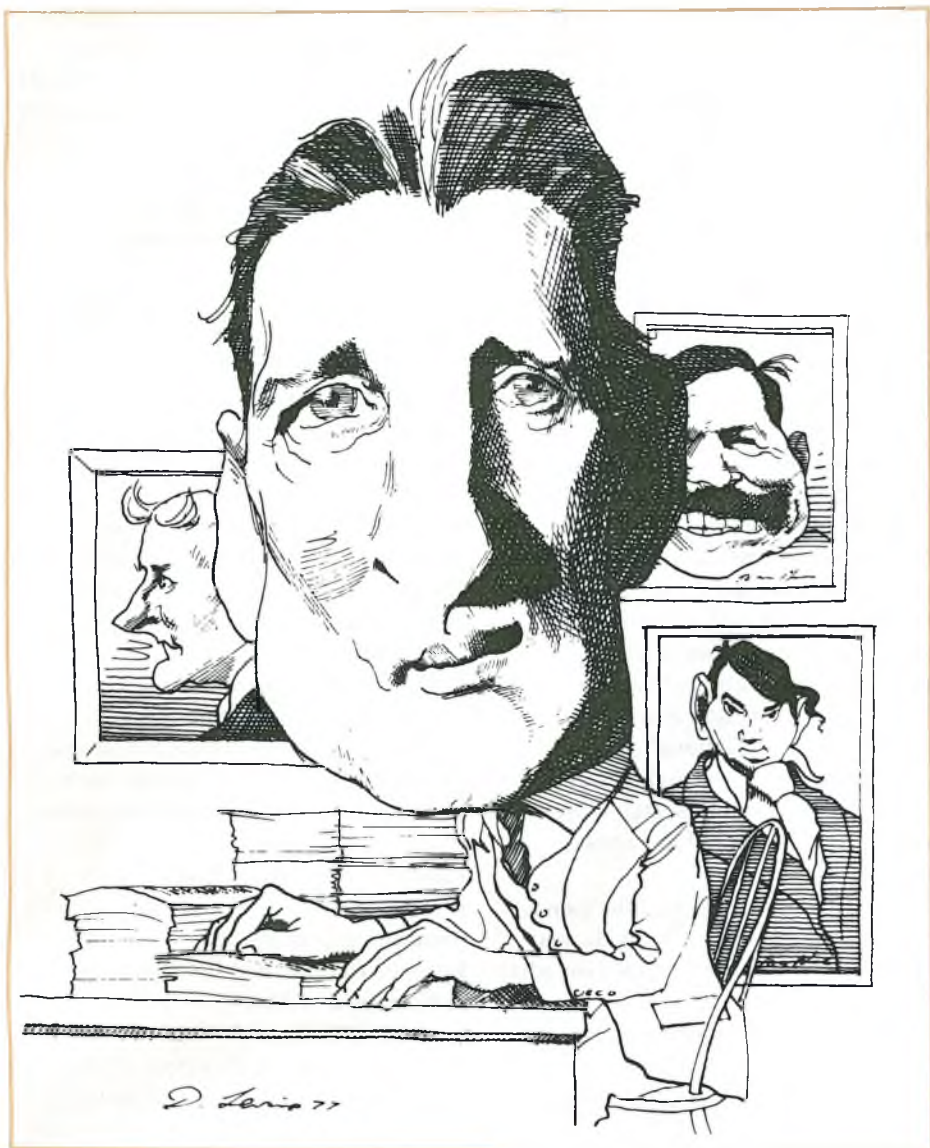
If there were a rest home for aged editors, as there are for garment workers, merchant seamen, and movie makers, two of the books I’d recall with the most pleasure, as I sat in my rocker reviewing my publishing past, would be a biography—A. Scott Berg’s *Max Perkins: Editor of Genius*—and an autobiography, Russell Baker’s *Growing Up*. There is something about the notable life wonderfully recounted that is hard to beat, even by fine fiction. The novelist has latitudes in story-telling and characterization that the biographer does not. So when a writer *does* manage to get an actual human being’s existence between covers successfully, in a sort of Pandora-in-reverse, it is always a tour de force, and a thrill for the editor cheering from the sidelines.

Biography is not often the route to big money in publishing; small-to-medium is more likely. And publishers, like other entrepreneurs, care about money. (It’s fitting that in the past several years, many publishing houses have moved into Manhattan’s garment district.) Yet as editors shuffle through the manuscripts and proposals in the morning’s mail, they are inclined to snatch out and immediately to examine the prospect biographical. Like readers in general, editors tend toward the vicarious approach to experience. Biographies promise them intimacy with the sort of people they don’t often meet at the shopping mall, people who, through a book, can nourish one’s life and one’s understanding. But for editors, it goes beyond that; there is the challenge of finding The New One, what Maxwell Perkins used to call “the

real thing.”

When an author suggests a really good subject for a biography, a question instantly pops into my mind: “Why didn’t I think of that?” It is followed, a moment later, by this question: “Isn’t there already a biography of this person?” And then: “Why not?” Publishers are wary of voids. If this life under consideration is so marvelous and important, perhaps it hasn’t already been done because it’s undoable. Perhaps all the best source material is in the hands of a hostile estate. Perhaps once the author starts “digging,” the subject proves to be detestable or, worse, a bore. On the other hand, maybe not; maybe the author is both smart and lucky.

So it proved in the case of the Max Perkins book. Perkins, the great editor and discoverer of writers like Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Thomas Wolfe, James Jones and many others, had attracted many would-be chroniclers, but none managed to win over Perkins’s heirs, his daughters, whose cooperation was obviously essential. The daughters, however, had seen no harm in helping a Princeton student named Scott Berg, who in 1971, under the guidance of Hemingway biographer Carlos Baker, was doing his senior thesis on Perkins. Berg’s thesis won the prize, which encouraged him to keep going and to try to expand it into a book. The Perkins daughters were also encouraged, in that the thesis demonstrated what they already sensed: this twenty-one-year-old lad had a perfect feel for Max Perkins—who he was, what he represented. And so Berg wrote on. When I



Max Perkins and some of his famous authors: Fitzgerald, Hemingway, and Wolfe.

met him and learned he was writing a life of the hallowed Perkins, I (cautiously) jumped. What is this "perfect feel" one senses in a writer that is so very difficult to articulate? Reading Berg's expanded thesis, I too felt that, like Perkins himself, Berg "treated literature as a matter of life and death."

It took four years for Berg to teach himself his craft, but he learned it well. The opening chapter, for example, does not begin at the beginning of Perkins's life. Instead, we first see the editor at sixty-one addressing a New York University extension course on publishing. During the course of the lecture, the reader understands the reverence for Perkins's work, the esteem in which he is held by the students who have come to hear him. Through their questions, we know at once why his life commands our attention, the role he has played in discovering and nurturing many of the most important literary works of this century. And we know why he feels that "There is nothing so important as a book can be." Max Perkins won an American Book Award.

The answer to the second question is often, "Well, there have in fact already been several biographies of" The hopeful biographer then must show that an additional one is needed. When my partner Peter Weed signed Scott Donaldson's *Fool for Love*, he knew that there had been many biographies of F. Scott Fitzgerald; but Donaldson had an interesting approach—the effect of women and an obsession with romantic love on Fitzgerald's writing. Much of Donaldson's material had been pre-

sented before, but his thesis cast it in a new light, so that we saw new things. Philip M. Stern's biography of Robert Oppenheimer was not the first (though it was, in fact, the first biography I ever published), but Stern chose to look at the life in terms of the shameful trial of Oppenheimer in 1954 as a security risk—an approach that put everything in an original and revealing perspective. Erwin Rommel had been portrayed a number of times, but I was intrigued when David Irving wanted to write about him. Rommel was a German general thought to be anti-Nazi; Irving is a British historian thought by some to be soft on Nazis. Neither supposition was entirely correct. (Rommel was an opportunist, and Irving, a good writer, is first and foremost a controversialist, a contrarian—such people must be heard.) I believed that a fascinating piece of demythologizing could come from the match between author and subject. And so it did. Rommel, it turned out, was not the heroic figure James Mason gave us in *The Desert Fox*. He had curried favor with Hitler throughout, and his support of the anti-Hitler conspiracy was tepid if it existed at all. His murder by Hitler was not so much an outrage as an irony. As expected, Irving relished the expression of this contrary view.

There are so many different kinds of biographies—from simple story-telling, to the relentlessly psychoanalytical, to the awesomely archival. "An endless recitation of facts, facts, facts," an author wrote to me recently about his proposed book, "may have little relation to the truth, and my feeling is that

when a biographer becomes a compiler, an essential undercurrent sense of spontaneity and excitement and strong narrative flow is sacrificed to pedantic scholarship." I sympathize. And yet there are biographies that, while not especially readable, are of great value not only to scholars but to future biographers. Compilation is crucial to civilization. On the other hand, a commercial publisher is usually glad to leave that civilized task to university presses.

At the other end of the spectrum is the "show-biz" biography. If you doubt the power of a life recorded, consider that one of the most widely read books next year will be the biography of an androgynous young singer named Michael Jackson. My view is that the subject isn't what makes the show-biz biography often meretricious; it is the intent and the treatment. I had never published one—until the Steve McQueen biography recently issued from our presses. In the years before he died, McQueen poured out his story to a writer named William Nolan; Nolan brought the McQueen book to me. I read it and began to understand the principle of McQueen's appeal as an American anti-hero—and perhaps, a bit more about the nation that produced him.

Unpredictability is basic to publishing, and part of what makes it such a maddening, lively game. In choosing biographies to publish, there is a consideration beyond the subject, beyond the material, beyond the analysis of the competition. It is the author himself. The material may be fine from every point of view—but is this author the right person to write this particular book? Does this biographer have passion, and is it a passion well-harnessed and also appropriate to the subject? Without passion for the subject, no

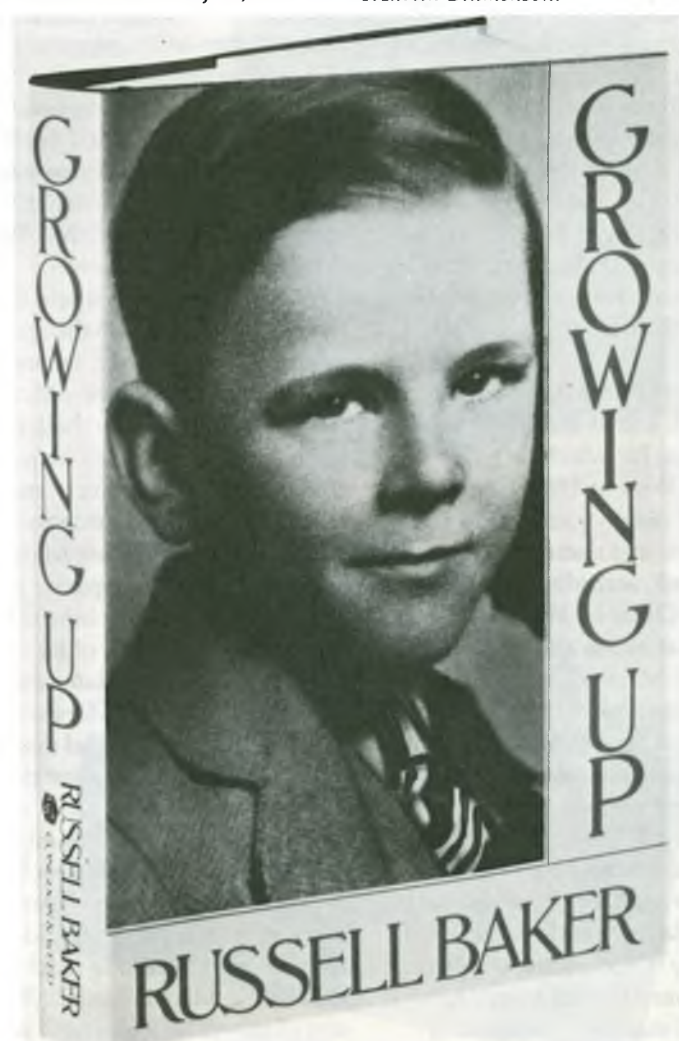
writer could bring himself to make the enormous overinvestment of time and energy that good biographers routinely make, tracking down the smallest scrap, the most remote testimony. Without passion, the biographer could not surmount the obstacles—the obdurate lack of cooperation, even outright obstruction. It was the appealing glow of Scott Berg's passion for Max Perkins that persuaded Perkins's friend Elizabeth Lemmon to bring Berg into her confidence. She had dealt perfunctorily with the distinguished biographers of Perkins's famous authors when they had come to her for tidbits. But something about Scott Berg impelled her to tell it all to him—and then to haul out the shoebox full of letters from Perkins that revealed their enduring though (alas) platonic love affair. (Berg calls them "my Aspern papers.")

To hear a first-rate biographer speak about his subject is to sense passion at work. David McCullough on Theodore Roosevelt, James Flexner on Washington, Sam Schoenbaum on Shakespeare—listening to them we envy their passionate experience. Reading them, we share in it.

It's not hard to intellectualize the art of biography. The biographer is our minstrel, singing to us of heroes and villains, relaying and refining our agreements on the nature of humankind and of virtue, and in the course of it, entertaining us down to our socks. But perhaps it's simpler than that. In a world of "facts, facts, facts," it's lives, lives, lives that matter.

—Thomas Congdon

Mr. Congdon, a partner in Congdon & Weed, is the publisher of *Growing Up* by Russell Baker and numerous other biographies and autobiographies, including the forthcoming Mark Clark: *Last of The Great World War II Commanders* by Martin Blumenson.





A Very Private, Public Man

In March 1945, Winston Churchill sent a radio message to Field Marshal Wilson, chief of the British Mission in Washington: "Pray . . . give . . . [General Marshall] my warmest congratulations on the magnificent fighting and conduct of the American and Allied Armies under General Eisenhower, and say what a joy it must be to him to see how the armies he called into being by his own genius have won immortal renown. He is the true 'organizer of victory.'"

As organizer of the Allied victory in World War II and as architect of the Marshall Plan, for which he won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1953, George Catlett Marshall not only served his country with honor and distinction, but saved it as well, according to General of the Army Omar N. Bradley: "I am convinced that by his ability and foresight General Marshall saved this country at least a year. Invasion of Europe a year later surely would have jeopardized our chances of winning. This is the year that may well have rewritten history."

A man who placed duty foremost, Marshall's strength of character and his talents as a planner on the largest scale were severely tested during the war and the recovery that followed. As army chief of staff, he succeeded in

building the army and army air forces from a combined strength of less than 200,000 men in the summer of 1939 to 8.3 million in 1945. Marshall's quiet, methodical approach to financing, equipping, training, and deploying these troops stands in sharp contrast to the more colorful personalities of the time—Roosevelt, Churchill, Patton, Montgomery, Eisenhower.

Writing about this intensely private person presented a challenge to biographer Forrest C. Pogue, whose fourth and final volume in the official biography of George C. Marshall, researched with NEH support, will be published in 1985. It took the urging of many friends as well as Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, before Marshall agreed in 1956 to cooperate with Pogue in recording, on tape, information about the high points of his career as a soldier, secretary of state, and secretary of defense. Even so, Marshall's reluctance to discuss personal matters left little room for fleshing out the portrait of his official life.

"Some of my critics claim I have failed to reach the real man," Pogue says. "Unless a person writes a private diary or cries on your shoulder about something, it is hard to reach that private being. Marshall couldn't keep that sort of diary. He was a man who didn't

wear his heart on his sleeve, and he was not given to much introspection. If I would mention that in a book 'so and so says this about you,' he would reply, 'well, people say things to sell books.'"

In 1956-57 General Marshall recorded on tape some forty hours of answers and comments in response to questions submitted by Pogue. In addition, Marshall talked to his biographer about fifteen hours without a tape recorder with part of these comments recorded by a secretary. Aided by earlier research he had done on the official account of General Eisenhower's command in northwest Europe in 1944-45, Pogue conducted more than 300 interviews with Marshall's friends and former associates, supplementing this information with letters, photographs, clippings, Marshall's correspondence, the diaries of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson and others, official papers in the National Archives, personal papers in the archives at the George C. Marshall Research Library, and official histories of the armed services.

At one point during the interviews, Marshall asked Pogue, "How do you know whether you can depend on what I tell you?"

Pogue replied that he based about every tenth question on answers Marshall had earlier supplied in congressional testimony or from official records. "I would ask him that precise question, having already noted the answer from his previous testimony or papers, and his answer would usually be exactly the same as it had been. He was likely to remember exact statistics and repeat the same illustrations he had used ten or fifteen years earlier."

Trained as a historian, Pogue found biography difficult. "If you have a Proust, you can put into your work a lot of color and feeling—the same with a Patton or a Montgomery—because these were colorful characters, and it's easy then to fill in colorful detail. But I couldn't get colorful facts about Marshall. I talked to a lot of people, but I never found a bit of gossip about him, and he never had a bit of gossip about other people."

On one occasion Pogue was muffled up in an overcoat against the cold when he went to see Marshall. The general remarked, "You look just like John Foster Dulles."

"Is that good?" Pogue inquired, hoping the general would provide a personal opinion.

"Well, when a man has faced cancer and gotten through it bravely, you have to respect it," Marshall answered, deflecting the opportunity to say something critical of Dulles.

Marshall, who graduated as First Captain of his class at Virginia Military Institute, belonged to the school of military men who did not involve themselves in politics as a matter of principle. Not that he kept his politics to himself, but he simply did not *have* politics. He was fond of saying that his father was a Democrat, his mother a Republican, and he himself an Episcopalian. According to Pogue, the fact that Marshall did not concern himself

with politics led him to offer little self-defense in the Pearl Harbor hearings because of his conviction that the target was Roosevelt. In the same spirit, when asked by Truman to serve as secretary of defense, he warned the President that he would be a weakness, rather than a strength, to Truman because of the attacks then being made on Marshall and others in the State Department for having "lost" China.

In describing his historical methods, Pogue says that he learned history in an old-fashioned way by reading first the volumes in his grandfather's library and continuing that reading throughout his life. Pogue has read an enormous amount of biography. "I tend to look at the people that shape history, rather than use the 'common man' approach of modern methods. I never became a believer in the notion that economic factors determine history. Economic factors undoubtedly affect the course of history, but it's a mistake to say men do not have the capacity to change history. . . . Looking back over one thousand years of history, some might say it was not affected by individuals, but you can't ignore the effect of men on history. If Patton had been chief of staff instead of Marshall, things would have been different."

As far as Marshall's effect on the course of history, Pogue admits that it is probably nothing more than the fact that Marshall, with his particular strengths and abilities, appeared at the ideal time. It was a most difficult time for Marshall, however, because of his constant struggles to awaken a sleeping country to the dangers that threatened it. In the prewar years, Marshall's efforts to establish an adequate national defense program required an unrelenting campaign to win support from the White House, Congress, and the American public. Once the money was appropriated, Marshall turned his attention to building troop strength in the army and air corps while continuing to make arms available to allies abroad. With the outbreak of war, he worked to establish the principle of unified command and shaped a strategy for defeating the principal enemy, Germany, while holding off the Japanese threat in the Pacific.

"Marshall learned a lot about people because of his earlier assignments to training commands," says Pogue. "He had an uncanny knack for picking the right men. He played a key role in the selection of Ike, Bradley, MacArthur, Patton, Stilwell, any number of other people that he knew would be good for the war effort. I count 169 future generals out of those Marshall had trained or who were on his staff. But he was more of a planner than a commander. He never had a chance to lead troops."

Early in his childhood, Marshall showed concern about the proper exercise of leadership. He and a friend built a raft to cross a creek near their homes. They charged the girls in the neighborhood 1¢ or 2¢ a ride so they could cross the creek without getting their shoes wet. One day, the girls announced that they wouldn't pay and wanted to be

ferried across for nothing. Momentarily at a loss but not wanting to give in to the girls' demands, Marshall pondered what to do to remain in control of the situation. Finally, he sank the raft. He told this story often later in life to illustrate the importance of remaining in authority when cast in a leadership role.

His experiences in the first world war refined his convictions on this point and led Marshall to develop a theory of leadership that reveals much about his own character:

To be a highly successful leader in war four things are essential, assuming that you possess good common sense, have studied your profession and are physically strong.

When conditions are difficult, the command is depressed and everyone seems critical and pessimistic, you must be especially cheerful and optimistic.

When evening comes and all are exhausted, hungry and possibly dispirited, . . . you must put aside any thought of personal fatigue and display marked energy in looking after the comfort of your organization, inspecting your lines and preparing for tomorrow.

Make a point of extreme loyalty, in thought and deed, to your chiefs personally; and in your efforts to carry out their plans or policies, the less you approve the more energy you must direct to their accomplishment.

The more alarming and disquieting the reports received or the conditions viewed in battle, the more determined must be your attitude. Never ask for the relief of your unit and never hesitate to attack.

That he acted on his own advice throughout his career is most evident in Marshall's handling of his biggest personal disappointment. More than anything else, Marshall wanted to be the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe. Secretary of War Stimson urged him to lay aside his customary humility and pursue the position with all diligence if he wanted it. However, it became clear to Marshall that Roosevelt needed his presence in Washington. Marshall could get Congress to do more for the war effort than even the President could at times. In addition, Roosevelt saw a threat in General MacArthur's constant complaints to Congress of being deprived of support. Eisenhower, who had worked for MacArthur for seven years, would have had difficulty exercising authority over MacArthur. Although Stimson himself thought Marshall should be Allied Commander to counteract Churchill's hesitancy about a cross-channel invasion, many others believed Marshall could not be as effective in that role as he could be in Washington, dealing with Congress, the public, MacArthur, Stilwell, and the British.

A dozen years later, Marshall's account to Pogue of his most supreme act of self-denial showed little emotion:

As I recall [Mr. Roosevelt] . . . asked me after a great deal of beating about the bush just what I wanted to do. Evidently it was left up to me. Well, . . . I just repeated again in as convincing language as I could that I wanted him to feel free to act in whatever way he felt was to the best interest of the country and to his satisfaction and not in any way to consider my feelings. . . . Then he evidently assumed that concluded the affair and that I would not command in Europe. Because he said, "Well, I didn't feel I could sleep at ease if you were out of Washington."

Pogue thinks that Marshall will be remembered more for the Marshall Plan than for his role as "organizer of victory." Even though some revisionists say that the Marshall Plan was never a humanitarian gesture but, rather, a selfish weapon against the Soviet Union or, some think, an attempt to capture European markets, Marshall

saw it as an attempt to revive and unify Europe. Having seen the devastation in Germany and France after World War I, Marshall had warned that not to build up the war-torn countries was to "invite Bolshevism" to take hold.

Pogue has concluded that the essence of the Marshall Plan was not in handing over money—"because you can't expect to resolve economic disorder by handing out money"—but that Europe had to help itself first. Marshall was firm in the conviction that the initiative must come from Europe. "Europe must say to us, 'we can do this, we have these resources, etc.,' and then tell us what it needs from us." The boldness of Marshall's concept was in encouraging the Europeans to work together. Out of that cooperation came the European Community and NATO.

It would be easy to conclude that General Marshall's strict standards of personal conduct and highly developed sense of duty created a barrier against personal friendships. It is true that he did not allow his friendships to keep him from what he thought was right for the country. When he determined that someone had failed (and very often this failure was an officer's attempt to avoid an unwanted assignment), Marshall did not offer much of a second chance for redemption. But Marshall, the private person, had an extraordinary fondness for children. Among the mass of speeches, memoranda, official documents, war plans, and correspondence in the papers of this most public figure can also be found field orders for a war game conducted by the children of his friends and a poem, handwritten on two-by-three-inch pieces of paper to Marshall's god-daughter Rose Page:

I
A little girl I strive to please
Is very shy, but likes to tease
And tell all sorts of funny jokes
about all kinds of curious folks.

II
She likes to ride and dance and coast
But better still to butter toast
and smear it deep with honey sweet
and sit and eat and eat and eat.

III
I think some time along in spring
She'll eat so much of everything
Her dresses all will spread and split
and open out to make a fit.

IV
And then perhaps she'll look right thin
with strips of dress and streaks of skin
I think she'll look real odd like that
With nothing whole except her hat.

Commenting in the preface to his third volume of Marshall's biography, Pogue writes, "I have been forced to conclude that biography is not the same as history and that one may sometimes better grasp the nature of one's subject by subordinating the details of historical narrative to the impact of the individual on a given con-

ference or on a precise event. Such focus on a specific character . . . may lead at times to upstaging equally prominent or even more prominent performers. But any neglect of Roosevelt and Churchill has long since been corrected either by their admirers or by themselves; . . . Inasmuch as I have lived with General Marshall's papers since 1956, . . . I am of course more cognizant of his services and his explanations for his actions than I am of those of any other World War II leader. . . . As a result, I have a bias in favor of my subject. This I can mitigate

only by a presentation of the evidence that led me to my conclusions. I can only cite my healthy regard for the careful eye of critical theses writers of a later era—a breed whose latent threat and severe accounting makes more honest men of all of us who deal with history."

—Caroline Taylor

"Final Volume of Biography of General George C. Marshall"/Forrest C. Pogue/George C. Marshall Research Foundation, Lexington, VA/\$29,700 OR; \$95,000 FM/1977-81/Project Research



(top to bottom) General Marshall surrounded by Allied troops in World War II. General Charles De Gaulle is welcomed to Washington by General George C. Marshall. As Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, General Marshall flies to the Italian theater in an observation plane, 1944.



One New Year's Eve in the early 1900s, a teen-aged black male was picked up by police for shooting off a revolver in the streets of New Orleans.

The lawmen carted the indigent youth off to a reformatory called the Colored Waifs' Home, where his life's choices seemed to crystallize: Cooperate with the dominant white authorities, or perhaps spend much of his adult life behind bars or on the run from police dogs.

The teenager, nicknamed "Dippermouth" and "Gatemouth" for his facial appearance, joined the local Boystown's brass band. He traded in his pistol for the trumpet and the cornet. And for the first time in his turbulent life, the boy became Somebody.

In later years, he acquired a different sobriquet—"Satchmo"—though he never strayed far from his horn. Louis Armstrong became a celebrity known throughout the world, and one of the most influential musicians of the twentieth century.

"He is the Bach of jazz," says James Lincoln Collier, who recently completed a highly acclaimed Armstrong biography with NEH support. A professional jazz brass player himself, Collier describes with scholarly precision how Armstrong radically transformed jazz from an ensemble exercise to a so-

loist's delight. Collier also traces Armstrong's mid-life metamorphosis from daring artist to the consummate clown who parodied himself in *Hello, Dolly!*

But Collier writes that behind that buffooning, mugging, eye-popping grin, Armstrong remained haunted by sadness and self-doubt, driven to seek approval from white audiences in the way that some of his boyhood companions relied on a heroin fix. "Anyone can steal anything," Armstrong once said, "except my applause."

That insecurity began early. Collier explains that Armstrong was born under the reign of Jim Crow, "in a culture in which blacks by custom and law were kept in semi-slavery," in a city where the papers would refer to a "Negro barbecue" much as Hamlet would describe Polonius' "supper."

Soon after Armstrong's birth, his father deserted the family and his mother turned to prostitution to support herself. Young Louis was raised by his grandmother in a one-story wooden shanty planted in a ghetto infamous for gunfights and drug addiction. Without a father-protector, Louis hustled, conned and stole to bring in some money—generally from the whites who had most of it. Notes Collier: "For an Armstrong, whites were what the woods are to a wild animal. They were

the environment in which you got your living."

In an era without television or big-time professional sports, young blacks had no choice of heroes except hustlers—or musicians. And after two years in the waifs' home, Louis knew which one he would emulate.

If New Orleans had its squalid side, it also was the most musical city in the nation, teeming with orchestras, marching bands, dance groups, opera companies and even a Negro Philharmonic Society.

A reformed Louis plunged into the musical milieu, serving an apprenticeship as a trumpeter in city bars and bordellos and on Mississippi riverboats. A product of his neighborhood, which Collier says "was in the business of passion," Armstrong learned to play with uninhibited emotion.

In 1922, the journeyman Armstrong was lured to Chicago to play second cornet in the orchestra of his idol, Joe "King" Oliver, leader of the first great black band to make records. Louis remained until 1925, when he went to New York for several months as a featured soloist with Fletcher Henderson's band. There, he became a star in his own right, cutting records and becoming the idol of horn players like Harry James.

Armstrong returned in triumph to Chicago in late 1925, organizing his own jazz groups—including the "Hot Fives" and "Hot Sevens"—in which he starred as solo instrumentalist. He broke free from the conventions of New Orleans ensemble playing, and his trumpet became famous for inventiveness, rhythmic daring, improvisatory freedom and clarity of tone.

In the late 1920s, these groups made dozens of recordings, which musician-author Collier describes in admiring detail: "Hot jazz at its most fiery . . . fresh and shining as sunlight dancing on moving water." And yet Collier observes that Armstrong's most famous work, "West End Blues," contains "the sadness of a mature man who, however he laughs [and] clowns . . . knows that there is no reasoning with pain, grief and death."

White audiences packed Arm-

strong's club appearances throughout this period, as admirers included legendary musicians like Benny Goodman and Tommy and Jimmy Dorsey.

But even as he was reaching the pinnacle of success, Armstrong began changing his style, adding bits of comedy and gravel-throated song. As Collier describes it, the virtuoso brass player reached a "fork in the road" in 1929, as he moved again to New York and began singing the now-famous "Ain't Misbehavin'" number in the Broadway review *Hot Chocolates*.

His manager Joe Glaser encouraged him to clown and "make faces . . . Forget all the goddam critics, the musicians. Play for the public. Sing and play and smile. Smile, goddamit, smile. Give it to them." And so Armstrong did for the rest of his career, despite frequent charges that he had become an "Uncle Tom" pandering to the white crowds.

"No artist," says Collier of Armstrong's later years, "so failed his own talent." Yet Collier sympathetically explains that Armstrong's youth left him "afflicted with deep and well-entrenched insecurity" that he could never shake. "But he could quench that relentless, sickening interior assault on his self-respect, at least temporarily, by performing, standing up there before those dozens or thousands or millions of people and playing and singing and smiling and mugging and soaking up the healing applause."

Collier adds that men from the ghetto like Armstrong basically thought of themselves as hustlers and survivors rather than artists. "A man like Armstrong, who had picked food out of refuse cans and had never seen an indoor toilet until he was out of his teens, was hardly likely to starve in a garret for art."

But despite Armstrong's worldwide fame, surprisingly little had been done to examine or explain his life before Collier's research, supported by an NEH fellowship. Collier began the biography at the request of Oxford University Press, which perceived a major void in Armstrong scholarship. Collier acknowledges there were several previous biographies—including two books ghost-written for Armstrong—but says



Louis Armstrong clowning with a skeleton in a scene from *Pennies from Heaven*.

"a lot of it was just p.r. stuff—it wasn't very good."

Piecing together the details of Armstrong's life was a little like assembling a giant jigsaw puzzle. The jazz master came from a culture where little was written down—nothing, in fact, exists in writing about Armstrong before his late teens.

Critical to Collier's investigation were interviews with dozens of musicians who played with Armstrong or were a part of the music business in speakeasy days. More puzzle pieces were provided by oral histories stored at Rutgers University. Collier filled in the gaps through months of reading contemporaneous accounts of Armstrong's exploits in the black and trade press, even flying to London to peruse early editions of a periodical called *Melody Maker* not available in the United States.

In the process, Collier has debunked two of jazz's most popular myths. One alleged that jazz was chiefly a "folk music" of sorts for blacks, while the other held that Europeans were far ahead of white Americans in understanding this musical revolution.

"Jazz had a white audience right from the start," says Collier. "It wasn't simply folk music, but a part of that highly commercialized enterprise we call show business." Myth number two was torpedoed by the *Melody Maker*, which shows that Europeans, in fact, lagged behind Americans in jazz appreciation much the way Americans now may be trailing their European counterparts in use of a more recent show-business commodity, the video cassette recorder.

Were he alive today, Armstrong might well be making VCR tapes, but he'd probably still be making live appearances.

Even in his seventies, Armstrong never lost his lust for the crowds. Scheduled for a gig at New York's Waldorf Astoria, Armstrong was advised to cancel by a doctor who found him gasping for breath during an examination.

"Doc, you don't understand," said the Bach of jazz. "My whole life, my whole soul, my whole spirit is to blooow that hooorn . . . the people are waiting for me. I got to do it, Doc, I got to do it."

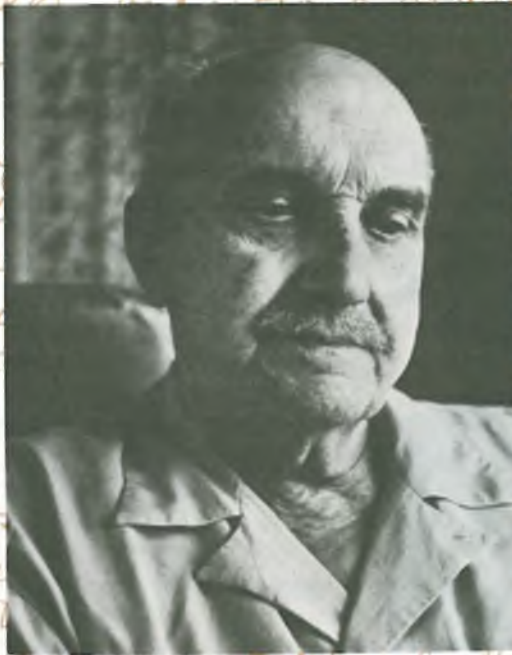
Louis went on. But after a television reviewer panned his performance, Armstrong remained so insecure that he pleaded with his agent to keep arranging bookings. "After all the adulation," notes Collier, "so little faith did he have in his own worth that he could be destroyed by one hasty review tossed off by an obscure commentator. . . . Nothing he had done had finally healed that wound carved into him in boyhood."

Satchmo never played another gig. Two months later, he died, even as he was planning to hit the road again in search of applause.

—Francis J. O'Donnell

"Biography of Louis Armstrong"/James L. Collier/NYC/\$22,000/1982/Fellowships for Independent Study and Research

floor at number 4, Avenue de l'Opera
place was clean and quiet, no noise
nothing but sky and a wall of tile
ble from the windows. The salon is
decorated in the style of Louis XV
with panels of tapestries. It
to be renewed, painted, pan
all white, things, naples
chained" Eu
sort usually
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ered with
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ole wall.
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ong habit it
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s always thinking of going somewhere
a change..
To tell his whole life history, an
t of his daughter would require volu
th profound knowledge of familie
id circles that I have never frequ
would carry me too far from the p
id places that have left a mark in
my mind. I therefore bequeath the s
non novelist that it might be



An Exile by Nature

From a man so frequently accused of pessimism, one might expect a voice less serene than the one that tells George Santayana's autobiography, written when he was in his eighties in the solitude of the Blue Sisters' Nursing Home near the Santo Stefano Rotondo in Rome. "If clearness about things produces a fundamental despair," he writes, "a fundamental despair in turn produces a remarkable clearness or even playfulness about ordinary matters."

His philosophy, which he taught at Harvard during its turn-of-the-century "Golden Age," was based on the inevitable separation of the ideal from existence. But in his final retreat, removed from "odious Progress" and from most worldly things, Santayana surveys his life with ironic good humor in a style that reminds the reader that sixty years before, as a serious and solitary student of philosophy at Harvard, he helped to found the *Lampoon*:

. . . mankind, let us hope, will dwindle and die more contented than it ever was when it waxed and struggled. I at least have found that old age is the time for happiness, even for enjoying in retrospect the years of youth that were so distracted in their day; and I seem to detect a certain sardonic defiance, a sort of pride, in the whining old beggars that look so wretched as they stretch out a trembling hand for a penny.

They are not dead yet; they can hold together in spite of everything; and they are not deceived about you, you well-dressed young person. Your new shoes pinch you, and you are secretly racked by hopeless desires.

The three-volume autobiography, *Persons and Places*, will be told in a truer voice when MIT Press publishes it next spring, the first in a twenty-volume series of Santayana's works being restored and edited with NEH support under the direction of Herman J. Saatkamp, Jr., at the University of Tampa.

"We are publishing a book that is strikingly different from the other published forms," Saatkamp says. The editor believes that *Persons and Places* is perhaps the most flawed of Santayana's work in print. He cites, for example, the omission from the printed work of four manuscript pages that clarify Santayana's debt to Spinoza, and that also explain Santayana's charge that "limitations . . . destroy the authority of his judgment in moral matters." These lost pages contain a strange statement for a man as insulated from his fellows as Santayana, where he commits Spinoza to a group of "rebels, disinherited and solitary, (whom) the world may admire but cannot follow. . . . They have studied human nature by looking at the stars."

The circumstances of the original publication of the autobiography make understandable some of its errors. Europe was again at war when Santayana was writing his memoirs in the Italian nursing home. John Hall Wheelock, Santayana's editor at Scribner's, who had published Santayana's work since his first book of philosophy *The Sense of Beauty* was completed in 1896, worried that the manuscript was in danger and managed to enlist the help of the Vatican to spirit Volume One of *Persons and Places* out of Rome and to his desk on Fifth Avenue, where it landed mysteriously one day in 1942. (When the volume was published in 1944, it was a popular success, becoming a Book-of-the-Month-Club selection, as Santayana's solitary novel *The Last Puritan* had done seven years earlier.)

"It proved quite a task to groom a rather disorderly holograph for public appearance," wrote the late Daniel Cory in the introduction to Scribner's 1963 three-volume edition. This early grooming has sent the editorial team at the University of Tampa back to the original manuscripts that were held in the Columbia University Library rare books collection.

It was thought that holographs existed only for volumes one and three; however, textual editor William Holzberger discovered references to a holograph of Volume Two, *The Middle Span*, in a collection of Santayana's letters written after 1946 that had just recently been located in the Princeton University Archives. By piecing together evidence in the letters, Holzberger learned that Santayana had given the leather-bound holograph of *The Middle Span* as a gift to the U.S. Army sergeant who had served as messenger and taken the typescript to his commanding officer, who in turn had transmitted it to Scribner's. With the help of the Army, Saatkamp tracked down the sergeant, who agreed to lend to the University of Tampa the manuscript he had carried from Rome fifteen years before. Accident, which Santayana always regarded as a supreme ruler in human affairs, continues to intervene in the story of his life.

According to *Persons and Places*, accident set the stage for Santayana's life even before it began in Madrid in 1863. His mother's childhood was a romance of travel and adventure, which culminated in her residence in Batan, an island of the Philippines, where her father was the Spanish colonial governor. There her father died, leaving her at twenty an orphan and the only white woman on the island, where she managed a comfortable existence until the arrival of the new governor. When this young, unattached Spaniard appeared, her sense of propriety removed her to Manila, where with the proper sanctions of civilization, she met and married a young New England merchant. The young governor in Batan was Agustin Santayana, whom she remet years later in Madrid while she was visiting family after her first husband had died.

In Santayana's descriptions of the circumstances of his childhood, the



identity of the outsider—"my essential character of traveler and stranger"—emerges. He was five when his mother, leaving him with his father in Avila, Spain, returned to Boston to fulfill a commitment to her first husband to rear his children in America. He was eight when his father took him to Boston to stay with his mother; the next time he saw his father, he was twenty.

"All my life I have dreamt of travels, possible and impossible," Santayana writes in *My Host the World*, the third volume of his autobiography. "And as the feeling of being a stranger and an exile by nature as well as by accident grew upon me in time, it came to be almost a point of pride. . . . My case was humanly unfortunate and involved many defects; yet it opened to me another vocation, not better (I admit no absolute standards) but more speculative, freer, juster, and for me happier."

Santayana's descriptions of his parents are more objective than affectionate. He was very close to his half-sister Susana, though her religiosity disappointed him. He never married, but he remembers in his autobiography several dear friends, among them Lord John Francis Stanley Russell, Bertrand Russell's older brother.

To study philosophy at Harvard during Santayana's tenure was to be in the enviable position of having five of the greatest American philosophers from which to choose. Besides Santayana, the "department" included William James, Josiah Royce, George Herbert Palmer, and Hugo Münsterberg.

Amid this intellectual flowering, however, Santayana still felt at variance with his surroundings. He respected his colleagues, but was close to few, and he found that their views of philosophy, and, especially in the case of President Eliot, of education, contradicted his own.

Calling Eliot an antihumanist, he re-

ports a conversation in which Eliot told him that the university should be teaching facts and not "merely conveying ideas."

"I might have replied," Santayana writes in a tone unsoftened by the distance of four decades, "that the only facts in philosophy were historical facts, namely, the fact that people had certain ideas. But of course I only smiled and took note of *his ideas*."

The substance and degree of the difference between Santayana's philosophy and that of the other Harvard luminaries is still being debated. Some agree today with his own insistence that his "otherness," his Spanish heritage and Old World disposition, as well as his Catholic "sentiments," separated him from the Protestant New Englanders convinced that the United States was launching a new age of "Progress." Some philosophers argue, however, that this perception is Santayana's invention and that his philosophy betrays a greater influence from his American immersion than even he knew.

In a special issue of *The Southern Journal of Philosophy* devoted entirely to Santayana (Summer 1972), Sidney Gross links Santayana's treatment of truth and his stress upon the biological nature of intelligence with Pragmatism, though he admits that the differences in the systems are greater than the sim-

ilarities. "We can almost see the picture," writes Gross, "of Peirce, James, Royce and Palmer pushing in unison toward a kind of American intellectual manifest destiny while Santayana stands off to one side puzzling about the whole scene."

"Puzzling" to Santayana was a worthy pastime, indeed the high function of philosophy. He was dismayed by the judgment of his peers, even more so by the insistence of the Harvard administration, that a philosopher, to be useful, must first have a specialty and second, a "system."

"The study of [systems of philosophy] is a part of the humanities, initiating us into the history of human life and mind; . . . it is not the pursuit of science and salvation," he writes. "But I was living among sects, or among individuals eager to found sects; . . . I was expected and almost compelled to be 'constructive. . . .'"

And so he wrote *The Sense of Beauty* (1896) and published shortly thereafter the five volumes of *The Life of Reason, or, The Phases of Human Progress* (1905-6) and left Harvard in 1912 for a life of puzzling and writing in England.

What appeared as an abrupt end to a promising career amazed the academic community of Boston and caused some resentment of Santayana as one who snubbed a prize offered to a select few. Indeed, several references to him in publications subsequent to his resignation are hostile, such as Rollo Walter Brown's 1948 reminiscence of *Harvard Yard in the Golden Age*. Brown, an alum-

nus of the university, brands Santayana a "meditative wanderer" and "the Yard's spoiled bright boy." "If only I could have Santayana's books," Brown quotes a critic, "without having to have Santayana."

Obligingly, from his residences in England and Italy over the next forty years, Santayana published twenty of them.

The fact that Santayana's mature philosophy was published in a country where he was not living or teaching and written in a country where it was not published partly explains the fact, believes Herman Saatkamp, that he has received less attention than others of the Golden Age of Harvard. It also contributed to Santayana's opinion that he was not understood. "Without a following of students to continue to interpret his work, a philosopher can be forgotten," Saatkamp explains.

There is also a tendency to regard Santayana as a literary figure rather than a philosopher, even though he published only one novel and only two volumes of poetry as compared to his prolific philosophical writing. Timothy L.S. Sprigge in *Santayana: An Examination of his Philosophy* suggests that his style "rich in poetic resonance and alert with epigram" is responsible for this reputation. "It frequently suggests to philosophers of the dustier kind," says Sprigge, "that his work belongs solely to the world of *belles lettres* . . . and this prejudices them against paying serious attention."

Those who pay serious attention to Santayana, and there are many, regard his greatest contribution to be the ontological "system" that he produced in the four-volume *Realms of Being* (1927-40) and its epistemological background in *Scepticism and Animal Faith* (1923). All his works of philosophy, as well as his poetry, fiction and social criticism, four volumes of correspondence, and his soon-to-be-published autobiography, will constitute the edition of his work that Saatkamp expects to be completed in fifteen years.

Santayana considered each of his works "only a contribution to the humanities, the expression of a reflective, selective, and free mind." None is a pursuit of science or salvation. Santayana the skeptic and pessimist distrusted plans for a better world. "In spite of my longing for unexampled things, I have always been a realist about the facts and suspicious of all desiderata and utopias," he writes in *Persons and Places*. "The born traveller is not pining for a better cage. If ever he got to heaven, on the next day he would discover its boundaries, and on the third day he would make a little raid beyond them."

—Linda Blanken

"The Santayana Edition"/Herman J. Saatkamp, Jr./University of Tampa, FL/\$50,000/1981-83/"The Santayana Edition: Volume Two and Three"/\$80,000 OR; \$5,000 FM/1983-85/Research Materials: Editions/"Toward Publishing Costs of 'Persons and Places' by George Santayana"/Betty Stanton/Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA/\$10,000/1983-84/Publications

Please note: Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.

Deadline in boldface

For projects
beginning after

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October 1, 1984

October 1, 1984

October 1, 1984

January 6, 1985

December 1, 1984

January 6, 1985

October 1, 1984

April 1985

April 1985

April 1985

July 1985

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Faculty Graduate Study Grants for Historically Black Colleges and Universities—Eric Anderson 786-0463

June 1, 1984

June 1, 1984

June 1, 1984

March 15, 1985

January 1, 1985

January 1, 1985

January 1, 1985

January 1, 1986

SEMINAR PROGRAMS

Summer Seminars for College Teachers—Richard Emmerson 786-0463

Participants: 1985 Seminars

Directors: 1986 Seminars

April 1, 1985

March 1, 1985

Summer 1985

Summer 1986

Summer Seminars for College Teachers on Campuses of Historically Black Colleges and Universities—Eric Anderson 786-0463

Participants: 1985 Seminars

Directors: 1986 Seminars

April 1, 1985

March 1, 1985

Summer 1985

Summer 1986

Summer Seminars for Secondary School Teachers—Ronald Herzman 786-0463

Participants: 1985 Seminars

Directors: 1986 Seminars

March 1, 1985

April 1, 1985

Summer 1985

Summer 1986

Centers for Advanced Study—David Coder 786-0466

February 1, 1985

Fall 1986

Summer Stipends for 1985—Joseph Neville 786-0466

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July 30, 1984

July 30, 1984

October 31, 1984

April 1, 1985

April 1, 1985

July 1, 1985

August 6, 1984

June 15, 1984

October 15, 1984

April 1, 1985

January 1, 1985

June 1, 1985

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NEH HST Projects

NEH-NSF EVIST Projects

March 1, 1985

March 1, 1985

September 15, 1984

September 15, 1984

January 1, 1986

January 1, 1986

April 1, 1985

January 1, 1985

March 1, 1985

August 1, 1984

January 1, 1986

April 1, 1985

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Access—Jeffrey Field 786-0204

Preservation—Jeffrey Field 786-0204

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June 1, 1984

November 1, 1984

August 15, 1984

April 1, 1985

April 1, 1985

April 1, 1985

April 1, 1985

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October 1, 1984

October 1, 1984

July 1, 1984

July 1, 1985

July 1, 1985

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OFFICE OF PROGRAM AND POLICY STUDIES—Armen Tashdian, Director 786-0424

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September 1, 1984

April 1, 1985

OFFICE OF CHALLENGE GRANTS—James Blessing, Director 786-0361

May 1, 1985

December 1984



Nearest Grant Application Deadlines



Wrecking the Images: Writing the Biography of Carl Sandburg



This is remembering—
Sometimes wrecking the images
and proceeding again to reconstruct
what happened and how,
the many little involved answers
to who? what? when? where?
and more involved than any
how? how?

—Carl Sandburg, "Scroll"

As I work on a biography of Carl Sandburg, I find myself heeding Sandburg's advice, wrecking certain images in order to try to reconstruct what happened—the how of his life, the why of his work.

I contend with the fallacy of the familiar figure. Most of the people I encounter know the older, public Sandburg with the white hair and noble profile, the celebrity folk figure reading his poems or playing and singing tunes from *The American Songbag*.

They know Sandburg as the poet of the people, the biographer of Abraham Lincoln. Sandburg lived for eighty-nine years, published thirty-eight books, entertained lecture and television audiences across the country, wrote hundreds of articles for newspapers and magazines. Seventeen years after his death, everyone knows something about Carl Sandburg, but the images are often contradictory.

Critical images of Sandburg sometimes reflect views that his poetry is glib, sentimental, propagandistic, or dated. While some historians applaud Sandburg's Lincoln biography as a landmark work, others see Sandburg the biographer as a man of haphazard scholarly method who took poetic license with history.

Similarly, images of Sandburg the person are often split and contradictory. Was he penurious, a freeloader who never picked up the check, or was he extraordinarily generous to friends and frugal because he had to guard the future of two dependent daughters? Was Sandburg an egotistical showman, or a consummate platform performer? Was he a careless reporter oblivious to deadlines, or a conscientious, innova-

tive journalist?

At least temporarily, I wreck the images of the old familiar figure in order to resurrect the less visible and decidedly less well-known Charles A. Sandburg, son of Swedish immigrants to the Illinois prairie; teenage vagabond exploring the western United States, absorbing the American lingo, which would later emerge in his poetry; zealous young socialist organizing for the Social Democratic Party in Wisconsin; Chicago reporter and war correspondent; platform lecturer and folk musician; and, true to his prairie roots, pioneer in free verse, children's literature, film criticism, advocacy journalism, and biography.

I find evidence of Sandburg's life in *Always the Young Strangers*, the only volume of autobiography he completed. Published in 1953, it covers the first twenty years of his life, the formative years we could not know without this help. Sandburg portrays himself as the vagabond and seeker, two recurrent themes in his life. As a twenty-year-old soldier in the Spanish-American War, he kept a journal, which survives along with other journals of the early years.

The catalyst for Sandburg's first poetry was Philip Green Wright, professor at Lombard College in Sandburg's hometown, Galesburg, Illinois. Wright not only encouraged his student's early, tentative poetry and prose, but published it in the cellar of his home where he ran the Asgard Press. In *Reckless Ecstasy* (1904), *Incidentals* (1907) and *The Plaint of a Rose* (1908) yield images of Sandburg's idealism and foreshadow the socialist commitment and the unconventional poetry that were to come. Sandburg wrote long letters to Wright as he traveled the country selling stereoscopic photographs, writing poems and trying to establish himself as a Lyceum lecturer on Shaw, Whitman and "Civilization and the Mob." Providentially Wright saved the letters.

Images of Sandburg in his twenties take shape from his early socialist writ-

ings, some under pseudonyms, and again in letters, written this time to Lilian Steichen, the beautiful young socialist he met in December 1907, courted in letters, and married in June 1908. She was the sister of Edward Steichen, already known internationally for his photography when his little sister introduced him to the unknown poet she planned to marry. The visual images in Steichen's early photographs of Carl and Lilian show her stubborn faith in the restless young man, whose articles and poems she typed and sent to magazines on his behalf.

Sandburg covered labor conventions and strikes, mob violence, race riots, and war for *The Chicago Daily News*. His first collection of poetry, *Chicago Poems*, appeared in 1916, followed by *Cornhuskers* in 1918 and *Smoke and Steel* in 1920. Sandburg said his poems carried autobiographical overtones, and there are important details to be learned from them, as well as from *The Chicago Race Riots*, a collection of Sandburg's news articles on the racial strife in Chicago, which culminated in the race riots of 1919.

In 1920, disillusioned by the grim realism of the labor struggle, the race riots and World War I, Sandburg turned to writing *The Rootabaga Stories*, American fairy tales for children and adults who have "kept the child heart." Sandburg first told the stories to his three daughters and wrote them as "the refuge from the imbecility of a frightened world." Letters and family memories illuminate the background of the stories. Their bright whimsy belies Sandburg's sorrow and despair at the grave illness of his eldest child Margaret.

Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years brought the Sandburgs their first measure of financial security in 1926, and from that point the public record of Sandburg's life begins to expand significantly. When Sandburg died in 1967 at age eighty-nine, he left an extensive personal archive: thousands of

letters and papers, a library of more than 14,000 books, hundreds of boxes of research notes, more than a thousand pages of unpublished manuscripts, hundreds of news columns and articles. He sold his working library to the University of Illinois in 1956, yet at his death thousands of papers and more than 10,000 books remained at Connemara, his home in the North Carolina mountains for the final twenty-two years of his life. The books still fill the shelves at Connemara, now a National Park and National Historic Site, but the majority of the Sandburg papers have been consolidated in the Carl Sandburg Collection at the University of Illinois Library, Urbana, and organized with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

As I sorted and studied letters, manuscripts, holograph notes packed in boxes under the eaves or in the cellar of the spacious old house, images began to emerge of the writer at work. Sandburg kept the reporter's habit of folding newsprint twice, converting one sheet of paper into six columns, which he filled with poems, revisions, notes for other poems or his novel *Remembrance Rock*. A musty autobiographical note records that his poems were "generally written first in a pocket note-book at or near some storm center downtown in the daytime. They are then rewritten at home at night. This applies to those of street and action. Those of rest and of nature are generally done on hikes or in loafing spells out of doors." Sandburg was a compulsive saver, and the mass of his papers reveals that for the dozens of literary projects completed, there were a hundred begun, still in progress—poems for children, at least two children's books, ideas for further work on Lincoln and on certain contemporary figures and events.

From thousands of letters and papers, images form of the public and private man. He campaigned for Eugene Debs on the Red Special in 1908,

and for John Kennedy in 1960. While Sandburg cherished his privacy, he enjoyed his celebrity: the forays on the lecture trail; the appearances with Milton Berle, Gene Kelly and Edward R. Murrow on television. As a pioneer film critic, he knew Charlie Chaplin, D.W. Griffith and Will Rogers. In his eighties, he had an exuberant good time in Hollywood working with George Stevens on *The Greatest Story Ever Told* and befriending Marilyn Monroe, Ernie Kovacs and others.

Sandburg's papers yield images of the loyal friend to Eugene Debs, Ezra Pound, Harry Golden and many others beset at some time by public tribulations. He spoke up for Pete Seeger and John Henry Faulk when they were blacklisted and helped a contrite Nathan Leopold secure his parole. Some of Sandburg's most revealing statements about the act of writing come in private letters to younger writers. His letters trace his reliance on a number of bright, creative women, beginning with his wife and daughters. Sandburg often entrusted his work in progress to women, seeking and usually heeding their advice. Harriet Monroe of *Poetry* was the first to publish his serious poetry. Her assistant editor Alice Corbin Henderson took the manuscript of *Chicago Poems* to Alfred Harcourt, then at Henry Holt and Company. Amy Lowell, Sara Teasdale, novelist Julia Peterkin, Sandburg's long-time editor Catherine McCarthy and other talented women over the years nurtured and advanced his work.

There is great humor in Sandburg's papers, and mischief and temper as well. He wrote out his anger or dismay in memos never shared, letters never mailed, biting satirical poems never published. Accidentally or intentionally, he left such private outbursts among his papers. Also sequestered in the papers are copies of ribald stories that Abraham Lincoln allegedly collected in private, filed in a brown envelope labeled "Racy Lincoln."

As the public and private images of Sandburg crystallize, other people take

on shape and identity as well. Vachel Lindsay, who shared Illinois roots with Sandburg, sent him illustrated holograph renditions of his poems and, in a letter written in 1919, congratulated Sandburg on "being a poet and not at the same time a jackass." From other correspondents—Ezra Pound, Amy Lowell, Harriet Monroe, Helen Keller, Alfred Stieglitz, Harry Truman, Edward R. Murrow and Adlai Stevenson—a long, exuberant lifetime comes into perspective. In 1980, on behalf of the Carl Sandburg Collection and the Carl Sandburg Home at Connemara, I began taping interviews with people whose voices emerged from the letters.

The oral history memoirs in their vital, vulnerable human dimensions evoke new images of Sandburg. Oral history is a valuable tool in biography, especially when merged with written resources, illuminating the written word.

For instance, Virginia Pasley, Norman Corwin and Joseph Wershba, intimate Sandburg friends who are themselves writers and journalists, share insights into the nature and pattern of Sandburg's literary work. They note how the discipline and subject matter of his reportage carried over into his poetry. They recall his fascination with the sound and rhythm of words and his determination to choose words and phrases that said exactly what he meant. Mrs. Pasley describes Sandburg's habit of dictating some of his work and of reading all of it aloud to get at the sound of it. Her memories explain Sandburg's long success as a lecturer: his poetry was written to be heard.

Oral history brings other images into focus: Artist and classical guitarist Gregory d'Alessio and musician Pete Seeger evaluate Sandburg's impact on American folk music. Photographer Arnold Newman and artist William Smith reflect on Steichen's influence on Sandburg's visual imagery as well as his personal life. Malcolm Cowley and David Donald assess Sandburg's place in American letters.

Robert Giroux relates his role in the publication of Sandburg's only novel *Remembrance Rock* in 1948. Giroux, then a young editor at Harcourt Brace, came to work with Sandburg on the novel when it was nearly complete. A forerunner of the epic historical novel, *Remembrance Rock* had been commissioned by Metro Goldwyn Mayer as a possible film property. No movie resulted, and the novel was not a critical success. Giroux recalls Sandburg as one of the hardest working writers he had ever known and recounts Sandburg's "dignified silence" in the face of the negative reviews. Disappointed though he was by his novel's reception, Sandburg was still, even at age 70, pioneering, experimenting, taking risks.

Sometimes fragile memory can edit, telescope, distort; oral testimonies must be checked against chronology as well as against other sources, just as written documentation must be verified. Yet oral history evokes the breathing person, preserves important memories that might not be recorded in any other form, and fills gaps in the written record. After Sandburg published *Always the Young Strangers* in 1953, he began work on a second autobiographical volume, *Ever the Winds of Chance*. He never completed this sequel although three drafts of the 155-page fragment remained among his papers. Oral history interviews helped to explain that Sandburg's full public life, other writing commitments, his long sojourn in Hollywood, and his declining energy and failing health kept him from finishing the book. With that context established, Margaret Sandburg and George Hendrick edited *Ever the Winds of Chance* for publication by the University of Illinois Press in 1983.

At the bottom of a musty box of papers at Connemara, I found the paper-bound edition of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, which the young Charles Sandburg studied in 1906 when he was twenty-eight and lecturing on Whitman on the Lyceum circuit. Sandburg was still eight years from his first serious recognition as a poet when

he marked these lines in his worn copy of *Leaves of Grass*:

When I read the book, the biography famous
And is this then (said I) what the author
calls a man's life?
And so will some one when I am dead and
gone write my life?
(As if any man really knew aught of my
life,
Why even I myself I often think know little
or nothing of my real life. . . .)

Sandburg said that he decided at the age of six to become a person of letters. In his seventies he said he was "still traveling, still a seeker." He joked that among the biographers, he was considered a good poet, while among poets, he was considered a first-rate biographer. "There was puzzlement," he wrote, "as to whether I was a poet, a biographer, a wandering troubadour with a guitar, a midwest Hans Christian Anderson, or a historian of current events. . . ."

The young Sandburg wrote, "there are ten men in me and I do not know or understand one of them." The old, waning Sandburg marked the line in Bacon's essay "Of Great Place," which says, "Death presses heavily upon him who, although well-known to others, dies unknown to himself."

I have come to know Carl Sandburg through his work, his papers and his contemporaries. I know him, too, by walking the Connemara trails with Sandburg's daughter Janet; watching Helga Sandburg's movies of her family and reading her fiction and poetry; poring over her father's books and her parents' love letters with Margaret Sandburg and taking her on a raw windy day for a first look at Bryants' Woods in Princeton, Illinois, where in 1908 Lilian Steichen walked and wrote letters to Charles Sandburg telling him long before the world did that he was a poet.

—Penelope Niven

"A Biography of Carl Sandburg" / Penelope N. McJunkin / Richmond, IN / \$20,730 / 1983-84 / Fellowships for Independent Study and Research



Carl Sandburg, photographed against a backdrop of buildings in his beloved Chicago.

WHY HISTORY SCORNS BIOGRAPHY

The intimate relationship of biography and history has long been acknowledged. It would be next to impossible to write a book of history that did not mention human beings, though they might, because of the historian's ignorance or design, be nameless. And it would be equally difficult (and certainly pointless) to write anyone's biography without reference to the times and circumstances in which the subject functioned. Any biography is part of a larger history, and while history is more than the sum of innumerable biographies, it could not exist separately.

Nevertheless there are important differences between history and biography. Some rise from the differences in size and scope of the forms. Though the same methods and the same sources may be used by both historians and biographers, how they use them and what they "see" as a result can be quite different. Telescopes and microscopes are both optical instruments that vastly expand the powers of the eye, but what the eye sees through one does not much resemble what it sees through the other. Historians tend to study people as parts of groups operating in a large environment such as a culture, or a nation, or an industry. Biographers want to know such things as how their subjects interacted with

other individuals, how they made up their minds, and how they felt about themselves and their families.

It has often been suggested that historians and biographers have opposing philosophies, that they disagree about the role of individuals in causing historical change. Historians, the argument runs, see people as chips of wood tossed about helplessly on a sea of irresistible "social forces." People (or at least their leaders) may seem to be directing the course of events. They make decisions and issue orders and cause lesser beings to rush about, but they do not affect what happens in any significant way in the long run. Jean Giraudoux makes the argument in his play *The Trojan War Shall Not Take Place*. Ulysses and the Trojan hero Hector both wish to avoid the war, but they are powerless to prevent it. All that leadership means, Giraudoux suggests, is having a close-up view of events. "It is the privilege of greatness," he has Ulysses say, "to view catastrophe from a terrace." An even more extreme statement of this position was made by L. V. Calverton, a Marxist, who claimed that Shakespeare was able to write his wonderful plays only because he "came in contact with those stimuli . . . that, reacting on his nature, could inevitably make him the man and au-

thor that he was."

Biographers, on the other hand, are said to be advocates of "The Great Man Theory of History," the belief that exceptional individuals, by their thoughts and actions, can change the course of history in dramatic, even revolutionary ways. William Roscoe Thayer, author of admiring biographies of the Italian statesman Cavour, Theodore Roosevelt, and Roosevelt's Secretary of State John Hay, put the theory succinctly: "Human will—that force more mysterious than electricity—shapes and directs the deeds of men."

This supposed fundamental difference between biography and history rarely exists in practice. There are historians who never discuss the role of individuals as shapers of events, but they ignore the question because they are interested in matters of a different sort. And no biographer that I am familiar with would claim that any "great" man or woman was not influenced and indeed fundamentally conditioned by the time and place in which he or she lived. It is probably fair to say that, in general, biographers are more concerned with how individuals affect the course of events and that historians usually place more emphasis on the environment in which events occur, but these are only tendencies and reflect the particular interests and objectives of the writers. Many scholars write both histories and biographies and have no trouble attributing causes and assigning influences, in some cases one way, in others, another.

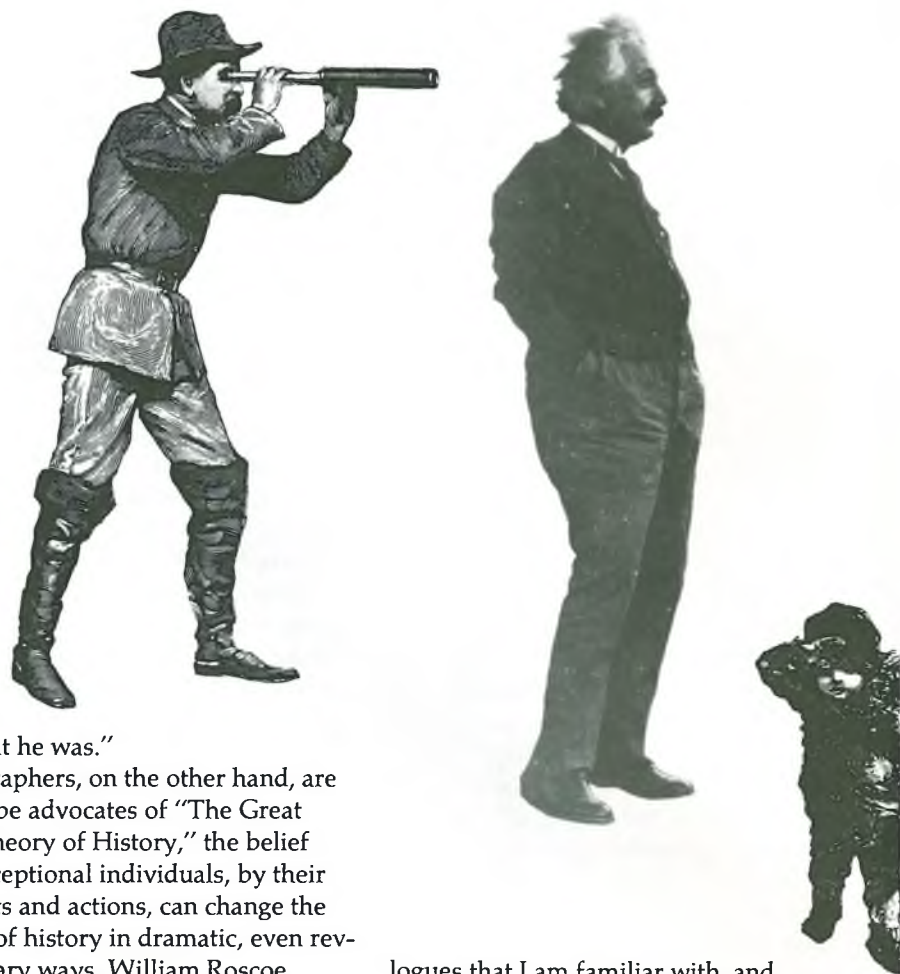
Still another distinction sometimes drawn between history and biography is that history is a science, biography an art. In the subject catalogue of most libraries will be found a heading "Biography as a Literary Form" or "Biography, Art of." I have on my shelves four volumes containing the words "Art" and "Biography" in their titles: *The Art of Biography* by the aforementioned W. R. Thayer; another work of that title by Paul Murray Kendall; *Biography as an Art*, edited by James L. Clifford; and Donald A. Stouffer's monumental *The Art of Biography in Eighteenth-Century England*. There is no such heading under "History" in the library cata-

logues that I am familiar with, and when I glance at the spines of the considerable number of books on the subject "history" that I own, I see words like "Truth" and "Science" and "Philosophy" associated with the word, but not "Art."

Yet history is surely as much an art as biography. The Greeks were never much interested in individual lives and tended, indeed, to see human beings as helpless pawns controlled by Fate. But they considered history one of the arts, with its own muse, Clio. Both history and biography are intellectual disciplines that employ scientific method in locating and evaluating evidence. And if they are any good at all, both historians and biographers are artists in the sense that they are continually making aesthetic judgments, drawing upon their imaginations, and otherwise relying on intuition and inspiration in the same way that novelists and poets do. Where both science and art are concerned, there is no difference whatsoever between the two forms.

Probably the reason that biography is more often thought of as artistic is that biographers, by the nature of their subject, deal so much with human motives and with personality. These are topics that defy definitive analysis. It is hard to be exact or conclusive about the springs of human behavior. When the Greeks said "Know Thyself" they realized that they were setting us all an almost impossible task. Yet how much more difficult to "know" another person, especially one dead and gone, as most of the subjects of biography are.

Beyond this, the portrayal of personality in words, as distinct from the understanding of how and why a person behaves in a particular way, calls for literary rather than scientific skills. The Harvard psychologist Henry A. Murray once wrote: "A psychologist who believes that he can tell the truth without being 'literary' has only to try writing a case history or biography, and



A solitary Napoleon is the quintessential illustration of the "great man theory of history." Others argue that forces beyond the control of man shape events, such as this famine in China which affected millions.



then compare what he has done to a character sketch by any novelist of the first order."

True enough; yet similar talents are employed by historians seeking to explain, for example, what it was like to live in Florence during the Renaissance or in Rome at the time of Augustus, or even to describe the setting in which a historical event took place. One thinks in the latter case of some of Francis Parkman's descriptions of the trackless forests of colonial America in the history of the struggle between France and England for control of North America, or of Garrett Mattingly's gripping account of the clash between the Spanish and English navies in *The Armada*.

Most historians would not take serious issue with any of the points I have been making. Yet many of them, particularly those in academic life, look down on biography. This is not to say that all top-flight academic historians abjure the form, or that those who do write biographies are not good at it. From Carl Van Doren's *Benjamin Franklin* (1938) and Samuel Eliot Morrison's life of Columbus, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* (1942), to Allan Nevins's *Henry Ford* (1954) and on to more recent lives such as William McFeely's *Grant*, many academic scholars have written biographies that are both models of historical accuracy and objectivity and works of art. But writing biographies has never been truly popular in the academic world.

For one thing, academic historians see biographies by their nature as unnecessarily restrictive. Focusing on a single actor seems both to limit what one can learn about any topic or time and to distort one's interpretation of the material. In addition, the tendency of biographers to overemphasize their subjects' importance suggests to aca-

demics that biographers lack the commitment to objectivity that they, being good social scientists, claim to possess. (Objectivity can be a real problem for biographers; immersing oneself in the study of a person can blind one to the role that others played in events.)

Then there are the difficulties that biographers face when they try to fathom the thought and obscure motives that lie behind what their subjects said and did. "Traditional" kinds of evidence leave much to be desired in this area. To rely entirely on a subject's own explanations would be naïve; people often do not understand their own motives and when they do understand them, they often deliberately leave false or misleading records. Yet to depend on the comments of others is also unsatisfactory. These are frequently ill-informed, still more often superficial, and when there are many of them, nearly always full of contradictions.

Confronted by this dilemma, some biographers have turned to psychology and particularly to psychoanalysis for help. The results have been at best mixed, but the mere effort has turned many conservative historians away from biography. The tendency of psychoanalytically inclined biographers to use theories as evidence rather than as aids in searching out and evaluating evidence appalls these conservatives. The idea that a person "must have" done or thought something even though there is no direct evidence that he did so, they find totally unacceptable. Similarly, the fact that what people say and do is sometimes directly contradictory to what they really think or desire does not seem to most historians to justify drawing opposite conclusions from what the historical record appears to state. Yet the "psychoanalysts" frequently rely on such supposed reaction formations to explain behavior.

Academic historians also steer away from biography because of the require-

ments of most doctoral programs. To obtain a Ph.D. one must write a dissertation. A dissertation is supposed to test a thesis, that is, the scholar raises a question or states a principle and then makes an exhaustive study of evidence and comes to some conclusion. Dissertations are by their nature analytical, not merely descriptive. Biographies do not adapt easily to this requirement. To say: "I intend to find out what X did and what the effects of his actions were" is not to state a thesis.

Finally, scholarship has become increasingly specialized. For historians specializing means concentrating on a relatively limited time and place, and on one type of history, such as political, or social, or economic. Yet the kind of people who make proper subjects for biographies often had broad interests and some lived inconveniently long lives. A fresh Ph.D. looking for an academic post needs to be able to say: "I am a specialist in this, or my period is so and so." To say: "I know more than anyone alive or dead about X," especially when X is not a widely known person, does not increase a young historian's appeal to most prospective employers.

For all these reasons, although there are exceptions (I was one of them), most doctoral candidates are discouraged from choosing biographical subjects. I believe this is quite unfortunate, and not simply because my own dissertation was a biography. The difficulties involved in understanding and describing personality aside, biographies

make good subjects for beginning scholars. Problems of organization, though not nonexistent, are relatively easily resolved. A basic chronological framework is nearly always the best as well as the most obvious one. What to look for and where to find the evidence are usually clear from the start. And once written, if it is any good at all, a biography is more likely than the typical historical dissertation to find a publisher. People who would not think of opening a book about some political struggle that occurred in Rhode Island between 1872 and 1881, or about the rise and fall of commercial activity in the port of Oslo in the nineteenth century, might well find something of interest in the biography of a Rhode Island senator or of a Norwegian merchant.

In sum, biography is one kind of narrative history. It should be compared not to "history" but to other kinds of historical discourse. It has its particular problems and limitations and advantages as does, say, the analytically oriented economic history written by the "cliometricians." If, as many observers of the historical scene have recently sensed, there is a growing interest in "old-fashioned" narrative history even among academics, biography will surely flourish. I for one certainly hope that this will be the case.

—John A. Garraty

Mr. Garraty, a professor of history at Columbia University, is the author of *The Dictionary of American Biography*.



The Return of Marcus Garvey



A share of stock in Garvey's Black Star Line, an early attempt at black self-help. An informal photograph of Marcus Garvey is contrasted with an oil painting (right) by Bernard Hoyes, showing Garvey dressed in the uniform of the African Legion. Garvey, handcuffed to federal marshalls, is taken to the penitentiary in 1925. (opposite page) The front page of the oldest known copy of *The Negro World*, November 30, 1918, Garvey's famous newspaper.



"[A] little sawed-off and hammered-down Black Man, with *determination* written all over his face, and an engaging smile that caught you and compelled you to listen to his story" was how the veteran black journalist, John E. Bruce, described the Jamaican Marcus Garvey as he appeared at their first meeting. That was in spring 1916.

Encouraged by the "sage of Tuskegee," Booker T. Washington, Garvey came here hoping to gather support for his proposal to establish a school in Jamaica patterned on the model of the famed Tuskegee Institute. But by the time Garvey could get to America in 1916, Washington was dead.

From this inauspicious beginning, and despite marked disadvantages, Marcus Garvey soon emerged as the leader of the largest organized mass movement in the history of Afro-Americans. More than any other figure in Afro-American history, Marcus Garvey succeeded in becoming the symbolic archetype of black racial consciousness in America. That was achieved by 1920.

"The Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)" according to Alden Whitman, editor of *American Reformers*, grew from "an initial membership of fifteen to between four and six million in American cities and foreign nations. It was the greatest mass movement of its time, not superseded in size until the heyday of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the 1960s."

Garvey's rise was meteoric. Proclaiming a doctrine of racial pride and political achievement through self-help, he struck a responsive chord with American blacks who were migrating to the cities in large numbers and feeling the backlash of bloody race riots throughout the country. To this was added the militant nationalism of returning black troops who had served in Jim Crow battalions in World War I. The result was a huge increase in UNIA membership and the catapulting of Garvey into national and international renown.

One of Garvey's best-known ventures, and the one that eventually caused his downfall, was the Black Star Line, a shipping company that he hoped would charter and buy steamships to transport American blacks back to Africa. Shares were sold at \$5 each, as Garvey intended to show that the Black Star Line was an example of profitable black self-help in action.

Unfortunately, Garvey was no businessman. The company's books were in disarray and the ships purchased by the Black Star Line were poor investments. Although there was never any evidence that Garvey profited personally from the venture, the ever-vigilant J. Edgar Hoover had gathered enough evidence on him to bring on a federal indictment for mail fraud. In 1923, Garvey was convicted for the maximum sentence of five years and a \$1,000 fine. Four years later, President Coolidge commuted his sentence. Garvey was deported to Jamaica. In 1940 he died in virtual obscurity, having resettled in London five years earlier.

No single movement in the study of black popular causes in America represents a greater enigma to scholars and commentators alike. In the sixty-odd years that have elapsed since Garvey and the UNIA exploded on the American scene with their program of racial unity among blacks and the aim of a free and united Africa, answers have proved elusive to questions about the nature of Garvey's leadership, and the sources of the movement's influence, which radiated outward from America to sink roots deep in the political subsoil of Africa and the plantations of the Caribbean.

In compiling and editing *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, the twin challenges of documentary and intellectual recovery of the Garvey phenomenon have proved especially acute. Garvey's first biographer, E. David Cronon, announced long ago:

Unfortunately, there is no collection of Garvey Papers. Garvey's own files were scattered during the years of his imprisonment and exile from the United States and much of what remained of his personal records was destroyed in the London bombings of 1940-41 (*Black Moses* [1955], p. 227).

And so whereas most documentary editions have been prepared using a comprehensive or parent collection of manuscripts, in the case of Garvey and the UNIA no such advantage existed. The record of his career and the movement's history would entail recovering, piece by piece, each individual document both in this country and from around the world.

In terms of literary legacy, it was long customary to credit *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, compiled by Garvey's second wife, Amy Jacques Garvey, and published in two volumes during his first and second imprisonment, as the movement's canonical text. It seemed the one sure source for guidance to Garvey's thought; it was, in other words, the bible of Garveyism. Upon closer inspection, however, it turned out that the publication of Garvey's *Philosophy and Opinions* had a self-serving and tactical purpose. What both volumes documented, in reality, was not the development of the movement but Garvey's retreat from the movement's radical phase of 1918-21 and his attempt to become reconciled with the American racial *status quo* as the means of overcoming the opposition of his enemies and shoring up a faltering movement.

The absence of documentation combined with this revision within the canon of the movement made more difficult the recovery of historically sound information. The first major breakthrough came in the spring of 1970 with the discovery in an abandoned Harlem building of a treasure trove of UNIA records dating back to the 1920s, though most dated from the 1930s. The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and the New York Public Library moved quickly to recover the bulk of these records.

It was my fortune to be commissioned to organize and catalog the collection. I soon discovered that they

were, in reality, the records of the New York "Central Division," one of the many splinter groups into which the original New York Division had fragmented after Garvey's imprisonment on mail fraud charges and subsequent deportation from America. But they also contained a small but crucial core of UNIA Parent Body records. These consisted of the index cards of the UNIA's national and international divisions that at one point numbered over a thousand; this made it possible for the first time to construct a political and geographical map of the movement.

Each 4" x 5" index card contained the location and number of the individual division or chapter, the names, titles, and addresses of the officeholders, and information about remittances made to the UNIA parent body. What had been shrouded in legend now took on concrete reality.

During this same period, I embarked also on preparing a comprehensive survey of the record holdings in the National Archives and Records Service in Washington, D. C. What I found there was amazing. Extensive files relative to Garvey, the UNIA, and the "Black Star Line" (the crux of Garvey's program to achieve black economic independence) surfaced from the records of the State Department, Justice Department, Bureau of Investigation (forerunner of the FBI), Immigration and Naturalization Service, Labor Department, Post Office, War Department, Naval Intelligence, United States Shipping Board, and the Panama Canal Company. It was to take several more years to identify in full and assemble this truly enormous body of records, all of which documented the federal government's role in the entire Garvey phenomenon.

More importantly, these records contained a good deal of correspondence and published material confiscated by the federal government from the mails or seized surreptitiously by undercover agents. The seizure also ensured the survival of Garvey's extensive correspondence with government officials. The records of the various federal court cases in which Garvey was a defendant also contributed large quantities of documents originally obtained under government subpoena.

Growing more confident about where this was leading, I decided that the next obvious place to take my search was Europe. And so in spring and summer of 1972, with a follow-up trip in the summer of 1973, I scoured the archives and manuscript collections of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Geneva, and East and West Germany. (The records from the Italian and Dutch archives were secured later.)

But while I was trying to figure out the story that these records told, I suddenly realized that they were telling only one part of the story. To find the part that was missing, I would have to turn to the sources from which the bulk of the original data had been secured, namely, the formerly colonial territories in Africa and the Caribbean.

So for the next several years I worked on completing the far-flung

circuit of colonial archives in Africa and the Caribbean. I visited several of them in order to sift, first hand, through their quite considerable and valuable holdings of local administrative records. The result is that, when it is completed, the African and Caribbean Series of the *Garvey Papers* will constitute probably the most extensive collection of original documents from these two areas ever assembled for publication.

There is one important sidelight to this African research, however, that is worth mentioning as an example of the integrated character of the recovery process. I had been trying for years to assemble a complete run of Garvey's important London-based journal, *The Black Man*, which he continued publishing after taking up his final exile in England in 1935 and which lasted until 1939, the year before his death. After a long search, I finally managed to compile original copies of all the issues except the issue for December 1935. Then, a couple of years later, I found it in the colonial records of Zimbabwe. This fugitive December 1935 issue had been sent by a Garveyite supporter in South Africa to a relative in Zimbabwe, and the ever-vigilant colonial police had confiscated it from the mail.

It was in these and other ways, too numerous to mention here, that the Garvey Papers Project succeeded, after more than a decade of work, in bringing together a collection of more than thirty thousand original documents, drawn from more than one hundred archives and more than sixty manuscript collections. Many valuable documents were also obtained from old surviving Garveyites in the United States, Africa, and the Caribbean. A select letter-press edition of these documents, which will be published in three separate series—American, African, and Caribbean—will provide a detailed view of the unfolding of the Garvey movement in each of its three principal spheres as well as the record of the evolution of Garvey's political thought in his writings and speeches.

Read together, the three series will tell the extraordinary tale of how the Universal Negro Improvement Association and Garvey's doctrine of "Africa for the Africans, those at home and abroad" expanded from a six-square-block area in New York's Harlem and how, within less than five years and in spite of extensive repression, it managed to forge an unprecedented international black consciousness, linking the early nationalist struggle in Africa with the incipient struggle for Caribbean nationhood and both of these inspired by the Afro-American quest for racial dignity.

But in what way has the multitude of documents and data that have now been recovered altered the existing picture of Garvey and the UNIA?

In my view, they clearly show that the Garvey movement was as various as its divisions were numerous, with their character depending much more on the local climate and soil that nourished them than any directives coming from the New York parent body or, for

that matter, from Garvey. Although the movement everywhere had the function of a fraternal and benevolent organization, it nonetheless played a diversity of roles. These included agitating for improved labor conditions, embarking on cooperative economic ventures, setting up independent schools, carrying out mass political education, participating in peasant struggles for land, expressing religious millenarian yearnings, and, in at least two known instances, collaborating in armed uprisings against colonial authority.

Just how much did Garvey know about such activities? The documents strongly suggest that he knew only a small part of what was occurring. Thus, Garvey neither initiated these disparate activities nor did he control them. Instead, the movement once begun developed an independent dynamic of its own. Garvey was the leader of the movement, but Garvey did not create the movement. If anything, it is truer to say that the movement created Garvey. From this point of view, *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* goes well beyond a preoccupation with the fortunes of a single, even if major, historical figure. Indeed, the focus of the edition is as much on the membership as it is on Garvey, the charismatic leader and ideological spokesman of the movement.

But the *Garvey Papers* returns Marcus Garvey to us also with an unexpected message, one that forces us to see him as something more than the black nationalist *par excellence*. The familiar Garvey is the one famous for his philosophy of racial purity, 'black is beautiful' race pride—the Garvey who claimed that he was "proud of the classification of race" and for whom, to borrow Disraeli's phrase, "race is everything." Speaking in Panama in the spring of 1921, for example, Garvey declared, "We of the U.N.I.A. believe in the temporal law of man divided in race groups—white, yellow and black." He insisted that blacks "demand the rights that belong to them

as a race."

Yet, when one probes beneath the surface of ideological appearances, a different voice, one which spoke with conviction of universal brotherhood and universal values, and which argued that "Mind had no color; intelligence had no color," can also be heard. Speaking in Liberty Hall, New York City, in February 1920, Garvey informed his followers:

I never did belong to that school of ethnology which believed that God Almighty classified the races according to color . . . I always believed that color was only skin deep. I was always interested in what was in a man, what was inside of him, how much gray matter he had in his brains, how much surplus energy he had, and the resources he had developed and had at his disposal. *That is the way I look at a human.* (Emphasis added)

And after his deportation from the United States, we hear Garvey advising his listeners in 1929 that "It seems almost un-Christian and ungodly to press the question of race differences when we are told that God created of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth."

One view stressed consciousness of race, the other extolled the qualities of individual character. Both views coexisted in a state of ideological tension throughout Garvey's career. Did he ever manage to resolve them? This question readers of *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* will now be able to pose and answer for themselves.

—Robert A. Hill

Mr. Hill is the editor of *Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* published by the University of California Press. He is presently at work on a biography of Marcus Garvey.

"Conference on Historical Scholarship and the Uses of Afro-American Documentary Historical Editions"/Robert A. Hill/University of California, Los Angeles/\$5,000/1981-82/"The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers"/\$4,152/1981/\$104,464/1981-82/\$148,279 OR; \$83,605 FM/1982-84/Research Materials: Editions

NEGROES AT VERSAILLES THE NEGRO WORLD

A Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Negro Race Without the Hope of Profit as a Business Investment.

VOL. I. NO. 14.

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 30, 1918

Price 3 Cents.

CALL MADE TO THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE NEGRO RACE

TO ATTEND BIG MASS MEETING IN PALACE CASINO NEW YORK,
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 1.

Fellowmen of the Negro Race:
I am again requested by the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities' League to issue a call to you, asking that you attend, en masse, the big mass meeting of the Negro peoples of the world, to be held in the Palace Casino, New York, on Sunday, December 1, at 8 o'clock p. m.

The time has come for us to unite. All the other races are "doing it." On Sunday night the assembled people will elect three delegates of the race to represent our interests at the Peace Conference in France.

Every oppressed group of people will be represented in some way or other at the Peace Conference.

Remember, men, the time is now. There must be liberty, justice and equality, and that can only be when the Negro takes proper steps to make his power felt.

Let there be no compromise. Let us unite to get all that is ours. At the Peace Conference great issues are to be decided, and the Negro must prepare to take his stand without faltering.

It is your duty to be at the Palace

NEGROES SHOULD
RALLY TO SUPPORT
OF REED TO OPPOSE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS

There Can Be No League
Until the Negro Be-
comes a Nation in
Africa.

Speech Means Trouble
Other Delegates Will
Be Respected in Op-
posing Wilson's League

When the peace plan is laid out before the United States, it will be a surprise to find that the Negro is not mentioned. The peace plan is to be made by the white races, and the Negro is to be left out.

SECOND BIG MEETING AT PALACE CASINO TO SEND DELEGATES TO EUROPE

All made will find in the Palace Casino, New York, on Sunday, December 1, a mass meeting of the Negro peoples of the world, to be held in the Palace Casino, New York, on Sunday, December 1, at 8 o'clock p. m.

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Sylvia Beach in her famous Paris bookstore, Shakespeare and Company. Pictures of D.H. Lawrence and James Joyce hang directly above the mirror. The bookstore was a magnet for expatriate American writers such as Ernest Hemingway, shown near his Sawmill apartment in Paris, 1924.

SYLVIA BEACH AND CO.



She wanted to have her modest little bookshop," wrote Leon Edel, "her literary foyer modeled on Adrienne's, but fame, in the figure of the tall slouching Irishman, thrust itself through her doorway."

She was Sylvia Beach, whose "modest little bookshop" Shakespeare and Company, modeled on that of her good friend Adrienne Monnier, was the center of operations for publication of a revolutionary novel by the "tall slouching Irishman," James Joyce. Therein lies a tale of myth and memory, of a time and a place. It has been told a hundred times in a hundred ways, and we can never get enough of it. Our interest is wholly justified.

In her book *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation: A History of Literary Paris in the Twenties and Thirties*, Noel Riley Fitch looks at Paris in that period ("the intellectual crucible of the world") through the window of the bookshop that was central to it, and therefore through the life of Sylvia Beach. She sheds light on the nooks and crannies (anecdotes of the famous, choice literary tidbits) and further illuminates the Joyce-Beach story with new research.

But to go back a step.

Paris between the world wars was, intellectually, a multi-media spectacular that certainly fired the second great period of American literature. The first great wave—Emerson, Poe, Melville, Whitman, Hawthorne—addressed itself to America. The literary flowering of the twenties looked to Europe, or rather, looked back at America, having established the aesthetic distance necessary to see it more clearly.

So numbed and alienated were they by what they saw at home—standardi-

zation, a stultifying intellectual climate, the unquestioned values of their elders and a literature that reflected these values—that Paris blew into their minds like a fresh breeze off the sea. At home, William Dean Howells was the dean of American letters. Said Ezra Pound, "Howells could never be sufficiently ridiculed. His was a wholly contemptible generation of male American matrons." This rejection of the matrons, to be echoed a thousand times by the artists and writers, was the beginning of the modernist revolution that Sylvia Beach helped to foster.

Paris: vorticism, dadaism, surrealism, unanimism, the Revolution of the Word, the concept of the "night mind,"—words and the life of the mind were everything. The little magazines and journals were always on the cutting edge; art became a secular religion; style was to be a barrier against chaos and loss of faith. Sylvia Beach, endowed with taste, levelheadedness and humor, was a fixed point in the chaos that swirled around her. She was a moderating voice, a peacemaker, an interest-free bank, a lending library, a person to know, and for some, uprooted by the age they helped to create, her shop was home.

Who was Sylvia? Nancy Beach from Bridgeton, New Jersey, was the middle daughter of the Reverend Sylvester Beach who took his wife and three teenage daughters with him when he went to Paris in 1902 with the Presbyterian ministry. Nancy had already changed her name to Sylvia, in honor of her father, and was to fall in love with Europe and the arts as had her mother before her. As a young woman she was to travel back and forth between Europe and America casting

about for a life's work. Her search for a particular book of French criticism sent her to Adrienne Monnier's bookshop in the rue de l'Odeon, where she found the book, a sympathetic friend and the paradigm for her bookshop. Shakespeare and Company, which existed from 1919 to 1941, closed only after an occupying Nazi officer threatened to confiscate her entire stock if she did not sell him her own copy of *Finnegan's Wake*. How she came to be Joyce's "funny little publisher" is a story in itself—her commitment to him was an act of faith. She simply decided that Joyce's genius made the man himself worth putting up with. Fitch recounts every detail of the budding relationship between Joyce and Beach.

She met him at a party given by friends. As she was leaving, the host politely expressed the hope that she had not been bored. "Bored?" she said, "I just met James Joyce."

The self-styled "Melancholy Jesus" appeared at Shakespeare and Company the next morning wearing a blue serge suit, a black felt hat on the back of his head and dirty white tennis shoes. In his hand was a stick, an ash-plant, in the manner of his hero Stephen Dedalus. Joyce "carried himself with the dignity of a bishop."

He told her his troubles: his constant need of money, his health problems, and the difficulties he was having getting *Ulysses*, his protean novel modeled on the *Odyssey*, published anywhere. The long and short of it is that without resources, experience or influence, Sylvia Beach asked Joyce if she might publish *Ulysses*.

Held to be obscene, the novel could find no English-language printer to set it in type for fear of prosecution. (One

typist threatened to throw herself out the window, another's husband threw seven offending pages in the fire.) Beach's printer, Darantière was not put off by what he had been told about the book, and his typesetters knew no English. *Ulysses* became the book it is, however, because despite Darantière's protestations, Sylvia Beach let Joyce rewrite or add about one third of the book in proof corrections: stars, rockets and arrows guided the printer to words and phrases all around the margins. "As for me," Sylvia wrote, "I was mad over *Ulysses* and would never dream of controlling its great author."

Meanwhile, author and publisher had solicited half the cream of the English-speaking world to subscribe before publication. Finally it was ready. Cyril Connolly wrote: "In Sylvia Beach's bookshop *Ulysses* lay stacked like dynamite in a revolutionary cellar."

Upon publication, the *Sporting Times* called Joyce a "perverted lunatic"; the *Sheffield Daily Times*, "Rabelais after a nervous breakdown." Edith Wharton called the book "a welter of pornography, unformed and unimportant drivel," Virginia Woolf labeled it "underbred . . . a queasy undergraduate scratching his pimples." Writes Fitch, "She and Joyce were pleased with the publicity, which was slow in coming."

Together, he plotting each move from backstage and she working openly in the public arena, they fiercely peddled his epic novel. "They were the most successful clandestine team in the history of high art," writes Fitch and it is in this area that her research has given us so much new material.

The relationship took its toll. "I un-

derstood that working with or for James Joyce, the pleasure was mine, the profits were his. But it was all I could do to prevent my bookshop from getting sucked under." In the end he dealt with her in bad faith, negotiated behind her back with Random House, belittled her twelve years of service to his talent, and moved on.

Revelations about this complicated symbiotic relationship form a significant part of the contribution of this book to contemporary scholarship. Fitch also offers some interesting speculation on Joyce's attitude toward women. So many helped him, particularly Harriet Weaver, the English woman who had published sections of *Ulysses* in the *Egoist*, who settled money on him again and again, and received in return veiled disdain. "What they call love is merely a temptation of nature in one's youth," he said. He treated women with exaggerated politeness. "As all women know," writes Fitch, "chivalry often masks dismissal, if not contempt."

Literature as revenge is another theme running through *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation*. Joyce dismissed McAlmon's criticism as "the office boy's revenge." Stein called Pound "a village explainer" and said that Joyce "smelled like a museum" and that accounted for his success. Wyndham Lewis wrote a piece entitled "The Dumb Ox: A Study of Ernest Hemingway." Infuriated, Hemingway knocked over a vase of roses in Shakespeare and Company. Later he was to get his own back by describing Lewis as a man with "the face of a frog and the eyes of an unsuccessful rapist."

Sylvia Beach's own book *Shakespeare and Company* gives the flavor of her shop and life, and offers her dry insights into these goings on, but her great discretion weakened her memoirs as history. What Marianne Moore called her "unfailing delicacy" caused her to rewrite some passages so often that she could no longer remember

what actually happened. "As to my own feelings, well, one is not at all proud of them," she wrote.

Noel Riley Fitch's ten years of immersion into Odéonia (the shop was in the rue de l'Odéon) has enabled her to get past the discretion. For background she read scores of memoirs and biographies. A grant from NEH gave her a year away from teaching to do the scholarly research necessary to fill in the gaps. She went through the enormous collection of Sylvia Beach's letters and papers, the unpublished part of her memoirs, and the borrowing cards from the lending library at Shakespeare and Company, all now housed in the library at Princeton University. She searched through the Joyce memorabilia in the State University of New York at Buffalo. Then there were the interviews.

For first-hand information, Fitch was able to interview some forty to fifty members of the "Company" as well as correspond with several hundred others. She exchanged letters with those who were still living at the time she began her research, among them Katherine Anne Porter, Thornton Wilder, Marianne Moore, Archibald MacLeish, Allen Tate, Janet Flanner. Archibald MacLeish replied in detail on lined school notebook paper emphasizing the role his wife's singing had played in their close friendship with the Joyces. Janet Flanner reminisced about Sylvia Beach's utter lack of self-consciousness—a quality that contributed to her charm and personal freedom. In Paris, Fitch interviewed François Valéry, son of the great French poet and a protégé of Sylvia's; and Samuel Beckett, who had idolized Joyce to the point of imitating his dress.

Fitch sought out Jean Henley, one of Beach's last assistants, and another, Eleanor Oldenburger, who recounted a Hemingway story that captures the flavor so well:

Hemingway came into the shop with Martha Gellhorn; Sylvia Beach was not

there, and in the course of the conversation, Eleanor, assuming one of her duties was to keep the operation solvent, suggested that Hemingway might like to pay his bill, which was long overdue. With his future wife looking on, he did so and left immediately. Later, when Eleanor returned from lunch, Sylvia met her with an anxious face.

"Hemingway was here this morning?"

"Yes, he was," Eleanor replied eagerly.

"Well, he telephoned at noon and then he came over to express his anger. . . . Never do that again, Eleanor. Friends can have anything they want. If they do not want to pay for what they take, they do not have to pay. Bren-tano's would pay Hemingway to come into their shop."

She certainly had style, but no wonder she had trouble with the profits, or lack of them.

Noel Fitch's book is the only third-person account of Shakespeare and Company, and it clarifies Sylvia Beach's remarkable contribution to literature. Andre Chamson, quoted in the book, says: "Sylvia carried pollen like a bee. She cross-fertilized those writers. She did more to link England, the United States, Ireland and France than four great ambassadors combined. It was not merely for the pleasure of friendship that Joyce, Eliot, Hemingway, Scott Fitzgerald and others so often took the path to Shakespeare and Company to meet there all those French writers. Nothing is more mysterious than such fertilizations through dialogue, reading, or simple human contact. I know for my part, what I owe to Scott Fitzgerald . . . But what so many owe to each other is Sylvia's secret."

Less so, now, certainly.

The long arm of literary scholarship reaches down through the years and the Joyce-Beach connections are still being played out. Noel Fitch has sold the rights to her book to Jerome Lawrence and Robert Lee, who are working on what will become first a play and then a movie. It will touch on Sylvia's breach with her Presbyterian background, oppression and censorship, and the piracy of parts of *Ulysses*. As of now it will begin and end with the Nazi occupation of Paris; via flashback it will recreate yet again the dream years—when everyone was young, talented and living in Paris.

In a charming footnote to her own encounter with Sylvia Beach's "company," Fitch tells how she first became interested in Shakespeare and Company. She describes her enchantment with an article in the *Ladies Home Journal* by Katherine Anne Porter describing her meeting with Hemingway in Shakespeare and Company. Fitch's mother had sent her the *Ladies Home Journal* in hopes of kindling her interest in domestic skills.

—Edith Nalle Schafer

"A Bibliography of Expatriate Paris"/Noel Riley Fitch/Point Loma College, San Diego, CA/\$3,000/1984/Summer Stipends



A young Booker T. Washington asks a discharged black veteran for help in reading.

Booker

A young, black boy rides an old, lame horse down a narrow, tree-lined dirt road. At the sound of several approaching horses, the boy hurries to find cover in the bordering woods. He fears that the horses may be bearing slave-patrollers, deserters, or worse. Just as he is about to dash into the woods, the boy notices that the three approaching riders are clad in blue uniforms. As the trio pulls up in front of the child, he asks hopefully, "Are you Yankees, mister?" When one of the riders tells him that, indeed, they are soldiers in the Union Army, the boy lets out a whoop of joy, which is met by three broad grins from the tired-looking men. "You happy boy?" asks one soldier. "Yessir!" the youngster replies. "Then why ain't you dancin'?" the soldier continues. "Thought niggers liked to dance when they was happy. C'mon dance fo' us." Confused, the boy stammers, "I . . . I don't know how to dance." Another soldier comes to the child's rescue. "Let him be. We ain't got time to fool 'roun'. You think we can use this corn boy?" "Tha's my massa's corn sir!" exclaims the boy. "Nigger, you ain't got no massa," replies the third soldier. "The war's over boy. You free."

In this scene from *Booker*, a one-hour NEH-supported film depicting the early years of Booker T. Washington's life, nine-year-old Booker gets a clue from the bigoted Union soldiers that the path to freedom may be rockier than he had imagined. The film, which will air on the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) in the fall, will headline a series of educational films for children. It portrays the young Booker T. Washington's struggle to learn and to gain a sense of dignity during a dramatic and critical period in American history—the end of the Civil War and the first years of black emancipation.

Executive Producer Avon Kirkland



James Joyce, Sylvia Beach, and Adrienne Monnier in 1938. Beach published Joyce's monumental work, *Ulysses*, when no one else would take it on. French typesetters, who could not understand English, were not shocked by the language.

chose to make a film on this segment of Booker T. Washington's life because he believes that the young Booker's extraordinary determination to learn is an excellent vehicle for teaching young viewers what life was like under slavery and how hard blacks fought to educate and support themselves in the years following emancipation.

Kirkland's interest in Booker T. Washington began in 1979 when he stumbled upon Louis Harlan's prize-winning biography, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1865-1901* (Oxford Press, 1972). (Harlan's second volume in this biography, *The Wizard of Tuskegee*, has just won the 1984 Pulitzer Prize for biography.)

Kirkland recalled, "I was immediately struck by the dramatic potential of a young boy's aspirations to rise above ignorance and the dehumanizing conditions of slavery on the one hand, and the backdrop of chaos and upheaval after the Civil War on the other."

In researching his film, Kirkland found that both black and white children in the San Francisco Bay area knew very little about the history of the Civil War and Reconstruction and less about the life of Booker T. Washington. In order to address the lack of understanding of Booker and his times among children, Kirkland chose not to rely on Washington's autobiography *Up From Slavery* (1901), which he feels does not present an accurate picture of the controversial black leader. Instead, Kirkland relied on the most recent scholarship, including *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, coedited by Harlan and Raymond Shock, Harlan's biography, and Leon Litwack's 1980 Pulitzer Prize-winning *Been in the Storm So Long*. The last consists of slaves' reminiscences of life under bondage.

While Harlan's books examine the "child as father" to the very complex enigmatic man Washington became, Kirkland's film has different objectives. Kirkland uses Booker's childhood to educate young people about the realities of slavery, to show how slaves coped with the conditions of

bondage and how they envisioned life in freedom, and to develop an appreciation for the free blacks' struggle to learn in the absence of educational opportunities after emancipation.

"I want kids to identify with Booker and to show how sad it is when the social structure prevents people from striving for a life that has meaning and that will bring happiness," Kirkland said.

The opening scene of the film serves as a good example of his purpose. Booker is shown accompanying his mistress Laura Burroughs to the one-room schoolhouse where she teaches. After arriving, Laura shoos Booker away, telling him to return to the plantation where he belongs. Linger by the window, Booker listens in on the class, savoring the chance to overhear a lecture. Laura discovers Booker's forbidden presence, the laughing class proceeds to the window, and Laura exhorts the guileless lad: "Are you trying to get me in trouble? Get on home!"

Obstacles to Booker's quest to learn form the dramatic premise of the film. Frustrated though undeterred, Booker repeatedly surmounts the hurdles he faces with a plucky, optimistic attitude which Kirkland hopes will prove "uplifting" to a young audience.

Washington came of age during the turbulent years immediately following the Civil War. Virtually self-taught, he went from a penniless student at Hampton Institute to become the powerful head of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama. From his pulpit at Tuskegee, he preached a gospel of thrift, hard work, economic self-sufficiency, and cleanliness. As the leading black educator and administrator of his age, Washington nurtured attitudes that sought to improve the economic conditions of blacks without disturbing the existing social order. His conciliatory approach in dealing with whites won him the favors of powerful philanthropists like John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie. During the 1960s, Washington's reputation suf-

fered because his conservative political and social philosophies were condemned as damaging to blacks in America. Today, there are those who still dismiss Washington for being a lackey to white power-wielders. Even during his days at Tuskegee, when the prestige he held and the power base he built up were admired widely, many deplored Washington's methods and philosophies.

In 1895, Washington addressed the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta in a speech that is recognized as the emblem of the controversy concerning strategies blacks should adopt to most effectively improve their condition. "The Atlanta Compromise" urged a program whereby blacks and whites would put aside their differences and focus their energies on the mutually beneficial goal of economic progress. Essentially, Washington asked blacks to subordinate their yearnings for political and social equality to the more immediate task of gaining economic respectability. After you secure a solid economic foothold, he told blacks, equal protection of the law is more likely to be yours. He reassured whites that "in all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

The Atlanta speech, which corresponded to the program of industrial education that Washington had promoted at Tuskegee, was hailed widely by both whites and blacks for its pragmatism and diplomacy. It established Washington as the leading voice for black America. He was feted in Cambridge, at the White House and at Buckingham Palace, and contributions to Tuskegee flowed abundantly.

But in 1896, the same year that Harvard conferred the honorary degree of Master of Arts on Washington, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* that the separation of blacks and whites in public places was constitutional. While Tuskegee blossomed, segregation continued to mock the democratic ideal of equality.

Two years after Washington pub-

lished *Up From Slavery*, which Harlan said established Washington as "the schoolbook black hero for more than half a century," W.E. Burghardt DuBois published *The Souls of Black Folk*. In the chapter, "Of Booker T. Washington and Others," DuBois, a former Washington disciple, charged Washington with having aided blacks' loss of political rights, the erection of caste barriers, and the deflection of funds from academic education for leaders to industrial education for the masses. As the leader of the vocal "Niagara Movement" protesting racial injustice, DuBois challenged the "Tuskegee Machine" as a dictatorial stranglehold on black affairs that stifled other efforts for racial improvement.

Although most present-day scholars agree that Booker T. Washington's ultimate goal was to win for blacks all the rights accorded to American citizens, the wisdom of the means he chose remains a bitterly disputed theme of black history.

Kirkland will examine these broader and more perplexing themes of Washington's life in a four-part television series, *Bricks Without Straw*, which is aimed at an adult audience and will be shown at a later date.

In Kirkland's opinion, Booker T. Washington made a Faustian bargain with white America. In return for white support in the area of providing economic progress, blacks would not insist upon the right to vote and on social equality. Whites did not hold up their end of the bargain and it was left up to resurgent black protests—the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909, for example—to put blacks on the path that would eventually lead to equality.

—Louise Kowitch

"Booker—The Early Life of Booker T. Washington"/Booker T. Washington Project, Berkeley, CA/\$474,191/1982-83/Youth Projects/"Bricks Without Straw, The Life and Times of Booker T. Washington"/Avon Kirkland/New Images Productions, Inc., Berkeley, CA/\$133,932/1984/Humanities Projects in Media



What has happened in

Anthropology

Archaeology

Art Criticism

Art History

Classics

Ethics

History

Jurisprudence

Language

Linguistics

Literature

Philosophy

Religion

Social Science

On the face-page of *The Wasteland*, there is a famous passage from Petronius, which refers to the Cumaean Sibyl, hanging in a jar: when some boys ask the Sibyl what she wants, she replies: "I want to die." The logician, Richard Jeffrey, once said to me that the Verifiability Criterion of Meaningfulness had begun to be like [that] sibyl, wanting only death. Certainly, by the year 1959, when this retrospective overview of philosophy is supposed to begin, the poor Criterion was very badly off, held together by wires and kept alive by infusions of logical ingenuity perhaps better expended elsewhere: One hardly could believe that in the hands of Logical Positivism, the Criterion had inspired fear, was perceived as a lethal scourge, designed to rid the world once and for all of metaphysics by demonstrating its systematic nonsensicality, and to clear the landscape for a new form of scientific philosophy. When I was a graduate student, the hard Germanic names of the prominent Positivists—Carnap, Reichenbach, Schlick, Neurath, Hempel, and of course that of my own teacher, Ernest Nagel—reminded me of the Knights of the Teutonic Order as portrayed in Eisenstein's film, *Alexander Nevsky*, riding in logical armor across the steppes of glacial abstraction, routing the forces of portentous muddle which used to be called philosophy.

The Verifiability Criterion held that whatever could not be verified through sense-experience, unless true by definition or "analytical"—as the whole of mathematics was believed to be—was simply nonsense, however attractively disguised. When the Positivists, driven from Europe, found positions in American universities, their austere criterion proved congenial to an important native strain of thought: Pragmatism, as developed by the genius of Charles Peirce, understood meaning as a matter of testability, so that a term must be defined by the laboratory procedures which establish it: What cannot be tested cannot then be understood.

The Positivists, like the Pragmatists, took science as the canonical intellectual activity—Dewey was after all concerned to extend the procedures of scientific inquiry to the resolution of the problems of men—and the prevailing belief was that the Criterion captured scientific procedure exactly. Philosophy could only have a use as hand maiden to the positive sciences, and through the decade of the 1950s, mainstream philosophy was pretty much the philosophy of science, so construed: It was a massive endeavor to analyze such concepts as theory, law, explanation, confirmation, observation, and reduction. Symbolic logic was to provide at once the instrument of analysis and a kind of perfect language, free of ambiguity and immune to paradox, in which whatever was meaningful could be expressed with perfect clarity. Alas for this bold collective program, the Criterion displayed alarming flaws. For the powerful theories that gave science, especially physical science, its immense authority, seemed not at all as

tethered to sense-observation as the Criterion required, and when the latter was liberalized sufficiently to capture those parts of science that made it great, there was no way to exclude metaphysics. The Criterion suffered alternately from cognitive anemia or from massive invasions of what its proponents regarded as nonsense, and by the time that Jeffrey was able to make his witty allusion, it no longer seemed worth the trouble to make it do what it once was supposed it could do without any aid at all. Nevertheless, Verificationism continues to play a role in the philosophical unconscious of the past twenty-five years. Although very few actively subscribe to Verificationism, its analytical strategies prescribe modes of approach that would shock many were they to realize that these are styles of Positivist address in some convenient masquerade.

Officially, however, Positivism was in considerable disarray in 1959, in part because it seemed leagues away from explaining the mechanisms of meaning, and the new decade began with a new theory, due primarily to Ludwig Wittgenstein, whose deeply influential *Philosophical Investigations* had been published posthumously in 1953. For Wittgenstein, the meaning of a sentence was a matter of its use in the facilitation of a form of life, so the questions of understanding were to be answered with reference not to how we know it to be true, but how we would

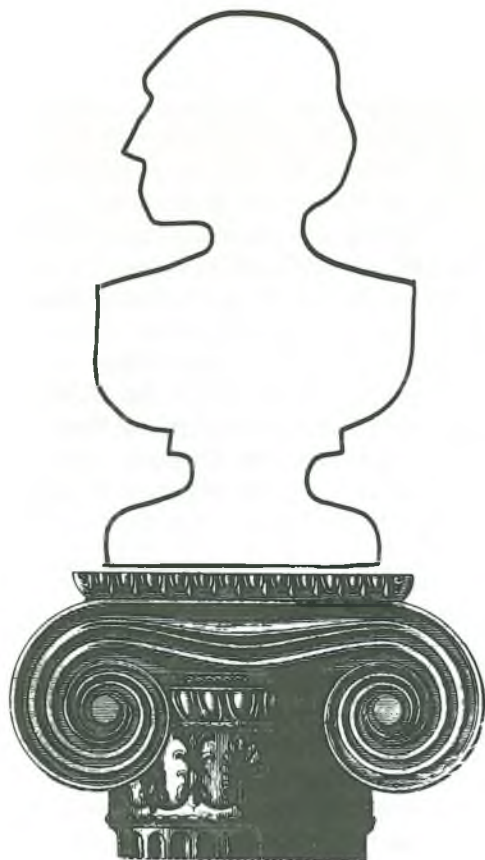
circumstances of life. There remained enough vitality in Positivism that the main internal controversy of the period concerned the question of whether ordinary language was an adequate philosophical instrument. Perhaps the most striking confrontation was between the ordinary-language analysis of referring-expressions, by P.F. Strawson, and the celebrated Theory of Descriptions invented by Bertrand Russell, which sought to show that what seemed like referring-expressions were covert descriptions and that the logical form of sentences in which they occur is vastly different from what surface grammar would lead us to believe. Strawson was widely conceded to have won this engagement, establishing the preëminence of ordinary over formal language, the common man of the vernacular besting the all too heavily equipped knights of the formal order.

Under the leadership of J.L. Austin, Oxford University became the center of this new style of analysis. Proposing that philosophers down the ages had been misled by what he termed The Descriptivist Fallacy, i.e., had supposed the primary if not the exclusive office of language was to describe, Austin insisted that there are many uses to which words are in fact put. The expression "I know," he famously argued, has a performative rather than a descriptive use, but since philosophers had failed to see this, they had sought, futilely, for the definition of something

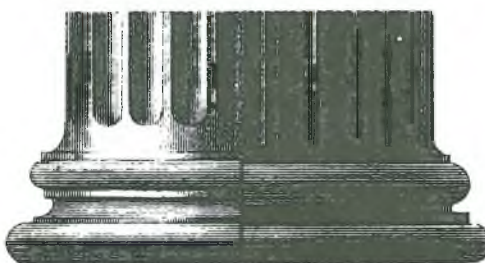
"We evidently do not know the first thing even about the simplest modes of connecting language to the world, to judge by the intense and as yet unresolved investigations into naming and reference conducted by Saul Kripke, Hilary Putnam, David Kaplan, and legions of lesser semantical theorists. By a curious irony, this exceedingly technical enterprise has reactivated the most robust impulses of metaphysical speculation. . . . The political geography of analytical philosophy was reversed in this decade: Semantical theory was very much an American export, and Oxford dwindled to a province of California."

explain its use. Needless to say, if it had no use (like the sentences of metaphysics!) it had no meaning, and the purgative part of the new philosophy of language consisted in demonstrating the uselessness of the language of philosophy. But this was accompanied by a positive program of examining the actual uses of ordinary language made by ordinary persons in the ordinary

called knowledge. Austin and his followers offered similar redirective analyses of many central philosophical terms, "true" and "good" being typical; with each success dissolving away whole domains of traditional philosophical concern, or seeming to. Though Austin did not live into the sixties, Oxford was pretty much regarded the Mecca of advanced philos-



"For Wittgenstein, the meaning of a sentence was a matter of its use in the facilitation of a form of life, so the questions of understanding were to be answered with reference not to how we know it to be true, but how we would explain its use. Needless to say, if it had no use (like the sentences of metaphysics!) it had no meaning, and the purgative part of the new philosophy of language consisted in demonstrating the uselessness of the language of philosophy."



ophy by Americans, who returned to their country after their pilgrimage there to teach students to see philosophy yielding to a clearer understanding of "what we say when." John Searle's *Speech Acts* is perhaps the major expression of this approach, but by 1970, The Descriptivist Fallacy seemed as though it, too, wanted to die, and the program appeared increasingly sterile. Indeed, it seemed as little capable of understanding meaning as Verificationism had been.

In part, this is because of the sentence-by-sentence focus of both schools of analysis, when it seemed very much closer to the truth to think of language holistically, as a network connected only at the margins with sense-experience, and capable of considerable reciprocal adjustments according to need. Such a view had been enunciated by W. V. Quine early in the 1950s in his "Two Dogmas of Empiricism," and in his curiously neglected book, *Word and Object*. But more even than that, the primordial fact about ordinary language, according to a profound observation of Noam Chomsky, is that competence in its employment consists in the production and comprehension of a virtual infinitude of novel sentences that the user has not specifically *learned* to use. In some way this seems connected with the internal structures of sentences, to which both Verificationism and Oxford Instrumentalism seemed blind, and in Chomsky's view, nothing less than some internal native mechanism could account for the fact that every child (and none but human) is capable of acquiring natural languages. One philosophical response to the rediscovery of structure was Donald Davidson's "Meaning and Truth," of 1967, in which Davidson seeks to connect these two concepts by defining meaning as a matter of truth-conditions, thereby beginning an explanation of how, on the basis of a finite vocabulary, an infinity of sentences can be generated and grasped. Davidson's program then was to develop a semantics for natural languages, using the logical forms central to Formalism in the elucidation of the natural languages superficially studied by Oxford: Until we know the logical form of the sentences in which a term occurs, Davidson wrote, "we do not know the first thing." We evidently do not know the first thing even about the simplest modes of connecting language to the world, to judge by the intense and as yet unresolved investigations into naming and reference conducted by Saul Kripke, Hilary Putnam, David Kaplan, and legions of lesser semantical theorists. By a curious irony, this exceedingly technical enterprise has reactivated the most robust impulses of metaphysical speculation, as semanticians seek to frame a picture of how the world must be if language is to be true of it. Kripkians find themselves talking about sets of possible worlds with the casualness of a Leibnitz, or mooted the concepts of essence, of *de re* necessities, and of natural kinds with the ease of medieval Aristotelians. The political geography of analytical philosophy

was reversed in this decade: Semantical theory was very much an American export, and Oxford dwindled to a province of California.

Now the Verifiability Criterion had been long gone before the news of its expiration reached beyond the borders of philosophy. It was particularly late in reaching psychology, which under the leadership of B.F. Skinner had sought to model itself into what Positivism regarded a science ought to be, admitting into its vocabulary no terms that did not meet the most exacting observational specificity. Behaviorism restricted itself to correlating observed responses to observed stimuli under experimental conditions, but even so exiguous a base was all that Skinner supposed was required to explain all our higher functions. His *Verbal Behavior* aimed to show this for the development of linguistic behavior. This book was demolished in a famous review by Chomsky, who of course supposed there has to be an innate mechanism rather than a history of conditioning if linguistic competence is to be possible, and the question of how the mind must be if it is to acquire a natural language was taken up in an influential study by Jerry Fodor, *The Language of Thought* of 1975. Fodor argued for a "medium or representation" in which the grammar of the language to be acquired may be formulated, and lays out a computational model of mental activity which connects the philosophy of mind henceforward with the disciplines of cognitive science just as the semantics of natural languages connects the philosophy of language with formal linguistics. One striking feature of contemporary philosophy is the erasure, or the blurring, of boundaries between philosophy and these other disciplines. But since boundaries have two sides, the psychologization or the linguistification of philosophy means the philosophification of psychology and linguistics as well. Philosophy has a way of internalizing its own exterior.

This is perhaps nowhere more evident than in literary theory, currently in a turmoil of philosophification through the heady stimulation of the writings of Jacques Derrida. For Derrida, the entire history of philosophy was given over to the production of self-deconstructing artifacts, in that each system of philosophy presupposes concepts the system cannot account for and which may be dialectically incompatible with the system that requires them. The history of twentieth-century philosophy, Derrida being no exception, has been marked by a certain cruelty and a certain comedy. The cruelty consists of consigning the entirety of past philosophy to the flames, including the elaborate technologies evolved in executing the programs each previous consignment to the flames offered as a path to intellectual redemption. The comedy consists in the cruelty just described. The rhythm of purgation-and-program defines the progress of philosophy down the ages, immensely accelerating in the past twenty-five years. It is repeated in the work of Derrida, as in that of his

American counterpart, Richard Rorty, who but exemplify a history each has set out to repudiate. Derrida's program is to study philosophical texts as works of literature; Rorty's, believing philosophy to have no subject matter, is to engage in edifying conversations with disciplines that do. But seriously to address texts as texts is going to require harder work than literary enthusiasts of Derrida have recognized if the fierce formalisms of semantical theory constitute the first steps; and edifying conversations with literary theory, if responsibly executed, will find philosophy face to face with itself. Meanwhile the word is out that Deconstruction, too, wants only to die.

I have sought to sketch, from a resolutely Olympian distance, the lineaments of mainstream philosophy through two and a half decades. Distance is required, for the texture of philosophical work is a density of polemical interchange, with massive charges against positions rendered obscure by the smoke of battle, or elegant sniping against targets that only symbolize deep movements of the philosophical mind seeking self-consciousness. Of necessity, I have had to omit many marvelous victories of clarification and conceptual advance, especially in ethics and applied ethics, including the magisterial contribution of John Rawls; in aesthetics and the philosophy of art; in logic and the theory of knowledge; and of course in the logical illumination of the great theorists of the past. I have also had to omit incursions from alien directions: Marxism, existentialism, even phenomenology, have not penetrated very deeply into the mainstream of philosophical reflection.

Even so, I would hesitate to say where philosophy is today or what it is today. I doubt it can be grasped in abstraction from the history it has lived through, but the shape of the present will present itself only to the historians of the future. I have the sense, however, that most of the analytical programs have lost their energy, and if not dead want to be, since part of what each of them strove to demolish assumed a fresh form and strength in the programs that superseded them. I see no bright new programs. In a way the present of philosophy is like the present of art, the wild effervescences of the recent histories of both having abated, leaving only a kind of stunned pluralism as the practical fact. There is this difference: Philosophy is too connected with everything else the mind does for it to stand alone in its failure to find identity. If this is the case with philosophy today, it will have to be the case with everything that borders on philosophy tomorrow. The present of philosophy is, I believe, the future of human thought. The humanities are in for a difficult, I hope an exciting period.

—Arthur C. Danto

Mr. Danto, a professor of philosophy at Columbia University, is the current president of the American Philosophical Association. His most recent book is *The Transfiguration of the Commonplace*, Harvard University Press, 1981.

RECENT NEH GRANT AWARDS

Some of the items in this list are offers, not final awards.

Archaeology & Anthropology

American Museum of Natural History, NYC; Thomas D. Nicholson: \$145,878. To plan a major temporary exhibition on the life and culture of the Asante people of Western Ghana which includes a public lecture series and a symposium involving prominent scholars of the Asante. Artifacts will be loaned from the British Museum. *GM*

Bethel College, North Newton, KS; John M. Janzen: \$15,000. To plan permanent installation of the historical and ethnographic collections of the Kauffman Museum. *GM*

Bryn Mawr College, PA; James C. Wright: \$132,271 FM. To conduct a three-year excavation of the prehistoric site of Tsoungiza in the Nemea Valley of the northeastern Peloponnese and an archaeological survey of the Nemea Valley. *RO*

Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh, PA; David R. Watters: \$9,996. To plan a self-study by six consultants in the humanities to evaluate the museum's anthropology section. *GM*

Cincinnati Museum of Natural History, OH; DeVere E. Burt: \$26,060. To plan laboratory preparation, analysis, and preparation for publication of four prehistoric Indian sites in southwestern Ohio that had been excavated in the past and final fieldwork at one of the sites. *RO*

Community School District 18, Brooklyn, NY; Eileene Leibowitz: \$150,762. To conduct a two-year collaborative project between Community School District 18 and local universities and other organizations to study the archaeology of the local Carnarie Indians in the context of New York City and American history. *ES*

Paul E. Farmer, Jr., Brooksville, FL: \$2,353. To explore Haitian-American poetry by researching and analyzing the relationship of poetry and culture. A scholarly article, annotated bibliography, and lecture-presentation will result. *GY*

Flowerdew Hundred Foundation, Hopewell, VA; James F. Deetz: \$182,499. To conduct three five-week summer institutes in archaeology for teachers at the high school and university levels in order to allow the incorporation of an archaeological perspective in the teaching of American history. *EH*

Peter H. Getzels, Chicago, IL: \$12,930. To complete a film documenting the most important indigenous pilgrimage and festival in the Southern Andes of Peru which will illustrate present-day links with the pre-Columbian past and will observe the interaction between Catholic and pagan beliefs. *GY*

Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; Jane Ayer Scott: \$32,390 OR; \$16,195 FM. To continue the services of a research assistant for three years to prepare bibliographies, illustrations, indices, and check proofs for the manuscripts of three volumes of publications on the excavations at ancient Sardis. *RO*

Indiana U., Bloomington; Linda Degh: \$84,750. To study the ethnography and folklore of a Hungarian-American community. *RO*

Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, PA; Edward L. Schieffelin: \$82,000. To study the Bosavi people of Papua, New Guinea, 1915-1982, focusing upon their reactions to outside influence. *RO*

Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, NE; Theodore W. James: \$19,828. To plan a permanent exhibition and catalogue interpreting the collection of late Bronze Age to Hellenistic period pottery in the context of Greek culture. *GM*

Ellen M. Kuras, New York, NY: \$14,205. To produce a film which explores the transition of Laotian refugees into mainstream American culture through the eyes and experiences of the younger generation who now face critical choices between two cultures. *GY*

New York Folklore Society, Saranac Lake; Steven J. Zeitlin: \$15,000. To plan a traveling exhibition on play in urban areas which will explore how the urban environment is transformed when it is used for traditional games and sports. It will also illus-

trate how the use of urban space for recreational activity has changed over time. *GM*

Jim Salvator, Boulder, CO: \$500. To research the tales of the Texas kickapoo. *RY*

Save Our Cemeteries, Inc., New Orleans, LA; Charles E. Pearson: \$41,775. To conduct systematic archaeological investigation and analysis of the material cultural remains in the late 18th-century above-ground tomb and vault cemetery in New Orleans. *RO*

Science Museum of Minnesota, St. Paul; Orrin C. Shane, III: \$350,000. To plan a traveling temporary exhibition, catalogue, and lecture series interpreting artifacts of gold, jade, copper, wood, copal, and cloth dredged from the most famous archaeological excavations in this hemisphere, the Sacred Cenote of the Mayan city Chichen Itza. *GM*

SUNY Research Foundation/Albany, NY; Dean R. Snow: \$39,066. To study more than 25 major public and private archaeological collections. *RO*

SUNY at Buffalo, NY; Livingston V. Watrous: \$61,471 FM. To conduct an archaeological surface survey of the western Mesara region of southern Crete. *RO*

U. of Chicago, IL; John L. Comaroff: \$88,000. To conduct research by a cultural anthropologist on the adaptations of a southern African chiefdom to modern capitalism. *RO*

U. of Colorado, Boulder; Bruce H. Dahlin: \$41,364 FM. To implement an accurate mapping of the ancient preclassic city of El Mirador as the basis for a study of ancient Mayan urban development. *RO*

U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor; John G. Pedley: \$46,577 FM. To complete excavation of a Graeco-Roman sanctuary at Paestum, Italy, and prepare the results for final publication. *RO*

U. of New Mexico, Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, Albuquerque; Mari Lyn Salvador: \$14,980. To plan the reinstallation of permanent anthropological and archaeological collections. *GM*

U. of North Carolina, Charlotte; James Daniel White, Jr.: \$500. To research ancient Indian birth myths and ancient Indian medicine. *RY*

Washington State U., Pullman; Robert E. Ackerman: \$16,632. To analyse, synthesize, and interpret archaeological materials recovered from seven seasons of research in southwestern Alaska. *RO*

Arts—History & Criticism

Augustinians of the Assumption, Milton, MA; Richard E. Lamoureux: \$14,037. To plan a permanent interpretive exhibit on Russian religious icons. *GM*

Susanne L. Bessac, Missoula, MT: \$500. To research a comparison of Miao designs for China and Laos. *RY*

Cantors Assembly, NYC; Mark Slobin: \$90,000 OR; \$26,410 FM. To plan a historical study of the cantor as an individual, the cantorate as an institution, and the art of the cantor in American Jewish music and liturgy. *RO*

Magdalena E. Carrasco, Sarasota, FL: \$500. To research a stylistic and iconographic study of an early French book of medieval church music. *RY*

Clemson U., SC; Loretta Carrillo: \$500. To research dance in America for a reference guide. *RY*

College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA; Glenn D. Lowry: \$14,505. To plan a traveling exhibit on four architectural competitions held from 1937 to 1941 which were significant in introducing modernism and modernist aesthetics into American architecture and urban design. *GM*

College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA; Stanley J. Lourdeaux: \$500. To research a critical survey of Catholicism in American cinema, 1908-83, or, the analogical imagination as metaphoric event in film. *RY*

Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Barbara S. Moore: \$94,200. To implement a traveling exhibition on surrealist photography in the context of the artistic and literary worlds of Europe

and America between the two World Wars. *GM*

CUNY Graduate School and U. Center, NYC; Barry S. Brook: \$11,353. To complete the second five-year cumulative index to RILM, an international bibliography of music history and criticism. *RC*

De Paul U., Chicago, IL; Sally Chappell: \$111,521. To conduct a five-week summer institute for thirty faculty members on the teaching of urban architectural history. *EH*

Detroit Institute of Arts, MI; Alan P. Darr: \$111,739. To plan a temporary exhibit devoted to European arms and armor which will interpret the theme of chivalry. *GM*

Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, IL; Carolyn P. Blackmon: \$55,219. To plan interpretive programs to accompany a visiting Corcoran Gallery of Art exhibit, "Black Folk Art in America: 1930-1980," and use of the museum's permanent collection of African artifacts. *GM*

Frederic Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, NY; Carol R. Wenzel-Rideout: \$11,226. To plan installation of a visitor orientation gallery which will provide comprehensive interpretation of the permanent collection. *GM*

Hudson River Museum, Yonkers, NY; Rick Beard: \$15,000. To plan a temporary traveling exhibition devoted to the work of the pictorialist photographer Rudolf Eickemeyer who was instrumental in founding what has become the Hudson River Museum. *GM*

Steve Husarik, Chicago, IL: \$500. To research rhythmic nuance in performance and piano rolls. *RY*

Indiana U., Bloomington; Molly A. Faries: \$85,000. To document a representative sample of underdrawings of Renaissance paintings in mid-western collections. *RO*

International Center of Photography, NYC; Cornell Capa: \$49,545. To implement a temporary traveling interpretive photographic exhibition and accompanying programs on the Lacador and Tzotzil Maya. *GM*

Marion Knoblauch-Franc, Chicago, IL: \$10,000. To complete a history of the Federal Music Project, WPA, 1935-43, drawing on archival materials and taped and transcribed interviews with participants. *RO*

Luther College, Decorah, IA; Richard G. Cole: \$500. To research the cultural significance of 16th-century German woodcuts. *RY*

Morningside College, Sioux City, IA; Susan L. Richards: \$500. To research the academic architecture of Allison and Allison, 1910-1942. *RY*

Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, MA; Eugenia W. Herbert: \$37,784. To plan a temporary exhibition of 50 copper and copper-alloy artifacts from Zaire, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Western Africa, highlighting the antiquity of the trans-Saharan copper trade and focusing on the cultural role of copper and its alloys. *GM*

Municipal Art Society, NYC; Theodore H. M. Prudon: \$15,000. To plan a traveling exhibit on the history of American architectural terra cotta, illustrating the growth of urban America and the rise and fall of an American trade. *GM*

Museum of American Jewish History, Philadelphia, PA; Alice M. Greenwald: \$44,378 OR; \$5,000 FM. To plan a temporary, interpretive exhibition exploring the impact of Philadelphia film pioneer Siegmund "Pop" Lubin upon the American film industry. *GM*

Museum of Arts and History, Port Huron, MI; Stephen R. Williams: \$28,660. To plan a temporary traveling exhibition on the relation of the formal, popular, and traditional forms of music and culture indigenous to the state of Michigan during the past 150 years. *GM*

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA; Jonathan L. Fairbanks: \$100,000 OR; \$25,000 FM. To conduct final editing and publication of a catalogue of the American sculpture collection at the Museum of Fine Arts. *GM*

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Jonathan L. Fairbanks: \$15,000. To plan an exhibition that will present arts and crafts objects as products of a design reform movement (1875-1930) intended to influence and transform society. *GM*

Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, MA; Richard

C. Muhlberger: \$6,112. To plan a temporary exhibit on British painting from 1770 to 1840, focusing on group portraits, conversation pieces, topographical views, and thematic presentations of figures in nature. *GM*

Music Library Association, Wellesley, MA; Donald W. Krummel: \$8,431. To conduct a study of the feasibility of developing a national program for bibliographic control and eventual preservation of American sheet music collections. *RC*

New Jersey State Museum, Trenton; Suzanne C. Crilley: \$112,736. To plan a traveling exhibit on the life and work of photographer James Ricalton, 1880-1914. *GM*

Ohio U. Libraries, Columbus, OH; Sally R. Sims: \$500. To research academic architecture of Allison and Allison, 1910-1942. *RY*

Pennsylvania State U., Ogotz Campus, Abington; Suzanne T. Stutman: \$500. To conduct research on Aline Bernstein and the American theater. *RY*

Research Foundation of SUNY, Albany; Rose A. Zimbardo: \$500. To research the dramatic imitation of nature, 1660-1730. *RY*

Seattle Art Museum, WA; Bonnie Pitman-Gelles: \$13,460. To conduct interpretive programs in conjunction with the exhibition "Fifty Years: A Legacy of Asian Art." *GM*

Springfield Library and Museums Association, MA; Richard C. Muhlberger: \$18,260. To plan a temporary exhibit on the arts, religion, burial practices, and history of the Egyptian Saite Period (26th Dynasty, 664-525 B.C.) including the first burial ensemble to have been displayed in the United States in 1823. *GM*

Kevin W. Sweeney, Landisville, PA: \$500. To research comic structure in the films of Buster Keaton. *RY*

Texas A&M U., College Station; Keith L. Bryant: \$500. To research the genteel bohemian: William Merritt Chase and the transformation of American art. *RY*

Tufts U., Medford, MA; Margaret H. Floyd: \$39,997. To prepare a book, "The Terra Cotta Revivals," that will chronicle the origins and use of architectural terra cottas in modern times. *RO*

U. of Kentucky Research Foundation, Lexington, KY; Rey M. Longyear: \$500. To conduct research on Stefano Pavesi and 19th-century Italian music. *RY*

U. of Maryland, College Park; Howard Serwer: \$262,174. To conduct two five-week summer institutes for 30 faculty members to provide intensive training in the teaching of the editing of Baroque and Classical music texts. *EH*

U. of Minnesota, Minneapolis; Lyndel I. King: \$15,000. To plan a traveling exhibition about Richardsonian architecture on the Plains. *GM*

U. of Missouri, Saint Louis; Diane H. Toulaitos-Banker: \$500. To prepare research on the catalogue of the Byzantine musical manuscripts in the Vatican. *RY*

U. of Southern California, Los Angeles; Eunice D. Howe: \$500. To research an English edition of "A Renaissance Guidebook to the Churches of Rome" by Andrea Palladio, 1554. *RY*

Virginia Polytechnic Inst. & State U., Blacksburg; Jacqueline E. Bixler: \$500. To conduct research on a history and critical study of Mexican theater. *RY*

Wadhams Hall Seminary-College, Ogdensburg, NY; Edward G. Clarke: \$45,500. To develop introductory courses in music, art, and poetry to fulfill a new graduation requirement in the arts which includes library acquisitions to support the new courses, for consultant assistance, and for travel to conferences. *EK*

Wake Forest U., Winston-Salem, NC; Susan H. Borwick: \$500. To research the private papers of Lotte Lenya in the Weill-Lenya Archives. *RY*

Washington U., St. Louis, MO; Gerald D. Bolas: \$14,700. To plan a traveling exhibition and catalogue on the aesthetic transformations within Japanese painting resulting from contact with French art of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. *GM*

Wave Hill, Inc., Bronx, NY; Leslie R. Close: \$15,000. To plan a traveling exhibition examining the life and cultural significance of the turn-of-the-century landscape architect, Beatrix Farrand. *GM*

Classics

Emory U., Atlanta, GA; Herbert W. Benario: \$500. To research recent work on Tacitus (1974-83). RY
Emory U., Atlanta, GA; Robert A. Bauslaugh: \$500. To research the posthumous Alexander coinages of western Asia Minor (ca. 280-160 B.C.). RY
Bettie L. Forte, Roanoke, VA: \$500. To research the illuminated manuscripts of Vergil; Flaxman's "Shield of Achilles." RY
Linfield College, McMinnville, OR; Helen Nagy: \$500. To research a catalog of Caeritan votive terracottas in the Lowie Museum. RY
Marquette U., Milwaukee, WI; Oliver K. Olson: \$500. To conduct research on a biography of Mat-thias Flacius. RY
Saint John's U., Collegeville, MN; Ivan Havener: \$500. To research the Greek "Lives" of Gregory the Great. RY
Vanderbilt U., Nashville, TN; Scott Colley: \$77,013. To conduct a summer institute for secondary humanities teachers on the political, social, and cultural crisis of fifth-century Greece. ES
Westminster College, New Wilmington, PA; J. Hilton Turner: \$96,764. To conduct a two-year program of summer institutes for 40 language teachers in Latin and classical cultures. ES

History—Non-U.S.

American Council of Learned Societies, NYC; Herbert L. Bodman, Jr.: \$43,986. To continue the Islamic Teaching Materials Project. The activities will include publicizing the eight units of the project, acquiring permission for the Islam-fiche unit, and purchasing republication rights. EH
Bucknell U., Lewisburg, PA; Barbara A. Shailor: \$3,956. To continue planning a catalogue of 850 manuscripts dating from the fourth through the sixteenth century. RC
Case Western Reserve U., Cleveland, OH; Thomas Esper: \$500. To conduct research on life and labor in the Ural Mountains, 1700-1917. RY
Thomas E. Cogswell, Athens, GA: \$500. To conduct research on the Crown, Parliament and war, 1623-26. RY
Community College Humanities Association, Cranford, NJ; Warren S. Curry: \$135,840. To conduct an institute designed to assist two- and four-year college faculty in restructuring the introductory history course to incorporate the "new history." EH
David G. Egler, Macomb, IL: \$500. To conduct research on the Japanese mass political organization in Manchuria, 1928-1945: the ideology of racial harmony. RY
Carole K. Fink, Wilmington, DE: \$500. To conduct research on Marc Bloch and the French Resistance, 1942-1944. RY
Georgia Southern College, Statesboro; John M. Carter: \$500. To research rape in medieval England: crime, punishment, and society, 1198-1348. RY
Peter G. Jeffery, New Haven, CT: \$500. To research the origins of MS Paris Lat. 17436. RY
North Carolina State U., Raleigh; Charles H. Carlton: \$500. To research the biography of Archbishop William Laud. RY
Piscataqua Gundalow Project, Portsmouth, NH; Alex Herlihy: \$60,660. To plan a permanent exhibition, a traveling exhibition, and an outreach program showing in broad historical perspective the impact of human and technological interaction on the environment. GM
U. of California, Berkeley; Ira M. Lapidus: \$81,000. To produce an interpretive history of Islamic societies. RO
U. of California, San Diego; David R. Ringrose: \$100,000. To study the role of Madrid in directing the rural economy of 19th-century Spain. RO
U. of Iowa, Iowa City; Paul R. Greenough: \$500. To conduct research on a history of smallpox and vaccination in South Asia, 1700-1975. RY
U. of Maryland, Baltimore; James S. Grubb: \$500. To research a family chronicle of the northern Italian renaissance. RY
U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor; William G. Rosenberg: \$89,307. To collaborate research leading to a detailed history of labor unrest in Russia in 1917. RO
U. of Minnesota, St. Paul; John K. Munholland: \$500. To research the trench and the garden: a study of France between 1917 and 1940. RY
U. of South Carolina, Columbia; William R. Stanley: \$500. To research German commercial maritime contacts with West Africa's grain coast. RY
U. of Washington, Seattle; Imre Boba: \$500. To research the formation of states in East Central

Europe. RY
U. of Wisconsin, Parkside, Kenosha; Thomas C. Reeves: \$67,277. To conduct two summer institutes on American and world history for 25 Wisconsin social studies teachers. ES
Washington State U., Pullman; Thomas L. Kennedy: \$500. To research the autobiography of Mrs. Nie Zeng Jifen (1850-1941). RY
Wayne State U., Detroit, MI; Martin J. Irvine: \$500. To study unpublished manuscript sources for medieval literary theory. RY
Yale U., New Haven, CT; Jack Hexter: \$13,612. To continue the editorial work on the proceedings in the English Parliament of 1625 and 1626. RE

History—U.S.

Alma College, MI; Michael J. Yavenditti: \$500. To research the origins of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act. RY
Appalachian Consortium, Inc., Boone, NC; Barry M. Buxton: \$83,818. To conduct a summer institute on four different campuses for 200 social studies teachers on Appalachian regional history. ES
David H. Battenfeld, Keene, NH: \$500. To research the influence of the 1934 San Francisco general strike on writers of the San Francisco Federal Writers Project. RY
Reginald T. Buckner, Golden Valley, MN: \$500. To conduct research on Major N. Clark Smith's life and contributions. RY
California Historical Society, San Francisco; Kenneth Kann: \$15,000. To plan a comprehensive interpretive program on the history of San Francisco, tracing its growth from a frontier village to a Pacific metropolis which includes an audio-visual presentation, a permanent exhibit, pamphlets, and curricular materials. GM
California State College, Bakersfield; Ray A. Geigle: \$75,946. To conduct an institute on understanding the Constitution through 17th- and 18th-century political philosophy. ES
California State U., Dominguez Hills, Carson, CA; Judson A. Grenier: \$500. To research the influence of Mexican war veterans on California political customs and institutions, 1849-1860. RY
Cape Ann Historical Association, Gloucester, MA; Martha L. Oaks: \$10,000. To conduct a self-study as part of a long range plan to reinstall the Association's permanent collections and to develop new public programs. The museum's collections will be reviewed as they relate to the history and culture of Gloucester from 1825 to 1925. GM
Chicago Historical Society, IL; Ellsworth H. Brown: \$15,000. To plan a permanent exhibit focusing on the Chicago Historical Society's recent acquisition of three important original documents: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Bill of Rights. GM
College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA; Philip J. Funigiello: \$500. To research American-Soviet commercial relations in the Cold War. RY
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, VA; Robert C. Birney: \$36,730. To develop onsite audiovisual interpretations of selected sites in Colonial Williamsburg for physically handicapped visitors, including the placing of captions for the hearing impaired in the film *Williamsburg*. GM
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, VA; John E. Ingram: \$15,000. To plan development of an expanded museum interpretive program at the Printing Office bookbindery in Colonial Williamsburg which will interpret the colonial binding trade in its social and economic context. GM
Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; Isaac Kramnick: \$125,035. To conduct a summer institute for 25 high school teachers on the history and development of the Constitution. ES
CUNY Research Foundation/Queens College, Flushing, NY; Andrew A. Beveridge: \$75,000. To study the industrial development of an agricultural community based on financial records, 1820-1955. RO
Drew U., Madison, NJ; John P. Leavell: \$500. To study James Bryce's "The American Commonwealth." RY
Fordham U., NYC; Rodney Muth: \$500. To conduct research on Harold D. Lasswell: an annotated bibliography. RY
Franklin and Marshall College; Victoria S. Middleton: \$500. To research a biographical monograph on Lydia Lawrence. RY
Friends of Independence Nat'l Hist. Park, Philadelphia, PA; Margaret P. Duckett: \$15,000. To plan an exhibition "Becoming a Nation," commemorating the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution. GM
Gettysburg College, PA; Gabor S. Boritt: \$68,066. To plan an exhibition of prints which examine the complex relationship between Lincoln's image and the printmakers within the political culture

which helped shape this image. GM
Historical Society of Old Newbury, Newburyport, MA; Peter Benes: \$15,000. To plan a temporary exhibition and catalogue demonstrating the cultural dimensions of tradition and change during two centuries (1635-1835) in the history of an American community that was both a rural settlement and a growing urban/maritime center. GM
Hope College, Holland, MI; Marc B. Baer: \$500. To research the O. P. Riots: ritual, violence and politics in early 19th-century Westminster. RY
Iowa State U., Ames; Clair W. Keller: \$80,334. To conduct a four-week institute for 40 secondary school teachers of history and government for the purpose of deepening their knowledge and understanding of the ideological origins, the writing and ratification, and the subsequent development of the American Constitution. ES
Knox College, Galesburg, IL; Stephen C. Fineberg: \$500. To study Thomas Jefferson's Greek grammar. RY
Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, Rochester, NY; Harvey Green: \$13,553. To plan a traveling exhibition, catalogue and lecture series which will examine the physical culture, health, and physical fitness movements in the United States between 1830 and 1940. The resulting exhibit will travel after being on view at the Strong Museum for one year. GM
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Louis L. Tucker: \$9,470. To conduct an internal study of the Massachusetts Historical Society to be conducted with assistance from eight outside experts. GM
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge; Warren A. Seamans: \$70,490. To plan an exhibition and catalogue on the pivotal role of the banjo in the development of popular culture in America, particularly from 1800 to 1940. GM
Metrocenter YMCA, Seattle, WA; Jarlath J. Hume: \$14,825. To plan committees for public education programs on the Constitution, with the Seattle YMCA serving as the central coordinator for scholars in history, jurisprudence and other areas of the humanities. GP
Mississippi State U., Mississippi St.; John F. Marszalek: \$500. To conduct research on a biography of Civil War General William T. Sherman. RY
Municipal Museum of the City of Baltimore, MD; Barry L. Dressel: \$9,650. To plan the lecture symposium portion of a public education program, exploring the role of the local history museum and its purpose in the urban community. GM
Northern Kentucky U., Highland Heights; John F. White: \$500. To conduct research on art and the New Deal in Minnesota. RY
Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority, Alexandria, VA; Susan A. Borchardt: \$15,000. To conduct a series of interpretive docent materials, lectures, house tours, and other public programs which will examine the history of the Carlyle House and the life of the Carlyle family, household management in the 18th century, and the roles of a gentleman and his wife in an upper-middle-class society. GM
Pennsylvania State U., Ogotz Campus, Abington, PA; William I. Roberts, III: \$500. To research the history of the American potash industry. RY
Pensacola Historical Society, FL; Sandra L. Johnson: \$11,506. To plan reinstallation of exhibits which will depict the social, political and economic development of Pensacola from 1880 to 1920. GM
Plimoth Plantation, Inc., Plymouth, MA; Richard L. Ehrlich: \$45,279. To research and prepare interpretive materials for Plimoth Plantation, an outdoor living history museum interpreting the lives of the English settlers who established Plymouth Colony during the 1620s. GM
Jean B. Russo, Kensington, MD: \$500. To conduct research on establishment and early development of Annapolis, Maryland, as a colonial capital. RY
Saint Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City; Dana K. Greene: \$500. To conduct research on Evelyn Underhill: an introduction to her thought. RY
Barbara K. Scott, Lawton, OK: \$500. To conduct research on the Oklahoma Federal Gallery System/Works Progress. RY
Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Inc., Tarrytown, NY; Renee Friedman: \$15,000. To plan the interpretation of Van Cortlandt Manor during the period, 1790-1810, when the Van Cortlandt family's contribution to the political and social forces shaping the nation were greatest. GM
Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., Boulder, CO; James R. Giese: \$213,319. To conduct a four-week summer humanities institute for 60 elementary and middle school teachers. The participants will study the history, literature, religion, and arts of the period from 1783 to 1830 in American life and develop curricular materials. ES
Strawbery Banke, Inc., Portsmouth, NH; John W. Durel: \$14,000. To research and plan interpretation of the institution's five furnished houses by educating the interpreters to the process of inter-

pretation which they, in turn, will impart to visitors. GM
SUNY Research Foundation, Albany, NY; John M. Spalek: \$6,473 FM. To continue compilation of a guide to the personal and professional papers of 350 German humanist emigres. RC
Tallahassee Junior Museum, FL; Gwendolyn B. Waldorf: \$9,118 OR; \$3,000 FM. To plan interpretation of two historic sites, the Bethlehem Baptist Church and Big Bend Farm, during the period 1840-1880. GM
U. of Arkansas, Fayetteville; Frank R. Prassel: \$500. To research changing concepts of American outlawry. RY
U. of California, Berkeley; Claude S. Fischer: \$75,000 OR; \$20,000 FM. To research change in American communities caused by increasing use of the telephone, 1890-1940, taking Northern California as a case study. RO
U. of California, Los Angeles; Hilda Bohem: \$11,315. To continue subject indexing to the photographic collection produced by the *Los Angeles Daily News*, 1923-1954. RC
U. of California, Santa Cruz; James A. Borchert: \$500. To conduct research on mid-Lakewood (Ohio); the making of a middle-class landscape. RY
U. of Georgia, Athens; Thomas L. Purvis: \$500. To research the social impact of the seven years' war upon British North America, 1755-1763. RY
U. of Houston, TX; Clifford L. Egan: \$500. To conduct research on a history of the American embargo, 1807-1809. RY
U. of Illinois, Chicago Circle; Mark W. Friedberger: \$40,000. To conduct a historical study of rural land tenure and inheritance patterns in two California counties, 1895-1950. RO
U. of New Mexico, Albuquerque; David R. Maciel: \$500. To conduct research on a history of Chicano labor organizing, 1880-1983. RY
U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Walter Licht: \$264,890. To conduct a series of three summer institutes and follow-up workshops for Pennsylvania social studies teachers on local history and historical methods. ES
U. of Texas, Dallas; Stephen G. Rabe: \$500. To research the Latin American policy of the Eisenhower administration. RY
Washburn-Norlands Foundation, Livermore Falls, ME; Ethel W. Gammon: \$42,533. To implement a year-long series of lectures, dramatic performances, slide presentations, and programs with audience participation at the Norlands Living History Center. The 19th-century ideals and values will provide the public with a context for understanding past, present and future. GM
Washington State U., Pullman; Raymond S. August: \$500. To research the court systems of Spanish and Mexican Texas as a contributing factor to the Texas revolution. RY
Worcester Polytechnic Institute, MA; Michael M. Sokal: \$500. To research the biography of James McKeen Cattell (1860-1944) who was a psychologist, editor, and scientific organizer. RY
Yale U., New Haven, CT; William Peters: \$20,232. To complete the script for a three-hour film on the making of the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. GN

Alabama A. & M. U., Normal; Samuel B. Olorounto: \$500. To research African culture for inclusion in an undergraduate humanities program. RY
American Assn. of State Colleges & Universities, Washington, DC; Frank H. Klassen: \$106,978. To conduct an institute for 30 college and university teachers on Islam, the Middle East, and world politics, on the campus of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. EH
Bellevue Art Museum, WA; John P. Olbrantz: \$40,555. To plan travel of an exhibit on Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jewry entitled, "A Tale of Two Cities: Jewish Life in Frankfurt and Istanbul, 1750-1870." GM
Center for Southern Folklore, Memphis, TN; George W. McDaniel: \$60,484. To plan seven permanent outdoor exhibits, a 32-page guidebook, walking tours, and a symposium exploring the cultural and historical significance of Beale Street in Memphis, the famous home of "the blues" and noted for its black history. GM
College of Charleston, SC; Amy M. T. McCandless: \$500. To conduct research for a history of higher education for women in the South, 1920-1940. RY
Dora P. Crouch, Troy, NY: \$500. To research ancient Greek water systems. RY
CUNY Research Foundation/Graduate School, NYC; Edward Rosen: \$52,000. To prepare a biography of Nicholas Copernicus by two historians of science. RO
CUNY Research Foundation/Queens College, Flushing, NY; Judith Pasamanick: \$154,000. To

Interdisciplinary

plan a one-year humanities program consisting of one four-week summer institute and an in-service follow-up activity for approximately 125 teachers. *ES*

Duquesne U., Pittsburgh, PA; Constance D. Ramirez: \$94,362. To implement six courses in a new integrated honors program to include 12 freshman and sophomore level courses as well as junior and senior seminars. *EM*

Eastern Michigan U., Ypsilanti; Daryl M. Hafter: \$500. To conduct research on guildwomen in 18th-century Rouen, France. *RY*

East Hampton Historical Society, East Hampton, NY; Jay A. Graybeal: \$15,000. To plan an orientation center to the Society's museums and historical buildings through brochures, maps, an audio-visual presentation and tours. *GM*

Hebrew Union College, Los Angeles, CA; Isa E. Aron: \$11,792. To plan development of an orientation space to provide interpretation for an exhibit from the Hebrew Union College Skirball Museum permanent collections. *GM*

Elizabeth Hodes, Santa Barbara, CA: \$500. To research the impact of the Depression and New Deal on the organization of American science. *RY*

Holy Family College, Philadelphia, PA; Mary K. Dobbs: \$500. To research the social change resulting from conflict between the Anglo/Hispanic peoples and the Apache Indians of southeastern Arizona. *RY*

Indiana U., Bloomington; D'Ann M. Campbell: \$73,000. To study women in the military during World War II. *RO*

Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, PA; Igor Kopytoff: \$25,000. To study "secret power" in African societies. *RO*

Paul E. Kuhl, Winston-Salem, NC: \$500. To conduct research on Francisco Penzotti and the Protestant intrusion of Peru, 1887-1891. *RY*

Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., Little Rock, AR: \$500. To research the American Indian and Alaska Native newspapers and periodicals, 1826-1983. *RY*

Maine Dept. of Educational & Cultural Servs., Augusta; Patricia O'Connell: \$195,455. To conduct two summer humanities institutes and extensive follow-up activities for Maine humanities teachers and school administrators. Participants will study French literature, European history, pastoral literature, and artistic movements of the 19th and 20th centuries and develop curricular revisions. *ES*

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul; Nicholas K. Westbrook: \$15,000. To plan a major traveling exhibit on Hidatsa history, with emphasis on the processes of Indian acculturation and modernization. *GM*

Monmouth College, Illinois; William O. Amy: \$299,815. To develop general education courses to strengthen the new curriculum, three summer institutes taught by outside scholars, three new humanities positions, and a weekly convocation program. *EM*

Montgomery County Public Schools, Rockville, MD; George Usdansky: \$174,800. To conduct two three-week humanities institutes involving 30 teachers each plus follow-up activities for high school English and social studies over a two-year period. *ES*

Newberry Library, Chicago, IL; Frederick E. Hoxie: \$413,785. To conduct three conferences for the teachers of the U.S. history survey, a modest series of publications, fellowships for Indian and non-Indian teachers and scholars, and the continuation of the Center itself as a promoter of teaching, inquiry and dialogue. *EH*

Newberry Library, Chicago, IL; David Buisseret: \$12,077. To produce a manual explaining the use of North American maps in teaching and research. *EH*

Northampton Historical Society, MA; Nancy E. Rexford: \$80,363. To implement historical investigation of American women's clothing. *RO*

Northern Illinois U., DeKalb; Martin D. Dubin: \$500. To conduct research on task expansion in the League of Nations secretariat. *RY*

Northern Illinois U., DeKalb; Cosette N. Kies: \$500. To prepare a book, "A Bibliographic Guide to the Occult." *RY*

Northwestern U., Evanston, IL; John N. Paden: \$200,000 OR; \$90,000 FM. To conduct research on the "learned people" (ulama) of Muslim Society in western and central Africa, examining their literary output and social background from ca. 1700 to the present. *RO*

Ohio Historical Society, Columbus; Martha P. Otto: \$6,719. To plan a major permanent archaeological exhibit on the cultures of the Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian tribes of the Ohio area. *GM*

Pasadena City College, CA; Phyllis Mael: \$57,087. To introduce an integrated, team-taught humanities, social science, and expository writing block of courses to satisfy general education requirements. *EH*

Pembroke State U., NC; Linda E. Oxendine: \$2,560. To research, design, and produce a narrated slide presentation on the history of the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina. *GM*

Piscataqua Gundalow Project, Portsmouth, NH; Alex Herlihy: \$60,660. To plan a permanent exhibit, a traveling exhibit, and an outreach program showing in broad historical perspective the impact of human and technological interaction on the environment. *GM*

Princeton U., NJ; Marion J. Levy, Jr.: \$155,532 OR; \$26,000 FM. To enable a small research group to prepare approximately 800 slides on China and 800 on Japan together with detailed notes and bibliographies which will be sold in much smaller sets for use in a variety of courses. *EH*

Princeton U. Press, NJ; Herbert S. Bailey, Jr.: \$11,748 FM. To conduct the purchase of Penta Tele/Media Interface for translating word-processing codes. *RP*

Purdue Research Foundation, West Lafayette, IN; Darlene C. Hine: \$150,000. To conduct an 18-month large-scale program of public participation in the learning and doing of history. Under the direction of scholars, archivists and librarians, people will collect, catalog, archive and display historical records about black women in two middle western states, from 1866 to the present. *GP*

Saint Xavier College, Chicago, IL; Robert G. Kleinhans: \$500. To research images of black religion in Afro-American literature. *RY*

Social Science Research Council, NYC; Kenneth Prewitt: \$214,120 FM. To conduct 20-25 research projects on Southeast Asia by leading American and refugee scholars collaborating in a national program. *RO*

Springfield Science Museum, MA; John P. Pretola: \$15,000. To plan a permanent exhibit on Native American culture and history. *GM*

Stockton State College, Pomona, NJ; Geert J. Colijn: \$500. To research women's international political networks, 1915-1945. *RY*

Texas A&M U., College Station; Bruce E. Seely: \$500. To conduct research on engineers and American highway policy. *RY*

Tufts U., Medford, MA; Sheldon Krinsky: \$142,126. To continue a national summer institute of four weeks for 40 secondary school teachers on four themes in American history: the conceptual environment, the geographic-economic environment, the organization of work, and, the role of women. *ES*

U. of Arkansas, Fayetteville; James F. Ford: \$113,590. To conduct a summer institute of two sessions with follow-up activities for middle school teachers of French and Spanish. *ES*

U. of California, Irvine; Richard L. Regosin: \$310,539. To conduct for each of three years an institute for 45 secondary school teachers on the content and methodology of study in the humanities disciplines. Participants will study classic literary and historical texts and explore strategies of study in the humanities with special emphasis on critical thinking, ethics, and aesthetics. *ES*

U. of California, Los Angeles, Museum of Cultural History; Doran H. Ross: \$316,766 OR; \$15,000 FM. To plan a traveling exhibit on the traditional arts of the Igbo speaking peoples of Nigeria. *GM*

U. of Chicago, IL; Keith M. Baker: \$50,000. To create three pilot graduate research workshops in the humanities aimed at strengthening graduate education by providing for closer collaboration between faculty and students and by focusing on issues broader than a single discipline. *EH*

U. of Delaware, Newark; Bonnie K. Scott: \$500. To research a feminist revision of modernism in England. *RY*

U. of Georgia, Athens; Jose L. Gomez: \$500. To conduct research on Latin American thought: an annotated bibliography. *RY*

U. of Illinois, Chicago Circle, Chicago; Vashti C. Lewis: \$500. To conduct research on a determination of transfer of life experiences and personal world-view in black women novelists' creation of genteel. *RY*

U. of Illinois, Chicago Circle, Chicago; Susanna W. Pflaum: \$33,510. To develop three core course sequences for Freshmen in the Honors College. Senior faculty will be given summer stipends to prepare the courses. Students will read primary sources and write a significant number of papers. *EH*

U. of Maryland, College Park; Gladys-Marie Fry: \$75,000. To study slave-quilting in the antebellum south, analyzing Afro-American aesthetic values, uses of work and leisure time, gender roles, and group traditions. *RO*

U. of New Mexico, Albuquerque; Peter S. Briggs: \$15,000. To plan two temporary exhibits on the images of Maya civilization in Europe and America at the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology. The exhibits will treat varying philosophies, research strategies, and technological developments which have affected interpretations of Maya civilizations. *GM*

U. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill; Matthew N. Hodgson: \$25,000 FM. To acquire a word processing and typesetting system. *RP*

U. of Oklahoma, Norman; Gary D. Schnell: \$52,274. To plan a regional tour of a traveling ex-

hibit comparing and contrasting the life styles of the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma and the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes. *GM*

U. of Oregon, Eugene; Richard H. Hersh: \$120,000. To conduct a two-week institute for 25 high school principals which analyzes issues of leadership with reference to traditional humanities texts and current pedagogical research on the structure of school improvement. *ES*

U. of Pittsburgh, PA; Deane L. Root: \$10,000. To conduct a self-study project which will analyze the holdings and exhibition facilities of the Stephen Collins Foster Memorial at the University of Pittsburgh. *GM*

U. of Puget Sound, Tacoma, WA; Robert F. Garratt: \$139,839. To aid three visiting professors for one semester each to conduct faculty seminars relating to three core interdisciplinary humanities courses and to provide summer and semester stipends for faculty development related to strengthening those courses. *EL*

U. of Virginia, Charlottesville; Olivier J. Zunz: \$99,847. To study the rise of the white-collar workforce in the U.S., 1870-1920. *RO*

U. of Wisconsin, Madison; Charles Szabo: \$5,000. To continue preparation of a catalogue and index to Festschriften in the humanities published in North America and the United Kingdom. *RC*

Whitman College, Walla Walla, WA; David M. Deal: \$101,738. To develop a computerized bibliography of 4,700 works in English on China which will update the Hucker Bibliography and be of use to teachers, scholars, and students. *EH*

Willamette Science and Technology Center, Eugene, OR; Alice Carnes: \$5,000. To plan a permanent exhibit on the relationship between technology and culture. *GM*

Jurisprudence

Duquesne U., Pittsburgh, PA; Cornelius F. Murphy: \$500. To research studies of world order. *RY*

Pembroke State U., NC; Frank A. Schmallegger: \$500. To research the history of criminal justice ethics. *RY*

Harold S. Stone, Evanston, IL: \$500. To conduct research on documentation for Montesquieu's "De l'Esprit des Lois." *RY*

U. of Montana, Missoula; Thomas P. Huff: \$500. To conduct research on a philosophy of judicial review. *RY*

Language & Linguistics

Emory U., Atlanta, GA; Lee Pederson: \$4,200. To continue preparation of a linguistic atlas of the Gulf states. *RT*

Oklahoma State U., Stillwater; John E. Joseph: \$73,356. To conduct a four-week institute for 15 French and 15 Spanish teachers in each of two summers during which participants will improve their language skills and study the respective culture and civilization. *ES*

Presbyterian College, Clinton, SC; Constance Colwell: \$28,855. To integrate two native-speaker teaching assistants into the introductory foreign language courses. Classroom hours will be increased from three to five, permitting the introduction of additional materials on culture as well as greater mastery of the language. *EL*

U. of Hawaii, Honolulu; Roger T. Ames: \$14,400 FM. To continue work on a Chinese compendium of existing knowledge from the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-25 A.D.). *RL*

U. of Maryland, Catonsville; Robert A. Sloane: \$176,819. To conduct a series of three summer institutes for Baltimore language teachers on contemporary French and Hispanic culture. *ES*

U. of North Dakota, Grand Forks; Demetrius J. Georgacas: \$130,000. To continue preparation of a modern Greek-English dictionary. *RT*

U. of Texas, Arlington; Luanne T. Frank: \$500. To investigate the semiotics of the hermetic text, with special reference to the works of Heinrich Khunrath, 1560-1605. *RY*

U. of Wisconsin, Stevens Point; Mark R. Seiler: \$182,948. To conduct three summer institutes for high school teachers of German in Wisconsin which will update language skills and provide knowledge of the culture of German-speaking countries. *ES*

Literature

Amherst College, MA; William W. Heath: \$500. To research an extensive revision and updating of "Elizabeth Bowen: An Introduction," (1961). *RY*

Arizona State U., Tempe; Jeanie R. Brink: \$500.

To conduct research on Rivall Friendship: an anonymous "Arcadian" romance from 17th-century England. *RY*

Bemidji State U., MN; William D. Elliott: \$500. To conduct research on Grove's Manitoba according to the manuscript version of "Settlers of the Marsh." *RY*

Boise State U., ID; Jayne A. Widmayer: \$500. To research "carpe diem" and women poets: revision and reconstruction of a literary tradition. *RY*

Bradley U., Peoria, IL; Peter Dusenbery: \$145,949. To conduct two summer institutes for 40 secondary English teachers in the field of American literature. *ES*

Cleveland State U., OH; David A. Richardson: \$29,318 FM. To continue preparation of the Spenser Encyclopedia. *RT*

CUNY Bernard Baruch College, NYC; Martin Stevens: \$500. To research the English Corpus Christi cycles: an interpretation. *RY*

CUNY Research Foundation/City College, NYC; Saul Brody: \$300,000. To conduct a four-week institute on comparative literature for English teachers who will develop a senior course and to integrate student writing into the curriculum. *ES*

CUNY Research Foundation/Queens College, Flushing, NY; Rolf Kieser: \$52,000. To prepare a biography of the Swiss playwright B. F. Wedekind, an influential precursor of such modern dramatists as Brecht, Durrenmatt, Frisch, and Genet. *RO*

California State Polytechnic U., Pomona, CA; Thomas J. Elliott: \$500. To research the literature about medieval pilgrimages (guidebooks, diaries, etc.). *RY*

Centenary College of Louisiana, Shreveport; David H. Jackson: \$500. To research a scholarly edition of R. L. Stevenson's "The Ebb Tide." *RY*

College of Saint Teresa, Winona, MN; Joseph Kolupke: \$30,000. To strengthen the English Department by providing faculty leaves to pursue study in areas in which the department is weak and by convening a summer workshop to prepare faculty to teach a new core course, "The Principles of Interpretation." *EL*

Dallas Institute of Humanities & Culture, TX; Louise S. Cowan: \$157,364. To conduct two summer institutes each for 45 high school teachers during which participants will read and discuss major works of literature in terms of genre. *ES*

Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH; Laurence J. Davies: \$60,000. To prepare volumes three through five of the edition of Joseph Conrad's letters. *RE*

Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA; Beverley D. Eddy: \$500. To research Peter Nansen's gifts of literature. *RY*

Emory and Henry College, VA; Robert D. Denham: \$500. To research an annotated bibliography of works written by and about Northrop Frye. *RY*

Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays; Albert J. Geritz: \$500. To research an edition of John Rastell's "The Pastyme of People and a New Boke of Purgatory." *RY*

Iowa State U., Ames; Theodore D. Nostwich: \$500. To research a critical edition of Theodore Dreiser's "Newspaper Days." *RY*

William A. Johnsen, East Lansing, MI: \$500. To research James Joyce's early fiction, the futility of modernization, and the redefining of the modern tradition. *RY*

David A. Lowe, Nashville, TN: \$500. To research Russian writing since Stalin. *RY*

Barbara T. Lupack, Wayne, NE: \$500. To research a book-length critical study of the works of Jerzy Kosinski. *RY*

Mankato State U., MN; Suzanne L. Bunkers: \$500. To conduct research on 19th-century midwestern American women's diaries and journals. *RY*

Motlow State Community College, Tullahoma, TN; Helen White: \$118,441. To conduct a four-week institute for 50 teachers of junior and senior high school English and social studies on 20th-century history and literature from 1920 to the present. *ES*

Nashotah House, WI; Linda D. Schlafer: \$500. To compare alternative fiction manuscripts in the O'Connor collection. *RY*

Charles A. Owen, Storrs, CT: \$500. To research the pre-1450 manuscripts and the alternative reading of the Canterbury Tales. *RY*

Newark Board of Education, NJ; Joelle M. Zois: \$30,000. To plan a possible collaborative project in which Newark English teachers would work with Rutgers University faculty in the study of great works of literature. *ES*

Penn State U., Hazleton; R. Alan Price: \$500. To conduct research on American authors involved in relief and refugee programs in Europe during World War I. *RY*

Pennsylvania State U., University Park; Glyn P. Norton: \$500. To conduct research on interpretive contexts of Quintilian's Book X:6-7 in Renaissance France. *RY*

Rutgers U., Newark, NJ; Virginia M. Tiger: \$500.

To research Franco-American cultural and literary history. RY

Ellin Sarot, NYC: \$500. To conduct research on Sylvia Plath: an introduction to the poetry. RY
Curtis C. Smith, Houston, TX: \$500. To research the bibliography and biography of W. Olaf Stapledon. RY

United States Coast Guard Academy, New London, CT; Jordon L. Pecile: \$500. To research Katherine Anne Porter's unfinished "Vision of Heaven by Fra Angelico." RY

U. of Alabama, University; Gregory S. Jay: \$500. To conduct research on Eliot, Laforgue, and the design of literary history. RY

U. of Alabama, University; Alice A. Parker: \$500. To conduct studies of gender and power in 18th-century French fiction. RY

U. of Alabama, University; Johannes M. Ultee: \$500. To research European unity and scholarship: the republic of letters. RY

U. of Arizona, Tucson; Richard Hosley: \$73,160. To complete a study of all known English playhouses of the period 1575-1642. RO

U. of Arkansas, Fayetteville; John W. Van Hook: \$500. To research counter-orthodox Renaissance poetic theory. RY

U. of California, Berkeley; Hugh M. Richmond: \$84,263. To produce videotapes and a supplementary videodisc to provide students with essential background material for the study of works by Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton. EH

U. of California, San Diego; Ronald S. Berman: \$400,000. To conduct one six-week summer institute and follow-up activities over an eighteen-month period for high school teachers to study significant literary and historical texts from the Western tradition. ES

U. of Houston Central Campus, TX; Peter A. Stitt: \$500. To research the authorized biography of James Wright. RY

U. of Kentucky, Lexington; John E. Tidwell: \$500. To research the critical realism of Sterling A. Brown. RY

U. of Missouri, Saint Louis; James E. Tierney: \$500. To research an edition of the correspondence of Robert Dodsley (1703-1764). RY

U. of Missouri, Saint Louis; Richard M. Cook: \$500. To examine Alfred Kazin's journals for a book on American public criticism. RY

U. of Texas, Austin; John W. Velz: \$500. To research the letters of Joseph Crosby, 1875-78; Alexander and Caesar in Shakespeare's thought. RY

U. of Texas, Dallas; Gary F. Scharnhorst: \$500. To research a bibliography of the works of Charlotte Perkins Gilman. RY

Western Carolina U., Cullowhee, NC; Marilyn Jody: \$500. To research the Gullah stories of Ambrose E. Gonzales. RY

Western Montana College, Dillon, MT; John S. Scheckter: \$500. To research a thematic and rhetorical study of the Australian novel. RY

William M. Whitby, West Lafayette, IN: \$500. To research an edition of Luis Velez de Guevara's *El Triunfo Mayor de Ciro*. RY

Wichita State U., KS; Frank S. Kastor: \$500. To conduct research on Milton at the Wade Collection, Wheaton College, Illinois. RY

Philosophy

Roger Ariew, Blacksburg, VA: \$500. To research late scholastic and Cartesian cosmology. RY

Bronx Community College of CUNY, NYC; Ruth G. Bass: \$32,000. To develop an introductory, interdisciplinary course in aesthetics as a requirement for students who have chosen the Art option within the Liberal Arts and Sciences Curriculum. EK

Canisius College, Buffalo, NY; Keith R. Burich: \$500. To conduct research on Henry Adams and the critique of classical determinism. RY

Case Western Reserve U., Cleveland, OH; Robert A. Rynasiewicz: \$500. To research the electromagnetic asymmetries and the origins of special relativity. RY

Georgetown U., Washington, DC; Tom L. Beauchamp: \$85,000. To conduct a study of moral obligations that arise in journalism, applying classical and modern ethical theory to case experiences of the last three decades. RO

Iowa State U., Ames; David R. Rochnik: \$500. To research the authenticity of Plato's "Cleitophon." RY

Northern Illinois U., DeKalb; Donald A. Cress: \$500. To research Pierre Daniel Huet's critique of Cartesianism. RY

Elaine Spitz, NYC: \$500. To conduct research on Locke's learned lady. RY

U. of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu; Eliot S. Deutsch: \$119,635. To conduct an institute for 20 college and university teachers on comparative Western and Asian philosophy with a focus on the problems of identity and causality. EH

U. of Nebraska, Lincoln; Robert N. Audi: \$104,146. To conduct a six-week summer institute for 25 faculty members to study, in a philosophical context, the nature, explanation and assessment of human action. EH

U. of Utah, Salt Lake City; Don J. Garrett: \$500. To research the empiricism of David Hume. RY

U. of Washington, Seattle; Lyman H. Legters: \$500. To conduct research on Bruno Bauer: selected contributions to the young Hegelian debate. RY

W. D. White, Laurinburg, NC: \$500. To conduct research on surrogate mothering: ethical and legal considerations. RY

WSBE-TV, Providence, RI; Peter Frid: \$55,582. To continue the promotion of a 60-minute dramatic program about the life and ideas of George Berkeley. GN

Religion

Catholic U. of America, Washington, DC; William A. Wallace: \$39,000 FM. To continue work on the edition of St. Thomas Aquinas's commentary on the third book of The Sentences of Peter

Lombard. RE

College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA; Randall K. Burkett: \$500. To study antebellum black Episcopal clergy. RY

Anne B. Cushman, Bronxville, NY: \$12,806. To produce a video documentary on religious acculturation and assimilation centering on the role of women in American Zen Buddhism. GY

Margot E. Fassler, New Haven, CT: \$500. To research the late sequences in Paris and 12th-century religious reform. RY

Bruce D. Forbes, Sioux City, IA: \$500. To research the historical relationships between Methodism and American Indians. RY

Linfield College, McMinnville, OR; Stephen H. Snyder: \$500. To conduct research on unwanted critics: women religious outsiders in American history. RY

Middlebury College, VT; Robert L. Ferm: \$500. To conduct research on Joseph Bellamy and his school for prophets. RY

Oklahoma State U., Stillwater; Joseph F. Byrnes: \$500. To support preparae an intellectual history of the work of Emile Male. RY

Princeton U., NJ; Albert J. Raboteau: \$85,579. To conduct a four-week institute for 24 college and university teachers on Afro-American religious history and its place in the teaching of American religious history. EH

Santa Fe Community College, Gainesville, FL; Sherry S. DuPree: \$500. To research an annotated bibliography of Afro-American Pentecostalism. RY

Southern Methodist U., Dallas, TX; Richard P. Heitzenrater: \$500. To conduct research on John Wesley's Georgia diaries. RY

U. of Colorado, Boulder; Lawrence G. Desmond: \$500. To research the Templo Mayor photo archive. RY

U. of Texas, Austin; Guy H. Miller: \$500. To research religion in Texas, 1821-46. RY

Social Science

California State Polytechnic U., San Luis Obispo; Donald P. Lazere: \$500. To research the influence of television on literacy and socialization. RY

Delaware Agricultural Museum, Dover; Paul B. Parvis: \$15,000. To plan a permanent exhibit on Delaware's farm life and farm culture in 1850. GM

Erie Community College, Buffalo, NY; Wayne M. O'Sullivan: \$7,975. To conduct a two-day workshop for high school and community college faculty on ways of articulating a structured humanities curriculum. EH

Georgia State U., Atlanta; Donald C. Reitzes: \$500. To research the Alinsky legacy: a sociological biography. RY

SUNY Research Foundation, Binghamton, NY; Immanuel Wallerstein: \$80,000 OR; \$20,000 FM. To study households in Mexico, southern Africa, and the United States, 1873-1967, comparing ways this basic human institution is defined and

supported. RO

Saint Joseph's U., Philadelphia, PA; George W. Dowdall: \$500. To research the social development of the mental hospital: Buffalo, 1880-1980. RY

Temple U., Philadelphia, PA; Daniel J. Elazar: \$96,500. To conduct a four-week summer institute for 30 secondary school teachers on federalism and the American government. ES

U. of California, Berkeley; Robert N. Bellah: \$65,571. To continue a collaborative study of current American attitudes toward individualism, social obligation, and community. RO

U. of Iowa, Iowa City; Donald N. McCloskey: \$30,000. To compare the rhetoric and style of argument used by economists to those used by literary and legal thinkers. RH

U. of Oklahoma, Norman; Bret Wallach: \$500. To develop a famine-relief policy for India, 1859-1947. RY

Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State U., Blacksburg; Clifton D. Bryant: \$500. To research the recent social history of "briney crime": ocean related law and criminal offenses in the contemporary United States. RY

Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State U., Blacksburg, VA; Donald J. Shoemaker: \$500. To research a recent social history of "briney crime": ocean-related law and criminal offenses in the contemporary United States. RY

Capital letters following each grant show the division and the program through which the grant was made.

Education Programs

EK Central Disciplines in Undergraduate Education

EL

EM

EH Exemplary Projects, Nontraditional Programs, and Teaching Materials

EG Humanities Instruction Elementary and

ES Secondary Schools

Program and Policy Studies

OP Planning and Assessment Studies

General Programs

GP Program Development

GY Youthgrants

GZ Youth Projects

GL Libraries Humanities Projects

GM Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations

GN Humanities Projects in Media Humanities Projects

Research Programs

RH Humanities, Science and Technology

RC Research Resources

RD Research Conferences

RE Editions

RI Intercultural Research

RL Translations

RO Project Research

RP Publications

RS State, Local and Regional Studies

RT Research Tools

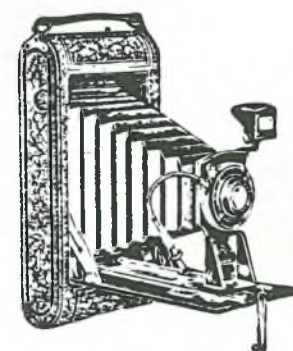
RV Conservation and Preservation

RY Travel to Collections

Coming in the Next Issue . . .

Why Scholars Travel: The Importance of Intercultural Exchange

With Allen Kassof, Director, International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX); Robert Geyer, Acting Director, Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China; John Paden on Islam in Africa; and reports from American scholars who have been to China and Russia, and a historian from the U.S.S.R. whose specialty is American Studies.



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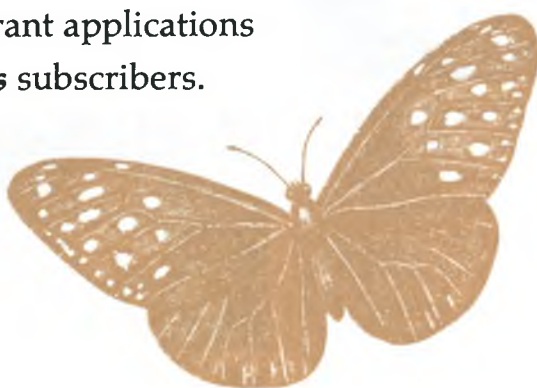


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NEH NOTES & NEWS NEH NOTES & NEWS NEH NOT

NEH Creates Study Group on State of Humanities in Higher Education

The National Endowment for the Humanities has established a study group of thirty-two educators to assess the condition of learning in the humanities at American colleges and universities.

In a letter inviting members of the panel to meet in Washington, Endowment chairman William J. Bennett outlined six basic questions to be addressed:

● "Are today's college graduates, majors and nonmajors alike, well-grounded in the humanities? Are they as well-grounded as graduates of previous decades?"

● "What is the significance, and what are the implications, of patterns and trends in course enrollments, majors, and student ability with respect to the humanities?"

● "How do secondary and graduate education affect the quality of undergraduate teaching and learning in the humanities?"

● "Should there be specific expectations regarding what all students should learn about the humanities at different types of institutions? What would an ideal core curriculum look like?"

● "Are there model or exemplary programs in undergraduate humanities instruction that should be emulated by other colleges and universities?"

● "What concrete steps should colleges and universities take to strengthen the place of the humanities in undergraduate education? What should be the role of college presidents, other administrators, and faculty in this effort?"

The group has met twice. The first meeting in April was a broad-ranging discussion of the problems affecting learning in the humanities. At their second meeting, in June, the study group examined case studies of approaches to teaching the humanities to undergraduates at several institutions. The third meeting, which will take place in July, will focus on strategies for strengthening the place of the humanities in higher education.

Bennett will prepare a final report.

The members of the panel:

William Arrowsmith
Professor of Classics
Emory University
William M. Banks
Professor of Afro-American Studies
University of California, Berkeley
Robert M. Berdahl
Dean of Arts and Sciences
University of Oregon
Wayne C. Booth
Professor of English
University of Chicago
Mark H. Curtis
President, Association of American Colleges
Mary Maples Dunn
Dean of Undergraduates
Bryn Mawr College
Joseph Epstein
Editor, *The American Scholar*
Frances D. Fergusson

Vice President for Academic Affairs
Bucknell University
Chester Finn
Professor of Education and Public Policy
Vanderbilt Institute for Public Policy Studies
Samuel R. Gammon
Executive Director
American Historical Association
Hanna H. Gray
President
University of Chicago
Karl Haigler
Principal, Upper School
Heathwood Hall Episcopal School
Janice H. Harris
Professor of English
University of Wyoming
Beverly Harris-Schenz
Assistant Dean, College of Arts & Sciences
University of Pittsburgh
Elizabeth Kennan
President, Mount Holyoke College
Paul Oskar Kristeller
Professor Emeritus of Philosophy
Columbia University
Robert M. Longworth
Dean of Arts & Sciences, Oberlin College
Sister Candida Lund, O.P.
Chancellor, Rosary College
Ciriaco Moron-Arroyo
Professor of Spanish
Cornell University
Jon N. Moline
Professor of Philosophy
University of Wisconsin - Madison
Philip M. Phibbs
President, University of Puget Sound
Noel B. Reynolds
Vice President for Academic Affairs
Brigham Young University
Diane Ravitch
Professor, Teacher's College
Columbia University
David Riesman
Professor of Sociology
Harvard University

Frederick Rudolph
Professor of History
Williams College
David Savage
The Los Angeles Times
John Silber
President, Boston University
John E. Sawyer
President, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation
Linda Spoerl
Professor of English
Highline Community College
David H. Stewart
Professor of English
Texas A&M University
Donald M. Stewart
President, Spelman College
Ewa Thompson
Professor of Russian Literature
Rice University
Observer:
Clifford Adelman
Senior Associate
National Institute of Education

1983 Annual Report

Copies of the 1983 Annual Report are available from the NEH Public Affairs Office. In addition to a list of all grants awarded by the Endowment in 1983, the report contains financial summaries of awards by program, descriptions of activities supported in the five divisions and two offices of the Endowment, and an explanation of how grants are awarded. Requests for single copies of the report should be sent to the Public Affairs Office, Room 409, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506.

Featured in this issue of *Humanities* . . .

1

Lifeline: The Evolution of Biography by Marc Pachter. The history of that fascinating genre, biography—from Plutarch to Virginia Woolf. Stops along the way include Thomas More's *History of Richard III*, Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, and some reflections from the father of modern biography, Lytton Strachey.



Lives That Matter by Thomas Congdon. The publisher of Russell Baker's best-selling autobiography, *Growing Up*, tells why publishers love biography—not for profit, but for honor. "Like readers in general, publishers tend toward the vicarious approach to experience."

4



A Very Private, Public Man. Churchill called him the "organizer of victory." As architect of the Marshall Plan, he won the Nobel Peace Prize. Yet the post he most wanted eluded George C. Marshall. Why?



Satchmo. The "Bach of jazz" is chronicled from his boyhood in a squalid New Orleans ghetto to the pinnacle of fame. Yet he was haunted by insecurity and doubt even as millions of fans around the world applauded his artistry.



An Exile by Nature. Does he belong to philosophy or literature? George Santayana's three-volume autobiography, *Persons and Places*, reveals how a serious and solitary student of philosophy could also be a founder of the *Harvard Lampoon*.



Why History Scorns Biography by John A. Garaty. Does the "fundamental" difference between history and biography exist in practice? Is history a "science" and biography an "art"? Are biographies unnecessarily "restrictive" or "subjective"? Or is scholarship too specialized?

9



12

Wrecking the Images: Writing the Biography of Carl Sandburg. How does an author write the life of a much-loved, well-remembered figure, when the source material provides an embarrassment of riches?



14



The Return of Marcus Garvey by Robert A. Hill. In seven short years, Garvey shaped a world-wide movement that grew to six million members. Why do we know so little about him?

16

18



Sylvia Beach and Company. Sylvia Beach's Paris bookstore was a mecca for American writers in the 1920s. And when she published James Joyce's *Ulysses*, Cyril Connolly wrote: "In Sylvia Beach's bookshop, *Ulysses* lay stacked like dynamite in a revolutionary cellar."

Booker. The controversies that raged around him while he lived still endure. Yet in a television documentary about two years in the life of young Booker T. Washington, we can exult in a young boy's single-minded desire to learn, especially in the face of nearly overwhelming obstacles.

19



What Has Happened in Philosophy? by Arthur C. Danto. The oldest humanities discipline is examined over the last twenty-five years. Since the author believes that "the present of philosophy is the future of human thought," the humanities are in for a difficult, exciting period.

2 Editor's Notes

11 Grant Application Deadlines

23 Recent NEH Grants

26 In the next issue . . .
Picture credits

27 NEH Notes and News
Subscription Information

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