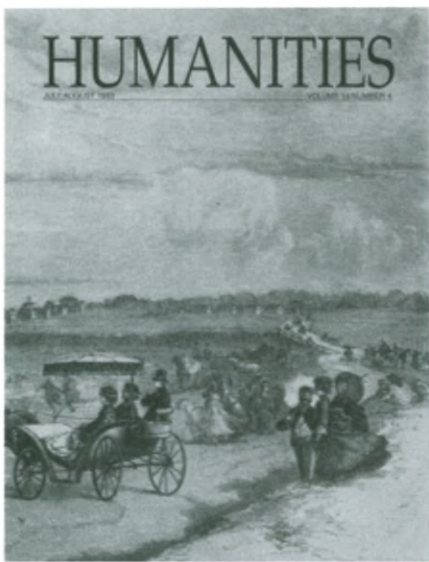


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Engraving of the beach at Newport, Rhode Island, from Picturesque America.

—Courtesy of Newport Historical Society.

Humanities

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The Measure of a Life

Which is a truer teller of the past, biography or history?

In this issue of *Humanities* Stephen E. Ambrose, professor of history and a distinguished Eisenhower biographer, weighs the qualities of the two genres.

Taking issue with the view of some academic historians, Ambrose writes: "People want history from the top down, not from the bottom up. They are much more likely to read a biography of Jerry Rubin than a study of the middle class, Protestant origins of the Vietnam antiwar movement." Ambrose contends that the strength of biography lies in its insistence on the uniqueness of the individual leader, and he stresses the word *unique*. "This is what separates the biographer/historian from the philosophers and social scientists, who are constantly searching for types, case studies, generalizations."

The portrayal of the individual is examined in another fashion by Richard Wendorf, art historian and director of Harvard's Houghton Library. In the wordless encounter between a painter and his subject, Wendorf finds an eloquence. A look beyond the lacquered surfaces, he says, can offer scholarly clues to a transaction that is commercial as well as artistic, and sometimes even confrontational.

The tracking of the past runs as a thread through this issue. Paula Backscheider, author of *Daniel Defoe: His Life*, describes a seminar she led in London on "Biography and the Uses of Biographical Evidence," in which the New Historicism is tested against the dusty reality of London's Public Record Office. A moment of Backscheider's own: "The slightest shift of the document, and suddenly there is likely to be a hideous clap, a series of crackling snaps, and the document rolls itself back up. Nearby readers and I are then sprayed with dirt, the weights fall in laps or on toes, and all the readers glare." It is this physical reality, she tells us, that turns the detective work into an obsession.

And last, we visit a period in which the written record was extensive and well-preserved, that of the Victorians. We encounter two figures of the time, the poet Christina Rossetti and the famous designer-craftsman William Morris, who was a colleague of Christina's brother Dante. Morris, whose wife became Dante's lover for a time, preserved an exterior that was busy and successful: the design workshop, book publishing, preservation work, socialist politics. "The public Morris," writes Norman Kelvin, "is still a man who refused dramatic representations of his inner life, and thus left it unknown; who turned his energies outward; whose keen intelligence and imagination both created and read the complexity of surfaces but who never fully expressed on these surfaces what he saw and felt..." The elusiveness of human character once again confronts the scholarly searcher.

—Mary Lou Beatty

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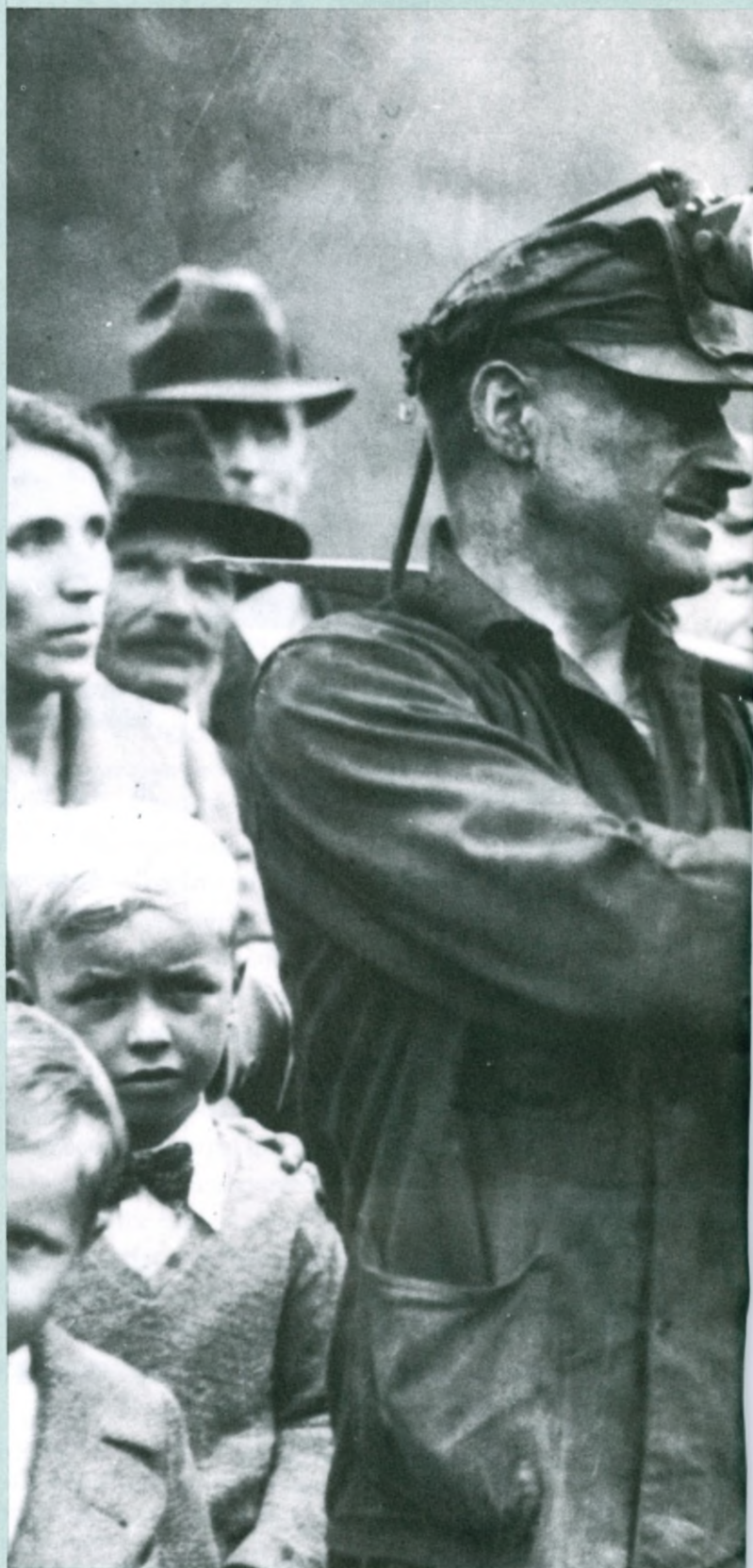
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THIRTY YEARS AGO the members of the Department of History at Louisiana State University gathered to make recommendations for the annual Fleming Lecture. I proposed Richard Current, the distinguished biographer of Abraham Lincoln. "He's just a biographer," the chairman sneered. "We want a historian."

One of the senior members of the department, T. Harry Williams, author of biographies of Lincoln, General P. G. T. Beauregard, and Huey Long, protested strenuously. "Biography is history," he declared. A long discussion ensued. It failed to lead to agreement.

For my part, I felt then and do now that Williams's statement ought to be reversed: History is biography. History is about people, what they have done and why, with what effect. The reason biography is the most popular form of nonfiction writing is that nothing is more fascinating to people than people. Put negatively, the reason so many students make the astonishing statement, "I hate history," is that academic historians have tended to concentrate on social history, movement history, organizational history, class or race history, at the expense of answering the questions most young people and adult nonfiction readers want first of all to know about the past, which are: "Who were our leaders? What did they do and how did they do it? What were their strengths and weaknesses, their goals and value structures, their adventures and misadventures?"

People want history from the top down, not from the bottom up. They are much more likely to read a biography of Jerry Rubin than a study of the middle-class, Protestant origins of the Vietnam era antiwar movement. They want to know about leaders because they recognize the critical role that leaders play in formulating the policies and shaping the



BY STEPHEN E. AMBROSE

Thoughts on



Biography

Franklin Delano Roosevelt
meets West Virginia coal miners
and their families during the
1932 presidential campaign.

—UPI

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Lyndon Baines Johnson campaigning for the senatorial election of 1948.

—Photo by Billy Watson

events that dominate their own lives. They want to know about presidents and senators, generals and admirals; only after they are immersed in a subject do they want to know about political party machinery, or labor unions and politics, or sergeants and privates.

Many academic historians deplore this attitude, which is why they deplore biography. But it seems to me that to deny the central role of leadership is to deny the overwhelmingly obvious fact that the decisions the leaders make determine the course of history. This applies especially to politics, war, and business. What John D. Rockefeller decided had a direct effect on every American; so did Ulysses Grant's decision to "fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," or Franklin Roosevelt's decision to close the banks, or Lyndon Johnson's to fight in Vietnam.

In the nineteenth century, when it was taken for granted that history is about war and politics (Homer taught us that), standard biographies were entitled, "The Life and Times of...." That style of title is today out of fashion, but the contents that it implies continues to be the way the best biographies are written. Robert Caro's Lyndon Johnson is marvelously evocative of life in the hill country of central Texas early in the twentieth century; Forrest Pogue's majestic life of George Marshall recreates the life of a professional soldier in the years between the two world wars better than any study of the old Army; Martin Gilbert's life of Winston Churchill portrays the rough and tumble world of the House of Commons in the first four decades of the twentieth century in an unforgettable fashion.

Specialized studies of life in rural Texas, or in the U.S. Army, or in the House of Commons cannot command our attention in the way a biography of a participant does because it is the interplay between the unique personality and his or her social, political, and economic surroundings that brings the past to life. When the subject takes up his or her major life's work, whether it be president or general or prime minister, the biography becomes a history of the nation because the man at the top is concerned with all the problems of the nation. The pressures on a president or a prime minister to do this or do that reveal, better than anything else, the stresses and strains in a society, which groups have power and which ones don't, and why.

But although the leader must be responsive to all the pressures, in the end he makes his decision alone—whether it be a loony one (Hitler's decision to declare war on the United States) or one based on the highest principles (Churchill's to spurn any compromise with the Nazis)—and then works to rally his people behind his

leadership. How effectively he does that task will decide how effective he is as a leader. This is where biography becomes so illuminating: A leader's decision reflects judgment of the forces at work in his nation, his understanding of what direction he can move it in, and his ability to so move it. To a lesser extent, this applies as well to men and women below the rarefied atmosphere of president, prime minister, or general.

The key to biography is its insistence on uniqueness. Every leader—every person—is unique. This is what separates the biographer/historian from the philosophers and social scientists, who are constantly searching for types, case studies, generalizations. The biographer/historian insists on the reality of the concrete, of the here and now, or the there and then, on the individuality of each event and each life, on the particular as opposed to the general. It is because this approach mirrors reality that biographers have a far greater audience than social scientists—they are closer to the truth.

That truth, however, poses a major challenge for biographers. A unique subject demands explanation—what made Johnson, Marshall, Churchill, or any other subject unique. In Homer's time, it was the gods. Today, we are urged to look into the subject's soul, examine his relationship with his mother and siblings, study his sex life, and get into his psyche and write a psycho-biography.

With political, military, or business leaders, this seems to me to be a mistake for precisely the reason Samuel Johnson pointed out almost three centuries ago, "We cannot look into the hearts of men, but their actions are open to observation." Dwight Eisenhower put it differently: "Never question another man's motives. His wisdom, yes, but not his motives."

Whatever value Freud's insights and interpretations have, or do not have, they are of no use to the biographer of leaders. We cannot know what their motives were—who could ever say what drove Richard Nixon?—but we can observe their actions. Freud is irrelevant because we cannot use his methods. We cannot put historic figures on the couch, we cannot get them to freely associate, we cannot get them to discuss their innermost feelings about their mothers. But we can observe what they did, we can assess the reasons they put forward for doing it and the effect of their actions.

Rather than the inner man, political, military, and business biography concentrates on the outer man. This leads to one of the first rules of good history/biography writing: Abandon chronology at your peril. When I began writing on Eisenhower the president, I was sorely tempted to orga-

nize the book by subjects, breaking it down into chapters on Eisenhower and civil rights, or Eisenhower and the Cold War, but I decided that such an organization, while making individual subjects easier to understand, would be so at the expense of understanding Eisenhower and his role. What I wanted to convey was the magnitude and multitude of problems that come marching up to the President for solutions and the way in which each event relates to and influences others. For example, a decision Eisenhower made about the Korean War would have a major effect on his defense policy; a decision about defense policy would be influenced by (and would influence) his relations with Senator Joseph McCarthy.

I decided that the only way to make the relationship between events and actions understandable and the only way to make some sense of the factors Eisenhower had to take into account in making a single decision was to tell the story chronologically. This method seemed best. The disadvantage is that the book jumps from subject to subject, which does not make for smooth or easy reading. I am convinced, however, that it does give a better understanding of what happened and why.

Writing chronologically forces the biographer to adopt another rule, never to look ahead. If a storyteller wants to catch people in his web, he doesn't do so by flashing ahead to tell them the outcome. He lets things develop in his narrative as they once developed in real time. For example, at age nineteen in real time, Dwight Eisenhower had no idea at all that he would become a soldier; and I tried to write his childhood as if I, in writing it, like Ike in living it, did not know how things were going to come out.

This rule applies even when it seems absurd—for example, in a biography of Hitler or Churchill. Obviously everyone knows that Hitler is going to lose the war, Churchill is going to win it. But readers don't want to be reminded of the outcome while they are pursuing the story of how it happened. They want to be kept in some suspense. In a good story, the audience should be leaning forward just a bit, eager to hear what happened next. If the biographer keeps reminding his audience of where it will all end, he loses suspense and thus leaves his audience with little motivation to hear him out.

Biographers' judgments about their subjects range from condemnation (Caro on Johnson, David Irving on Churchill) to adulation (Nigel Hamilton on Field Marshall Montgomery), but judgments are something I try to avoid. It seems to me that authors who take sides in great disputes make a mistake. The authors' judgments can be

little more than an announcement of his or her political position on whatever divisive issue is involved. Marc Bloch, the great French historian, wrote that "The satanic enemy of true history is the mania for making judgments." The biographer's role is to explain and attempt to understand, not to judge.

This does not mean the biographer is dispassionate. You have to care about a human being to write well about him or her. As American historian H. Stuart Hughes puts it, "Unless there is some emotional tie, some elective affinity

linking the student to his subject, the results will be pedantic and perfunctory. The man who does not feel issues deeply cannot write great history about them." Feeling, I'm quick to add to Hughes's pronouncement, is different from judging. One can feel sympathy, awe, and many other emotions about a historical character without being judgmental in a moral sense.

C. Vann Woodward, the great biographer of the post-Civil War American South and of some of the individuals who made it what it became, says it best: "I adopted the strategy [while writing Tom Watson's biography; Watson was a Georgia politician who went from reformer to reactionary] of sharing what clues I had and relying on the narrative line and its logical require-

ments to provide the reader with all available evidence to form his own theory."

Little of the above applies to biographies of movie stars, literary figures, or other artists, both because of the limited effect of their actions on others and because of the nature of what they do. Only those people who choose to read a novelist's work, or to view an artist's painting or listen to his or her music is directly affected by their creations. Unlike the political/military/business biographer, the artistic biographer does have to delve into the psyche of his or her subject. With artists, we are invited to look into their hearts when we read their poems, listen to their music, or look at their paintings. We pay attention to them because of their creations, not because of their political policies, so with creative artists we are concerned with their relations with their mothers, brothers, lovers.

But with political figures, by contrast, we have to be more concerned with their relations with contemporaries who were not their intimates. Whom did they talk to, deal with, oppose, support, with what effect on the subject and with what effect the subject had on his or her associations and the broader world—it is in these areas that biography becomes both fascinating and illuminating.

In the end, my strong belief that biography is the most important kind of history is based on my understanding of the human condition. Bob Dylan advised us to "Don't follow leaders." I think that is impossible. Whether people ought to be led, or need to be led, is perhaps open to question, but that they are led is not. People look to leaders for many reasons, but the chief is that someone has to decide. General Walter B. Smith, who was present when Eisenhower made his fateful decision as to whether to launch the D-Day invasion of France or postpone it because of adverse weather conditions, was struck by "the loneliness and isolation of high command." Only Ike could decide; on his word the fate of not only hundreds of thousands of men but also of great nations rested. One historian has written that it was a decision he was "born to make." I feel it was a decision he was trained to make, had spent all his life preparing to make, and that it is those moments of ultimate decision making that give biography its meaning and appeal. □

Stephen E. Ambrose is an editor of the Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower. He is the author of Eisenhower: Soldier and President; Nixon: The Triumph of a Politician; and a dozen other books on history and military affairs. Ambrose is Boyd Professor of History and director of the Eisenhower Center at the University of New Orleans.



General Dwight D. Eisenhower
with Field Marshal
Bernard Montgomery in
Normandy, 1944.

—Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

The Artful Encounter

By
Richard
Wendorf



Miss Jane Bowles, by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

—Wallace Collection, London

I WANT TO BEGIN with a proposition about portraiture, qualify and amplify it in several ways, and then illustrate my argument by examining the work of one painter—Sir Joshua Reynolds—as he accepted a commission late in his career. My proposition is this: that among the many other things it is, a portrait is always a record of the personal and artistic encounter that produced it.

*The “encounter”
between artist and
subject is never simply
the sitting itself.*

The “encounter” between artist and subject is never simply the sitting itself. Portraits often record—or at least allude to—the financial nature of the

commission that brings the painter and the sitter together; and when these two parties are close friends or relatives, the relationship between them is often so visibly apparent that it is difficult for art historians to interpret the image without recourse to this personal context.

Taking a portrait, he argues, "is like a courtesy visit of fifteen to twenty minutes. You can't tie people up for a long time when you're like a mosquito that's about to bite."

A portrait is sometimes the *only* record that remains of this artistic and commercial transaction, although we often have recourse to eye-witness accounts, correspondence, entries in the painter's account book or the sitter's journal, and even multiple portraits or several versions of the same portrait.

It is possible for artists to produce portraits of individuals who have not sat for them, or who do not know they are being observed, or who are dead—thus literally denying the very possibility of an *ad vivum* likeness. But the portrait that

finally emerges normally betrays the restrictions under which the artist has been forced to labor. Even when an artist's portrait is simply a copy of someone else's work—as in the many portraits of Queen Elizabeth I that were produced during her lifetime—the never-changing features of a monarch who refused to sit for her court painters reflect not only the putative powers of an ever-youthful queen but the remoteness of those attempting to depict her as well.

The painting that is a self-portrait captures a personal encounter between the artist and his or her reflected image that is usually at least as revealing as what we find in other kinds of portraiture. It could be argued, moreover, that the meditative silences of self-portraits are more searching—literally more *profound*—than the moments of social intercourse recorded in a normal sitting.

Portraits are "occasional" not only in the sense that they are closely tied to particular events in the lives of their subjects, but in the sense that there is usually an occasion—however brief, uncomfortable, artificial, or unsatisfactory it may prove to be—in which the artist and his or her subject directly confront each other; and thus

the encounter a portrait records is most tangibly the sitting itself. These sittings are therefore social occasions as well as working sessions for the artist; and it is therefore also true, I would argue, that the relationship between artist and sitter recorded in the portrait has the capacity to suggest as strongly as any other feature the character of the individual who has been portrayed.

The sitting itself may be brief or extended, collegial or confrontational. Cartier-Bresson has expressed his passion for portrait photography, for instance, by characterizing it as "a duel without rules, a delicate rape." Taking a portrait, he argues, "is like a courtesy visit of fifteen to twenty minutes. You can't tie people up for a long time when you're like a mosquito that's about to bite."

Metaphors such as these, violent and combative in both vehicle and tenor, contrast quite sharply with Richard Avedon's conception of a sitting: "I often feel that people come to me to be photographed as they would go to a doctor or a fortune teller—to find out how they are." Cartier-Bresson reveals himself as an interloper and opportunist, whereas Avedon confesses—perhaps uncomfortably—to a role as diagnostician and (by implication) psychic healer: not as someone who necessarily transforms his subjects, but as someone who reveals their essential nature.

In the paradigm that Cartier-Bresson suggests, the artist virtually stalks his prey; in Avedon's view, on the other hand, the sitter actively searches for the artist, trusting that the therapeutic nature of the sitting, like the portrait that is eventually produced, will lead to a form of self-knowledge that has not otherwise been gained. Cartier-Bresson threatens to seize an interpretive likeness, whereas Avedon's sitters believe they will be given something in return for their cooperation. Both photographers appear to agree on one premise, however, which is that the fundamental dynamic in this process—whether successful portraiture be viewed as capturing, revealing, or transforming its subject—lies squarely in the hands of the artist. Avedon's sitters are "dependent on me," he says. "I have to engage them. Otherwise there's nothing to photograph."

A paradigm quite different from either Avedon's or Cartier-Bresson's

has its roots not in confrontation or consultation but in active collaboration between the artist and his or her sitter. This very different kind of relationship ("a delicate one it is!") has been formulated most vividly by William Hazlitt in an almost entirely forgotten essay entitled "On Sitting for One's Picture," which first appeared in 1823. In addition to being an astute critic of the theater, Hazlitt was thoroughly familiar with the great English school of portraiture that extended from Hogarth and Reynolds to the contemporary canvases of Sir Thomas Lawrence; and Hazlitt had the advantage, as well, of not only having had his picture painted several times, but of painting portraits himself during his years as an aspiring artist.

We should therefore not be surprised when Hazlitt tells us that "having one's picture painted is like the creation of another self," nor that the sitter's minute inquiries about himself during the vicissitudes (or boredom) of a sitting "may be supposed to take an indirect and laudable method of arriving at self-knowledge." What is remarkable, however, is the general principle to which Hazlitt appends these corollary truths, which is that the "bond of connection" between painter and sitter is most like the relationship between two lovers: "they are always thinking and talking of the same thing, the picture, in which their self-love finds an equal counterpart." As artist and subject reinforce and kindle each other's ardor, nothing is wanting, Hazlitt writes, "to improve and carry to its height the amicable understanding and mutual satisfaction and good-will subsisting between these two persons, so happily occupied with each other!"

The tone of this playful and remarkable essay is characteristically ambivalent, for Hazlitt needs to isolate the mutual vanity of the artist and the sitter while simultaneously acknowledging the benefits that may arise from it. There is a "conscious vanity" in portraiture, Hazlitt concedes, but "vanity is the *aurum potabile* in all our pleasures, the true *elixir* of human life." To illustrate his thesis, Hazlitt attempts to recapture the atmosphere in Reynolds's studio fifty years earlier:

*The sitting itself
may be brief or
extended, collegial or
confrontational.*



Self-portrait of Sir Joshua Reynolds, ca. 1773.

—Royal Academy, London; Bridgeman/Art Resource, NY

Sir Joshua must have had a fine time of it with his sitters. Lords, ladies, generals, authors, opera-singers, musicians, the learned and the polite, besieged his doors, and found an unfailing welcome. What a rustling of silks! What a fluttering of flounces and brocades! What a cloud of powder and perfumes! What a flow of periwigs! What an exchange of civilities and of titles! What a recognition of old friendships, and an introduction of new acquaintance and sitters!

Hazlitt's point is not simply to provoke a sentimental or nostalgic impression of a world that has largely been lost. His actual focus is on the relationship—at once social, aesthetic, and financial—between a painter like Reynolds and his august clientele. It must be allowed, Hazlitt continues, "that this is the only mode in which genius can form a legitimate union with wealth and fashion. There is a secret and sufficient tie in interest and vanity." The courtier, the lady of quality, and the artist "meet and shake hands on this common ground," and it is the painter, moreover, who exercises "a sort of natural jurisdiction and dictatorial power" over the pretensions of his paying guests.

Hazlitt's thesis can be fleshed out more fully if

we turn to an actual episode in Reynolds's career as a painter. In 1775 Oldfield Bowles asked his friends which of the leading English painters of children—Reynolds or Romney—should portray his daughter Jane. Bowles was worried about the reputed tendency of Reynolds's canvases to deteriorate, but Sir George Beaumont convinced his friend to "take the chance; even a faded picture from Reynolds will be the finest thing you have. Ask him to dine with you,—and let him become acquainted with her." According to Charles Leslie, Reynolds's nineteenth-century biographer,

The little girl was placed beside Sir Joshua at the dessert, where he amused her so much with stories and tricks that she thought him the most charming man in the world. He made her look at something distant from the table and stole her plate; then he pretended to look for it, then contrived it should come back to her without her knowing how. The next day she was delighted to be taken to his house, where she sat down with a face full of glee, the expression of which he caught at once and never lost.

This appealing anecdote, slight as it is, recapitulates a number of elements that are crucial to our understanding of Reynolds's success. The story of Jane Bowles marks the transition from the table (or sitting room) to the studio; social success in one arena lays the necessary groundwork for artistic success in the other. At the same time, however, Reynolds's octagonal painting room also emerges as a site of social activity; Jane Bowles—among others—sits down "with a face full of glee." The painter, moreover, is both the socially adept *agent provocateur* who charms the young girl into revealing herself at the table and the powerful artist who can capture these fleeting moments of delight and self-expression. Both of these processes, we should note, are acts of performance fully consistent with Hazlitt's theatrical conception of the studio: "[I] am as anxious to make good a certain idea I have of myself," Hazlitt writes, "as if I

were playing a part on the stage." In the eyes of a young child, Reynolds—"the most charming man in the world," is a "contriver," a conjuror, a magician: in the dining room he can make objects vanish and then mysteriously reappear; in the studio he can catch a transitory expression so that it is "never lost."

Why, then, did Oldfield Bowles decide to commission Reynolds—rather than Romney—to paint his daughter's picture? His decision does not seem to have been based on Reynolds's comparative skill with a brush on canvas, nor in any reassurance Beaumont or others could give him that a portrait from Reynolds's hand would indeed keep its freshness. The father's decision must have been based, instead, on what he learned as he ate his dessert. What, precisely, did he see?

He witnessed a famous painter, relatively late in his career, take the time to meet him for dinner and eventually draw out his daughter by telling her stories and amusing her with tricks. Jane Bowles was delighted, and surely her father sensed that the painter was enjoying himself as well. He must also have grasped the logic of Beaumont's implicit proposition: that an artist capable of bringing out the best in his daughter at the table was—by extension—the most likely person to paint a memorable portrait of her (it will be "the finest thing you have"). His decision, in short, was predicated on Reynolds's social skills: on his patience, his willingness to take an interest in others, his charm, his good humor, and the sense of excitement his behavior at the table personified.

It was a decision based, moreover, on a form of mutual accommodation that would enable collaboration to unfold. The painter must first accommodate himself to the wishes of his potential patron by performing at the table even before he enters into a contractual agreement. Charles Leslie's wording is quite revealing here, for Beaumont is supposed to have advised Bowles to "Ask him to dine with you,—and let him become acquainted with her," which seems to place the social obligation squarely on Reynolds's shoulders. In actuality, however, this dinner was clearly intended to pro-

vide Bowles and his daughter with an opportunity to become acquainted with the painter, who will later, in turn, accommodate his patrons in a studio that incorporates the social dynamic of the sitting room.

Reynolds's patrons pose for the painter in a familiar physical and social environment—familiar because its elegant furnishings replicate their own domestic spaces. As Hazlitt shrewdly noted, "From the moment the [sitter] entered, he was at home—the room belonged to him." Accompanied by their friends and surrounded by an impressive collection of old master paintings, the artist's sitters are meant to enjoy an atmosphere that is both comfortable for them and conducive to the enterprise of the portrait painter, who is simultaneously their host and their contractual employee.

The most forceful way, then, of framing my argument about the painter in the studio is to insist that, in the case of artists like Reynolds (for I take Reynolds to be a paradigmatic case), no fundamental difference existed between the octagonal painting room and all those other rooms in which his sitters spun out the days of their lives. The act of entering Reynolds's studio—this social and aesthetic encounter—did not necessarily transform those who sat for him. It would be more accurate to say, in fact, that the painter's success in capturing a likeness (or, more ambitiously, in drawing out a sitter so that he or she would reveal more than lay on the surface) was based on precisely the comfort and familiarity these subjects felt when they spent an hour in Reynolds's company. Collaboration in portraiture such as Reynolds's is based on the sitter's comfort and security as well as on his or her desire to experiment with something new; and it is in this "creation of another self," as Hazlitt put it, that the painter's subjects may properly see themselves for the first time. □

Richard Wendorf is the director of the Houghton Library and senior lecturer on fine arts at Harvard University.

Harvard University received a Summer Seminar for College Teachers grant of \$112,573 from the Division of Fellowships and Seminars. Richard Wendorf taught the seminar, "Portraiture: Biography, Portrait Painting, and the Representation of Historical Character."

It was a decision based, moreover, on a form of mutual accommodation that would enable collaboration to unfold.

THE INCIDENTS which give excellence to biography are of a volatile and evanescent kind, such as soon escape the memory...." wrote Dr.

Johnson. NEH supports grants that focus on the complex art of biography. Among them are a sampling of fellowships for university teachers:

Nell Irvin Painter, of Princeton University, is writing a biography of Sojourner Truth (ca. 1797-1883), the famous black woman abolitionist and women's rights advocate.

The life of poet Ezra Pound (1885-1972), by Timothy Redman of the University of Texas at Dallas, will cover his thirty-five years in Italy and his support for fascism.

Marcus Harold, of Michigan State University, is researching a biography of Haile Sellassie (1889-1975), who was Ethiopia's dominant twentieth-century leader.

Fellowships for independent scholars include grants to support the following:

The life of Nobel Prize-winning author Saul Bellow (b. 1915) by James Atlas of the *New York Times*, will encompass Bellow's literary odyssey, as well as memorialize the Jewish diaspora in American culture.

Jean Strouse is researching John Pierpont Morgan, "the Napoleon of Wall Street."

Jervis B. Anderson is writing about Bayard Rustin (1912-1987), a leading human rights activist and adviser to A. Philip Randolph and Martin Luther King, Jr.

In the last few years, support from summer stipends has resulted in these publications: Jared Brown's *Zero Mostel: A Biography*, Clarice Stasz's *American Dreamers: Charmian and Jack London*, and Jules Tygiel's *Baseball's Greatest Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy*. A summer stipend and a full-year fellowship contributed to the work of Laura Thatcher Ulrich, whose *A Midwife's Tale* won a Pulitzer Prize.

Film, television, and radio programs funded by humanities projects in media tell the stories of people who have transformed American culture. *Voices and Visions*, a TV documentary series, presents the achievements of thirteen American poets. Among them are Langston Hughes (1902-1976); Emily Dickinson (1830-1868); and T. S. Eliot (1888-1965).

Several documentaries examine the lives of twentieth-century leaders who shaped world history. *De Gaulle and*

France, is a three-part series on the life, impact, and legacy of the French general and statesman.

George Marshall and the American Century presents the story of the U.S. Army chief of staff, who led the Allied Victory in World War II and helped create the Marshall Plan.

LBJ, a four-part series, traces the aspirations and political career of the thirty-sixth president, Lyndon Baines Johnson (1908-1973).

Literary voices are represented in various media. A dramatic radio series examines the life and legacy of the Nebraska novelist Willa Cather (1876-1947). A film biography of Marcel Proust (1871-1922) explores how he transformed his aesthetic and emotional experience into a literary masterpiece.

Fear and the Muse: The Story of Anna Akhmatova, is a documentary on the celebrated Russian poet who lived from 1899 to 1966 and served as the poetic "conscience of Russia" during the years of Stalinist repression.

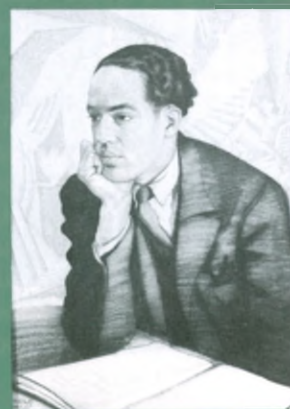
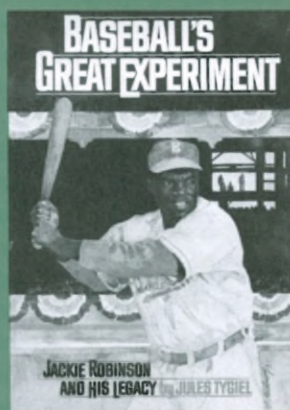
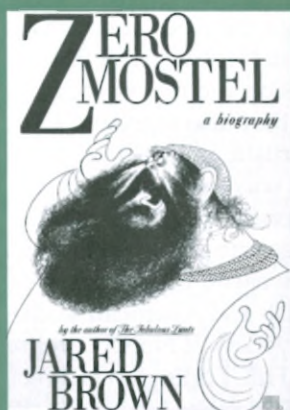
Among recent summer seminars for school teachers that focus on biography are "Representative Lives: Medieval Biography and the Idea of the Self," at the University of Tennessee, "Boswell's *Journal* and the *Life of Johnson*," at the University of Pennsylvania, and "Thomas Jefferson: The Intellectual on Mission," at Fordham University.

As a result of an Exemplary Award, the New York Council for the Humanities began a series of seventy statewide, scholar-led reading and discussion programs on biography. "Lives Worth Knowing" offers courses to secondary students, their parents, and the community at large. The bibliography includes: *Gandhi*, by Louis Fischer; *Balm in Gilead*, by Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot; *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, by Alan Bullock; and *The Iron Lady*, by Hugo Young.

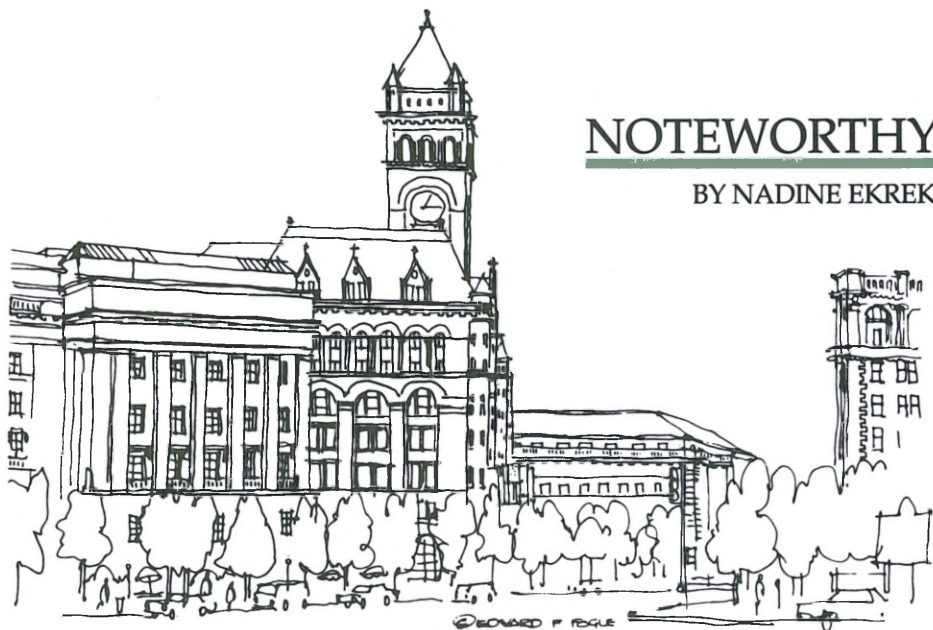
Grants from the Division of Research support the preparation of scholarly books in all fields of the humanities. Southern Illinois University Press received a subvention for *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, 1660-1800*, Vols. 15 and 16, which contains entries on actors, musicians, managers, and others of the London stage.

Finally, Yale University received a grant to prepare a critical edition of the Private Papers of James Boswell. These documents illuminate the personality and public achievements of England's greatest biographer. □

Biographies Supported by NEH



Langston Hughes
—National Portrait Gallery



NOTEWORTHY

BY NADINE EKREK

AFI Feature Film Catalog

For Patricia Hanson and her staff of twelve, putting together the *American Film Institute Catalog of Feature Films, 1941-1950* is a complex process which involves more scholarly preparation than mere movie viewing. Each of the approximately 4,400 feature-length films produced during this decade must be studied and researched for historical content. Subject headings and genres are assigned, plot summaries written.

"It's quite an undertaking," said Hanson, the *Catalog's* project director and executive editor. "Really, from day one to seeing the completed book it takes four or five years for each decade."

The forties series will be the fifth NEH-funded volume in the *Catalog*, which so far covers feature-length films from the teens, the twenties, the thirties, and the sixties.

According to Hanson, the advent of the forties brought about many stylistic changes in the motion picture industry. "There was film noir and much more of what one would call psychological and introspective films—with flashbacks and dream sequences.

"In the thirties," Hanson continued, "when Hollywood was in its heyday in terms of output and moneymaking, economics were changing; but in the forties, it was more like people themselves were changing."

The *AFI Catalog* is a project of the National Center for Film and Video Preservation.

Thirtysomething

Although the 1930s are often associated with the ravages of the Great Depression and the onset of World War II, they also represent a budding era of artistic and political creation.

"That was a period of tremendous new expression and innovation. It was an invigorating time in many ways," said Townsend Ludington, professor of English and American studies at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Ludington is directing an NEH Summer Institute at the university from July 5 to August 6 entitled "The Thirties: American Liter-



Zora Neale Hurston, late 1930s.

—Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

ature, Art, and Culture in Interdisciplinary Perspective."

"I used to think of the thirties as the tail end of the twenties and modernism. But really, the twenties were the tail end of the modernist movement. A great many of the writers who became major post-World War II writers really had their start in the thirties. Here's Ralph Ellison lurking around the edges of Richard Wright."

The five-week institute will examine the political diversity of the decade, the connection between America's rural past and folk heritage in such books as Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* and William Faulkner's *Go Down, Moses*, and the emergence of a highly interdependent corporate order (from projects as diverse as Rockefeller Center to Walt Disney's animated cartoons).

Alfred Kazin will be a keynote speaker during the segment on documentary film and photography. Conflict between realism and modernism in the visual arts will also be explored, with the works of such artists as Georgia O'Keeffe and Jackson Pollock included in the discussion.

Seeing Red

With no hereditary title of his own, Oglala Sioux chief Red Cloud assumed the leadership of his people through a charismatic display of speaking and formidable courage in battle. Among his many brave deeds, Red Cloud successfully resisted the U.S. government's development of the Bozeman Trail to newly discovered goldfields in Montana Territory from 1865-67 until the government signed a treaty abandoning the Trail in 1868.

Red Cloud later advocated peace with the white man but continued to defend Indian culture and criticized the policies of the federal government. "It is the playoff between his belief in traditional values and the need for cultural change that unified Red Cloud's life and gave him much of his depth," said Martin Carlson, a junior at Macalester College.

Carlson has received a Younger Scholars grant this summer to work on a biography of Red Cloud, spanning his birth in 1822 through the conclusion of Red Cloud's War in 1868. He has been researching Red Cloud's life since the fall of 1992, and feels there is a strong need for a new form of native American biography.

"Because historically most native Americans lived in both a foreign culture and vanished environment," he said, "it is a mistake to assume any accurate prior knowledge on the part of the reader. Consequently, for a fair presentation an enormous amount of background information must be included."

"When Sioux culture is accounted for," Carlson continued, "Red Cloud quickly proves to have been an extremely ambitious man with both a strong belief in the cultural values of his people and a deep understanding of his tribe's long history of migration and change."

Anthropomorphic Elephants

In the West, the elephant can only be perceived as an exotic creature stampeding through movies and books, or exploited in circuses and zoos. Only in Africa does the largest land animal on the planet become a metaphor encapsulating human thought and behavior in the continent's art and culture.

The elephant's influence in thirty African cultures has been examined by UCLA's Fowler Museum of Cultural History in "Elephant: The Animal and Its Ivory in African Culture." The exhibition, which left the Fowler Museum in May, will appear in an abridged version at the Metropolitan Museum of Art beginning in October.

Organized in six sections, the exhibition includes photographs, masks, and costumes, and explains the crucial but tragic way the elephant's ivory affected the nineteenth-century slave trade, which subsequently influenced Africa's artistic, historic, economic, and social development.



Gourd with hunting scenes. Kongo, Zaire.

—UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History



A "lake" at Tell el-Muqdam with an island that shows the remnants of ancient stratigraphy.

—©Tell el-Muqdam Project

Digging the Delta

It is a typical excavation day at Tell el-Muqdam, one of the largest tells in the Egyptian Delta. The increasing cultivation of rice in the region has elevated the water table, creating an insidious breeding ground for mosquitos. Before noon, the temperature could rise above 125 degrees Fahrenheit. As if the relentless heat were not enough, the Egyptian silt is so fine that it sifts and clings, sticking to hair and lodging under fingernails.

Together with codirector Renee Friedman, Carol Redmount, assistant professor of Egyptian archaeology at Berkeley, hopes the digging at el-Muqdam, called the "City of the Lions" by the ancient Greeks, will provide clues to the development of Delta urbanism in antiquity.

"There are two things we are also hoping to find," added Redmount. "One would be the lion temple. And the other would be the royal tomb like that of Kama (a queen's sarcophagus already unearthed at the site), and then see if this was in fact the seat of the Twenty-third Dynasty."

Summer excavation at el-Muqdam has become a race against time. The site has been badly ravaged over the past 150 years, due to the ever-encroaching population and the rapid pace of development in the Delta. In addition, the widespread practice of Sebakh—mining the phosphorous-rich tell mounds for fertilizer—poses a continual threat.

"We know from the history of the site that it was clearly an important urban center," said Redmount, who has received a grant from NEH to expand excavation at el-Muqdam for the next three summers.

Letters from Slavery

Freedom! The word taste like Christmas when I say it out loud. Like a juicy orange or a cup of sweetened milk.

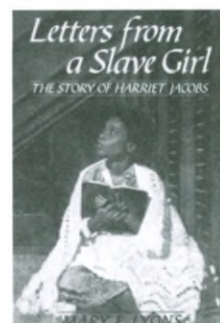
Decades before the Civil War, a young woman named Harriet Jacobs hid from her master for seven years in her grandmother's attic. In *Letters from a Slave Girl: The Story of Harriet Jacobs*, Mary Lyons chronicles Jacobs's years in slavery and her tireless work as an abolitionist after successfully escaping north in 1842.

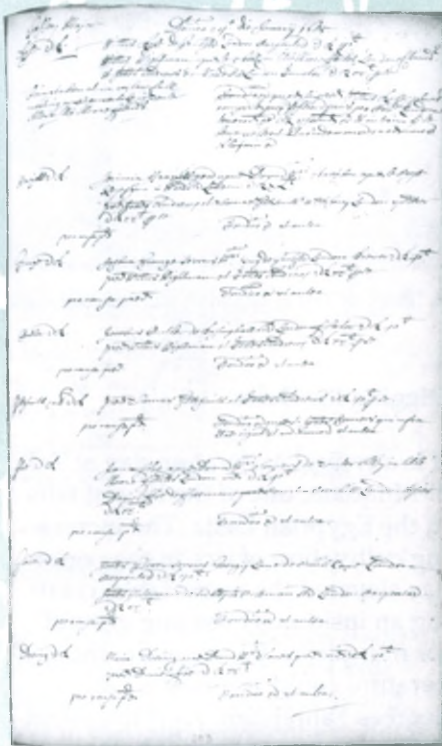
Lyons, a librarian at Charlottesville High School in Virginia and one of last year's NEH Teacher/Scholar award-winners, discovered Harriet Jacobs while doing research for her first book, *Sorrow's Kitchen*, about folklorist Zora Neale Hurston.

"She was an extraordinarily courageous woman," said Lyons of Jacobs. She disappeared into the attic to give the appearance of having already escaped North in order to avoid blackmail by her sexually abusive master (he had threatened to send her children into plantation slavery).

Lyons said the impetus for writing the biography came from her students. "It's a privilege for me to share these people and these stories with my kids because they are so eager for the information."

When questioned about the fact that she is a white biographer conveying the arduous struggle of a black woman, Lyons feels no apprehension. "That history belongs to all of us, black and white," she insisted. "I'm an American. I know there are people out there who think I'm black, and I take that as a compliment." □





THIS DOCUMENT ATTESTS TO THE ARREST OF DANIEL DEFOE AT A CONVENTICLE, AN ILLEGAL MEETING OF DISSENTERS, IN 1685.

—Corporation of London Records Office

STALKING THE DATA

BY PAULA BACKSCHEIDER

UNAPPRECIATED, unfashionable, unrewarded—these were some of the words that seminar members used to describe the kind of work they do. Surely few NEH seminars begin in the climate of skepticism that the members of “Biography and the Uses of Biographical Evidence” brought with them. Perhaps appropriately London’s Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, where we met has stone walls, iron gates, turrets, numerous guards—and within and without—a massive, forbidding, chilly mien. Huddled within it in a striking

modern room, the seminar members expressed their anxieties about doing archival, primary research and the seminar’s commitment to theoretical sophistication.

The twelve seminar members came from eleven states nationwide; they included a playwright, a classicist, and a librarian, as well as the more predictable nine English professors. Because there were nearly fifty strong applications, I was able to bring people with common projects together; and I decided to choose those working on women, on the print world (book-

sellers, printers, reviewers) and projects designed to make archives more accessible. It was common to see the biographers of Ralph Griffith, Jane Barker, Charlotte Smith, William Boyce, and a group of women printers debating strategies for various problems: finding information about childhood or dealing with years when “nothing happened.” Other typical projects were Anna Battigelli’s on early writers’ images of the creative individual and Barbara Fitzpatrick’s ongoing study of James Rivington’s publishing career. One great benefit of

the seminar was cross-fertilization. For instance, one of the two Jane Barker specialists has already given two papers this year on early women writers and their printers.

For three or more hours two mornings a week we "did theory," and several afternoons a week we struggled with cataloguing vagaries, with understanding record "classes," and with paleography and foreign languages. At one moment we might debate theories of phases in human life as presented by John Galtung or engage Hayden White's assertion that any narrative of "facts," rather than transmitting information, produces meaning and interpretation of events. In another moment we might fire questions and then suggestions for "where next" to a colleague who had found a tantalizing reference to an event in the life of the eighteenth-century writer, Jane Barker, or of the editor, Ralph Griffiths.

In his presidential address at the Modern Language Association in 1989, Victor Brombert surveyed today's practice of literary criticism and said, "My own preferences—since I may today indulge in some parting words—understandably go to critical methods that are flexible and eclectic and that avoid single-minded, myopic systems—methods that seek to combine thematic, structural, deconstructive, historical, and *even biographical* approaches" (emphasis mine). During that same summer, two distinguished members of nationally respected graduate English departments called themselves "historians" in conversations with me; and, when I hesitated over their categorization, they defended it, one with the statement that "only historians" were now much interested in his work. In the article cited above, Hume calls himself "a practical historian." The fact that these people have Ph.D.'s from distinguished English departments, have been literary critics for more than thirty years, directed dozens of dissertations in English, and have even held important

administrative positions in English departments is certainly sobering and suggests why the members of my seminar, products of similar English departments, felt insecure about their work and anxious about their futures.

This burden hardly seems fair given the extraordinary difficulties inherent in the work we do. After all, the challenge for the academic biographer is

every year. "Solid scholarship" for us also often means the painstaking checking of manuscripts cited in earlier work and invariably means attempts to locate new, previously unpublished evidence.

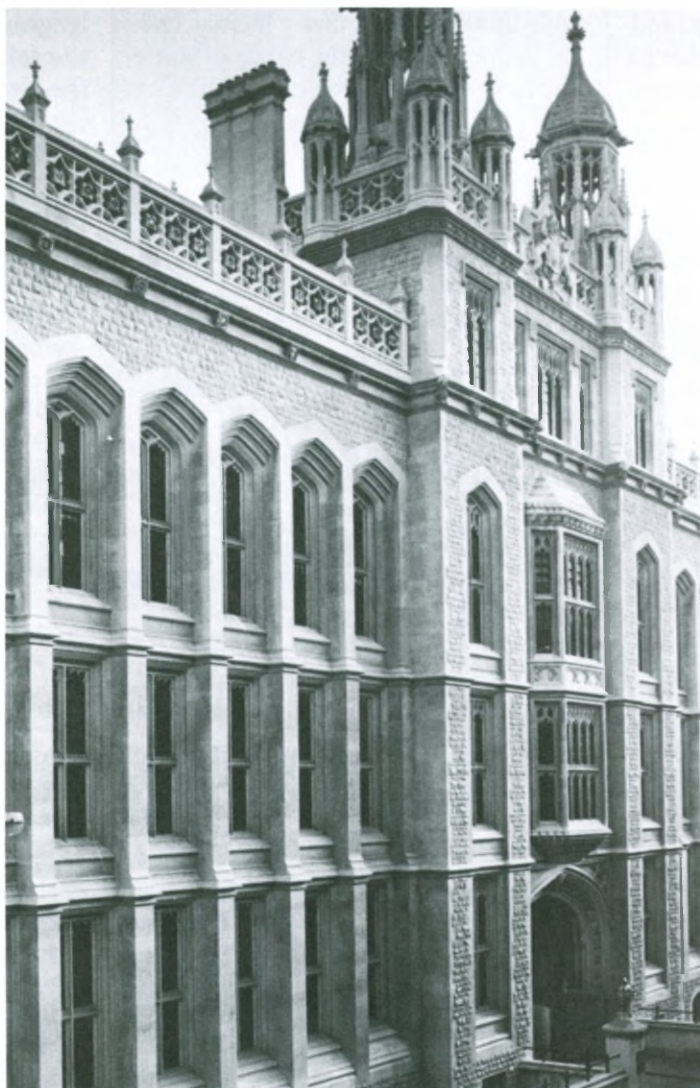
Documents in record offices have often been renumbered or even reclassified between the time of original publication and now; it is common for manuscript pages to bear several

numbers, stamped or written variously in ink or pencil—which has been cited is often unclear. Literary scholars are also notoriously inept at citing manuscript sources, and we must often try to guess what they should have written. Every citation should include place of custody (for instance, City of London Records Office), document reference or class (the code that identifies it; for instance, SM, for Sessions of the Peace Minutes), and internal reference (folio, page number, or other finding aid within the individual document). When a common reference reads as follows, transcription, printing, and proof-reading errors are probably inevitable: "PRO KB 2/84/9; KB 20/122/36."

This code, however, speaks volumes to the experienced researcher. The PRO tells me that the document is at the London Public Record Office, the "KB" that it is a King's Bench court document, and the 2 tells me what kind and

roughly what length of document to expect. Since KB 2 are affidavits, I can hope for a long narrative account; KB 20 refers to postea, results from the Assizes where the trial took place, and so I can expect to find a new trail to follow, one leading outside of London. "Solid scholarship" also requires the ability to read a variety of handwritings such as those illustrated with this article, and often demands good reading knowledge of French and facility in legal Latin.

The most challenging part of our work, however, is finding the document that will eventually be cited. Locating the appropriate record office, selecting the record classes to be



THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,
CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.
—Courtesy of British Tourist Authority

to produce a readable, artistic, well-formed imaginative work that is, but is also more than, a work of solid scholarship. The "solid scholarship" includes, of course, mastery of printed sources; and mastery is complicated by the information explosion and by the breakdown of disciplinary boundaries. The person who in 1970 could read everything published on Aphra Behn in a day or two now finds ten to twenty new articles on her work published

searched, and then identifying the items to be called up and read is both craft and art. It requires considerable ingenuity, imagination, and perseverance and demands comprehension of the historical past that produced the record, of the bureaucratic structure that classified and stored it, and of the uses to which it might be put today and in the future.

Seminar members varied in their understanding and use of theory, and some were resistant or even hostile to it. "Theory" has become a politicized and politicizing word; and the first step in the seminar had to be open discussions directed toward recognizing prejudices, clichés, restricting perceptions, and useful aspects of theory and of the charged critical world in which we write. An essay by Richard Ellmann, biographer of James Joyce, W. B. Yeats, and Oscar Wilde, eloquently makes the point that Freud still provides our cultural theory of psychology. He writes, "We may shun the technical vocabulary of Freud, words such as *ego*, *superego*, *id*, the *pleasure principle* and the *reality principle*,... yet we are hardly likely to do without such words as *aggression*, *anxiety*, *compulsion*, the *unconscious*, *defense mechanism*,... *sublimation*, *wish fulfillment*."

People immediately saw the usefulness of the words, explanations, and concepts in Freud's work and how they served as an efficient shorthand for complex ideas.

The seminar contained people who believed everyone was not just theoretically but strongly ideologically aligned, others who believed they and many others "had no theory," some who considered themselves Freudians, and others who thought they had freed themselves from Freudian thought. Paired with Ellmann's essay was Nancy Chodorow's critique of Freud's scientific method in his theory of gender differentiation. The juxtapo-

sition of these readings tended to displace people away from comfortable, settled, but unanalyzed positions. Moreover, the discussion made the point that all of us have well-developed, coherent theories that guide our interpretations and articulations of interpretations.

All biographers and those who use biographical evidence probably have more ambitions toward reaching a wide audience than many literary critics; jargon, which in the hands of some critics has created books and articles

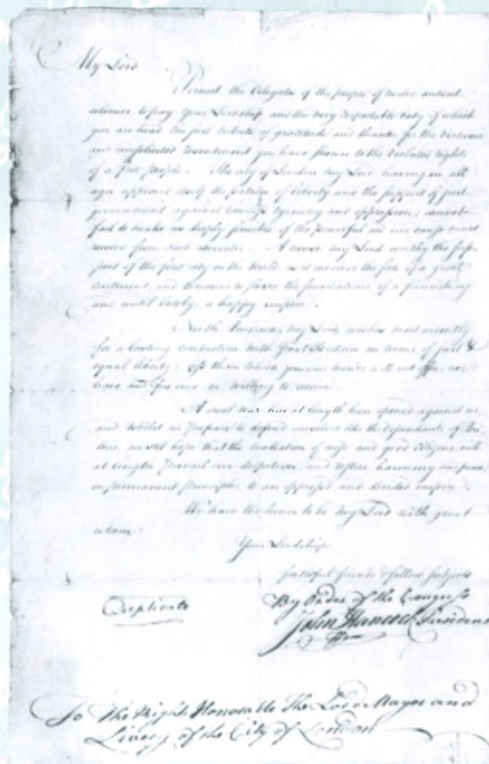
sibility has dominated, and even university faculty have consistently been uneasy with divisions between "practical" and "theoretical" criticism.

A transformation occurred in the seminar. Almost everyone came to recognize theory as providing new ways to express complicated ideas, especially those that link "the real world" and literature, and as providing new lines of investigation and new challenges. On one level, members began to realize how much of the work of the New Historicists and others needs to be checked, tested, or could be extended by those able to use the historical and archival skills that they had. They began to see additional significance in primary evidence and began to understand how important literature is—how many kinds of work it does—in a society.

I proposed the seminar believing that the future belongs to the people who understand history, appreciate what theory can do, and can carry out high level archival research. I am even more convinced today. The revisions that seminar members did increased the significance of their work exponentially. Using a careful comparison of poems about poetry by John Dryden and Anne Killigrew and new archival information, one seminar member demonstrated that creativity in masculine poetry was often associated with sexual

acts—masculine sexual acts, including rape; and she concluded, "The wavering location of inspiration first in (Killigrew's) 'Coy Goddess' and later in 'Alexander' suggests the need to create a new woman-centered myth of inspiration." (In articulating the aims of her biography of William Boyce, another wrote, "By considering the works and lives of other musicians, I can show the exchange of ideas and the network of relationships among musicians, the stylistic influences of Handel on other composers and theirs on him, and the musical vibrancy and activity that occurred during this far from 'Dark Age' of English music.")

The element that the NEH seminar added to the lives of members is that at some level a text is also an object, a powerfully expressive material object,



LETTER SIGNED BY JOHN HANCOCK, FROM THE AMERICAN CONGRESS TO THE LORD MAYOR AND LIVERY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1775.

—Corporation of London Records Office

fully accessible only to an initiated circle, had seemed to some of them an essential characteristic of "theory" and counter to their purposes.

There are times when critics do want to write for a small, very knowledgeable group that understands the nuances and articulations of arguments within the theory. Writing somewhat differently for knowledgeable generalists, for highly trained professionals, for specialists, and for research specialists has long been accepted in the sciences; but in the humanities a myth of universal acces-

Paula Backscheider is Pepperell-Philpott Eminent Scholar in the Department of English at Auburn University in Alabama. Her book, *Daniel Defoe: His Life*, won the 1990 British Council Prize for the best book in the humanities.

and the text is also part of a culture that is broad, deep, and multifarious. The encounter with Jane Austen's or George Frederic Handel's signature on a will amidst hundreds of others probated in the same year and concluding with the same humble lines committing the soul to God both returns Austen or Handel to the mass of humanity but also testifies that the individual lived, had a signature that was unlike any other signature. To read the dozens of legal cases from any single year in the commissory court of women asking for the annulments of their marriages is to understand in new ways what it meant to be a woman in an arranged, forced, or misrepresented marriage and to live in a society without divorce. One of the most basic lessons is that any find has a horizontal and a vertical life. That knowledge that determines mechanical procedure, however, can suddenly become startlingly arresting.

When we, a group of Americans, suddenly recognized John Hancock's unforgettable scrawled signature on a document, we shared an experience no Brit could have. Hancock and a group of colonialists were appealing to the London merchants to side with them in the American Revolution and pleading their common roots and common interests. None of us had known this happened, and we wonder if it is a much-told story in American history books. If not, it should be. And we know that we could move vertically from this document to see how it was received and answered and horizontally to other record offices in England and America to see how widespread the colonists' appeals were, if it was an organized appeal, and how it was perceived in the colonies. We could reconstruct the story from these documents, place it in the history and opinions of the time, and then identify unrecognized resonances in the speeches, pamphlets, and even imaginative literature of the period. We could apply any number of the theories of power and write an article that few could hope to write because it is so difficult and requires such sophisticated, varied skills. □

To support this project, the University of Rochester in New York received a Summer Seminar for College Teachers grant of \$84,869 in 1991 from the Division of Fellowships and Seminars.



A PASSIONATE OBSESSION

BY PAULA BACKSCHEIDER

AT THE END OF A DAY in the Public Record Office, I've been so smudged and dirty that the street people getting warm on the tube (London's subway) won't sit beside me. I've worked on long, long parchment documents that prefer to remain rolled up and, therefore, been responsible for annoying entire rooms of scholars. You see, I must move down the document putting lead weights along, or, when I run out of the official weights, sneakily using books or the edges of readers' book stands (strictly forbidden). The slightest shift of the document, and suddenly there is likely to be a hideous clap, a series of crackling snaps, and the document rolls itself back up. Nearby readers and I are then sprayed with dirt, the weights fall in laps or on toes, and all the readers glare.

What, then, transforms such experiences into an exhilarating, passionate obsession? There is simply nothing like it, and my seminar members know that, too. At night one or another member would find me or slip a note under my door, "Just had to tell you what I found today...." "I held in my hands today...." "The original transcript of Shaftesbury trial is there, and now I understand...."

There is a physicality to this research that is simply unknown to the critic sitting decorously in the British Library reading *printed* books with his clean hands. We move from place to place, we ask for more items, we struggle with the documents' categories and classes, shapes, conditions, and handwriting before we get to content. The manuscripts do not allow us to forget that Robert Harley was stabbed in the right shoulder and his writing never returned to its original clarity, that the person who signed the will wrote like no other person and feared death.

Part of that physicality is the knowledge that no other library or resource can make possible the same work. This fact makes one of the great principles of archival research underscore the truth: "in the last days, when there is no time left, you will find something exceptionally promising, something that leads to other records and other major quests."

During the time I worked on the Defoe biography and went to England every year, whether I stayed three weeks or six months, this principle held. So it was this past summer when I shared my seminar members' experiences. Some feelings are not moderated but made more intense by sharing with other sufferers. "Look! Look! There is her name!" one seminar member said as she pored over a King's Bench index. And we both knew she could not find all the relevant documents—depositions, affidavits, orders danced in our heads—let alone translate and absorb them in the time remaining. Here in his own words is another seminar member's experience: "During the last week I discovered in going through the minute books of the British Lying-In Hospital for Married Women that there had been a considerable brouhaha at the time that hospital separated from the Westminster Hospital. I also found out that the Westminster Hospital still maintains its own archives and that their volunteer archivist is only in on Thursdays—which of course meant that I had zero time to read...." Back across the ocean, lying in long-forgotten records are hundreds of stories, many of which we have had time but to note, mark references down carefully, and label "next time." □



BEHIND NEWPORT'S GLITTER

BY JANIS JOHNSON

—Photos courtesy of Newport Historical Society

NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, is undoubtedly the "Queen of the Resorts." From the sprawling summer palaces built in the nineteenth-century Gilded Age to the America's Cup yacht races brought in the 1930s, to the Newport Jazz Festival beginning in the 1950s, this exclusive community at the tip of Aquidneck Island on the Narragansett Bay has continually refreshed its glamorous personality.

Behind the glittery facade, however, lies a tremendously diverse, cultural, and economic past and present. Until now, the city's role in American history and the contradictions that have shaped its true character have been largely overlooked.

*Clarke Street,
Newport, with
Trinity Church,
ca. 1905.*

On September 13, the Newport Historical Society will open "Hope and Speculation: The Landscape of Newport History," a permanent exhibition in development for a decade and intended to correct narrow impressions of the city as merely a playground of the rich.

"Newport is full of these national images," says Daniel Snodacker, the society's director, "and the local reality is quite different."

Founded by religious refugees from the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Newport retains one of the most extensive concentrations of architecture from the early seventeenth century and has more colonial-era buildings than "any other single location in North America," Snodacker says. A society survey counts more than three hundred buildings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the small downtown and thousands of others from the nineteenth century, many of them built by prominent American architects.

"The first Anglo-European settlers in Newport were people who had started over not once, not twice, but three times," Snodacker explains.

"They had a very different vision from their New England neighbors." Among them was Anne Hutchinson of Boston, who was banished by Massachusetts clerics for her religious views. Increase and Cotton Mather, the prominent Massachusetts clergymen, vilified Newport as a "sewer of religious contagion."

The renegade colonists "started Newport on a different path—toward religious toleration and secular democracy—and we've stayed on that path ever since," says Snodacker.

"That resulted in a number of groups coming who were not welcome elsewhere." By mid-eighteenth century, Newport was home to Jews, free and slave African Americans, Baptists, Quakers, and other Protestant denominations. "They left their imprint on the landscape, the furniture and silver industries, the economy. Newport was



*The Ferretti
family in front
of their fruit
market, 1892.*

one of the five leading seaports in North America, but who would have known that? The curious thing is how Newport got frozen in its tracks."

The 4,000-square-foot exhibition is centered in the Brick Market, designed in 1762 by architect Peter Harrison. It then spills out into the streets of Newport in a twenty-five-station self-guided walking tour.

The Brick Market, which stands in the center of the colonial town a block from the waterfront, is an example of Palladian styles adapted from the Italian Renaissance architect by Britain's Inigo Jones and later Thomas Jefferson. By 1988, the building had become seriously deteriorated; a broad-based community effort led to its restoration as the new home for the historical society and its permanent exhibition.

The society's collections include more than 9,000 objects of fine and decorative arts, colonial-era portraits, documents and broadsides, marine artifacts, costumes and toys, accoutrements of wealthy summer colonists, and more than 60,000 photographs from as early as 1843. The Newport Historical Landmark District consists of 1,654 buildings in the Point and Hill sections of the city.

To convey the challenges of living an ordinary life in a landscape shaped by architecture of so long ago—and of such great importance—the society declined to present a purely chronological survey. Visitors are eased into the past by starting with the present. The exterior of the Brick Market, the starting point, is surrounded by relatively new construction completed during the height of the urban renewal movement of the 1960s. Inside the building, visitors are greeted with images and objects of the landscape they just left, specifically the sea and transportation, not unlike images on the minds of "day trippers" who have flocked to Newport for centuries. "We link our tale with what they know," says Snyder. "We guide them back."

To facilitate this journey, the society uses interactive computers, laser disc videos, audio phone recordings, a Discovery Room for children, and labels written by and for children.

This "kid text," as Snyder describes it, has engaged children in grades 4 through 6 in an ongoing program of writing and rewriting label text for the exhibition. In addition, free-standing kiosks on the walking tour interpret an entire streetscape, not just a building.

Newport has been a working waterfront community since 1660. A protected geographical position on the Narragansett Bay allowed the development of a flourishing seaport, one of the five largest in the English colonies. Even earlier, the native American cultures of the Wampanoags and the Narragansetts had been trading with the English and Dutch for almost forty years.

Commercial connections were brought by the Quakers and Jews who arrived in search of religious freedom. Aaron Lopez, the wealthiest Jew, and Abraham Redwood, the wealthiest Quaker, were dominant figures in the colonial economy. Information was also an industry. In 1758, James Franklin, Benjamin's older brother, established the *Newport Mercury*, the city's first newspaper and in publication ever since.

Craftsmen and artisans transformed imported raw materials into export commodities—fine hardwoods from Cuba and Honduras for furniture, molasses for rum, and whale oil for spermaceti candles. By the eighteenth century, Newport was linked to an identifiable aesthetic in architecture, landscape, and furniture. Newport was noted also for a needlework style that spread throughout New England. In the late 1890s, an influx of Greek immigrants from Massachusetts and later the Portuguese helped establish the fishing and lobstering industries.

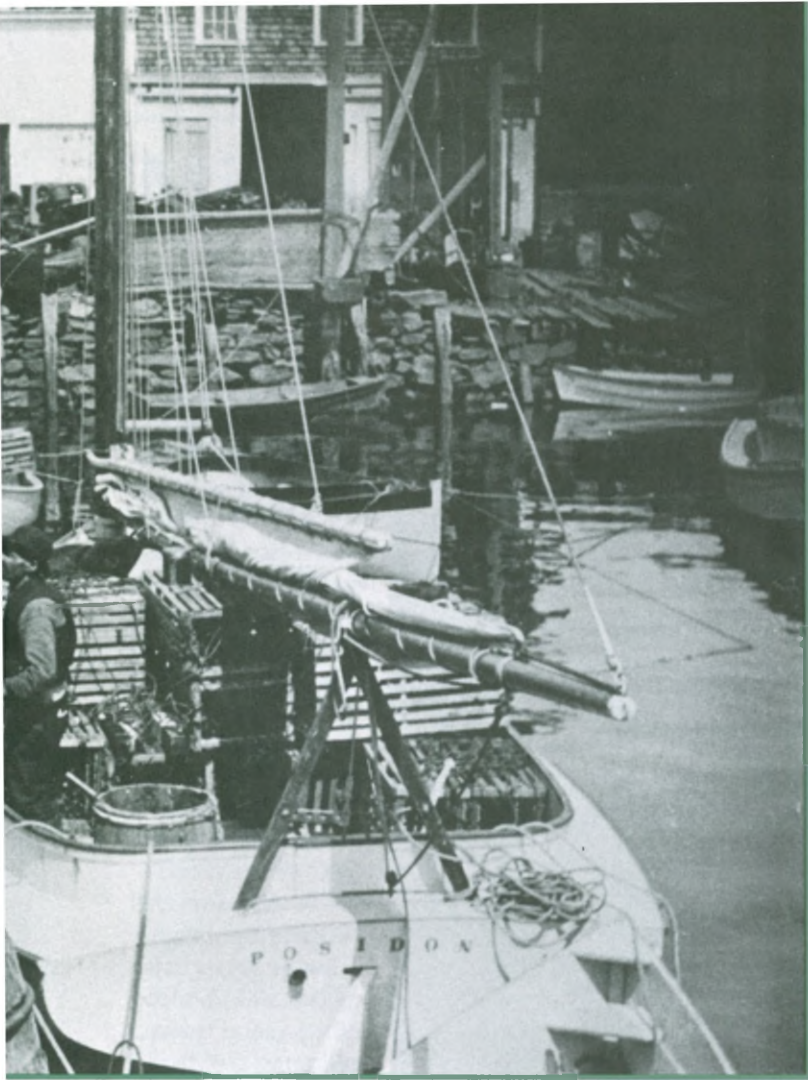
"As an island, we didn't have a natural hinterland as, say, Philadelphia did," explains Snyder. "So we've always been dependent on trade and on these imperial forces controlling the fate of the city—the British, the French, the summer colonists, the Navy, the tourists. They all come from the outside and they all have their agendas. This has had an interesting effect on the nature of the year-round community."



The U.S. Navy, for example, is a major presence. In 1861 during the Civil War, the Naval Academy was moved from Annapolis. Even before that, the locally built *Katy* was renamed *Providence* and given to John Paul Jones as one of his first commands in 1776; and the community was home to well-known Naval officers and brothers Matthew C. and Oliver Hazard Perry.

In 1869, the Naval Torpedo Station, a laboratory and factory for manufacturing and testing torpedoes, opened on Goat Island. At its peak in the mid-1940s, the station employed 14,000 Newporters. The Naval Training Station was established on Coaster's Harbor Island in 1883. The next year Admiral Stephen Luce established the Naval War College, now the War College Museum.

Another enduring aspect of Newport's heritage is its role in American religious freedom. According to the historical society, most of the first settlers were followers of Anne Hutchinson, the charismatic separatist. She and her associates pur-



*Fishermen at
Long Wharf,
ca. 1920.*

chased the Aquidneck Island from the Narragansetts and established a settlement at Pocasset on the northern end of the island, where Providence now lies. A moderate wing split off again for the third time when they moved south in 1639 to found Newport. Considered heretics by the conservative Puritans, these settlers were relatively moderate, well-off, and more concerned with the capitalism of the future than the feudalism of the past. Toleration was explicit in the statutes drawn up in 1640, and the Charter given Rhode Island and Providence Plantations by King Charles in 1663 gave that toleration official sanction.

Unlike traditional New England towns, Newport was not designed around a church. The first church gathering was Baptist, not Puritan. Not until 1699 did a Quaker meeting house become the first church building in the settlement. Religion influenced all aspects of life. Various groups retained their independent circles and rarely intermarried in what has been described as a "genteel cul-

ture of civility." Slavery was an important part of that lifestyle. Newporters selected highly skilled slaves from the West Indies to labor in small households. By 1774, approximately half the residents listed on the tax list owned at least one slave. During the colonial period, Rhode Island had three to five as many blacks, most of them slaves, as the rest of New England.

Seeing themselves as participants in refined British society, Newport was stunned by the British invasion in 1776. The British were frustrated at the challenges of Newport's successful commerce and were unable to regulate the renegade city. Two years later, the French, allied with the American colonists, bombarded the city, then returned briefly after the British withdrew. But the merchants who had fled did not. The drain of capital resources crippled Newport's ability to recover from the Revolution.

Since the 1720s, wealthy South Carolinians had emigrated to Newport to escape the hot summer. This longstanding relationship helped transform Newport after the Revol-

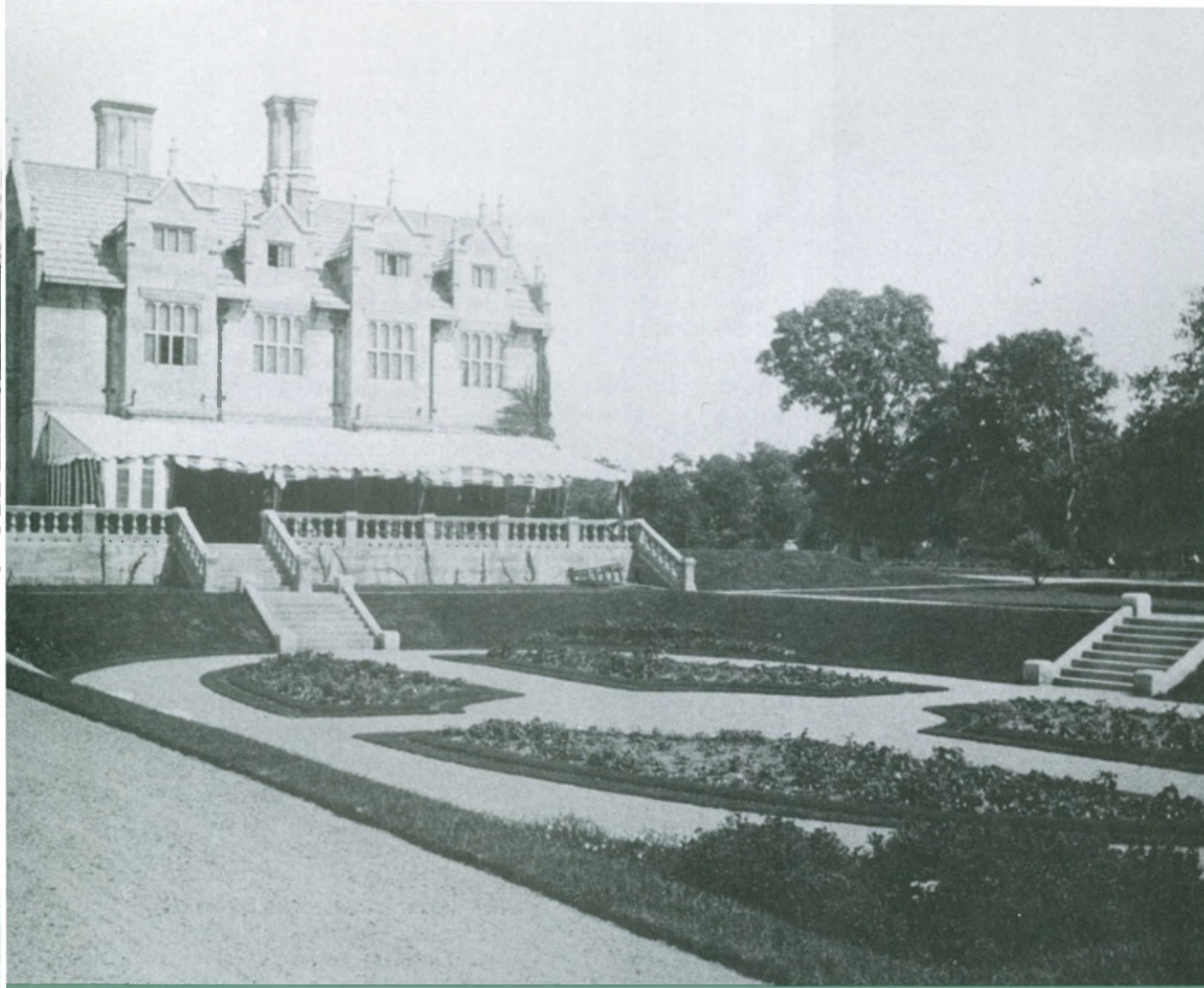
ution into a resort community. The pursuit of leisure by the emerging middle class in the nineteenth century gave the community another new lease on life.

Like other resort towns, the business of leisure was in fact a cross between a perceived national image as the playground of the rich and the daily reality of the ordinary life of middle- and lower-middle-class year-round residents. Each depended on the other: Newport became a tourist town when it was bypassed by the Industrial Revolution. The capital had left, and the geographical resources—such as the river falls which powered mills—were absent. And although the arrival of steamship service in the early 1840s brought tourists, Newport lacked convenient access by railroad and boat. Breathtaking vistas, lovely beaches, and a temperate climate continued to attract vacationers.

By this time, hotels and the grandiose "cottages" of summer residents from New York and Boston were dotting Bellevue Avenue. With these minipalaces, Newport's summer colony became more exclusive—the haunts of families such as the Vanderbilts, Astors, and Belmonts. Newport was European; it resembled an American suburb of Paris. Summer colonists flocked in to be part of the scene. Henry James, who lived in Newport as a youth, wrote rather airily: "After Saratoga, Newport seems really substantial and civilized."

In 1883, the New York Yacht Club's annual regatta introduced yachting to Newport. Sporting activities in private clubs gave an added social dimension. Newport helped define the fashionable leisure activities at the end of the nineteenth century, such as tennis, auto racing, and cycling. The community became the premier symbol of wealth and high society in the Gilded Age.

The exhibition describes how Newporters perpetuated these romantic images in national magazines such as *Harper's Weekly*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* and *Every Saturday*. But by the end of the Gilded Age, "the national image of Newport had caught up with this reality, and the nation



*Wakehurst, home
of the Van Alen
family, ca. 1900.*

gawked at the excesses which were portrayed in the popular press in an increasingly satirical fashion," according to Snyder. Still, Newport continues to be portrayed in film and television "as a slightly decadent playground for the yacht-owning jet set."

As the Queen of the Resorts prospered, its permanent residents remained ambivalent about the seasonal community on which they were so dependent. Local residents provided food and staff for the huge mansions and fitted and drove the carriages, coaches, trolleys, and omnibuses. By the early twentieth century, the economics had changed and everyone was suffering. The introduction of the income tax cut into the unlimited wealth of the summer visitors, and the advent of automobiles and airplanes took visitors to other glamorous playgrounds.

In the ebb and flow of Newport's wealth, a historic preservation movement in the 1940s dusted off the deteriorating buildings and helped convert Newport into a living out-

door museum. Tobacco heiress Doris Duke played a part in the refurbishing. Today, historic preservation is a significant part of the Rhode Island economy, with more than 25 percent of the buildings in the National Register of Historic Places.

Newport's buildings survive in part because the city was spared the ravages of industrialization and urban sprawl, the exhibition explains. Visible in Newport's buildings is the interrelationship between the high-style, vernacular, and popular versions of architecture. This outdoor museum also includes artifacts of the Narragansett culture. Their footpaths and place names survive in such thoroughfares as Spring Street and Broadway.

The restorations of the past decades have brought a revival of tourism and helped save the community from the deep crises that afflicted its New England neighbors during recent recessions. But while shoring up the economy, the jazz and folk festivals, the Tall Ships parade in 1976, and the continuing tourist onslaught have brought

record numbers of automobiles, out-of-scale hotels, and a four-lane highway cut through downtown.

Upon leaving the Brick Market, the visitor embarks on a walking tour that opens the walls of the museum across the historic landscape and highlights all these challenges to Newport's survival and its sense of place.

The exhibition, emphasizes Snyder, "really does talk about the ordinary everyday people of Newport as well as the more notable luminaries traditionally associated with the community....There still is a kind of underlying sense that we're unique and that we're still struggling with the difference between national stereotypes and local realities. Those are the ideas that have stood up in Newport." □

To support this project the Newport Historical Society received \$325,000 in outright funds and \$12,250 in matching funds from the Division of Public Programs.

Janis Johnson is a free-lance writer in Alexandria, Virginia.

Michael and Kay Jaffee

BY LAURA RANDALL

A CONCERT ARRANGED by musicologists Michael and Kay Jaffee is likely to include far more than the rich music of early modern Europe, a speciality of the husband-and-wife team. A performance by the Jaffees' Waverly Consort may provide the pageantry of the holiday celebrations of the Middle Ages; a lecture by a medievalist on the politics of early fourteenth-century France; or even the appearance of the fishmongers, matchstick vendors, and egg salesmen who once complemented the music of a Florentine street festival.

The Waverly Consort, a performing arts ensemble of musicians and singers, is a unique blend of music, poetry, and visual art. Under the direction of Michael and Kay Jaffee, the consort enhances its concerts with illustrated pamphlets, informative essays, and scholarly lectures—providing audiences with information on the people, issues, and events surrounding the era from which the music is taken.

"Our view of music is very strongly linked to the humanities," says Michael Jaffee, who founded the Waverly Consort with his wife, Kay, when they were graduate students at New York University in the mid-1960s. "One can just listen to the music—it's beautiful by itself—but it's also taken from particular cultures and circumstances, and audiences are able to savor that richness more fully if they are given this other information."

From the beginning, the Jaffees' goal has been to show the place of music in the larger cultural framework. "It helps people enter into the world of music if you give them a point of reference that may already be familiar. A historical figure like Elizabeth I or Henry VII, for instance, who were great patrons of music. Or a literary work, like a Shakespeare play that has a reference to music in it," Jaffee explains.

In the early days of the Waverly Consort, a small group of NYU graduate students performed in the New

York City vicinity, supplementing their music with art reproductions and history lessons. Nearly thirty years later, the consort comprises more than two dozen writers, translators, and production personnel, as well as a core of ten singers and musicians who have made numerous national television appearances, completed seven tours through Latin America, and performed at festivals around the world. The Jaffees also draw upon a distinguished roster of literary scholars, historians, and musicologists from across the country.

Michael and Kay Jaffee have achieved a unique collaborative style. Kay conducts the research for the group's repertory, scouring specialized libraries for musical scores and background on a selected period. Michael, who handles the financial planning, fundraising, and general management, is pulled in toward the end of the creative process, when the two confer on the final shaping of the program.

"We have the same objectives on what we want to accomplish: to push as many buttons as we can to help people draw upon what they already know, and then go beyond that," explains Kay.

Both musicologists agree that music combining high quality and historical interest works best. Michael describes a piece by French composer Guillaume Dufay as one such "historical beacon":

"Dufay composed the piece for the completion of the cathedral dome in Florence. Some scholars believe the mathematical relationship in Dufay's music was based upon Filippo Brunelleschi's architecture for the dome." This historical backdrop, which appears in program guides, can make listening to the famous piece of music even more inspiring to audiences. He adds, "They may go to the cathedral in Florence and stand under the dome and be able to hear this music resounding. It can make a difference in the way a person sees it."



—Courtesy of Waverly Consort

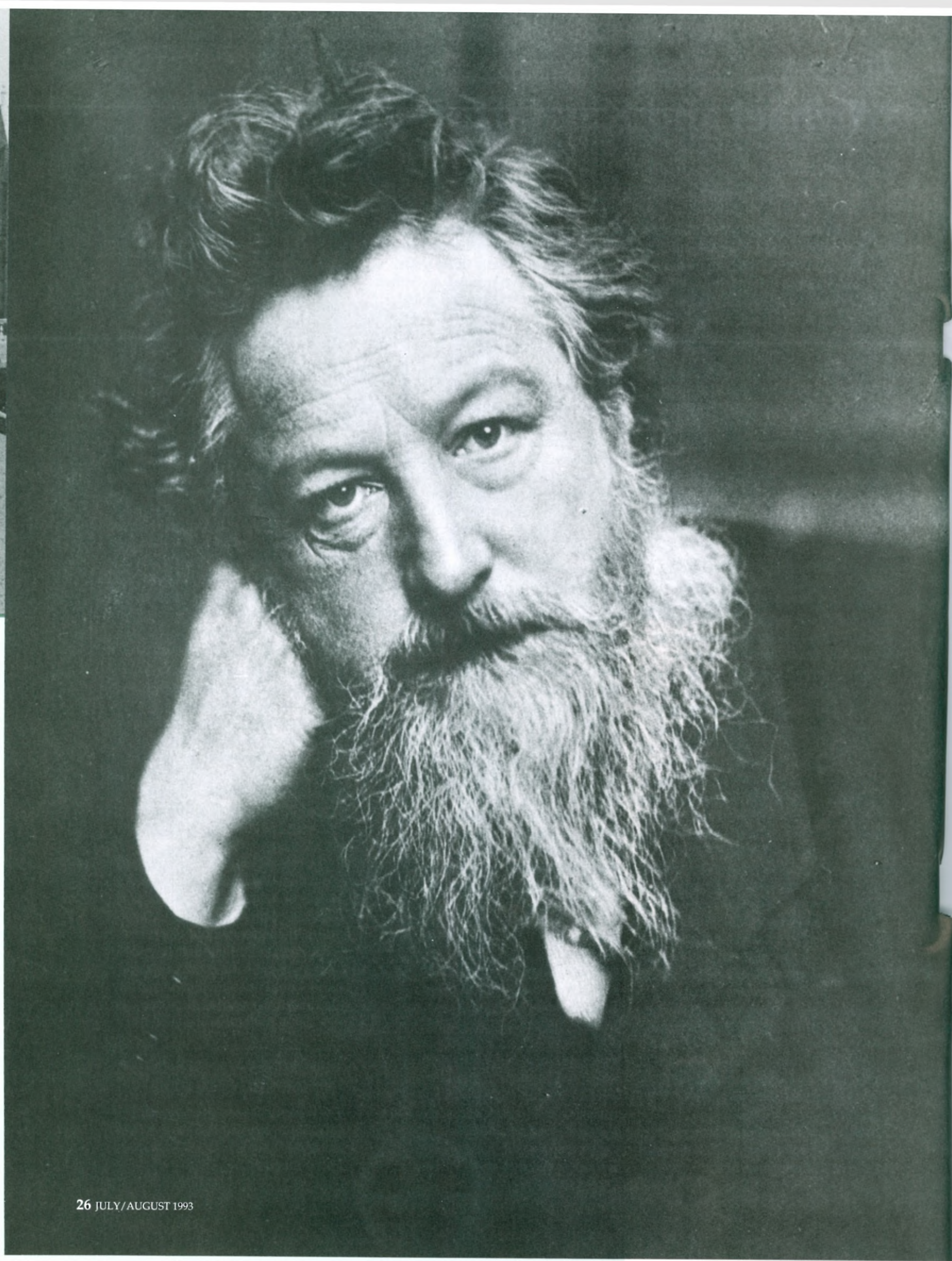
The husband-and-wife team not only labors behind the scenes to bring their programs to the public; they perform onstage as well. Michael plays the lute, a stringed instrument similar to the guitar; Kay plays the recorder, harp, and an array of wind instruments. Other Renaissance instruments the consort uses include viols, shawm, rebab, and citole.

While the consort monopolizes much of their time, the Jaffees have remained active in other aspects of the music field. Both have taught courses in early music performance at NYU and Dartmouth College. Michael has also performed with the New York City Opera Orchestra, the Bach Aria Group, and the Fine Arts String Quartet, while Kay serves on the editorial boards of *The Journal of Musicology* and *The American Recorder: A Journal for Early Music*.

The Waverly Consort has reached more than one hundred thousand people in sixteen states with its programs supported by NEH. As for the future, the Jaffees would like to broaden their audiences to include young people. "We think programs for them would open up new vistas for kids about the relationships between music and the humanities." □

Laura Randall is a free-lance writer in Washington, D.C.

The Waverly Consort project received \$200,381 in outright funds and \$40,000 in matching funds from the Division of Public Programs.



26 JULY/AUGUST 1993

The Enigmatic Surfaces of William Morris



WILLIAM MORRIS is a puzzle for whoever wants to describe him and demonstrate his complexity or depth. He presents an array of surfaces, and the challenge is to read beneath them. Everyone who hears about him finds it fascinating he undertook so much in so many areas, and then finds the search for a linking principle of character or mind leads to inadequate answers. Complicating the matter is that much of what Morris accomplished, particularly as a designer-craftsman, won international approval; and yet in many ways Morris was the most English of major Victorian figures. Whoever would explain him has to explain how his quintessential Englishness became the basis of his appeal beyond England.

The search for the elusive figure of William Morris could well begin by noting paradoxes. Morris was an intensely private person who yearned for fellowship and threw himself into group activities. He disliked much of his own age, celebrated the art of the Middle Ages, but was perceived by his admirers and followers as a creator of the new in art and a prophet on social questions. He was, finally, a champion of simplicity in all things who presents us with a complex image: a series of surfaces forming a pattern among themselves that is difficult to read.

BY NORMAN KELVIN

—Photo: William Morris Gallery, London



Born at Elm House, Walthamstow, on March 24, 1834, he was the eldest son among eight siblings. That their mother hoped her eldest son would enter the Church helped distance him from his four brothers, at least, for it meant William would be sent to a university as none of the others would. By the time he matriculated in 1853, the need for separateness that was to accompany his strongly social existence was fixed in his nature.

At Exeter College, Oxford, Morris for the first time knew fellowship and shared sympathies. Among his friends were Edward Burne-Jones, Cormell Price, and R. W. Dixon. They dreamed of a fellowship in art, and when Morris wrote his mother in November 1855 to say architecture—instead of the Church—would be his career, he was fulfilling a double destiny: to be different, singular, and at the same time fraternal; to do something that was to keep him close to friends who were also to become artists. Indeed, in the letter to his mother he said: "[B]esides your money has by no means been thrown away, if the love of friends faithful and true, friends first seen and loved here, if this love is something priceless...." The letter tells us he had begun to construct a self that would seek its pleasure in work and would try to put that work in a context of fellowship. And though he was known as a poet, he turned to architecture.

His decision made, Morris was articled in 1856 to the Gothic revivalist architect, G. E. Street, at this time in Oxford. Morris was not however to become an architect, and in some ways the months spent with Street seem an interlude. But in other ways it was a period of condensed and concentrated meanings. It was a culmination of Morris's reading of Ruskin, and of enormous pleasure already taken in older buildings, those he had seen in England and in

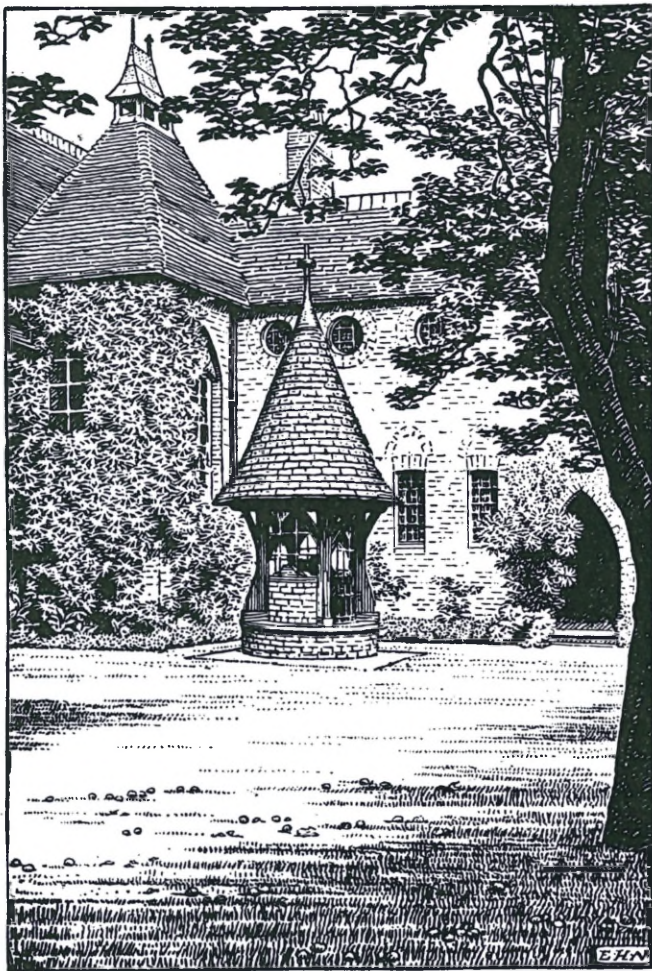
tours of northern France during vacations. In Street's office, too, Morris was to see reinforced the Ruskinian precept that architecture and the decorative arts are indissoluble. Finally, he met Philip Webb, Street's senior clerk, who was to be his lifelong friend. Perhaps the making of a single friendship, and one in which Webb, though a few years older, soon adopted a warm but slightly deferential attitude toward Morris, also carried forward the theme of singular consciousness within the group; for Street's office was a group endeavor, if not one usually mentioned when others in Morris's career are spoken about.

In rapid succession, the following events occurred. In the summer of 1856, Street moved to London and Morris followed him, taking rooms in Red Lion Square with Burne-Jones, where the friends began to design

their own furniture, not liking what they saw for sale in the shops. In that year, too, Morris was introduced to Dante Gabriel Rossetti by Burne-Jones and decided to become a painter. In 1857, under Rossetti's leadership, Morris, as one of a group, took part in the painting of a mural for the Oxford Union Debating Hall. While in Oxford, he met Jane Burden, a stablehand's daughter, who was to become Morris's wife, Rossetti's lover, and an important face and figure in the iconography of Pre-Raphaelitism. Morris and Jane Burden were married in 1859, a year after the publication of *The Defense of Guenevere*, his first volume of poetry. Philip Webb was commissioned to build their home, Red House (at Upton, Kent), a building now remarked as a great step forward in English domestic architecture; in 1860 the Morris family moved in, beginning the first decade of their married life.

It was a seminal period, one in which fundamentals of Morris's character and career were stamped out by circumstance and choice. In 1861, the firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co. was founded. In the same year, Jenny, Morris's first daughter, was born; and a year later May, his second. The decade also saw the establishment of Morris's reputation as a major poet. And it saw the start of the affair between Jane Morris and D. G. Rossetti.

To speak of the sixties as beginning Morris's marriage is only to point to a site where silence is a greater presence than words and information. Later in life, Jane Morris told Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, who succeeded Rossetti as her lover, that she had never loved Morris. To what extent she was reporting feelings remembered, and unremembered, is open to question, as indeed Blunt's testimony itself always is. But that the mar-



Red House in Upton, Kent, designed by Philip Webb for William and Jane Morris.
The Morris family lived there from 1860 to 1865.



riage was neither passionate nor based on shared perceptions is certain. And Morris's letters to Jane—those we have—as well as references to her in letters to others, suggest he took on himself the responsibility for the marriage. Always careful of Jane's feelings and desires, he seems to have accepted the fact that he could not make her happy, and he seems to have consented to her freedom as best he could.

There is little on record delineating the pain Morris himself must have felt, or telling us what consolation he found. Important to him was a lifelong friendship with Georgiana Burne-Jones, wife of Edward Burne-Jones, which, though probably never physically intimate, apparently provided him with whatever closeness with a woman he was to have. But precisely what this friendship meant to him we cannot know, partially because his letters to Georgiana survive only in fragmentary extracts.

In Morris's relations with his daughters, here too as much is concealed as is delineated by the record. If there are more letters to Jenny than to Jane Morris, there are also more to Jenny than May; and if affection is freely expressed in letters to Jenny and less so in the handful of surviving letters to May, what is common to both sets is that they present, like so much else, surfaces on which simple messages are inscribed; hiding, rather than revealing, whatever is deeper in the feelings with which Morris wrote.

Jenny, the elder, became an epileptic in 1876; and the father-daughter story that ensues is one of Morris's constant efforts to cheer her; to persuade her to accept her periodic stays in nursing establishments; and to say (when he could) he was coming to visit and fulfill her desire to have him near. His letters to Jenny show him at the extreme of selflessness. In them, he tried to create a life for her out of details from his life, and also out of notices of family doings that por-



Jane Morris, ca. 1860.

—Victoria and Albert Museum, London



trayed Jane as contented and domestic and that reminded Jenny of her stable extended family—of her grandmother and aunt. In addition, he reported on the world beyond the family, hoping to lift Jenny out of herself. But as with marriage, his concern for Jenny, his sorrow, and whatever else he felt were buried deep. Neither his surviving letters nor his diary give direct information about the frustrations, anxieties, and conflicts he must have felt in trying to protect Jenny from herself, from family troubles, and from his own pre-occupations elsewhere.

As for May, Morris seems to have treated her as a friend—a comrade—once she was grown, particularly during the 1880s, when she shared his enthusiasm for socialism, and also became head (in 1885) of the embroidery department of Morris & Co. It would seem she early discovered that sharing Morris's interests was the best way to make a place for herself in his life. A woman of strong overt passions and desires, her own life was destined to be one of broken and short-lived relationships with men. Her long-lived devotion was to her father; and to her we owe the collected edition of his

work, in twenty-four and two supplemental volumes, each complete with an invaluable introduction telling us things about Morris we could not learn elsewhere. Indeed, the best way to understand the relationship between Morris and his daughter May is to read backward from the *Collected Works* and to ask what sort of father could inspire a daughter to devote herself to so long and arduous a task and produce so monumental a result. In the letters to May there is little evidence of the kind of giving that would bring this response; but that Morris gave, even as the letters tell us he gave to Jane and Jenny, seems clear. What he felt for or about May, particularly when she involved herself with George Bernard Shaw and then married a man who Jane made clear (in letters to Blunt) inspired little parental joy, we will never directly know. As in all

other matters dealing with the intimacies of human relations, we have, in the records relating to Morris and May, large silences to read.

The firm—which produced stained glass, painted tiles, furniture, embroidery, chintzes and wallpapers, and then later tapestry and carpets—was, after 1861, to dominate much of his life. Initially named Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. and after a reorganization in 1875 called Morris & Co., it was, according to Rossetti, an idea that had occurred to a group of friends talking one night. However, though begun in the spirit of fellowship and camaraderie, and with little capital, it was to be a great success, commercially and as a cultural force. And for Morris, it was to be a site, perhaps the most important, in which he found self-expressive work in the midst of a group. But the reorganization in 1875 led to long-lived separation between Morris and some of the others, particularly Ford Madox Brown, and tells us how fragile Morris's relations were in this group comprised of none but strong-willed individuals. Of equal importance, however, the producing

of designs that eventually became his chief activity for the firm, gave him the greatest pleasure and satisfaction in *doing*, in making, among all the activities that occupied him from the 1860s until the nineties (when he started the Kelmscott Press and designed and issued beautifully made books). Certainly, the role of designer-craftsman that he filled so admirably for the firm vividly demonstrates the opposition, and to a degree the fusion, of Morris's needs: to be both solitary and social. The production of objects—textiles, wallpapers, tiles, tapestry, and carpets—saw him always at hand and involved, in a social process in which, it might be added, he was in charge.

And we must not leave the story of beginnings in the 1860s without noting that *The Earthly Paradise* (1868-70), the story of a group of medieval wanderers, established Morris as a major poet. He enjoyed his reputation, and there is a rightness (for him) in what he produced. Narrative incident and decorative detail marked his production in all areas; sometimes, as in fabric and wallpaper designing, the decorative patterning being more obvious. But Morris wanted both in balance, and in *The Earthly Paradise*, a long poem, highly patterned and decorative in narrative detail, he achieved the balance.

And what lies just beyond Morris's success, beyond the pleasure he took in the medieval as a reader and writer, is defined by exclusion: by what he did not enjoy. Not much produced by his contemporaries elicited from him the kind of enthusiasm Chaucer's tales and other medieval works, particularly Froissart's *Chronicles*, did. In all Morris's letters, essays, and recorded conversation there is no strong, unqualified enthusiasm for any nineteenth-century novelists other than Scott, Dickens, and Dumas, and the absence of real admiration for any contemporary poet is noticeable. It is not forcing an image to say that Morris's reading of the nineteenth-century literature we value today is a closed book: As with so much else, no interior monologue results from his encounter

with authors of his day, none enabling us to read over his shoulder as he reads, and thus read him.

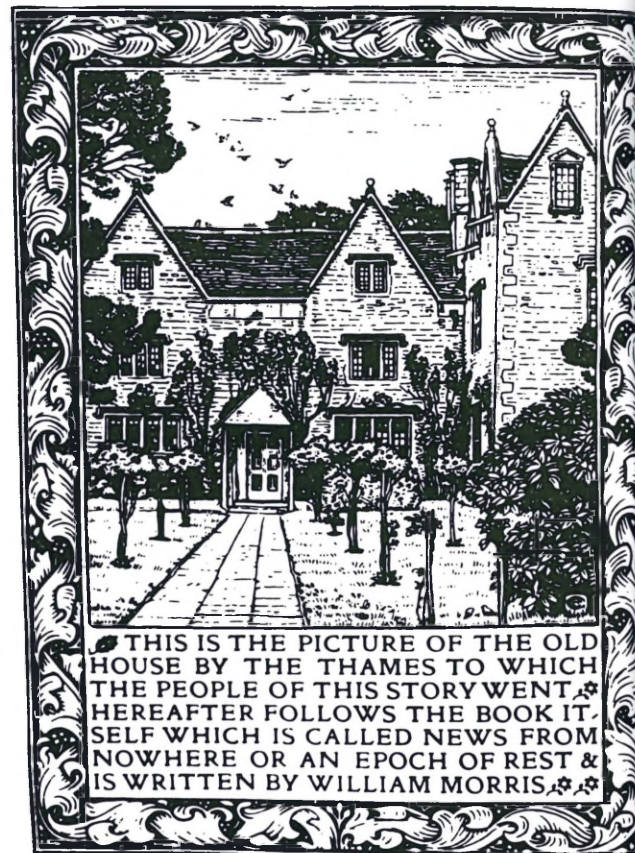
The paradoxical situating of himself in the nineteenth century as a successful designer and writer, while at the same time displacing himself from that century, led directly to his entry into the public arena. On the surface, nothing could be more contemporary than the activities into which he flung himself, beginning in the 1870s. Yet it is also true that Morris's ideas of history and art eventually conditioned his public concerns in a way that can best be described as opposing the present on behalf of the future through the instrumentality of the past.

However, this was only finally so, not immediately. Morris's first entry into the public arena was unqualifiedly an engagement with the present on its own terms. In 1876 he joined the Eastern Question Association, a Liberal party organization determined to keep England out of the Russo-Turkish War. As a member of the EQA's executive committee, Morris corresponded, spoke at rallies—even composed lyrics to an antiwar song, "Wake, London Lads"—and if the committee can be considered another of Morris's groups, it was one in which he was able to work well with others, and in a frame of reference created by others rather than himself.

Second in the same decade was the founding in 1877—this time under Morris's leadership—of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. The SPAB was dedicated to the Ruskinian principle that the fabric of medieval buildings and other historic edifices should be preserved and not "restored." It was a conservative idea dedicated to the—at the time—radical proposition that a building is the fabric

of history, an original text, to be read for pleasure or knowledge, to have textual scholarship practiced upon it, but never to be made to serve as a site for efforts to reconstruct the past, an impossibility.

There is something reminiscent here of the Victorian concern with beginnings—faith that beginnings, if located and described, are the true source of knowledge of the present and future; the faith informing the work of Darwin, Marx, and novelists such as Dickens and George Eliot. Though Morris elaborated no theory of beginnings to justify his defense of "ancient" buildings; the past, in his lectures, is often the text to be read for direction in making contemporary art; and his commitment—soon to come—to radical politics resulted finally in an image of the future so wholly based on the past that Morris adroitly named its site "Nowhere." That "Nowhere" was also England, past, present, and future, is much to the point.



The frontispiece of *NEWS FROM NOWHERE*, published by Kelmscott Press in 1892, depicts Kelmscott Manor, Morris's country home at the Oxfordshire-Gloucestershire border.

It can be said that among the many divisions in Morris's character was an opposition between conservative and radical impulses striving to become a dialogue, and that the self beneath the many surfaces was attempting this dialogue. On the surface, however, so far as public affairs were concerned, Morris was simply radical: dissatisfied, restless, angered by social injustice. It was for this reason that in 1883 he turned to socialism, joining Henry Mayers Hyndman's Democratic Federation. For the next seven years Morris campaigned energetically on behalf of socialism, and he called himself a socialist for the remaining six years of his life after that. But what is most striking, and what separates Morris from many of his radical associates, is how often his lectures, newspaper pieces, and political romances turn on the essentiality of art. Socialist activity was for him a reinscription of a lifelong duality between a need to hold to a private vision and a need to be a part of a

group endeavor, a duality that inevitably caused tensions between him and others.

In the very years Morris was energetically lecturing on socialism—emphasizing socialism for the sake of a rebirth of art—he was also decorating the houses of the middle class and the very wealthy, making fashionable and modern the “Morris look.” Through traditional English vernacular furniture, through textile and wall-paper designs based on English flowers and named for English houses and rivers, all the while embracing in his own imagination the practice of medieval decoration and design, he indeed reached the English people as a “radical.” They knew his doctrines but absorbed his ideas through the pleasure his art gave them. Perhaps not many in England stopped to think of it as an English art, but when designers and artists in other countries sought it out—and they did, coming from France, Germany, Scandinavia and America—they perceived it

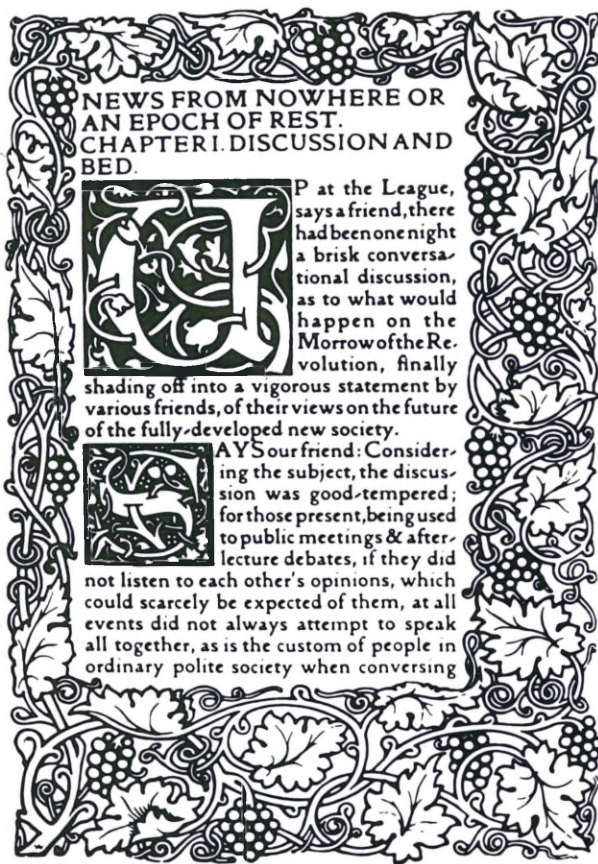
as a fruition of the very English culture of which Morris himself despaired.

Worth noting, though not obviously an “influence” on him as an English designer-craftsman, is that despite his international reputation, Morris disliked foreign travel. Exceptions were two trips to Iceland in the 1870s, and several visits to the cathedral towns of northern France. But this travel is connected more to his medievalism, and his love of early England—in the French visits, English cathedral architecture—than to interest in foreign culture. If Morris had a capacity to see the universal in the particular—and his appeal abroad suggests he did—he saw the universal, without striving to do so, in an English landscape, an early English building, an English flower, in the forms he discerned in them.

In contrast to his dislike of foreign travel, he willingly travelled in his lecturing throughout Britain. But he was happiest at Kelmscott Manor, his country home at the Oxfordshire-Gloucestershire border. His love of this house is so central to so much in Morris that if its facades alone could be read we might read him better. Suffice it to note, however, that in *News from Nowhere* (1890), a utopian romance and his most popular work, this sixteenth-century house epitomizes the meaning of the work.

The moment of largest meaning for the story occurs when the nineteenth-century time-travellers, Guest and his twenty-first century guide Ellen, whom he loves, reach Kelmscott Manor, and she touches the surface of the stones. She “laid her shapely sun browned hand and arm on the lichened wall as if to embrace it, and cried out, ‘O me! How I love the earth, and the seasons, and the weather and all things that deal with it, and all that grows out of it as this has done!’” Ellen is an incarnation of otherness through which self is realized, for it is of course Morris, too-thinly masked as Guest, who reads an almost mystic union of nature and English architecture—i.e., for Morris, English history—on the lichened wall. In the end, Guest and Ellen are prevented by reality from fulfilling their love, for Ellen belongs to a dream from which Guest must awaken; and the wall that was an erotic fulfillment through the sensuality of touching becomes, on waking, a wall of separation. The struggle for Morris was always to give voice to the message of the dream, carried within, when he had crossed the line to reality. Like his turning away from troubles at home to plunge into public affairs, Ellen was a turning away from the women Morris knew or was likely to meet. She directs us to read the silences in the written record of Morris's life.

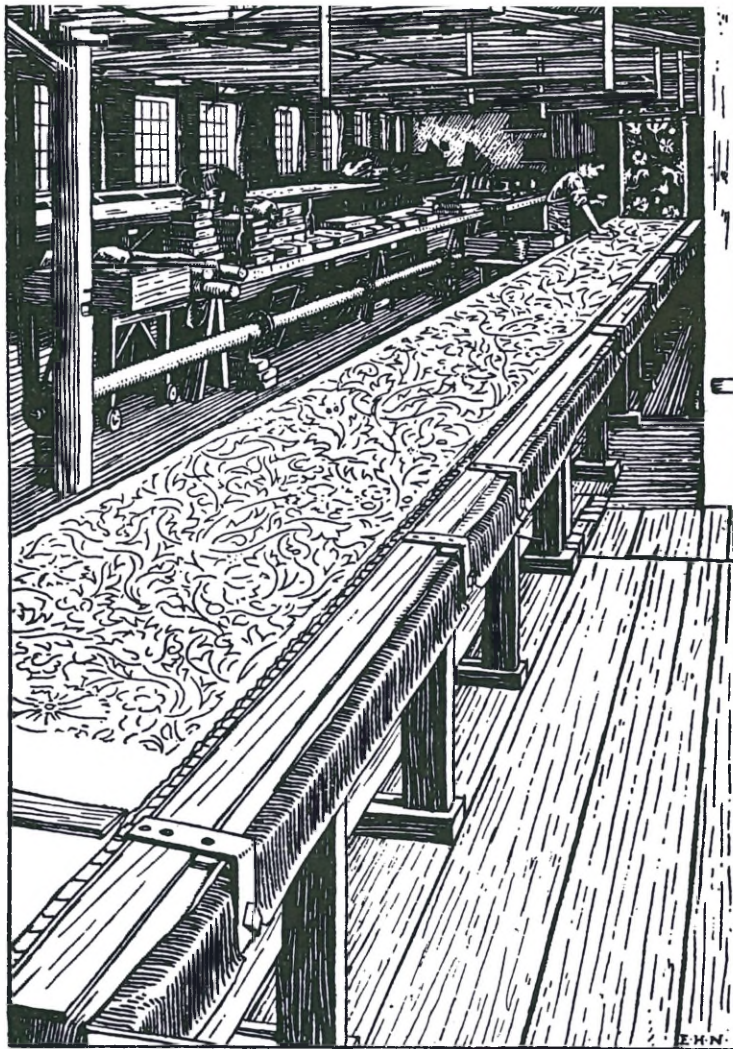
The last phase of his career begins in 1890. After that year, Morris's need to be involved in public affairs



The opening text of *NEWS FROM NOWHERE* in the 1892 Kelmscott Press edition. The text is set in Golden type.

expressed itself mainly in Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings business. Though never rejected, socialism got much less of his time and energy. After 1890, he showed his commitment by establishing the Hammersmith Socialist Society, which was, as its name indicates, distinctly local, its members constituting a saving remnant of friends and sympathetic followers. Morris had established a site for politics that enabled him to exclude the important concern of politics—negotiation or struggle over power; and, as in Morris & Co., to experience group activity as leader.

If desire is the measure, most important to him in the 1890s was the building of a magnificent library of medieval manuscripts and early printed books (many now in the Pierpont Morgan Library), and the printing of books himself at the Kelmscott Press, founded in 1890. The press represents another group activity in which Morris was distinctly the owner-leader; but equally important as parallel, like Morris & Co. the press has profoundly influenced our visual world. He "radicalized" or "modernized" the book arts by returning to the early practices of printing in the second half of the fifteenth century and even earlier, to the making of illuminated manuscripts. He insisted it was these earlier books that paid proper attention to spacing, margins, the design of type, the quality of paper and ink, and the care and success in executing ornaments. In a private and small way, echoing and paralleling the almost private Hammersmith Socialist Society of the same year, he proceeded to design and produce volumes that were to excite the interest of many, not only collectors but commercial publishers,



The chintz-printing room at the Merton Abbey works of Morris & Co.



the latter seeing the Morris style in the book arts as attractive, new, and commercially viable. Indeed, some historians of the visual arts credit Morris with having, through his practice at the Kelmscott Press, revolutionized in our visual culture today all the graphic materials consisting of the arrangement of type and illustration in a defined space.

When Morris died in October, 1896, the loss was felt and reported widely. On all sides his death was seen as the passing of a major figure in English literature, art, and public life. For us, an enigma remains. The public Morris is still a man who refused dramatic representations of his inner life, and thus left it unknown; who turned his energies outward; whose keen intelligence and imagination both created and read the complex-

ity of surfaces but who never fully expressed on these surfaces what he saw and felt, and who insisted that what he saw and what he created was simplicity.

Simplicity—as effect—it was; but not in other and more important ways. Relating selectively to the nineteenth century, loving the Middle Ages, Morris convinced his followers that he stood for the hope of the future, and was thus "modern." Happiest when drawing flat, visual patterns—surfaces—he concealed a narrative of himself in them as well as other patterns: in his writing and even in his public, group activities. We will never be able fully to read the silences at the deep center of Morris until we learn how to relate to each other the surfaces he left. We have an abundance of them: poems, lectures, decorative designs, prose romances; also that other form of surface information, the testimony from people of wide and diver-

gent interests that Morris was indispensable to their own lives and activities. All these have to be fitted together, and read against the silence of the inner life, in the hope that the inner life will thus become intelligible; in the hope, finally, that a figure in the carpet—an appropriate image for Morris—will emerge. □

Norman Kelvin is professor of English at the City College and the City University of New York.

Since 1978, Norman Kelvin has received \$335,094 from the Editions program of the Division of Research Programs, and a Summer Stipend of \$2,700 from the Division of Fellowships and Seminars, for a critical edition of the letters of William Morris.



Christina Rossetti by Dante Gabriel Rossetti

—Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

'I AM CHRISTINA ROSSETTI'

I N 1930, THE CENTENARY OF CHRISTINA ROSSETTI'S birth, Virginia Woolf reviewed a new biography of her, in which she identified the Victorian "poetess" as one of Shakespeare's more recent sisters, whose life had been reclusively Victorian but whose achievement as an artist was enduring.

BY ANTONY H. HARRISON





Woolf's admiring remarks, republished in 1932 under the quirky title "I Am Christina Rossetti," focused on the subject of the biography, not the biography itself. Ignoring Rossetti's apparent conservatism, Woolf sees in her something of curiosity value and a model of artistic purity and integrity for women writers. In the face of Rossetti's virtual canonization by critics at the end of the nineteenth century, Woolf justly contends that she was hardly a "pure saint." As if at a Victorian seance, she summons the wraith of the dead poet in order to reveal the truth about her: "You pulled legs; you tweaked noses. You were at war with all humbug and pretence. Modest as you were, still you were drastic, sure of your gift, convinced of your vision. A firm hand pruned your lines; a sharp ear tested their music. Nothing soft, otiose, irrelevant cumbered your pages. In a word, you were an artist."

Not until half way through the essay does Virginia Woolf recount the anecdotal source of her title:

For some reason Christina went to a party given by Mrs. Virtue Tebbs. What happened there is unknown—perhaps something was said in a casual, frivolous, tea-party way about poetry. At any rate, "suddenly there uprose from a chair and paced forward into the center of the room a little woman dressed in black, who announced solemnly, 'I am Christina Rossetti!' and having said, returned to her chair."

In her remarks, Woolf tries to fathom a contradiction at the mysterious heart of Christina Rossetti and her work. As Woolf was well aware, "something dark and hard, like a kernel, had formed in the center of Christina Rossetti's being. It was religion. She dwelt in some curious region where the spirit strives toward an unseen God." Nonetheless, this pious and austere Victorian woman produced some of the most vital, gloriously sensual (and witty) poetry that can be culled from the prolific mass of nineteenth-century English literature. Rossetti's most famous poem, "Goblin Market," is a good example. It bridges the generic space between simplistic fairy tale and complex adult allegory (at once Christian, psychological, and protofeminist). The poem depicts the temptation and fall of young Laura. Laura is irresistibly tempted by gorgeous fruits hawked by vaguely threatening goblin men (the only men in the poem) who magically appear and disappear from the rural landscape near her cottage. These fruits, described in the opening lines of the poem, include "Plump unpecked cherries," "Bloom-down-cheeked peaches," "Rare pears and greengages," and "Bright-fire-like barberries." They appear unsurpassably desirable but deceptive, as are so many of the tempting appearances of this fallen world. Returning from her banquet in the goblin glen, Laura exclaims to her twin sister Lizzie,

*You cannot think what figs
My teeth have met in,
What melons icy-cold
Piled on a dish of gold
Too huge for me to hold,
What peaches with a velvet nap,
Pellucid grapes without one seed:
Odorous indeed must be the mead
Whereon they grow, and pure the wave they drink
With lilies at the brink
And sugar-sweet their sap.*

Her ecstasy is brief, however. The goblin fruits are addictive, but for Laura the goblin men and their produce have now disappeared. She soon begins to suffer horrible torments of unfulfilled desire and eventually approaches death. But she is saved by Lizzie, who risks her own life in order to resurrect her sister. Lizzie seeks out the goblin men, but because she wishes to buy their fruit and take it home to Laura rather than devour it on the spot, they attack her:

*No longer wagging, purring,
But visibly demurring,
Grunting and snarling.
One called her proud,
Cross-grained, uncivil;
Their tones waxed loud,
Their looks were evil.
Lashing their tails
They trod and hustled her,
Elbowed and jostled her,
Clawed with their nails,
Barking, mewing, hissing, mocking,
Tore her gown and soiled her stocking,
Twitched her hair out by the roots,
Stamped upon her tender feet,
Held her hands and squeezed their fruit
Against her mouth to make her eat.*

Lizzie resists the assault. Though the goblin men "Scratched her, pinched her black as ink," though they "Kicked and knocked her, / Lest they should cram a mouthful in." She returns to Laura covered with fruit juices that "syrrupped all her face" and invites her sister to "Hug me, kiss me, suck my juices / Squeezed from





goblin fruits for you." These, it turns out, provide precisely the required antidote for Laura, who eventually revives. The poem ends, years later, with Laura narrating these events to her own (presumably female) children, for whom the simple moral of this not so simple poetic tale becomes: "There is no friend like a sister" to "fetch one if one goes astray."

This poem, like many of Rossetti's works, is extraordinary in its originality and unorthodox in its form. Its subject matter is radical and therefore risky for a Victorian poetess, because it implies castigations of an economic (and even marital) marketplace dominated by men, whose motives are, at best, suspect. Its Christian allusions are obvious but grounded in opulent images whose lushness borders on the erotic. Indeed, such potent sensual imagery—the richest since Keats—dominates much of Rossetti's poetry. (Perhaps it should come as little surprise that eleven decades after the first publication of "Goblin Market," *Playboy* magazine published a scandalous, illustrated version of it.) The striking voluptuousness of Rossetti's poetic sensibility compelled Edmund Gosse, perhaps the most influential critic and bibliophile in late Victorian England, to observe that Christina Rossetti "does not shrink from strong delineation of the pleasures of life even when denouncing them."

Rossetti's own life was marked by extreme Christian devotion, abstinence, and self-suppression, and these traits are also commonplace in her poetry. She consistently adhered to the central Christian tenet that all the attractions of this world are mere vanity. Before the age of thirty-five she had rejected two suitors on religious grounds, an unconventional and courageous stance for a Victorian woman without money. She never married. At the age of forty she nearly died of Grave's disease. A semi-invalid thereafter, she devoted her remaining twenty-four years to the quiet care of her ailing sister Maria, who died in 1876; then of her famous brother Dante Gabriel Rossetti, who had attempted suicide in 1872 and, a decade later, died a broken man; finally to the care of her aunts and her mother, whom she had always idolized. During these cloistered years Rossetti wrote six volumes of widely read devotional commentary, most published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. (This work included a mammoth analysis of the book of Revelation, which, her devoted but agnostic friend A. C. Swinburne read resignedly when it appeared in 1892. Having finished it, he wrote Edmund Gosse: "Have you read [Christina Rossetti's] commentary on *The Apocalypse*—between 500 and 600 closely printed pages? I HAVE—from the first line to the last—and yet I live!") Rossetti's lifelong commitment to her austere religious convictions also led her to devote herself to a variety of charitable causes. In her early years she worked selflessly in the Highgate Peniten-

tiary for "fallen" women (as often as not, victims of incest or abused wives). In later years she was constantly petitioning for such causes as antivivisection and the protection of minors.

What Virginia Woolf remembered Rossetti for, however, were her four volumes of explosively original poems loaded with vivid images and dense with emotional energy. "A Birthday," for instance, is no typical Victorian poem and certainly unlike the predictable works of the era's best known women poets:

*My heart is like a singing bird
Whose nest is in a watered shoot;
My heart is like an apple tree
Whose boughs are bent with thickest fruit;
My heart is like a rainbow shell
That paddles in a halcyon sea;
My heart is gladder than all these
Because my love is come to me.*

*Raise me a dais of silk and down;
Hang it with vair and purple dyes;
Carve it in doves and pomegranates,
And peacocks with a hundred eyes;
Work it in gold and silver grapes,
In leaves and silver fleurs-de-lys;
Because the birthday of my life
Is come, my love is come to me.*

How does one reconcile the aesthetic sensuality of such poetry (or that of "Goblin Market") with Rossetti's repressed, ascetic lifestyle, Woolf wondered (as have many critics after her)? We find Christina Rossetti's often disturbingly sensual, Pre-Raphaelite signature even in much of her religious poetry. For instance, "A Better Resurrection," like many of her devotional poems, operates in an emotional space very close to despair, but instead of succumbing to that despair reaches for a vision of rebirth:

*My life is like a faded leaf,
My harvest dwindled to a husk;
Truly my life is void and brief
And tedious in the barren dusk;
My life is like a frozen thing,
No bud nor greenness can I see:*





Yet rise it shall—the sap of Spring:
 O Jesus, rise in me.
 My life is like a broken bowl,
 A broken bowl that cannot hold
 One drop of water for my soul
 Or cordial in the searching cold;
 Cast in the fire the perished thing,
 Melt and remould it, till it be
 A royal cup for Him my King:
 O Jesus, drink of me.

Even to readers unfamiliar with Rossetti's poetry, or that of the Victorian period generally, the power and artistry of such works is inescapable. The often simple poetic surfaces of her poems, enriched by both internal and end rhymes, by cascading rhythms, and by a mix of conventional and highly original images that anchor and transvalue one another, all have a breathtaking effect.

Rossetti's finest poetry was, for the most part, written in her early years. The 1850s were troubled times for her family; her father, Gabriele, was dying: genteel poverty seemed their inevitable fate. In an attempt to rescue them, Christina tried to be a governess, a vocation she openly despised and was able to repudiate with a clear conscience on the grounds of failing health. She and her mother then established a day school in Frome, but it failed. Fortunately, after her father's death in 1854, her tireless brother, William Michael, found work in the civil service and supported the family, while Dante Gabriel was indulged as the artistic star of the clan.

In 1848, with John Everett Millais, William Holman Hunt, and several lesser artists, Gabriel had founded the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (PRB), a group of young men committed to rebellion against the artistic establishment and to a return to things they esteemed: the purity, simplicity, and colorful naturalism of painting before the time of Raphael. Christina Rossetti's most dazzling poetry was written, contentedly, in the shadow of these activities undertaken by members of the PRB, which after 1857 included William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones, and Algernon Charles Swinburne. Throughout the 1850s and 1860s especially, she socialized with such Victorian luminaries as Ruskin, Robert Browning, Millais, Hunt, Lewis Carroll, Morris, Swinburne, William Bell Scott, Frederick Shields, and Ford Madox Brown (not to mention Jean Ingelow and Dora Greenwell—Victorian "poetesses" now little remembered but hugely popular in their day). In 1862 she published the first book of poems by any of the Pre-Raphaelite circle to have an immediate impact on the literary world. This volume was *Goblin Market and Other Poems*. Its success inspired the flamboyant Swinburne to designate her "the Jael" who led the Pre-Raphaelite hosts to victory.

This volume was followed by *The Prince's Progress and Other Poems* in 1866, *Sing Song* (a brilliant book of poems for children), and *A Pageant and Other Poems* in 1881. In 1893 Rossetti published *Verses*, a collection of the religious poems that had appeared in her books of devotional commentary. Within a decade 20,000 copies of this volume had been sold, a testimony to Rossetti's success and to her popularity at the turn of the century.

Yet, during the fifty years after Woolf's essay on Christina Rossetti appeared, Rossetti fell into academic and popular neglect, and almost no serious critical work on her poetry was published. This disregard did not result from a new assessment of her merits as a poet but largely from antifeminist and antireligious prejudices among the "New Critics" who dominated Anglo-American English departments during the period. In the final years of our century, however, Rossetti has reemerged as a major Victorian poet. More than fifty articles on her poetry have found their way into scholarly journals, and within the last six years five critical books have been devoted to her. A three-volume variorum edition of her poetry has been published. And Georgina Battiscombe's 1981 biography has been superseded by two published last year, while a new biography scheduled to appear in 1994 promises to be the most detailed and comprehensive to date. A multivolume edition of Rossetti's collected letters, supported by the NEH, is in progress. Indeed, her life now proves so intriguing that A. S. Byatt modelled her best-selling novel's Victorian heroine (Christabel LaMotte in *Possession*) on Christina Rossetti. These developments would appear to affirm Edmund Gosse's estimate of Rossetti the year before she died. She is, he asserted, "one of the most perfect poets of the [Victorian] age....[to whom] students of English literature in the twenty-fourth century may look back as the critics of Alexandria did toward Sappho and toward Erinna." The novelist Ford Madox Ford shared Gosse's admiration, insisting—from the perspective of the early twentieth century—that Christina Rossetti was "the most valuable poet that the Victorian age produced."

Such high estimations of her work emerge not only from its emotional force, its artistic polish, its frequently ironic playfulness, and its intellectual vigor, but also from its intriguing, enigmatic qualities. "Winter: My Secret" combines these traits, along with a very high (and very un-Victorian) level of poetic self-consciousness:

*I tell my secret? No indeed, not I:
 Perhaps some day, who knows?
 But not today; it froze, and blows, and snows,
 And you're too curious: fie!
 You want to hear it? well:
 Only my secret's mine, and I won't tell.*





*I cannot ope to every one who taps,
And let the draughts come whistling thro' my hall;
Come bounding and surrounding me,
Come buffeting, astounding me,
Nipping and clipping thro' my wraps and all.
I wear my mask for warmth.*

*.....
Spring's an expansive time: yet I don't trust
March with its peck of dust,
Nor April with its rainbow-crowned brief showers,
Not even May, whose flowers
One frost may wither thro' the sunless hours.*

*Perhaps some languid summer day,
When drowsy birds sing less and less,
And golden fruit is ripening to excess,
If there's not too much sun nor too much cloud,
And the warm wind is neither still nor loud,
Perhaps my secret I may say,
Or you may guess.*

That Rossetti did indeed withhold a "secret" both from those intimate with her and from posterity is an argument found at the center of the first major scholarly biography published during this century. In 1963 Lona Packer attempted to dispel "the mystery enshrouding" this "vague and enigmatic figure," one of "the few great woman poets of the nineteenth century." Packer believed Rossetti's to be a secret of the heart (as, apparently, did A. S. Byatt). From a great deal of circumstantial evidence and from the large body of love poetry Rossetti produced, Packer deduced a lifelong, unrequited love relationship between her and William Bell Scott, a poet and artist in the Pre-Raphaelite circle. Since then, Packer's thesis has been disproved through the discovery of letters that contradict her evidence. Indeed, the approximately seventeen hundred letters by Rossetti that survive reinforce the conventional image of her as pious, scrupulously abstinent, and semireclusive. The "love affairs" that resulted in two proposals of marriage (from the Pre-Raphaelite artist, James Collinson and the retiring scholar Charles Bagot Cayley) were far from torrid. The passions expressed in her love poems, if not entirely the products of fantasy or literary tradition, seem to have been largely repressed in real life.

Yet those poems, read properly, do expose the "secret" at the heart of both Rossetti's life and art: a willingness to forego worldly pleasures in favor of an aestheticized, Christian vision of transcendent fulfillment in the heav-

enly afterlife. The problem for those who have read widely in Rossetti's verse is that her renunciatory poetry insistently acknowledges the powerful attraction of life in the world. As Gosse observed, she never shrinks from delineating human passions and sensory experience. The paradox of Rossetti's lush verse is that it enacts a process of temptation for the reader, presenting voluptuous images and seductive poetic surfaces, only to expose such attractions as illusory.

Her sonnet "The World," therefore, becomes pivotal in understanding Rossetti's literary project as a whole—including her rhymes for children, her fairy tale narratives, her love poems, her bleak verses of spiritual desolation and death-longing, as well as her books of devotional commentary.

*By day she wooes me, soft, exceeding fair:
But all night as the moon so changeth she;
Loathsome and foul with hideous leprosy
And subtle serpents gliding in her hair.
By day she wooes me to the outer air,
Ripe fruits, sweet flowers, and full satiety:
But thro' the night, a beast she grins at me,
A very monster void of love and prayer.
By day she stands a lie: by night she stands
In all the naked horror of the truth
With pushing horns and clawed and clutching hands.
Is this a friend indeed; that I should sell
My soul to her, give her my life and youth,
Till my feet, cloven too, take hold on hell?*

The world, for Rossetti, is a fallen place. Her work is pervasively designed to force upon readers an acute sensitivity to this inescapable Christian truth. The beauty of her poetry must be seen therefore as an artistic strategy, a means toward a moral end. The goal of her work, as she explained it in *The Face of the Deep*, was "to deepen awe, and stir up desire by a contemplation of things inevitable, momentous, transcendent." The renewal of interest in her poetry in recent years is giving her a new opportunity to accomplish it. □

Antony Harrison is Alumni Distinguished Research Professor of English at North Carolina State University.

For the preparation of an edition of the collected letters of Christina Rossetti, Antony Harrison received a Summer Stipend of \$3,500 from the Division of Fellowships and Seminars, and \$89,000 in outright funds from the Editions program of the Division of Research Programs.



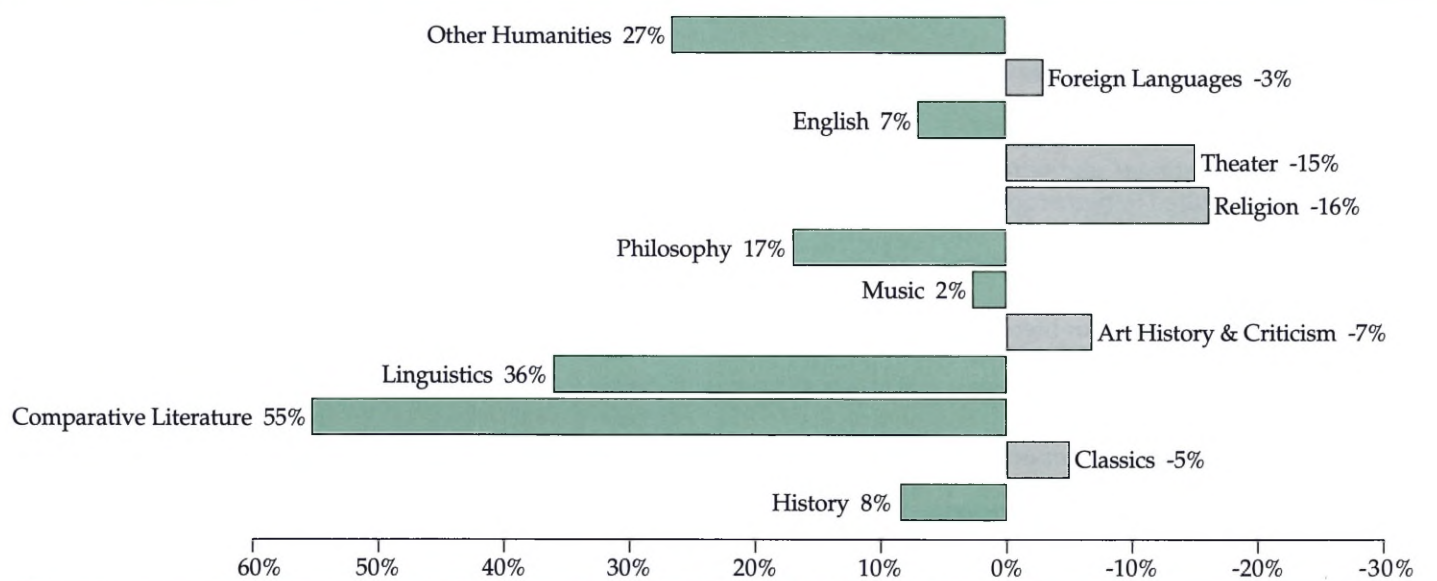
THE NUMBERS GAME

Number of New Humanities Ph.D.'s on the Rise

BY JEFFREY THOMAS

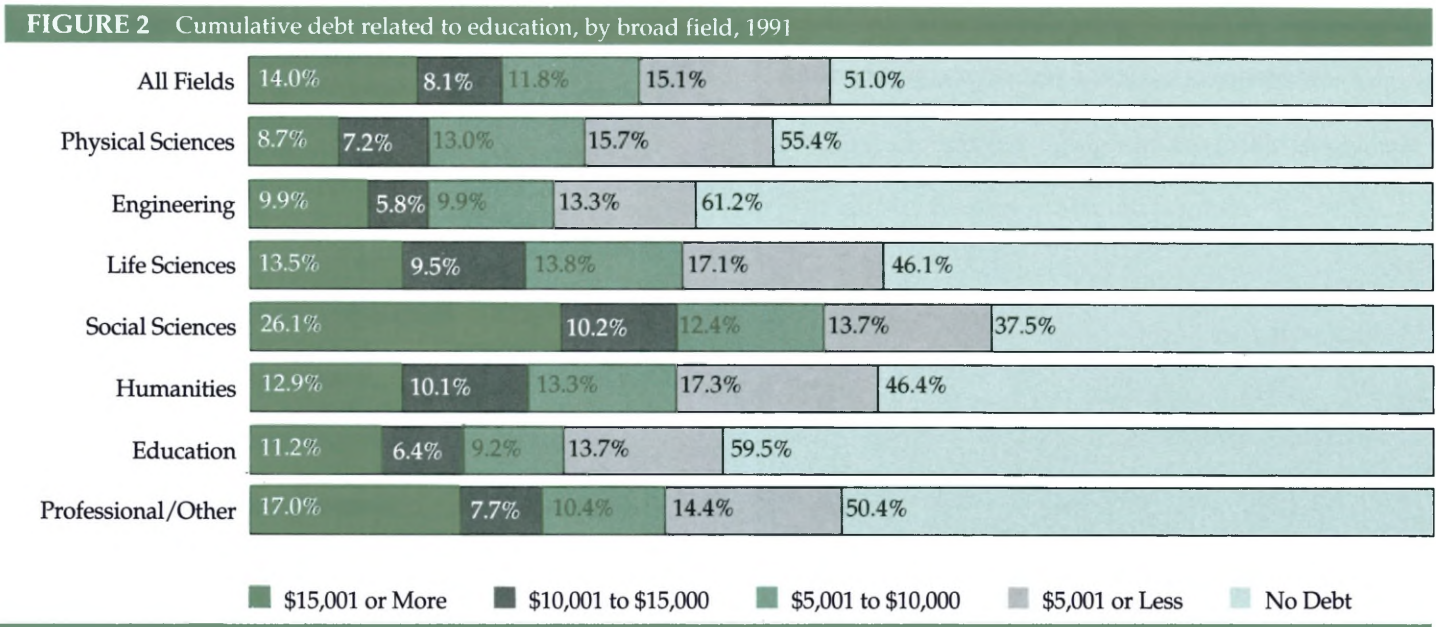
- In 1991 the number of students earning humanities Ph.D.'s topped 4,000 for the first time since 1979. Although still well below 1973's peak year total of 5,364, the 1991 increase follows a similar increase from 1989 to 1990, perhaps signaling a new period of growth in degree production in the humanities.
- Not all humanities fields grew in the past year. While degree production in disciplines such as comparative literature (up 55%) and linguistics (up 36%) rose significantly, religion (down 16%) and theater (down 15%) suffered rather substantial declines (see figure 1).
- The humanities are no longer a growth industry for women. Between 1976 and 1991 the number of U.S. women earning doctorates increased in all broad fields except for humanities. Even so, women earn nearly half of all humanities Ph.D.s, a proportion substantially greater than that in such fields as physical sciences (21%), and engineering (14%).
- In 1991 minorities earned 10% of all Ph.D.'s awarded to U.S. citizens. The minority proportion of humanities degrees was slightly lower (8%). The humanities were least popular among Asian Americans (only 6% of Asian American students earned their Ph.D. in a humanities field) and native Americans (8% choosing the humanities). More than 17% of Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, gravitated to the humanities.
- More than 30% of all Ph.D.'s awarded in 1991 were earned by non-U.S. citizens. The proportion of foreign students earning humanities Ph.D.'s was considerably smaller (19%), and of these, about one-third were in the U.S. on permanent visas.

FIGURE 1 Change in doctoral degrees conferred, by Humanities fine field, 1990-1991



- Students earning a humanities Ph.D. in 1991 spent more than eight years in graduate school, the highest median figure of any field. Engineering doctorates tended to move through school at a much quicker pace (6.1 years), as did physical scientists (6.3 years). In part this may reflect the propensity of foreign students—who tend to be found in greater numbers among science and engineering fields—to complete their education at a faster rate.
- About one-half of all new Ph.D.'s in 1991 graduated without any debt. The debt load carried by humanities students mirrored the pattern for students in all fields combined (see figure 2).
- Academe continues to attract a significant (and growing) percentage of humanities doctorates. Of 1991 humanities Ph.D.'s planning to work after graduation, 84% had academic commitments. Students earning doctorates in English and in foreign languages were the most likely to be headed to academe, with historians being somewhat less likely to do so. For all fields combined (humanities and non-humanities), the percentage was considerably smaller: 53%.
- Yale University produced the most humanities Ph.D.'s in 1991 (120), followed closely by New York University (114), Indiana University-Bloomington (also 114), the University of California-Berkeley (111), and Harvard University (110). The total number of institutions granting humanities doctorates in 1991 was 181. □

Jeffrey Thomas is assistant director for Humanities Studies in the Office of Planning and Budget.



Calendar

JULY ♦ AUGUST

BY AMY LIFSON

"A Worthy Use of Summer" explores the social rituals and values of the Jewish summer camps in the U.S. between 1900 and 1950 at the National Museum of American Jewish History in Philadelphia.



—92nd Street YM-YWHA Archives, NYC



—Minnesota Historical Society, photo by K. Wright

Manoominikewin is the Ojibwe word for wild ricing, a practice that has shaped a culture in a small region of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Canada. An exhibition on the relationship between the people and this food crop is on view at the Minnesota History Center in St. Paul.

—American Dialogue Foundation



Ben Franklin spent twelve years in London as a colonial agent and nearly was hanged for treason. "Craven Street" is a five-part radio series starring George Grizzard and Elizabeth Montgomery that tells of Franklin's adventures in London just before the American Revolution. The series airs in July.



—Strawbery Banke Museum

New Hampshire's 80,000 victory gardens are remembered in "The Home Front Battlefield" in the newly restored 1943 corner grocery store at Strawberry Banke Museum. Strawberry Banke was first settled in 1630 in what is now Portsmouth, New Hampshire.



—Western Heritage Center

"Our Place in the West: Places, Pasts and Images of the Yellowstone Valley" is a long-term exhibition at the Western Heritage Center in Billings, Montana. Oral histories and recreations of dwellings interpret the culture of the valley between 1880 and 1940.

HUMANITIES GUIDE

SPECIAL OPPORTUNITY IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

I AM LEARNING CHINESE," the characters state. Some 7,000 students are studying Chinese in grades seven through twelve nationwide as part of a five-year program supported by the Division of Education Programs.

Because curriculum and teaching methods vary widely in Chinese language programs, twenty specialists are meeting over the next three years to develop a guide for teaching basic Chinese in schools and colleges. This language task force will define the skills required and describe instructional methods for obtaining them through an NEH grant to the National Foreign Language Center of Johns Hopkins University. The College Board has also received a grant to develop the first College Board Achievement Test in Chinese. Both projects intend to foster long-term direction and coherence in Chinese language instruction throughout the country.

The Endowment's Special Opportunity in Foreign Language Education is aimed at strengthening language instruction in schools, colleges, and universities at every level. Projects in languages commonly taught (i.e., French, Spanish, German, Italian) are eligible for support, but the division especially encourages proposals dealing with important languages that are less commonly taught in this country, such as Chinese, Arabic, Russian, and Japanese.

Regarding the work of teachers as central to the success of the program, the Endowment offers a variety of opportunities for language teachers through Summer Institutes for School Teachers. A grant to Ohio State University Research Foundation enabled fifty secondary school teachers to attend five-week institutes for three summers to focus on the Arabic language, teaching strategies, and contemporary culture in the Arabic-speaking world.

The Friends School of Baltimore, Inc., was awarded a three-year project on Russian language and culture for seventy-five high school and college teachers. The project will enhance the speaking and reading skills of teachers of Russian by employing readings from Russian culture and contemporary society, by examining teaching methods, and by developing teaching materials based on Russian cultural resources.

Because of a grant to San Francisco State University, two summer institutes for secondary school teachers from five states will be held in San Francisco and in Tokyo. The teachers will first improve their own language proficiency, then concentrate on Japanese history, literature, and cultural elements of spoken Japanese.

Most of the foreign language institutes are conducted on the basis of immersion in the language and on giving teachers the opportunity to study the distinctive achievements of the civilization while improving their language skills. For example, at the University of Texas at Austin, thirty high school teachers are upgrading their proficiency in Russian

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—Calligraphy by
Dr. Xueying Wang

while studying Slavic folklore, the Russian avant-garde, and Soviet mass culture.

Another goal is to multiply the opportunities for students to use the language they are studying. At the college level, the special opportunity encourages efforts to incorporate texts and other materials used by native speakers into beginning courses. It promotes "languages-across-the-curriculum" efforts that give undergraduates opportunities to use foreign languages in history, politics, religion, and economics courses, in addition to the usual literature courses. Projects to strengthen undergraduate foreign language instruction support curriculum redesign, course development, and related faculty study.

Undergraduate language initiatives include a grant to St. Mary's University in San Antonio that incorporates the use of Spanish and French into courses in various disciplines and one to Franklin & Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to support Francophone studies. A project for sixteen faculty members at the University of California, Santa Cruz, will integrate Spanish, French, Italian, German, Russian, and Chinese into twelve courses in the humanities.

The special opportunity also supports special projects, many designed to develop fundamental structures and materials needed in teaching less commonly taught languages. A grant to the College Board and the National Foreign Language Center has led to the introduction in April 1993 of the country's first Japanese achievement test, including both reading and listening comprehension. The test has already promoted discussions between school teachers and college faculty on coordinating standards between the levels. The same grant supported curricular guidelines for teaching Japanese in secondary schools.

Increasingly, NEH-sponsored institutes are helping elementary school teachers respond to state mandates to teach foreign languages and to make use of literature in the foreign language. At Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, 415 teachers of Spanish in grades K-12 will review the history of Mexican and Chicano literature to create thematic units and study approaches specific to teaching languages to young children. At Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, a project will integrate folklore and children's literature from Mexico and the Hispanic Southwest into elementary school classrooms across the state.

Those interested in applying for the Special Opportunity in Foreign Language Education should consult with NEH Education Division staff in developing their proposals. For further information, contact: Division of Education Programs, NEH, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506. Telephone: 202-606-8373 □

—Constance Burr

RECENT NEH GRANTS

BY DISCIPLINE

Archaeology & Anthropology

American Focus, Inc., Charlottesville, VA; Paul R. Wagner: \$20,000. Planning for a one-hour documentary film on classic Mayan archaeology, featuring the research of John Lloyd Stephens. **GN**

Arizona State U., Tempe; Keith W. Kintigh: \$50,000. A study of archaeological collections from three late prehistoric Zuni towns in the American Southwest to interpret social changes in the three centuries before Euroamerican contact. **RK**

Case Western Reserve U., Cleveland, OH; James W. Flanagan: \$30,000 OR; \$60,000 FM. Excavations of a Middle Bronze, Late Bronze, and Iron Age, ca. 2000 to 590 B.C., fortified tell on the east bank of the Jordan River. **RK**

Georgia State U., Atlanta; Robert L. Blakely: \$60,000 OR; \$5,000 FM. Analysis and publication of medical artifacts and skeletonized body parts excavated from a 19th-century building of the Georgia Medical College in Augusta, focusing on medical practices when dissection was illegal. **RK**

Ann C. Guillen: \$45,000 OR; \$50,000 FM. Excavation and analysis of domestic structures at San Lorenzo Tenochtitlan, an Olmec or early preclassic Mesoamerican center, ca. 2300-1B.C., in Vera Cruz, Mexico. **RK**

Indiana U., Bloomington; Karen D. Vitelli: \$80,000 OR; \$20,000 FM. Final editing for publication of studies on discoveries from the later Paleolithic to Neolithic, ca. 23,000 B.C. to 3,000 B.C., at Franchthi Cave, Greece. **RK**

Johns Hopkins U., Baltimore, MD; Glenn M. Schwartz: \$45,000 OR; \$40,000 FM. Three years of excavation and study at the Early Bronze through Late Bronze, ca. 2400-1600 B.C., site of Umm el-Marra, in western Syria. **RK**

Donald R. Keller: \$10,500. Two months of reconnaissance survey in southern Euboea, an island off Attica, Greece, which has yielded 200 previously unknown sites and is expected to add to the reconstruction of Greek history. **RK**

Memphis State U., TN; William J. Murnane: \$65,000 OR; \$20,000 FM. Three years of recording and analysis at the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Egypt, including epigraphic and photographic recording of the relief sculptures and interpreting ancient religious ideology. **RK**

Scott O'Mack: \$10,609. Translation of a late 16th-century history of the Mexica, the inhabitants of the island-city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, part of the Aztec empire. **RL**

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

Division of Education Programs

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

Division of Public Programs

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

Division of Research Programs

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

Division of Preservation and Access

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

Office of Challenge Grants

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

Rice U., Houston, TX; Marguerite A. Biese: \$76,897. The collection, transcription, and translation of Ju/'hoan Namibian Bushman texts, which include folktales, oral histories, environmental accounts, healing narratives, and political oration. **RL**

Ripon College, WI; Jeffrey Quilter: \$45,000 OR; \$30,000 FM. Archaeological survey, excavation, and analysis of the remains of a late pre-Hispanic society in southern Costa Rica, focusing on architecture, burial practices, and the social system. **RK**

Mario A. Rivera: \$11,000. Excavation and analysis of the elite/ritual plaza complex adjoining residential and manufacturing compounds in a small prehistoric village in northern Chile, ca. 300 B.C. **RK**

Rochester Museum and Science Center, NY; Martha L. Sempowski: \$95,000. Analysis and publication of archaeological collections from three Seneca Indian village sites in

upstate New York to document the effects of Euroamerican contact in the 16th and 17th centuries. **RK**

Texas A&M Research Foundation, College Station; George F. Bass: \$15,000 OR; \$41,000 FM. A multinational underwater survey of ancient shipwrecks in the western Black Sea, the eastern Mediterranean, and the Persian Gulf. **RK**

U. of Arizona, Tucson; Albert Leonard: \$15,000. A six-month interpretive study of excavations at Naukratis, Egypt, integrating findings from five seasons of work at this Greek trading post in the Nile Delta, ca. 800 B.C.-A.D. 300. **RK**

U. of California, Berkeley; Carol A. Redmount: \$45,000 OR; \$50,000 FM. A three-year excavation at the Tell el-Muqdam, Egypt, of the first millennium to 330 B.C., to study early urban history in Egypt. **RK**

U. of California, San Diego, La Jolla; Guillermo Algaze: \$45,000 OR; \$57,000 FM. Three years of excavation and analysis at the third millennium B.C. site of Titirish Hoyuk in Turkey. Building on prior multinational salvage excavations, this project will address state formation in Syro-Anatolia. **RK**

U. of California, Santa Barbara; Frederick J. Bove: \$15,000. Analysis of materials from Mesoamerican sites on the Pacific Coast of Guatemala that will result in publications of the excavation and survey, an interpretive volume, and a new ceramic chronology. **RK**

U. of Cincinnati, OH; C. Brian Rose: \$104,883. Three years of excavation and analysis at the site of Troy, Turkey, part of a joint U.S./German investigation that is responsible for the post-Bronze Age (after 1100 B.C.) history of the city. **RK**

U. of Delaware, Newark; George L. Miller: \$35,000. A study of English ceramics, primarily white graniteware (stoneware), used in the United States between 1846 and 1916 to provide a ceramic index for American historians and historical archaeologists. **RK**

U. of Florida, Gainesville; William H. Marquardt: \$80,000 OR; \$25,000 FM. Analysis and publication of work at two island sites of the Middle to Late Archaic periods, 5000-1200 B.C., off the Florida coast. The existence of a sedentary maritime culture 3000 years earlier than believed is indicated. **RK**

U. of Hawaii, Honolulu; Barry V. Rolett: \$45,000 OR; \$56,000 FM. Archaeological excavation, survey, and analysis of habitation remains dating back to 125 B.C. on Nukuhiva Island in the Marquesas Islands, an archipelago about halfway between Hawaii and Easter Island. **RK**

U. of Illinois, Chicago; Elizabeth R. Gebhard: \$65,000 OR; \$30,000 FM. A three-year program to analyze material excavated at the Panhellenic Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, Greece. **RK**

U. of Minnesota-Twin Cities, Minneapolis; Sheila J. McNally: \$25,000. A final season at the Palace of Diocletian at Split, Croatia; to interpret this late Roman imperial center, based on recent archaeology and new architectural and historical studies. **RK**

U. of Nebraska, Lincoln; Karl J. Reinhard: \$100,000 OR; \$10,000 FM. Analysis and publication of mortuary remains of the Ponca and Omaha tribes of the central plains, 1775-1810, focusing on the effects of Euroamerican contact and the fur trade. **RK**

U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Richard L. Zettler: \$15,000 OR; \$30,000 FM. A year of excavation and analysis at the late third millennium B.C. settlement at Tell es-Sweyhat, Syria, to study urbanism in the upper Euphrates river valley. **RK**

U. of Tennessee, Knoxville; Geraldine C. Gesell: \$60,000 OR; \$48,000 FM. A three-year study and publications on the early Greek culture of the Late Bronze and early Iron Age, ca. 1200-900 B.C., sites of Vronda and Kastro, near Kavousi, Crete. **RK**

U. of Texas, Arlington; Karl M. Petruse: \$15,000 OR; \$19,000 FM. A year of excavation, survey, and analysis of the earliest evidence of human culture in southern Albania. **RK**

U. of Wisconsin, Madison; Jonathan M. Kenoyer: \$45,000 OR; \$125,000 FM. A three-year excavation at the early Indus Valley city of Harappa, Pakistan, to investigate the history of the settlement from 3300 B.C. to the present. **RK**

Yale U. Press, New Haven, CT; Charles Grench: \$57,300. A multi-authored synthesis of the last four decades of research in Chinese archaeology, from early human prehistory through the Bronze Age of China to the end of the Han Dynasty, 3rd century B.C. **RK**

Aslihan K. Yener: \$45,000 OR; \$100,000 FM. Three years of excavation and analysis at Goltepe and the tin mine at Kastel, Turkey, to study the nature of metallurgy and exchange systems, fourth to second millennium B.C. **RK**



Arts—History & Criticism

American Musicological Society, Philadelphia, PA; Richard Crawford: \$75,000 OR; \$10,000 FM. To prepare a series of scholarly editions of the music of the United States. **RE**

Humanities West, San Francisco, CA; Elaine M. Thornburgh: \$82,900 OR; \$80,000 FM. A three-year series of interdisciplinary lectures to examine significant ideas from various historical epochs. **GP**

Institute for Arts & Humanities Education, New Brunswick, NJ; Carol F. Dickert: \$170,000. A 20-day academic year residential institute for 35 participants to study Paul Robeson, his cultural, political, and intellectual background. **EH**

U. of California, Davis; Michele Hanoosh: \$67,228. To prepare an edition of the journal of French Romantic painter Eugene Delacroix. **RE**

U. of Illinois, Urbana; Michael Mullin: \$32,080. Planning for a traveling exhibition on set designs, promptbooks, video performance segments, and interviews with scholars and directors about international interpretations of Shakespeare's plays. **GL**



Classics

American Philosophical Association, Newark, DE; Donna J. Benedetti: \$342,783 OR; \$75,000 FM. An edition and translation of the ancient commentators on Aristotle from the third to the sixth centuries. **RL**

American School of Classical Studies, NYC; Josiah Ober: \$70,000. Scripting of a one-hour documentary film on the origins and practice of democracy in ancient Athens. **GN**

New York Greek Drama Co., NYC; Peter Steadman: \$250,000. To produce a film for college courses on Euripides' *Bacchae* in ancient Greek with English subtitles. **EH**

Society for Coptic Archaeology, Washington, DC; Leslie S. B. MacCoull: \$38,735. Translation of the sixth-century treatise "On the Creation of the Universe," in which John Philoponus attempted to reconcile *Genesis* with the Aristotelian and Neoplatonic natural science of his time. **RL**

U. of Arizona, Tucson; Norman J. Austin: \$162,014. A six-week institute for 24 college teachers on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and selected works from other oral traditions. **EH**

Wilma Theater, Philadelphia, PA; John Kuhn: \$47,415. A lecture series and a symposium that will examine the artistic, critical, and scholarly context and legacy of *Oedipus the King*. **GP**



History—Non-U.S.

Catholic U. of America, Washington, DC; John F. Hinnebusch: \$62,296 OR; \$24,000 FM. Preparation of a critical edition of Saint Thomas Aquinas's commentary on the third book of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. **RE**

Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; Alice-Mary M. Talbot: \$58,489. Translation of two collections of medieval Greek saints' lives. **RL**

Media Network, NYC; Peggy K. Liss: \$20,000. Planning a two-hour documentary film on the life and times of Isabel I of Castile, 1451-1504. **GN**

Newberry Library, Chicago, IL; Mary B. Rose: \$352,270. A two-year series of institutes, seminars, workshops, and symposia in various areas of Renaissance studies. **EH**

Renaissance Society of America, NYC; Patricia H. Labalme: \$37,236. The translation of selected entries from the diary of Marin Sanudo, an aristocrat who recorded the history of Venice from 1496 to 1533. **RL**

SUNY Research Foundation/Binghamton, NY; Paul E. Szarmach: \$49,000. An edition of Alcuin's *De Ratione Animae*. **RE**

U. of New Mexico, Albuquerque; Diana Robin: \$69,256. Translation of the Latin letter collections of humanist writers Cassandra Fedele, 1465-1558, and Laura Cereta, 1469-99. **RL**

U. of Notre Dame, IN; Joseph Buttigieg: \$58,236. Translation of the final three volumes of *Prison Notebooks* by Italian political philosopher Antonio Gramsci, who was in a fascist jail between 1929 and 1935. **RL**

Wesleyan U., Middletown, CT; Jonathan W. Best: \$51,424. Translation of the Paekche annals of the *History of the Three Kingdoms*. Written in 1145, the annals are the oldest history of the ancient Korean kingdom of Paekche. **RL**

Yale U., New Haven, CT; David E. Underdown: \$140,000 OR; \$60,000 FM. To prepare editions of all known historical records for the English Parliament of 1624 and the opening session of the Long Parliament, 1640-41. **RE**

Yale U. Press, New Haven, CT; Jonathan Brent: \$12,500. The preparation of an edition of the correspondence between Joseph Stalin and V. M. Molotov, 1925-23. **RE**



History—U.S.

Allies Group, NYC; Leslie Clark: \$500,690. Research and scripting for a five-part, ten-hour documentary television series on the American experience of World War II at home and in the European and Pacific theaters. **GN**

American U., Washington, DC; Charles E. Beveridge: \$30,000 OR; \$48,493 FM. Preparation of an edition of the papers of American landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted. **RE**

Asian/Pacific Foundation of Hawaii, Honolulu; Kayo Hatta: \$50,000. Scripting of a 105-minute dramatic film about a Japanese picture bride who migrated to Hawaii in the early 1900s. **GN**

City Lore: NYC; Eric D. Burns: \$375,000. Scripting and preliminary production of an eight-hour documentary film on the history of New York City, 1626 to the present. **GN**

Duke U., Durham, NC; Anne F. Scott: \$87,000 OR; \$87,603 FM. Preparation of an edition of the papers of Jane Addams, turn-of-the-century social critic and reformer. **RE**

Educational Film Center, Annandale, VA; Ruth S. Pollak: \$898,385. Production of a two-hour documentary film on the women's suffrage movement in America, 1848-1920. **GN**

Film Arts Foundation, San Francisco, CA; Anne A. Makepeace: \$97,121. Scripting of a 90-minute drama about the life and work of photographer Edward S. Curtis, 1868-1952. **GN**

Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield; Barak S. Goodman: \$64,785. Scripting of a 90-minute film on the life and career of Richard J. Daley, mayor of Chicago. **GN**

Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, VA; Charles F. Hobson: \$115,000 OR; \$15,000 FM. Preparation of an edition of the papers of John Marshall. **RE**

International Cultural Programming, NYC; Dominique Lasseur: \$20,000. Planning a three-part television documentary series to examine Chinese-U.S. relations from the mid-19th century to 1949, through the lives and experiences of the Soong family. **GN**

Johns Hopkins U., Baltimore, MD; Louis P. Galambos: \$398,834. Preparation of an edition of the papers of Dwight David Eisenhower. **RE**

Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Richard A. Ryerson: \$190,000 OR; \$75,000 FM. Preparation of an edition of the papers of John Adams, Abigail Adams, John Quincy Adams, Charles Francis Adams, and their families. **RE**

National Council on the Aging, Inc., Washington, DC; Sylvia R. Liroff: \$244,977. A series of reading and discussion programs that will examine the history and legacy of World War II. **GP**

New Images Productions, Inc., Berkeley, CA; Avon Kirkland: \$100,000. A two-and-one-half-hour drama that examines the legal challenge to racial discrimination culminating in *Brown v. Board of Education*, Topeka, 1954. **GN**

New York Foundation for the Arts, NYC; Edward S. Gray: \$726,400. Production of a one-hour documentary film about the first large-scale foster care program in America. **GN**

New York Foundation for the Arts, NYC; Joseph Dorman: \$50,000. Scripting of a 90-minute documentary film on the ideas of four New York intellectuals: Daniel Bell, Irving Howe, Irving Kristol, and Nathan Glazer. **GN**

New York U., NYC; Esther Katz: \$115,000 OR; \$90,000 FM. Preparation of an edition of the papers of social reformer Margaret Sanger. **RE**

North Texas Public Broadcasting, Inc., Dallas; Sylvia L. Komatsu: \$20,000. Planning for a two-hour documentary film on the history and significance of the U.S.-Mexican War, 1846-48. **GN**

Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence; Dennis M. Conrad: \$50,000 OR; \$30,000 FM. Preparation of an edition of the papers of Revolutionary War General Nathanael Greene. **RE**

Saranac Free Library, Saranac Lake, NY; Diane K. Garey: \$50,000. Scripting of a 90-minute documentary film on the history of tuberculosis in America from 1850 to the present. **GN**

Southwest Texas State U., San Marcos; Richard A. Holland: \$195,000. A traveling exhibition and catalogue, lectures, bibliography, and resources booklet on the cultural evolution of the Southwest illustrated by seven journeys that influenced regional history. **GL**

U. of Manitoba, Canada; John T. Fierst: \$60,000. Preparation of an edition of John Tanner's 19th-century narrative of his captivity among the Ojibwa Indians. **RE**

U. of Maryland, College Park; Stuart B. Kaufman: \$125,000 OR; \$35,000 FM. Preparation of an edition of the papers of American labor leader Samuel Gompers. **RE**

U. of Mississippi, Main Campus, University; William R. Ferris: \$221,728. Production of a one-hour film on the movement of African

Americans from Mississippi to Chicago from 1940 to 1970. **GN**

U. of Nebraska, Lincoln; Gary E. Moulton: \$129,151 OR; \$30,000 FM. An edition of the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition. **RE**

U. of New Mexico, Albuquerque; John L. Kessell: \$72,073 OR; \$100,000 FM. Preparation of a critical edition and translation of the papers of Don Diego de Vargas, the first governor of the Spanish colony of New Mexico after the Pueblo-Spanish war of 1680. **RL**

U. of South Carolina, Columbia; Clyde N. Wilson: \$115,000 OR; \$15,000 FM. Preparation of an edition of the papers of John C. Calhoun. **RE**

U. of South Carolina, Columbia; David R. Chesnutt: \$140,000 OR; \$10,000 FM. Preparation of an edition of the papers of Henry Laurens, South Carolina merchant and president of the Continental Congress. **RE**

U. of Tennessee, Knoxville; Paul H. Bergeron: \$140,000 OR; \$15,000 FM. Preparation of an edition of the papers of President Andrew Johnson. **RE**

U. of Virginia, Charlottesville; Dorothy A. Twohig: \$150,000 OR; \$339,905 FM. Preparation of an edition of the papers of George Washington. **RE**

U. of Virginia, Charlottesville; John C. A. Stagg: \$125,000 OR; \$50,000 FM. Preparation of an edition of the papers of James Madison. **RE**

U. of Wisconsin, Madison; John P. Kaminiski: \$125,000 OR; \$90,000 FM. Preparation of a documentary history of the ratification of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. **RE**

Virginia Historical Society, Richmond; Nelson D. Lankford: \$106,801. A symposium, book discussions, film series, and publication on settlement and mobility in American society from colonial days to the present. **GP**

WETA-TV, Washington, DC; Tamara E. Robinson: \$500,000 OR; \$2,000,000 FM. Production of a seven-part, ten-hour film series on the American West. **GN**

WGBH Educational Foundation, Boston, MA; Peter S. McGhee: \$800,600 OR; \$300,000 FM. Production of a three-hour documentary film on the life and political career of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. **GN**

Interdisciplinary

American Council of Learned Societies, NYC; Frederick H. Burkhardt: \$123,000 OR; \$50,000 FM. Preparation of an edition of the correspondence of Charles Darwin. **RE**

Columbia U., NYC; Haruo Shirane: \$98,724. A two-year project to enable faculty members to develop three general education undergraduate courses on the major cultures of Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa. **EH**

County College of Morris, Randolph, NJ; Noel P. Robinson: \$65,000. A one-year study project for 20 faculty members on poetry from Dante to the present, enriching their understanding of poetry and its place in the humanities curriculum. **EH**

Curators of the U. of Missouri, Columbia; James M. Curtis: \$201,563. A six-week summer institute for 25 college and university faculty members to study architecture and art in Moscow as a focal point in Russian history and culture. **EH**

Duke U., Durham, NC; William H. Chafe: \$145,270. A one-year curriculum development project for historically black colleges and universities and other institutions as a pilot for a documentary-based history course at five institutions. **EH**

Duke U., Durham, NC; Diskin Clay: \$184,139. A six-week summer institute for 25 college and university faculty members who will study the political philosophy of Plato. **EH**

Franklin Pierce College, Rindge, NH; Richard Weeks: \$60,000. A one-year faculty study project to prepare four junior-level courses focused on the individual and the community. **EH**

Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; Benjamin I. Schwartz: \$145,634 OR; \$60,000 FM. A ten-volume edition and translation of Mao Zedong's speeches and writings from 1912 to 1949. **RL**

Hood College, Frederick, MD; Carol A. Kolmerten: \$58,038. A four-week study program for 16 faculty members on American narratives that reflect forms of community to be used to design a humanities-based course for all first-year students. **EH**

Independent Production Fund, NYC; Alvin H. Perlmutter: \$875,400. Production of one program and the scripting of two others in a three-hour documentary film series introducing Asian art and culture. **GN**

Inter-American U. of Puerto Rico, San Juan; Benjamin Rodriguez Mercado: \$94,000. A four-week summer workshop for 30 faculty members, selected from five branches of the university, who will develop knowledge on topics central to the undergraduate general education program. **EH**

International Documentary Foundation, Los Angeles, CA; Steven W. Kroeter: \$20,000. Planning for a four-hour documentary film on the life, work, and times of Frank Lloyd Wright, 1867-1959. **GN**

Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, CA; Karen L. Ishizuka: \$20,000. Planning for a one-hour documentary film about the history and culture of Japanese Americans from the 1920s to the 1950s. **GN**

Kellogg Community College, Battle Creek, MI; Carole L. Edmonds: \$22,023. A six-member task force that will read major works from European-American, African-American, native-American, and Asian-American traditions and discuss their implications for work and values and humanities courses. **EH**

Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Donald Yacovone: \$45,000. Preparation of an edition of writings of George E. Stephens, an African-American Civil War correspondent and soldier. **RE**

McMurry U., Abilene, TX; Joseph D. Stamey: \$95,883. A two-year faculty study project that will develop a three-course core curriculum in ethics, comparative cultures, and human knowledge. **EH**

Midway College, KY; Susan S. Sullivan: \$76,803. Two three-week summer workshops

to prepare 16 faculty members for a newly instituted liberal arts curriculum. **EH**

New England Foundation for the Humanities, Boston, MA; Sarah Getty: \$24,535. Planning for a series of anthology-based reading and discussion programs, a traveling poster panel exhibition, and a video program on work experience of African Americans from the 17th century to the present. **GP**

New York U., NYC; Leslie C. Berlowitz: \$125,112. A four-week summer seminar on the American city as presented in films to enable 25 faculty members from the Faculty Resource Network to use film effectively in their teaching. **EH**

Phi Theta Kappa, Jackson, MS; Ernest W. Wilson: \$44,935. A four-day workshop for 22 community college honors faculty members who will prepare for their roles as seminar leaders at the Phi Theta Kappa Honors Institute. **EH**

Rutgers U., New Brunswick, NJ; Reese V. Jenkins: \$275,000. Preparation of microfilm and book editions of the papers of Thomas A. Edison. **RE**

SUNY Research Foundation/College at Old Westbury, Albany, NY; Maureen Feder-Marcus: \$47,013. A seminar for eight humanities and five teacher education faculty members who will develop two new humanities courses for teacher education students. **EH**

Saint Andrews Presbyterian College, Laurinburg, NC; William M. Throop: \$55,944. A project for 30 faculty members who will participate in seminars and colloquia and revise the five-course general education sequence. **EH**

Southwest Texas State U., San Marcos; Mark Busby: \$67,575. A public lecture series, book discussion groups, film series, and an exhibition on the native American Southwest. **GP**

Trustees of Boston U., MA; Brian Jorgensen: \$257,000 OR; \$71,105 FM. Six post-doctoral fellowships in the core curriculum, including mentoring with senior colleagues, team-teaching with junior colleagues, and seminars on studying humanities texts. **EH**

U. of California, Los Angeles; Mario Biagioli: \$69,997. Translation of the principal texts that emerged from the dispute between Galileo and Scheiner over the nature of sunspots. **RL**

U. of California, San Diego, La Jolla; Avrum Stroll: \$93,250. A four-week project for 24 faculty members from community colleges in the San Diego area who will study major texts related to the Enlightenment in Europe. **EH**

Vermont Library Association, Chester; Sally Anderson: \$174,785 OR; \$60,000 FM. Circulation of four new reading and discussion series on various subjects to 138 libraries throughout Vermont. **GL**



Literature

Clark U., Worcester, MA; James P. Elliott: \$75,493. Preparation of an edition of the writings of James Fenimore Cooper. **RE**

Columbia U., NYC; Frances Pritchett: \$59,488. Translation of *Water of Life*. Written in 1880 by Muhammad Husain Azad, the work is both the last classical anthology and the first modern literary history of Urdu poetry. **RL**

Duke U., Durham, NC; John J. TePaske: \$95,838. Translation of four chronicles of the Spanish discovery, conquest, and colonization of the New World, written during the 16th and 17th centuries. **RL**

Flathead County Library, Kalispell, MT; Joyce G. Johnson: \$177,799. Reading and discussion programs using texts by Montana writers that explore the values, lifestyles, and dreams that contribute to a Western identity. **GL**

Global Village Video Resource Center, Inc., NYC; John L. Reilly: \$25,000. Promotion costs for a television series on the life and work of Samuel Beckett, 1906-89. **GN**

Human Puruits: Western Humanities Concern, Salt Lake City, UT; Helen A. Cox: \$20,000. Reading and discussion programs for Hispanic audiences and translating into Spanish several theme packages. **GL**

Philip Kelley: \$210,000 OR; \$27,500 FM. Preparation of an edition of the correspondence of Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning. **RE**

Louisiana Public Broadcasting, Baton Rouge; Lucille C. McDowell: \$19,831. Planning for a one-hour documentary film on the life and work of American writer Kate Chopin, 1850-1904, and the revival of her literary reputation since the 1960s. **GN**

Mississippi State U., Mississippi State; Peter L. Shillingsburg: \$22,493. Preparation of camera-ready copy for *The Newcomes*, a volume in an edition of the works of William Makepeace Thackeray. **RE**

Modern Poetry Association, Chicago, IL; Joseph A. Parisi: \$314,666. Expansion of reading, listening, and discussion programs on works of major contemporary American poets, taped interviews with them, and scholar-led readings at 30 library sites nationwide. **GL**

Pennsylvania State U., Main Campus, University Park; Alan E. Knight: \$95,000. Preparation of a critical edition of 15th-century pageant plays of Lille. **RE**

Richard N. Philcox: \$18,803. The translation of two novels by the Caribbean writer, Maryse Conde. **RL**

Rutgers U., Newark, NJ; Michael C. Jaye: \$86,578. Preparation of an edition of *The Excursion*, a volume in the Cornell Wordsworth series. **RE**

U. of California, Berkeley; Robert H. Hirst: \$160,000 OR; \$300,000 FM. The preparation of an edition of the works and papers of Mark Twain. **RE**

U. of California, Santa Barbara; Elizabeth H. Witherell: \$120,000 OR; \$23,000 FM. Preparation of an edition of the works of Henry David Thoreau. **RE**

U. of Delaware, Newark; Jerry C. Beasley: \$115,000 OR; \$15,000 FM. Preparation of an edition of the works of Tobias Smollett. **RE**

U. of Maryland, College Park; Adele Seeff: \$156,864. A five-week national institute for 25 college teachers who will compare Sappho to Lady Mary Wroth, focusing on their respective periods and methods for studying literature. **EH**

U. of Notre Dame, IN; Eugene C. Ulrich: \$153,000 OR; \$32,000 FM. The preparation of an edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls. **RE**

U. of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg; Gary A. Stringer: \$135,000 OR; \$15,000 FM. Preparation of a variorum edition of the poetry of John Donne. **RE**

Voorheesville Public Library, NY; Charles M. Rossiter: \$130,000. Reading, listening, and discussion programs about contemporary American poetry at 32 libraries in upstate New York. **GL**

Yale U., New Haven, CT; Claude Rawson: \$135,000 OR; \$50,000 FM. Preparation of an edition of the correspondence and literary manuscripts of James Boswell. **RE**



Philosophy

Pennsylvania State U., Main Campus, University Park; Carl Mitcham: \$165,034. A five-week summer institute for 25 college and university faculty members on the response of philosophy to technological developments since World War II. **EH**

Bonaventure U., St. Bonaventure, NY; Girard J. Etzkorn: \$190,000 OR; \$50,000 FM. The preparation of an edition of Duns Scotus's philosophical works. **RE**

United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD; Phyllis Culham: \$118,000. A two-year project for 16 faculty members who will study Western ethical traditions and citizenship responsibilities to revise courses of the Ethics Continuum within the Humanities Core. **EH**



Religion

U. of Illinois, Urbana; Peter N. Gregory: \$37,500. Translation of the *Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment*, a Chinese Buddhist apocryphal text composed in the eighth century. **RL**



Social Science

Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, NYC; Joel H. Rosenthal: \$180,966. A six-week summer institute for 25 college and university faculty members to strengthen curriculum in areas related to ethics and international affairs. **EH**

Chaffey College, Rancho Cucamonga, CA; Maura T. O'Neill: \$76,630 OR; \$7,400 FM. A one-year project for 25 faculty members to study the culture of Southeast Asia through introductory workshops, a four-week seminar, and curriculum enrichment activities. **EH**

DEADLINES ♦ DEADLINES ♦ DEADLINES

DIVISION OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS *James C. Herbert, Director • 606-8373*

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.	Deadline	Projects beginning
Higher Education in the Humanities • <i>Lyn Maxwell White 606-8380</i>	October 1, 1993	April 1994
Institutes for College and University Faculty • <i>Barbara A. Ashbrook 606-8380</i>	October 1, 1993	Summer 1995
Science and Humanities Education • <i>Susan Greenstein/Deb Coon 606-8380</i>	March 15, 1994	October 1, 1994
Core Curriculum Projects • <i>Fred Winter 606-8380</i>	October 1, 1993	April 1994
Two-Year Colleges • <i>Judith Jeffrey Howard 606-8380</i>	October 1, 1993	April 1994
Challenge Grants • <i>Thomas Adams 606-8380</i>	May 1, 1994	December 1, 1994
Elementary and Secondary Education in the Humanities • <i>F. Bruce Robinson 606-8377</i>	December 15, 1993	August 1994
Teacher-Scholar Program • <i>Annette Palmer 606-8377</i>	May 1, 1994	September 1995
Special Opportunity in Foreign Language Education	March 15, 1994	October 1994
Higher Education • <i>Elizabeth Welles 606-8380</i>		
Elementary and Secondary Education • <i>F. Bruce Robinson 606-8377</i>		

DIVISION OF FELLOWSHIPS AND SEMINARS *Marjorie A. Berlincourt, Director • 606-8458*

	Deadline	Projects beginning
Fellowships for University Teachers • <i>Maben D. Herring 606-8466</i>	May 1, 1994	January 1, 1995
Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars • <i>Joseph B. Neville 606-8466</i>	May 1, 1994	January 1, 1995
Summer Stipends • <i>Thomas O'Brien 606-8466</i>	October 1, 1993	May 1, 1994
Faculty Graduate Study Program for Historically Black Colleges and Universities <i>Maben D. Herring 606-8466</i>	March 15, 1994	September 1, 1995
Younger Scholars • <i>Leon Bramson 606-8463</i>	November 1, 1993	May 1, 1994
Dissertation Grants • <i>Kathleen Mitchell 606-8463</i>	November 15, 1993	September 1, 1994
Study Grants for College and University Teachers • <i>Clayton Lewis 606-8463</i>	August 16, 1993	May 1, 1994
Summer Seminars for College Teachers • <i>Joel Schwartz 606-8463</i>		
Participants	March 1, 1994	Summer 1995
Directors	March 1, 1994	Summer 1995
Summer Seminars for School Teachers • <i>Michael Hall 606-8463</i>		
Participants	March 1, 1994	Summer 1995
Directors	April 1, 1994	Summer 1995

DIVISION OF PRESERVATION AND ACCESS *George F. Farr, Jr., Director • 606-8570*

	Deadline	Projects beginning
Library and Archival Preservation Projects • <i>Vanessa Pinal/Charles Kolb 606-8570</i>	November 1, 1993	July 1994
Library and Archival Preservation/Access Projects • <i>Barbara Paulson 606-8570</i>	November 1, 1993	July 1994
National Heritage Preservation Program • <i>Richard Rose/Laura Word 606-8570</i>	November 1, 1993	July 1994
U. S. Newspaper Program • <i>Jeffrey Field 606-8570</i>	November 1, 1993	January 1994

To receive guidelines for any NEH program, contact the Office of Publications and Public Affairs at 202/606-8438. Guidelines are available at least two months in advance of application deadlines.

Telecommunications device for the deaf: 202/606-8282.

DEADLINES ♦ DEADLINES ♦ DEADLINES

DIVISION OF PUBLIC PROGRAMS *Marsha Semmel, Acting Director • 606-8267*

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.	Deadline	Projects beginning
Humanities Projects in Media • <i>James Dougherty 606-8278</i>	September 10, 1993	April 1, 1994
Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations • <i>Fredric Miller 606-8284</i>	December 3, 1993	July 1, 1994
Public Humanities Projects • <i>Wilsonia Cherry 606-8271</i>	September 17, 1993	April 1, 1994
Humanities Projects in Libraries • <i>Thomas Phelps 606-8271</i>		
Planning	August 6, 1993	January 1, 1994
Implementation	September 10, 1993	April 1, 1994
Challenge Grants • <i>Abbie Cutter 606-8361</i>	May 1, 1994	December 1, 1994

DIVISION OF RESEARCH PROGRAMS *Guinevere L. Griest, Director • 606-8200*

	Deadline	Projects beginning
Scholarly Publications • <i>Margot Backas 606-8207</i>		
Editions • <i>Douglas Arnold 606-8207</i>	June 1, 1994	April 1, 1995
Translations • <i>Richard Lynn 606-8207</i>	June 1, 1994	April 1, 1995
Subventions • <i>606-8207</i>	March 15, 1994	October 1, 1994
Reference Materials • <i>Kenneth Kolson 606-8358</i>		
Tools • <i>Helen Aguera 606-8358</i>	September 1, 1993	July 1, 1994
Guides • <i>Michael Poliakoff 606-8358</i>	September 1, 1993	July 1, 1994
Challenge Grants • <i>Bonnie Gould 606-8358</i>	May 1, 1994	December 1, 1994
Interpretive Research • <i>George Lucas 606-8210</i>		
Collaborative Projects • <i>David Wise 606-8210</i>	October 15, 1993	July 1, 1994
Archaeology Projects • <i>Murray McClellan 606-8210</i>	October 15, 1993	April 1, 1994
Humanities, Science, and Technology • <i>Daniel Jones 606-8210</i>	October 15, 1993	July 1, 1994
Conferences • <i>David Coder 606-8210</i>	July 15, 1993	April 1, 1994
Centers for Advanced Study • <i>Christine Kalke 606-8210</i>	October 1, 1993	July 1, 1994
International Research • <i>Christine Kalke 606-8210</i>	April 1, 1994	January 1, 1995

DIVISION OF STATE PROGRAMS *Carole Watson, Director • 606-8254*

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

OFFICE OF CHALLENGE GRANTS *Edythe Manza, Acting Director • 606-8361*

	Deadline	Projects beginning
Applications are submitted through the Divisions of Education, Research, and Public Programs	May 1, 1994	December 1, 1994

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