

Humanities



1A © Andreas Feininger/Time Inc., JCP exhibit 1976

The Intellectual Emigrés

The contribution of the refugees from Hitler to American culture is a familiar story, retold, it would seem, with every succeeding publishing season. This is all to the good, for their contribution was a signal one. In the 1930s, Walter Cook, chairman of the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University, was often heard to say, "Hitler is my best friend; he shakes the tree and I collect the apples." Distinguished or immensely promising art historians, ejected from their positions in German universities or German museums simply because they were Jewish or

politically undesirable flocked to the United States after 1933. It was up to Americans to take advantage of these unexpected bargains in intelligence—professors and playwrights, psychoanalysts and literary scholars, architects and political scientists, and many others. The influx was bound to cause some problems. The United States was, in the 1930s, enmeshed in the Great Depression, along with the rest of the world. And the Continental style habitual with exiles sometimes made for difficulties in adjustment.

Yet in the long, sad, too copious

history of exile, the experience of German and Austrian refugees in the United States was an uncommonly smooth exception. "That it was so easy," wrote one among them, Franz Neumann, who became a teacher of political thought and political institutions at Columbia University, "is entirely due to the American people, its generosity, and its friendliness. No other country has, in so short a time, absorbed so many intellectuals." He paid tribute to those "persons and institutions who have helped to place not less than 520 exiles": officials of the Emergency

Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, the foundations like Rockefeller and Carnegie, the Rosenwald Fund, the churches, the Quakers, "and the colleges, universities, and research organizations." He pointedly added that important as was the formal help in transforming "a tragic problem into a happy solution," more meaningful even than the financial assistance, was the "willingness of the colleges and universities to take the risk of employing us, the friendliness with which we were received, and the almost total absence of resentment."

Neumann was not a sentimentalist but a tough-minded, very critical Hegelian Marxist. His reference to large numbers, like his refusal to single out a few stellar performers, is singularly appropriate. For the history of the refugees from the Nazis in the United States is in danger of becoming rather one-sided. The same famous names recur again and again. Albert Einstein is, of course, a household word; we all see him, with his benign eyes and tousled hair, attacking the riddles of the universe with a piece of chalk scratching mysterious-looking hieroglyphs on a blackboard. His very presence made him a powerful symbol of Nazi stupidity and barbarousness, and of America's readiness to collect the apples that the Nazi regime had seen fit to discard.

Beyond Einstein, we are continually reminded of a small galaxy of dazzling personages: Thomas Mann and Bertolt Brecht, Herbert Marcuse and Hannah Arendt. But to concentrate on their glitter is to mistake the nature of the refugee phenomenon, its meaning for American culture. Some of the most famous among the refugees were also among the least typical; Mann and Brecht carried their old world with them and returned to Europe in the 1950s. They did not live in this country (to apply an old gibe to them), but only took up room in it. To be sure, they were frightened by McCarthyism. But most other refugees, though disturbed by the harassment of script writers and university professors—a harassment that conjured up, for those who had fled Hitler, some traumatic memories—chose to stress the differences between the homegrown American demagogue and the far

more lethal German dictator, and to fight or wait it out right here. Most refugees, in fact, settled down rapidly, earnestly studied their English, and took out citizenship papers at the earliest moment that the immigration laws allowed. Late in her life, when Hannah Arendt was asked to place herself within a political camp, she demurred, "I somehow don't fit." Most refugees, grumbling sometimes, often nostalgic for their earlier life, making little enclaves of German-speaking circles, nevertheless did their best to fit in.

Moreover, while some of the most conspicuous refugees could be found clustering near the celluloid citadel of Hollywood or haunting the publishers' and editors' cocktail party circuit in Manhattan, many went elsewhere. Even those who eventually settled in New York, like the political scientist Hans Morgenthau and the historian of nationalism Hans Kohn, first had spent fruitful years in the "provinces," one at the University of Chicago, the other at Smith College. Some, like the conservative political philosopher Eric Voegelin, gathered a small circle of devoted followers at Louisiana State, while the eminent Gestalt psychologist, Wolfgang Köhler, taught at Swarthmore. Beyond that, a number of refugee scholars acquired deserved reputations that reached far beyond their immediate radius of influence. Erwin Panofsky, that witty and immensely learned art historian, a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, taught both at Princeton and at New York University. His scintillating lectures and books made him a transforming power in the whole profession. Walter Gropius practiced architecture

in Cambridge and was, for a time, the guiding hand in the Harvard school of architecture, but he, too, left his mark on his profession far beyond the Northeast. Erich Auerbach, who came to teach at Yale, changed the ways American literary historians read their texts, especially after his seminal *Mimesis*, that far-ranging study of realism in literature from Homer to Virginia Woolf, was translated into English in 1953.

In short, the impact of the refugees on the humanities was pervasive, even when it was not conspicuous but subtle. Franz Neumann, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, encouraged his students (and, what is more, got them) to read Wilhelm Dilthey and Max Weber, names quite unfamiliar to most American graduate students in those years. René Wellek, at Yale, taught generations of students who now occupy the most distinguished chairs of comparative literature in the country and are transmitting his humane erudition to students of their own. Artur Schnabel's advanced pupils became accomplished pianists and teachers in their own right. Many of today's young virtuosos may rightfully claim to be Schnabel's musical grandchildren. Hitler's apples left seeds for further trees to grow in the United States.

There were some humanistic professions on which the impress of the immigrant was clearcut and immediate. Architecture is a case in point. The divergent interpretations of the "international style" associated with Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe percolated across the American cityscape and for a time dominated American schools of architecture. There was psychoanalysis, that most humanistic of sci-

Editor's Notes

From the trial of Peter Zenger in 1735 to the eloquence of Albert Einstein during the McCarthy hearings of the 1950s, Americans of German birth have played an important role in establishing fundamental First Amendment rights. The right to freedom of the press was first won by Zenger even before the Republic began. Einstein relied upon the constitutional protection of freedom of speech to defend some of his fellow émigrés from the excesses of McCarthyism.

The vast difference between earlier generations of German immigrants and those who fled Hitler's Nazis is underscored by the observance of the Tricentennial of German immigration to America. The sturdy Pennsylvania farmers bore little resemblance to the urbane intellectuals who were hounded from their universities, their studios, their theaters and forced to depend on the goodwill of their American colleagues. For, as Anthony Heilbut observes, "having been . . . booted out of Berlin, Vienna, Prague, and Paris, what reason had they for placing trust in provincial Americans?"

Happily as it turned out for most, they had every reason. Peter Gay describes Franz Neumann's feelings about the "willingness of the colleges and universities to take the risk of employing us, the friendliness with which we were received. . . ."

Hitler's folly was America's windfall. The émigré intellectuals energized and transformed American academic and cultural life. "Hitler's apples," as they were ironically called, left seeds that have multiplied in each succeeding generation.

—Judith Chayes Neiman

Humanities

A bimonthly review published by the National Endowment for the Humanities
Chairman: William J. Bennett
Director of Public Affairs: Marion Blakey
Editor: Judith Chayes Neiman
Managing Editor: Linda Blanken
Editorial Board: James Blessing, Harold Cannon, Richard Ekman, Donald Gibson, Thomas Kingston, Judith Chayes Neiman, Armen Tashdian, Jeffrey Wallin
Production Manager: Robert Stock
Designed by Maria Josephy Schoolman

The opinions and conclusions expressed in *Humanities* are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect Endowment policy. Material appearing in *Humanities* may be freely reproduced although the editor would appreciate notice and copies for the Endowment's reference. Use of funds for printing this publication has been approved by the Office of Management and Budget. Send address changes and requests for subscriptions to the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. (USPS 521-090) Other communication should be addressed to Editor, *Humanities*, National Endowment for the Humanities, Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20506. Telephone 202/786-0453. ISSN 0018-7526.



D-Day, June 8, 1944, Omaha Beach

© Robert Capa, ICP exhibit 1974



Hollywood and New York were twin magnets for the more glamorous émigrés. Many, however, found refuge on the campuses of America's colleges and universities.

entific psychologies, which, under the avalanche of German, Austrian, and Hungarian émigrés, was to flourish across the country for several decades as never before. There were, no doubt, special reasons for this instant efflorescence, reasons that do not apply with similar force in other pursuits. Psychoanalysis was an unmistakably Continental science, indelibly in the shadow of its Austrian founder, Sigmund Freud. Even the great debates rending the psychoanalytic profession—the contending schools of Jungians, Adlerians, revisionist followers of Erich Fromm or Karen Horney disputing the eminence of the Freudian dispensation—were largely European quarrels kept up by refugees in this country. Leading American psychoanalysts had been trained in Vienna or Berlin; others would be analyzed in this country by immigrants. And they welcomed their teachers and analysts—Heinz Hartmann, Ernst Kris, René Spitz, Margaret Mahler—with open arms. Nor did the newcomers cluster solely in New York; they spread the word of Freud across the country. The popular press, and the film industry, did their uninvited part by invariably portraying the psychoanalyst with a heavy Continental accent: to speak English like a German was, in that one profession, widely accepted signature, and an asset rather than a liability.

The psychoanalysts stamped the

American profession more unmistakably than art historians stamped art history, or political scientists, political science. But they, too, effected profound and lasting changes in American culture. Some of these transformations were quite unexpected. The stream of distinguished refugee humanists into the American universities, combined with the crimes of Nazi Germany, made even genteel anti-Semitism unpopular, opening these socially hidebound institutions to Jews and others in ways that the most liberal, least xenophobic spirit could not have predicted.

But while the refugees changed America, America changed the refugees. Integration was a two-way street. This part of the story is often forgotten and deserves to be remembered. In 1952, when the liberal Protestant theologian Paul Tillich reminisced about his fate as a refugee, he titled his lecture, significantly, "The Conquest of Theological Provincialism." Expelled from the chair of Philosophy at the University of Frankfurt shortly after the Nazis came to power, Tillich moved to the Union Theological Seminary in New York, privately convinced that his work as a theologian and philosopher was more or less over. Protestant theology was identified in his mind with the history of Protestantism in Germany; the kind of philosophical reflecting on divine things that was Tillich's specialty was, as he saw it,

the particular province of German thinkers; even some of the rebellious left wing ideas that Tillich imported into his thought were drawn from German sources. "All this," he wrote after two decades in the United States, "was a mixture of limitation, arrogance, and some elements of truth." What he discovered in America was Pragmatism, the relating of thought to action; a new and more generous blending of religious and social ideas; and a refreshing, wholly un-German cosmopolitanism. America had much to learn from German scholars—of this he remained convinced. He was not proposing to forget all that he had learned; he meant only to shed his parochialism and his arrogance. But the impression that he had come to teach and was staying to learn never left him.

In an autobiographical lecture of the same year, Erwin Panofsky spoke very much the same way. He begins his reflections, blandly titled "The History of Art," with an extended and generous account of art history as practiced in the United States before the immigrants came. Then he places himself into this atmosphere, and his memories are soaked in nostalgia, in which even the cozy speakeasies at the very end of Prohibition play their part. "The European art historian" coming into New York in the early 1930s "was at once bewildered, electrified, and elated." He saw many causes for his elation.

For one thing, he could feast "on the treasures assembled in museums, libraries, private collections, and dealers' galleries." Much to his surprise, the immigrant art historian discovered that there were ages and areas of European art he could study better in the United States than in the countries of their origin: rich American collectors, ravaging Europe from the late nineteenth century on, had done their work. Other advantages were technical and speak to the willingness of American institutions not to snub, but to serve, their clients. He was amazed that he "could order a book at the New York Public Library without being introduced by an embassy or vouched for by two responsible citizens; that libraries were open in the evenings, some until midnight; and that everybody seemed actually eager" to make material accessible to him. This last point was among the most astonishing discoveries that Panofsky made: "Librarians and curators seemed to consider themselves primarily as organs of transmission rather than 'keepers' or *conservateurs*." The possessive, downright hostile attitude of European "keepers" was one that he and other scholars had grudgingly learned to take as a fact of life; it was indeed electrifying to find curators and librarians in the astonishing guise of helpers and allies.

Panofsky made other discoveries, no less cheering. American scholars

strove to speak and write in language that their listeners and readers could follow. This, too, was an innovation for most immigrant intellectuals. German-speaking art historians, Panofsky remembered, had "developed . . . a technical language which—even before the Nazis made German literature unintelligible to uncontaminated Germans—was hard to penetrate. There are more words in our philosophy than are dreamt of in heaven and earth, and every German-educated art historian endeavoring to make himself understood in English had to make up his own dictionary." This turned out to be a good thing: "In doing so [the art historian] realized that his native terminology was often either unnecessarily recondite or downright imprecise; the German language unfortunately permits a fairly trivial thought to declaim from behind a woolen curtain of apparent profundity and, conversely, a multitude of meanings to lurk behind one term." If the refu-

gee scholar wanted to survive in the American atmosphere, he had to learn not just the American vocabularies, but the American attitude towards language, a process as bracing and, at the first moment as disagreeable, as a cold shower. I recall once wondering aloud to Franz Neumann, who was my teacher at Columbia, why the philosophical writings of John Locke, which I much admired, were so much easier to follow than those of Hegel, on whom Neumann had been raised. "That's because," he grumbled, "Locke never addressed any really important problems."

This anecdote suggests that the issue of language was far from trivial. What was at work was the whole way that the scholar saw the world, and the instruments that were employed to understand it. And here the empiricist, pragmatic American attitude, so plainly reflected in the widespread (though admittedly not universal) effort to be comprehensible to the intelligent layman,

came as a significant and transforming revelation to the immigrant. Seen through the Marxist dogma to which some of the refugee political scientists were committed, for example, the United States was capitalism at its highest stage, imperialistic in policy and ready for collapse. Seen through the more transparent veil of social observation, the country turned out to be far more complicated. Franz Neumann visibly enjoyed his life in the United States and his debates with American students who both greatly admired him and often strongly disagreed with him; gradually he seemed to be turning into a left-wing liberal before his amazed students' eyes. On the other hand, his best friend Herbert Marcuse, as delightful a companion and amiable a teacher as Franz Neumann, never changed; the books that made him a celebrity in the 1960s —*One-Dimensional Man* most of all—could have been written anywhere, in some remote library

into which the light of facts never penetrated.

But Marcuse was in a minority among the refugees from Hitler. Some scholars came too late, were too advanced in years, to find a new home in the United States. The eminent neo-Kantian philosopher Ernst Cassirer, who spent the last years of his life at Yale and Columbia and died the day after Franklin Roosevelt, was simply too old to have this country influence him. But most of the emigrés—Paul Lazarsfeld teaching sociology at Columbia, Kurt Weill composing music for Broadway, Leo Spitzer lecturing on French literature at Johns Hopkins, and countless others—made the United States more than a handy base of operations, a place to wait until Germany became itself again. It became a world in which to make friends, enlarge one's mind, and to stay.

—Peter Gay

Mr. Gay, born in Berlin in 1923, is the Durfee Professor of History at Yale.

The Emigré Photographers



Robert Capa, *Life Magazine War Correspondent*, Rome, 1943

The photographs that document the émigrés and their world throughout this issue of *Humanities* have been lovingly assembled by Cornell Capa, director of the International Center of Photography (ICP) in New York. Capa says that "the émigré photographers who fled Europe in the thirties have given America a wealth of fresh perspectives on the life of their adopted land."

Indeed, in many cases these photographers are as famous as their subjects. Alfred Eisenstaedt was one of a handful of pioneers who developed photoreportage in the late 1920s and 1930s, using the high-speed Leica which was just then emerging as the photojournalist's premier tool. His first assignment in 1929 was to record the Nobel Prize ceremony at which Thomas Mann became the Nobel laureate for literature. After leaving Hitler's Germany in 1935, Eisenstaedt became one of *Life Magazine's* original four photographers. With some 2,000 assignments and

more than ninety *Life* covers to his credit, "Eisies" in his eighties is still pursuing his photographic career.

The legendary Robert Capa who photographed five wars during his short and tumultuous life passionately hated war. He was the first among a new genre of war photographers whose pictures reflected the intensity of his feelings. John Steinbeck wrote of him, "Capa's pictures were made in the brain—the camera only completed them. He could show the horror of a whole people in the face of a child. His camera caught and held emotion."

Of Yousuf Karsh, who specializes in portrait photography, it has been said that "when history reaches out for an understanding of the great men and women of our time, it will use Karsh portraits." Karsh, who has just celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday with a major retrospective at the ICP believes that "one must learn to see with the mind's eye, for the heart and mind are the true lens of the camera." Karsh is deeply interested in young people and spends much time helping aspiring photographers. He prescribes an "all around education in the humanities as the best preparation for a photographer."

"Through their cameras," says Cornell Capa, "these photographers gave us a new tool for understanding contemporary society and the magnitude and nature of the transformations it is undergoing." To provide a home for their work and that of other photographers with similar concerns the International Center of Photography was founded in 1974. Its stated goal is to "encourage and assist photographers of all ages and nationalities who are vitally concerned with their world and times. It aims

not only to find and help new talent, but also to uncover and preserve forgotten archives, and to present such work to the public."

At the core of the Center's work are its Archives and Collections, which are aggressively assembling a comprehensive visual history of the twentieth century, the first complete century to be fully documented by the camera. Begun in 1979, the archives' collection has grown to more than 5,500 photographic prints, 400 hours of audiotaped lectures given at the ICP by outstanding artists and critics, selected films, hand cameras and video tapes.

Since its founding only nine years ago, the Center has mounted more than a hundred exhibitions which feature great photographers of the past, such as Jacob Riis, as well as the present. Work is selected because of its historic, artistic or thematic importance. The exhibitions are accompanied by lectures, colloquia and symposia which stress the Center's commitment to educating the public about photography. In addition to the exhibitions that the Center organizes, it also presents many outstanding exhibitions from other muse-

ums and mounts traveling exhibits, which it sends to museums both in the United States and abroad.

Housed in a magnificent historic landmark building on Fifth Avenue, the ICP is the only museum devoted exclusively to photography in any major American city. The photographs on these pages are eloquent testimony to Cornell Capa's belief that "photography gives history an added dimension." The work of the émigré photographers whose images illuminated the forces that shaped their times have vividly recreated that world for us.

—Judith Chayes Neiman

Recent NEH-funded exhibitions at the International Center of Photography: "The Last and First Eskimos: Remote Alaskan Villages in a Period of Transition"/Steve Rooney/\$92,602/1981-84/"Through Indian Eyes"/William A. Ewing/\$193,297/1981-84/"Southern Roads, City Pavements: Photographs of Black American Culture by Roland Freeman"/Cornell Capa/\$166,225/1980-83/"Images and Ideas: The Photographs of Arnold Genthe, 1896-1942"/Toby G. Quitslund/\$13,715/1981-82/*Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations*



Gallery, International Center of Photography



Educated and urban, most German émigrés of the 1930s were attuned to American popular culture. The “café intellectuals” of Berlin had danced to American jazz rhythms and laughed at American movies. They were particularly fascinated by the exuberance of American blacks as illustrated in this 1943 *Life* Magazine photo of Willa Mae Ricker and Leon James dancing the Lindy Hop.

The Emigrés' Vision of America

Every group of immigrants to this country has arrived with a special vision of America, what it signified, what it promised. But even as the refugees from Hitler differed from all others in their range of talents and experiences, so too their vision of America was anomalous. They came knowing a great deal about this country, although their knowledge may have been qualified and compromised, informed by Marxist theory and Freudian analysis. They soon discovered how much remained to be learned. And in one of the more remarkable developments in a history marked by an excess of ironies, these émigrés became expert observers and interpreters of American culture. As theirs was a generation of Tocquevilles, émigré artists and intellectuals were expected to master the culture and make sense of it for the natives.

Although they hardly saw themselves that way, they were well suited to the task. Earlier groups of immigrants had been made up largely of poor uneducated country people: for them America offered unparalleled freedoms and possibilities for advancement. But these émigrés were remarkably educated and urban. The majority of German Jews lived in Berlin; most other refugees had also resided in big cities. While only a small percentage of the group were professional academics or intellectuals, they were as a whole extremely cultivated: thus, in exile, they could fill concert halls and art galleries, supporting the same musicians and painters they had acclaimed in Europe, even as they could continue to read Thomas Mann or Stefan Zweig; the transportation of their cultural heroes was virtually complete. Perhaps more important, Hitler's image campaign succeeded in

identifying them as rootless wandering intellectuals/Jews (for Hitler, the distinction was always fuzzy). Because the first major groups he banned and exiled were writers and academics, he made it appear that all German Jewish refugees — salesmen, furriers, social workers and doctors — were somehow implicated in the line of Einstein and the Mann brothers. (Yet another sign of his insanity was that he didn't recognize the implicit compliment.)

Thus the new figure of emigration was not an Irish potato farmer escaping famine or a Russian Jewish peasant fleeing the Cossacks, but a refugee intellectual: unlike his predecessors, *this figure had not wanted to move*. For, again unlike them, he had been in command of his professional resources, if not frequently a leader of his profession. Were he a writer, the sacrifice of his language was a far greater loss than that of

other workers. Refugee intellectuals may have come knowing more and expecting less than earlier groups. For having been rejected by the most cosmopolitan and urban centers of Europe, booted out of Berlin, Vienna, Prague, and Paris, what reason had they for placing trust in provincial Americans? Especially since their mythology of America saw it as the homeland of a marauding Wall Street and of Ku Klux Klan lynchers.

Their suspicions were not unjustified. The record of United States officials during the 1930s is scandalous: escape to this country was reined in by numerous restrictions and requirements, particularly the affidavit, a stamped affirmation of financial solvency (for writers, the reduction of character and language to this banal document was particularly disheartening). Likewise émigrés were greeted with marked hostility; they were perceived alternately as professional

competition, as fifth columnists for Hitler, as "foreign-born radicals"—and, of course, the first and third indictments were correct. During the depression, the refugees with their huge array of skills and talents (émigré academics often taught courses in several disciplines) must have seemed unfair competition; similarly, although the United States government rerouted most German Communists to Mexico, and though the vast majority of refugees were now, as before, politically centrist, the facts remained that many of the more illustrious artists and intellectuals had been political radicals—and that all refugees, whether as Jews or as anti-Fascists, were opponents of right-wing reaction.

Disabused of their confidence in any political authority, suspicious of their new hosts, the refugees would not seem ideally suited to explaining American culture. Yet the émigrés also arrived with a real curiosity about this country. During the 1920s, the café intellectuals of Berlin had been

obsessed with American popular culture: the streets pulsed to jazz rhythms, Chaplin movies filled the theaters and appealed alike to prole and burger. (When asked once about her first impressions of New York, Lotte Lenya declared, "We had no first impressions because we all knew about America from the films of von Sternberg and von Stroheim," both of whom had been born in Vienna.) American technology became the symbol of progress: "Fordismus" was valued by exponents of "Neue Sachlichkeit," the new objectivity. They regarded America's disdain for ornament and its concern with efficiency as indispensable to political and social revolution. Thus, for many refugees, America had already provided both entertainment and example.

This pleasure in American culture balanced the more negative feelings. Clearly there was a political subtext to both. Those émigrés who had lived through two decades of political disasters, who had seen their hopes

betrayed by successive governments, and who had been abandoned by left and right alike, were the same people who had danced to fox-trots and laughed at American movies. The love of popular culture, the infatuation with technology, the alertness to political misuses of language and gesture—these were resources that made the refugees ideally suited to the roles enforced by emigration. Since the more radical or avant-garde among them had been marginal figures, even in Europe, the exile's role as outsider was not an unfamiliar one. And so, with an exile's combination of craft, cunning, and chutzpah, they set to work transforming the substance of American life as well as the natives' consciousness.

Refugee social scientists assumed the role of professional explainers. Even as they themselves were newcomers, they were hired to analyze the newer manifestations of popular culture. They did so with a particular animus, though not one fueled by affection: these were not, in Amer-

ican slang, "fans." Instead when Herta Herzog analyzed the hysterical responses to Orson Welles' "War of the Worlds" broadcast, or when Rudolf Arnheim or Theodor Adorno contemplated the egregious novelty known as "soap operas," they detected something politically sinister. Their objections were not merely aesthetic—although Adorno scathingly dismissed daytime serials as "idiotic." Rather they determined that serial characters and listeners alike were passive figures, manipulated by external forces, whether these were serial villains or the actual broadcasts. Arnheim noted the diffuse form: in a typical soap opera, one group of characters would appear, suffer, and then withdraw for several episodes while other groups would enact virtually discrete story-lines. So existences that had been fragmented into fifteen-minute episodes were further atomized, denied the minimal continuity of linear sequence.

Refugee social scientists also attended to other forms of popular culture, from magazine biographies to political propaganda. What appeared to be their cultural elitism actually had the urgency of a military program, for still reeling from Hitler's manipulation of the German masses, these émigrés were determined to protect their fellow Americans. The émigrés' analyses of American kitsch were widely influential; alas, although the political urgency was not often detected, the note of elitism and contempt was immediately apprehended by Americans.

While refugee social scientists deciphered American fantasies, refugee filmmakers moved beyond them and, with their creations, gained entrance into those dreams and nightmares. Whether it was Billy Wilder's conception of the wise guy, Fritz Lang's of the vigilante, or Douglas Sirk's of the housewife, what the world audience assumed to be quintessentially American types were really the creations of émigrés far from home.

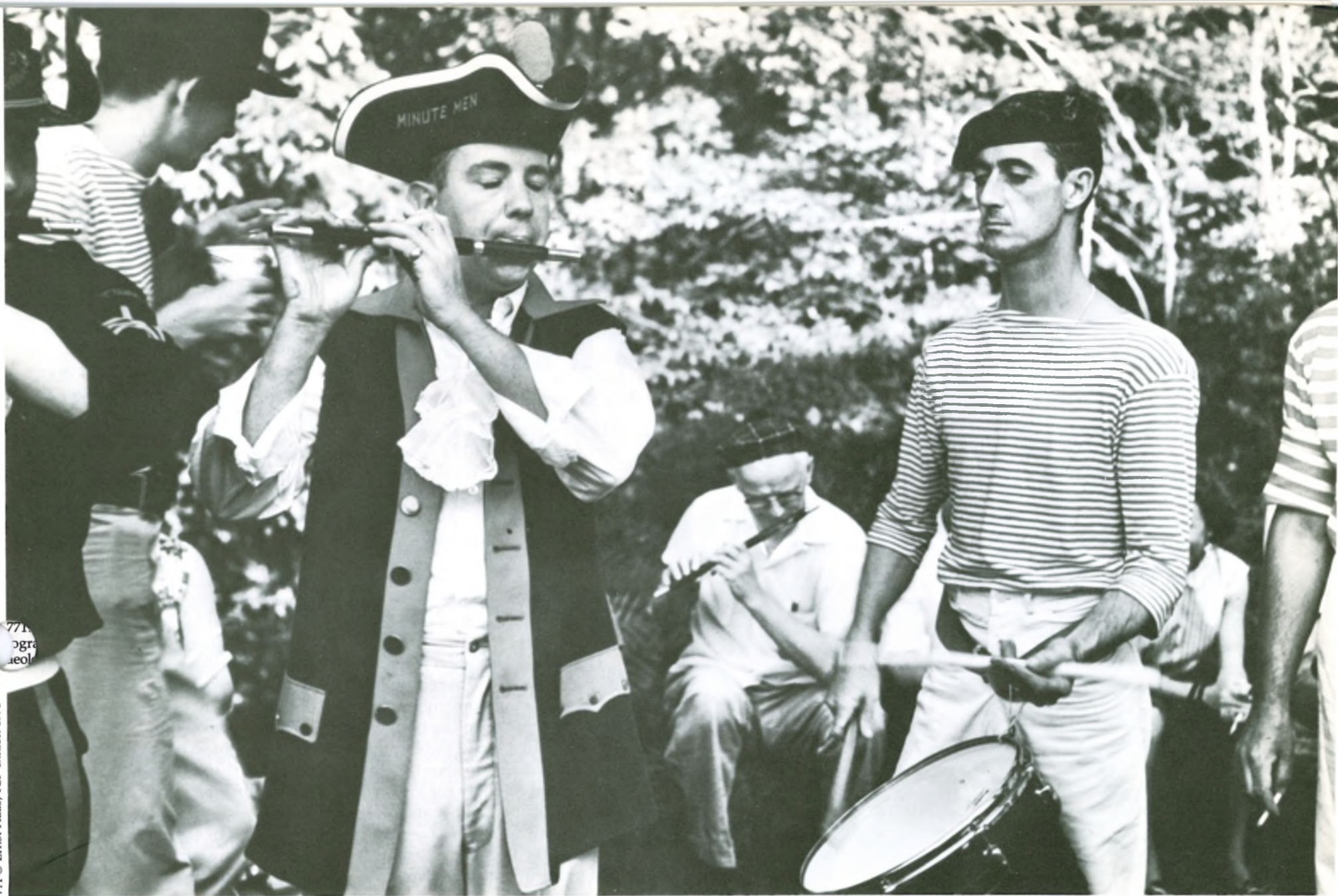
The most successful refugee directors arrived in America with a great affection for this country's myths. Lang, for one, boasted that he was the first to film war-painted American Indians in color; although Lang also felt that the Western was the American counterpart of the *Nibelungenlied*, he avoided the trap of seeing American life in European terms. Similarly, Wilder, Sirk, Otto Preminger, the peerless Max Ophüls, Fred Zinnemann, and Robert Siodmak, among others, presented American life with an attention to detail that might betray an outsider's curiosity but also exhibited an evocative authenticity that made their most melodramatic efforts resemble documentaries. These film directors may have made the most significant, certainly the most popular, contributions to American culture, precisely because their vision of the country was such a positive one—although, since their own professional

EISENSTAEDT



GERMANY

© Alfred Eisenstaedt, ICP exhibit 1981



careers had been marred by as many snubs as epiphanies, an air of melancholy can be detected throughout their movies, not merely their celebrated forays into the "films noirs." And in an ironically appropriate culmination, the most chilling deconstruction of the American dream in its contemporary incarnation, which was Hollywood itself, would come from an émigré—Billy Wilder's *Sunset Boulevard*.

Atomic energy, a brand new element of American mythology, was also an émigré contribution—although from Albert Einstein to Leo Szilard to Victor Weisskopf to Hans Bethe, émigré scientists frequently despaired over this troublesome gift, the terrifying issue of their own research. Such men argued that their vision of American politics obliged them to fight for disarmament. The common image of a scientist may be some monomaniacal, tic-ridden Doctor Strangelove, but refugee scientists have also been the most outspoken opponents of nuclear weapons. Thus the refugees endowed American consciousness with a horrible new image, the bomb, but also with a complete range of responses to it. (In strong opposition to their fellow émigrés, Edward Teller and Eugen Paul Wigner are zealous proponents of a strong American defense, including nuclear weapons.)

For many refugee intellectuals and artists, the 1950s and 1960s were unhappy years. During World War II, the universal opposition to Hitler

and the perhaps excessive adulation of President Roosevelt (and the more judicious affection for his wife who had fought hard for their interests while FDR may have been unconscionably unconcerned: he failed to set up an official refugee board until January 1944) made American citizenship a source of pride: as one refugee says, "it was a good thing, the best thing, I tell you it was the *only* thing to be an American." Yet the postwar Red scares and congressional investigations, followed by the American engagement in Vietnam, disillusioned refugees. During the McCarthy period, among the very few prominent intellectuals to declare their support for the political heretics, were two émigrés, Thomas Mann and Albert Einstein. Their statements were met with such vicious criticism in the press and even in Congress that both men anticipated the need for another flight, in late old age, from the forces of reaction: indeed Mann fled the country in 1952, thoroughly demoralized about this "soulless soil," this "artificial paradise." Einstein was more resilient. He relied upon the principles of constitutional protection. Exemplifying the best kind of émigré critic, he asserted that the problem was that Americans weren't American enough: they had a legacy of civil freedoms, and it would be shameful for them not to claim it.

Of course, both Mann and Einstein had become identified with the American left. But the opposition to



(above) An émigré photographer captures a quintessentially American patriotic ceremony—the Fife and Drum Corps Festival—an annual event in Connecticut and many Northeastern states.

(left) Emigrés figured prominently in the McCarthy Senate Committee hearings which began with an investigation of subversion in Hollywood. Senator McCarthy is on the right.

© Eve Arnold, ICP Permanent Collection

American involvement in Vietnam came from several more conservative figures, among them Hannah Arendt and Hans Morgenthau. Arendt had often argued that the American revolution with its emphasis on political action was a superior model to the French one; during the 1950s, she kept her fears of McCarthyism private. Ironically, her despair with American politics liberated her into becoming more aggressively American and Arendtian—talking in public being an exemplary action by both criteria. Similarly Morgenthau once said that his German-born father would have

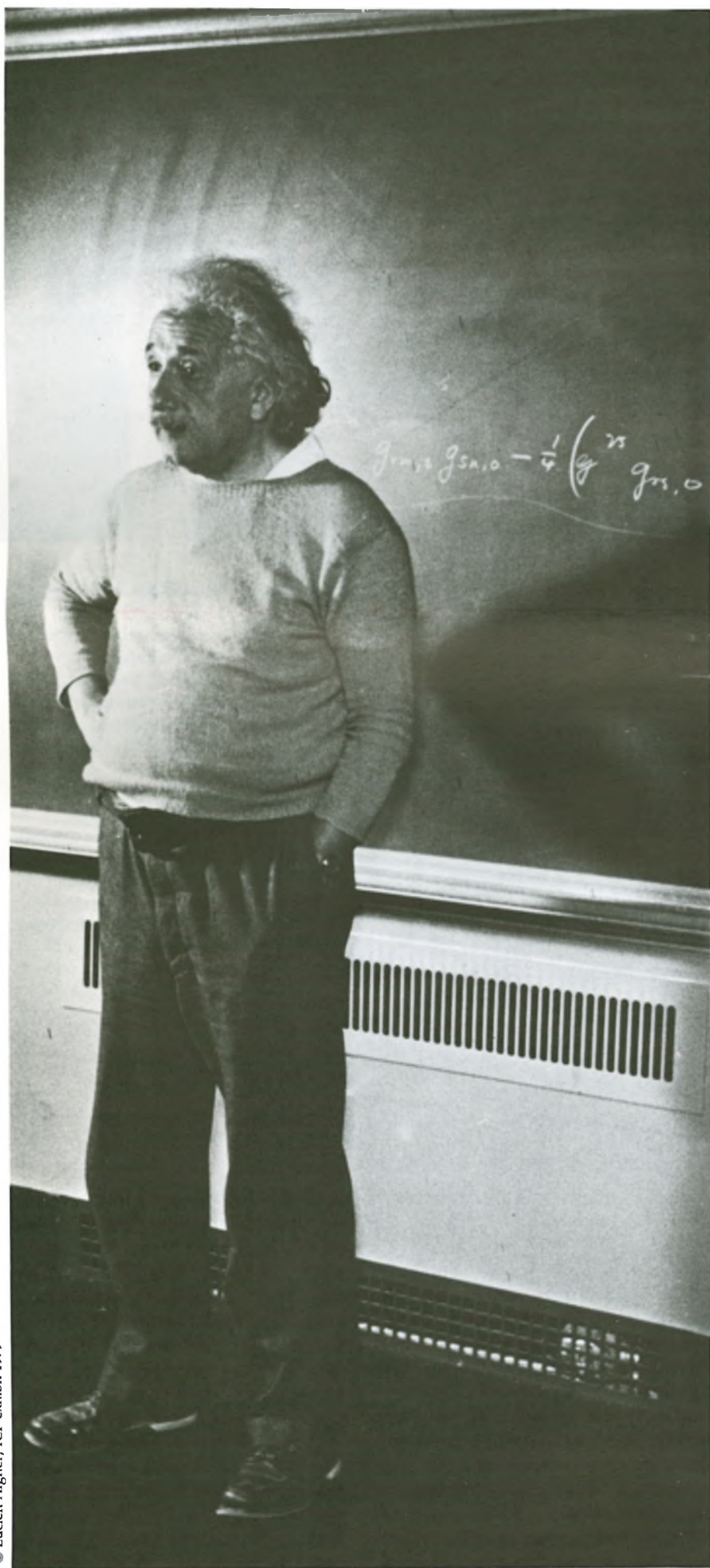
turned in his grave: "a Jew opposing the official point of view?" Such people could join Mann and Einstein, not to mention the film directors, in declaring that precisely because they spoke up and talked back, revealed the good and bad of American life, they demonstrated their loyalty, and proved that the American vision was now theirs as well.

—Anthony Heilbut

Mr. Heilbut is the author of the critically acclaimed *Exiled in Paradise: Artists and Intellectuals in America from the 1930s to the Present*. (Viking. 506 pp.)

STATE OF THE STATES:

EINSTEIN



© Lucien Aigner, ICP exhibit 1979

"Einstein the man was a sensitive person who loved violin music. Einstein the scholar and philosopher was a meticulous researcher with a deep respect for science," according to William Landry, who presented a one-man dramatization of "Einstein: The Man" during the centennial celebration of the birth of one of the greatest and most esteemed scientists of all time.

Landry's presentation was among many programs funded by NEH-supported state humanities councils, drawing scholars in the humanities, science, and a broad public audience into a rich dialogue about the scientist revered not only for his revolutionary reshaping of twentieth-century physics, but also for his far-reaching concern for the values and issues that permeate the disciplines of the humanities.

The dramatic monologue by Landry, developed in conjunction with researchers at the Oak Ridge Associated Universities and other humanities scholars in Tennessee, was presented in Alabama, Tennessee, Florida, Maryland, and Illinois. After the presentation, Landry removed his white-haired wig and make-up that had characterized him as the familiar image of the aging, benevolent genius, for a question and answer period with the audience and a panel of humanities scholars to expand upon such themes as pacifism, science and religion, and the moral obligations of scientists.

A variety of other programs reached almost all of the states, featuring a traveling exhibit that was funded by the NEH and distributed by the state councils. The exhibit was created by the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton—Einstein's professional home from the time of his escape from Nazi Germany in 1933 until his death in 1955. The exhibit consisted of large panels displaying a text written by historians, quotations from Einstein, and photographs, drawings, and reproductions of manuscripts. Einstein's scientific work was explained in lay terms, but most of the exhibit was devoted to his public and political work, his philosophical views, and his role in the world.

The exhibit was toured by state councils across the country to shopping centers, airports, retirement homes, bank lobbies, state parks, and community centers as well as the more traditional settings of public

libraries and schools. The flexibility of the exhibit enabled state councils to send it not only to metropolitan areas but also to very small towns and cities.

As observed by NEH project director John Hunt, then associate director of the Institute at Princeton, "Einstein was both a scientific leader, shaping our understanding of the world, and a spiritual leader, responding to the historical crises of his time with unfeigned humility, compassion, a deep sense of social responsibility, and an unflagging devotion to human rights."

According to Stephen Karon, the director of exhibits at the Maryland Academy of Sciences in Baltimore, which sponsored a conference in conjunction with the exhibition, the exhibit "showed that Einstein was a person very concerned with the results of scientific discovery and concerned with how various discoveries were put to use."

The programs at the Academy, those elsewhere, encouraged scientists to interact with scholars in the humanities to bridge those gaps that Einstein abjured. The programs also sought to engage an audience broader than professional researchers in understanding the complexities of a man withdrawn in private life yet the object of esteem by an admiring public. (Einstein once lamented, "To punish me for my contempt for authority, Fate made me an authority myself.")

As explained in the exhibit, Einstein's most famous scientific statement was the simple formula that energy equals mass times the speed of light squared ($E = MC^2$), a formula proven with the development of the atom bomb in the 1940s. Yet Einstein himself was involved in only a minor way with the development of the bomb that proved his theory. In 1939, he yielded to pressure from Leo Szilard, another émigré nuclear physicist and used his then considerable political influence to urge President Roosevelt to develop nuclear weapons, although he never participated in any of the actual scientific research of the Manhattan Project that developed the bomb. Einstein had been an ardent pacifist in his earlier years, but the horror of Nazism in Europe convinced him, reluctantly, to relinquish this position. For the balance of his life, he spoke fervently in support of disarmament and world government, warning of the dire consequences of new weapons.

At the end of his life, Einstein joined philosopher Bertrand Russell in an unsuccessful drive to ban further development of nuclear weapons. "We have the choice to outlaw nuclear weapons or face general annihilation," he said. In private, Einstein held a traditional view of the role of the scientist as one who should pursue research for its own sake, free of political partisanship. Yet he also recognized his obligation as a human being and citizen to speak out for the values in which he

believed. He was an outspoken critic of McCarthyism in the 1950s, and recently reports have surfaced indicating that he himself was the object of investigation by the FBI.

The cosponsor of the nationwide project was the Center for the History of Physics of the American Institute of Physics. The partnership between the scientific and humanities communities was repeated across the country in the various conferences funded by the state humanities councils. At Memphis State University, a conference at the Craigmont Planetarium included a session in which Rabbi E. Feldman from Beth Jacob Congregation in Atlanta discussed the Jewish perspective on Einstein as a religious philosopher. Although Einstein had fled Europe because of anti-Semitism, his own religious views were far from the orthodoxy of any established religion. He described his god as the god Spinoza, the great seventeenth-century German-Jewish philosopher. Einstein, like Spinoza, believed in the harmonious orderly working of the universe as the revelation and embodiment of God.

Indeed, Einstein's belief in the ultimate rationality of the universe helps account for his resistance as a scientist to Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, which postulated that the act of observing subatomic particles so disrupts their state that it is impossible to measure both the position and the motion of the particle simultaneously. Einstein never accepted this principle. "God does not play dice with the cosmos," he once said. He was even less tolerant of the notion that everything in life is relative to the observer, a conclusion drawn by others from Heisenberg's work and Max Planck's doctrine of the inseparability of the observer from the observed in quantum physics. Einstein believed that certain physical laws were the same everywhere, though their effects might sometimes depend on the observer's context.

Einstein's own principle of relativity has been the subject of immense confusion with a social and ethical relativism that the physicist himself abhorred, raising a set of issues discussed at many of the conferences in honor of him. His work in physics superseded classical physics, which had held that all physical events followed strictly causal developments, governed by immutable laws. Yet classical physics had been unable to account for certain physical anomalies, such as the deflection of starlight near the sun. Einstein's relativity theory postulated a distortion of ordinary Euclidean space by the gravitational attraction between two masses under certain circumstances.

The impact of Einstein's relativity was felt even in the literary world, as demonstrated by Carol Donley, an English professor from Hiram College at the Memphis conference. She observed, "A number of poets picked up on his metaphysics and changed the formal structure of

their poetry in the light of new ideas coming from relativity. These were poets like William Carlos Williams and e.e. cummings. They fractured lines and split words and dropped rhymes and steady meters. Instead of taking a poetic structure and fitting a poem into it, they let the form evolve so that the content and the structure of the poem became one. Although this is all due to Einstein, nobody would have been more surprised at this than he. He never would have expected his work to be picked up on the literary side." Even so, in his scientific theorizing, Einstein craved the simplicity, order, symmetry, and balance that are the hallmarks of creative work by writers and artists throughout history.

The startling breadth of Einstein's impact on twentieth-century thought in so many fields is vividly demonstrated by the diversity of the projects supported by the state humanities councils. In Wisconsin, the I. E. Phillips Public Library in Eau Claire sponsored a program examining the supposed contrast between "the open society in which scientists worked in Einstein's era and the restrictive technological society of today," thus sparking a debate on the role of government in research, the social responsibilities of scientists, and secrecy in scientific research. At the Hofstra Einstein Conference in New York, the University Center for Cultural and Intercultural Studies sponsored a conference keyed by the late R. Buckminster Fuller on "The Cosmological Revolution Brought by Albert Einstein." The conference explored both Western and non-Western treatment of Einstein's ideas in philosophy, education, literature, history, and religion.

In California, NEXA, a program at San Francisco State University seeking to "converge" the sciences and humanities, similarly sought to bridge gaps between areas of inquiry that are often compartmentalized. The faculty at San Francisco State in English, classics, philosophy, physics, and astronomy served as "provocateurs" at the conference, drawing out shared issues and concerns among the diverse disciplines.

Einstein would no doubt have been bewildered, as he was throughout his life, at the public attention lavished upon him at the centennial of his birth. As project director John Hunt remarked, "Einstein's major intellectual impact was on the discipline of physical science. Yet for reasons not fully comprehended, Einstein, though extraordinarily modest and retiring by nature, was very much more present in the public mind than other physicists. He appeared frequently both as an individual and as a symbol in a variety of relationships with other scientists, intellectuals, and political leaders. Paradoxically, he was in many ways the embodiment of the scientist as citizen, in whom private and public values were conjoined."

—Julie Van Camp



© Yousuf Karsh, ICP exhibit 1983

Thomas Mann's Long Road to America

In the spring of 1933, German students began building bonfires with books that were considered "degenerate" in Hitler's Third Reich. For thousands of Germans, the fires also consumed whatever freedom they hoped might still exist in their homeland now ruled by totalitarianism. Those exulting Nazi ideologists saw a Germany free to pursue the Aryan myth in all academic and aesthetic disciplines: literature, science, art were purged of "alien" or "Jewish" influences and could flourish happily in an environment consistent with "The Volk Spirit."

A list of authors whose works were consigned to the flames would also provide the passenger invoice on any number of transatlantic steamers carrying Germany's exiled intellectuals to America; among the first to burn were the works of Remarque and Brecht. Although absent from this "Honor Roll" of literary outlaws, Germany's most eminent man of letters, Thomas Mann, joined his fellow Germans in American exile in 1938. From that time to 1952, he was a resident of the United States, later a citizen, and certainly Germany's most productive writer in exile.

But Thomas Mann did not come to America immediately after 1933,

nor did he have to. In fact, Thomas Mann did not become a forced exile until 1936, when his citizenship and honorary degrees were finally taken from him by a German government who thought it could win him over to the Nazi ideology. Mann was out of the country on a lecture tour in 1933 when the Hitler government came to power, and voluntarily remained outside the Third Reich. The Nazis for their part had hoped to woo Mann back to some of the more sympathetic attitudes they detected in his earlier writings. This Nobel Prize winner, symbol of intellectual and literary freedom, had in earlier days shown considerable empathy for ideas that were, in 1933, completely acceptable in Nazi Germany.

The Thomas Mann of the turn of the century right through World War I had no love for democratic parliamentarianism, rejected all of those "decadent" Western concepts such as universal suffrage and free elections. But during the period of Weimar Germany Mann began his painful education in democracy, and his short novel *Mario and the Magician*, written in 1930, is one of world literature's most powerful political allegories. In this denunciation of fascism Mann marked his political maturity. Yet Hitler had high hopes

that the Thomas Mann of an earlier age might still come forward in support of the Fatherland. Mann had signed the document of the Ninety-Five Intellectuals, which justified the German invasion of Belgium in the First World War; he had denounced France as a radical hotbed of decadent democracy; he had vilified English liberalism as totally unacceptable to a Germany in need of discipline and authority. No wonder that Hitler and Goebbels felt encouraged!

But Thomas Mann had changed. He had decided in 1933 never to return to Germany as long as Hitler remained in power. The works of an earlier age might have met with approval in Nazi Germany, but the author was free to speak his mind, and he spoke against Nazism. After a brief sojourn in Switzerland, Mann came to the United States, where he assumed the role of patriarch for the less fortunate political refugees. After a short stay in Princeton where he was associated with Albert Einstein at the Institute for Advanced Study, Mann settled in Pacific Palisades and became the spokesman for all of the German intellectuals in America.

Mann took care of these often disoriented émigrés regardless of their political persuasion. His brother Heinrich had many years earlier been identified with a strong commit-

ment to socialism and now was a penniless relative, living on handouts from his younger brother Thomas and as a boarder in his home. Bertolt Brecht, an outspoken Marxist in spite of the fact that he had to flee both Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia, also benefited from Thomas Mann's influence and help. In Hollywood, Brecht could barely scrape enough together to keep himself going. He wrote an occasional screenplay, but rarely were any of his works used. He was as idiosyncratic and iconoclastic as Thomas Mann was middle-class and proper, but gradually Mann became more attuned to Brecht's politics and was drawn closer to the socialist camp.

For most of the German exiles, America was a strange and forbidding country. Their works were not read, they were looked upon as aliens, and their thick German accents left most Americans suspicious.

But both Mann and Brecht enjoyed, for Germans still writing in their native language, remarkable periods of creative productivity in America. Although relatively little was published, Brecht continued to work on some of his most important plays: *Mother Courage*, *The Good Woman of Setzuai*, and *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*. Thomas Mann, to the good fortune of everyone depen-

dent on him, enjoyed the benefit of excellent translations and an audience faithful to this Nobel Laureate. Mann completed the four-volume *Joseph and His Brothers*, which had occupied him from 1933 to 1943. During the war he was a frequent voice heard on broadcasts beamed to Europe. Mann was relentless in his denunciation of Nazism and those dark forces that he was examining in the German character. The result was a spiritual journey into the German mind, the novel *Dr. Faustus*, completed in 1947.

There is a peculiarly grotesque twist to this chapter of German émigrés in America. While Thomas Mann had become a citizen in 1943, many of the others who tried to gain American citizenship after 1945 suddenly found themselves suspect. Their applications for proper papers and authorizations to remain were being lost or mishandled. Ironically, the same political commitment that got these people thrown out of Nazi Germany now was driving them out of an America going through the first pangs of the Cold War.

The House Un-American Activities Committee—HUAC—had been dormant since 1938, but in 1947 it began its comeback with an investigation of Hollywood radicals. Among the first to be interrogated was Hanns Eisler, a German refugee and successful Hollywood composer of film scores whose brother Gerhard was a Communist Party veteran. Soon panic raced through the émigré colony in Hollywood, which by this time was filled with actors and writers with established reputations: Peter Lorre, Marlene Dietrich, Conrad Veidt, Billy Wilder, William Dieterle, Otto Preminger, and a host of others. The works referred to as "seditious" in the Committee's interrogation of witnesses were often those that had been marked "degenerate" when their authors were exiled from Germany after 1933. When Brecht had to appear before the committee in November, 1947, the focus was on his pre-exile activities in Europe. After his testimony, Brecht left America that evening, never to return.

Neither Thomas Mann nor Albert Einstein was spared. Mann had been moving slowly toward the political Left. His first major speech in America, made in 1938, was called "The Coming Victory of Democracy," in which he declared himself a believer in "socialist morality." From 1945, the charges of harboring communist sympathies were mentioned publicly by official channels. His children's outspoken Marxism resulted in both Klaus and Erika Mann, as well as their father, coming under increasing suspicion. Mann was saddened by all of this, but it did not prevent him from speaking before organizations that were guaranteed to bring further suspicion. Mann addressed the "left-wing" Committee on the First Amendment in 1947 and was immediately denounced by several con-

servative congressmen.

Thomas Mann left America in 1952, still a citizen, but neither really an American nor a German. He was now officially a European, since he settled in Switzerland to live out his years. He felt he could not return to either Germany; he felt isolated from the United States. It is ironic that for his final literary effort Mann turned to a story begun in 1911: *The Confessions of a Confidence Man: Felix Krull*. Mann had begun the story prior to World War I, had worked on it again in Weimar Germany, played with the idea in America, and completed his masterpiece of comic irony in his old age, in Swiss exile.

When he left America, Mann was puzzled and bitter, unable to fathom this nation's political orientation. Brecht, with his somewhat sleazy enlightened self-interest, came before the HUAC and lied with great pleasure and ease. After his arrival in East Germany, he continued looking out for "BB" by giving his copy right to West German publishers, taking out Austrian citizenship, and insisting on being paid in American dollars. But Mann had too much integrity for this kind of response. Instead, he was hurt and wounded by an America he now considered philistine and uncouth.

America played a major role in his political evolution, and that evolution represented something very special in twentieth-century intellectual history. Europe saw some strange ideological and poetic marriages. It was a century that produced the fascist intellectual: Ezra Pound, some might say D. H. Lawrence, Celine, and others. Some, like Brecht, Sartre, Orwell, and Malraux, played with various points of view on the Left. But, very few writers of the century started out on the Right and found an ideological home in liberal democracy. Benedetto Croce and Thomas Mann were two.

Einstein and Mann died in 1955, Brecht in 1956. Einstein lived out his life in America, Mann left voluntarily, and Brecht departed before his deportation. The American experience was Mann's first serious exposure to Western democracy over an extended period, and from 1938 to 1952 he learned to love that democracy. When he came to believe that America had changed, his disappointment was supreme. He lived out his life in neutral Switzerland, leaving a literary legacy that represents for the twentieth century the most complete picture of the relationship of literature to freedom.

—Sol Gittleman

Sol Gittleman, Professor of German and Provost/Academic Vice President of Tufts University, directed an NEH Summer Seminar for Secondary School Teachers this summer with the title *Three German Texts and the Road to Hitler*.

"Hesse, Mann, Grass: *Three German Texts and the Road to Hitler*"/Sol Gittleman/Tufts University, Medford, MA/ \$51,988/1983-84



Bertolt Brecht

When in the spring of 1933 Hitler dismissed all Jewish professors from their teaching posts, the great art historian Erwin Panofsky was in the United States teaching at New York University, on loan from his home institution in Hamburg. He later recalled learning of his dismissal by way of a long cable written in German "but sealed with a strip of green paper which bore the inscription: 'Cordial Easter Greetings, Western Union.'" The dismally appropriate little message proved after all a prophecy of rebirth, for the forced emigration of Erwin Panofsky ushered in vigorous growth in the discipline of art history in the United States.

Panofsky's impact was so great, his range of expertise so broad, that it is difficult even to summarize his contributions to the development of art history here. He published on a universe of topics that reach from Egyptian antiquity to the interpretation of contemporary film. Some would argue that his most brilliant work is the analysis of Neoplatonism in Michelangelo; others, his lectures on Titian, or his iconographic studies of Carolingian representations of classical myths. His two-volume study of Albrecht Dürer, originally published in 1943, has gone through four reprints. The collection of essays *Meaning in the Visual Arts* is still used today in many introductory courses in art history.

He brought to his work in art history knowledge of so many areas—classical literature, the history of science (including mathematics and astrology), the history of classical religions, the history of law (he began his career at Berlin University as a law student), church history and mythology—that a memorial monograph published the year after his death opened with the lament, "The death of Erwin Panofsky on March 14, 1968, marks not only the passing of one of the greatest art historians, but also that of probably the last humanist."

His friends called him "Pan," a nickname suited both to his reputation as polymath and to his demeanor. The *New York Times* obituary described him as a short man with lively eyes sparkling behind thick-lensed spectacles who captivated audiences with his wit, "growing so absorbed in communicating his ideas and love of art that his animation seemed almost to set him to dancing."

The living monuments to his impact on art history are as striking as the legacy of his scholarship. "Reading the list of doctoral dissertations that he guided is like going to Hollywood and standing in front of the Chinese theater," says Michael Ann Holly, a professor in both the history and art history departments at Hobart and William Smith Colleges, whose book on the origins and development of Panofsky's theory of art history will be published next fall by Cornell University Press. Holly's study,

which she has just completed with the help of an NEH Summer Stipend, is a historical and analytic approach to the development of iconology, the method of art interpretation that Panofsky systematized. She begins this history with an investigation of the connections between art historical scholarship and Hegelian cultural history, believing that "there's a little bit of Hegel in every art historian."

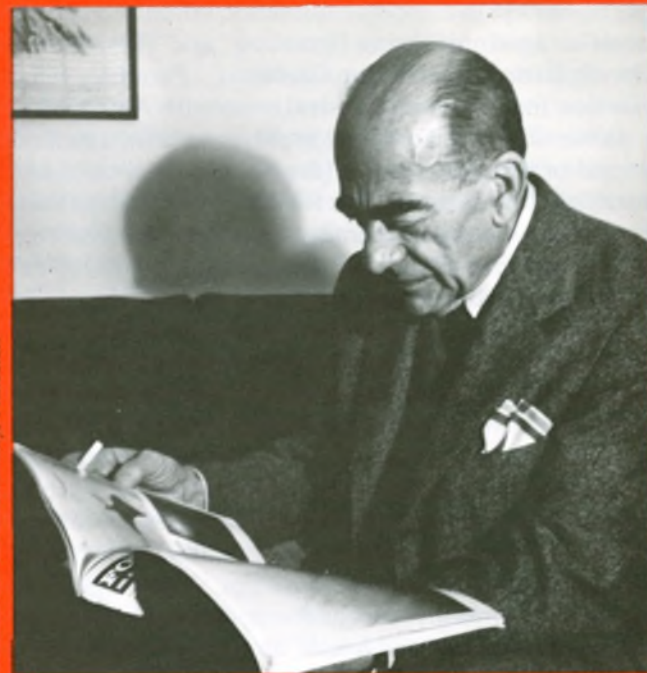
Panofsky did not invent iconology, Holly explains, but refined the "iconological vision" that permeated the lectures of the famous and wealthy Aby Warburg, whose private library in Hamburg was a meeting place for some of the great art historians of the time: Ernst Cassirer, Fritz Saxl among others. Panofsky began his career, Holly says, by attacking the giants who dominated art history with their purely formal treatments of art, such as Riegl and Wölfflin. Their studies discussed questions of composition, of treatments of space and light, and of style. Holly's book will demonstrate that Panofsky's early, untranslated essays (1915-25) that criticize these formal treatments unfold the analytic principles around which "iconology" has come to be shaped.

Panofsky offers a progressive, tripartite scheme of interpretation. Analysis of configurations of line and color is the first level; the second is iconography, the interpretation of images in art, that is, the connection of artistic motifs (a winged child with an arrow, for instance) with themes or concepts (love). Iconology is the third level of interpretation to which Panofsky urged art historians. He described it as the discovery of "underlying principles," the attitudes of the artist, the *Zeitgeist* or a prevailing religious belief, for example, that are expressed through the work of art.

"Panofsky might point out, as an example," Holly says, "that the symmetrical arrangement of the *The Last Supper*, with Christ at the center of the composition, reflects Leonardo's belief in the Copernican scheme of a heliocentric universe."

Iconology, then, reaches beyond discussions of form and style, and beyond iconography. As a matter of fact, it reaches beyond the painting or sculpture itself and so has been criticized for ignoring the aesthetic properties of art in its emphasis on extrinsic matters. Some art historians believe that iconological approaches relegate art to utilitarian chunks of evidence, frozen in history, to be analyzed as a historian might use a census or inventory.

However utilitarian iconology may be, in the hands of Panofsky it is a lively pursuit that charges through intellectual history, literary studies and iconography toward the enthralling goal of explaining what humans have thought of their experience. In an iconological study of the development of the figure of Father Time, published in *Studies in Iconology*, Panofsky explains how the ponder-



Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

Erwin Panofsky



This engraving of Saturn is a sixteenth-century ancestor of modern representations of Father Time. Panofsky wrote that although the concept that "Time devours whatever he has created" originated in classical myth, such cannibalistic images did not appear in art until the Middle Ages.

ing of time and of mortality over the ages has led to the depiction of Time as an aged, menacing figure.

The similarity between the Greek expression for time, *Chronos*, and the name of the oldest and most powerful of the gods, *Kronos* (the Roman Saturn), is responsible for one of the classical images of Time as old and powerful. Saturn's role as guardian of agriculture explains the introduction of the scythe, which even the most recent representations of the figure still grasp as they wave impishly from New Year's greeting cards.

"As time traveled through various periods of history," Panofsky writes, "philosophical notions rendered changes in his aspect. . . ." Time has been conceived of as the revealer of Truth and the healer of pain as well as the messenger of Death. The mythological tale of Kronos devouring his own children signified to the Neoplatonics that Time "devours whatever he has created," and produced increasingly grisly depictions of cannibalism.

"No period has been so obsessed with the depth and width, the horror and the sublimity of the concept of time as the Baroque," Panofsky writes, "the period in which man found himself confronted with the infinite as a quality of the universe instead of as a prerogative of God. Shakespeare alone, leaving all the other Elizabethans apart, has implored, challenged, berated, and conquered Time in more than a dozen sonnets and no less than eleven stanzas of his Rape of Lucrece. He condenses and surpasses the speculations and emotions of many centuries."

Panofsky intended iconological studies to supplement not supplant other discussions. Indeed, according to Holly, most of Panofsky's work is in the field of iconography because he felt that there was still "so much basic field work left to be done."

"Panofsky looked on works of art as puzzles to be solved," Holly says. And as he was a great admirer of Sherlock Holmes (Panofsky, typically, was an expert on the history of the detective novel), he was relentless in the pursuit of evidence—within the art or outside it—that would help him unlock the mystery. To the criticism that even with his elaborate and rigorous "checks," he had no proof of his interpretation, Panofsky would answer with a quotation from Holmes, "If all the impossible has been eliminated, then the improbable that remains must be true."

When Panofsky came to be a permanent resident of the United States, he held concurrent lectureships at New York and Princeton universities. He was invited in 1935 to join the newly constituted faculty of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, where he was befriended by the other luminaries whom the Institute had happily received from Germany. In the 1940s when Panofsky's first wife Dora became ill, the three-man shift that read to her

through some sleepless nights consisted of Panofsky, Albert Einstein, and Thomas Mann.

Panofsky relished his popularity with American audiences. "For reasons insufficiently explored by anthropologists," he once said, "Americans seem to be genuinely fond of listening to lectures. And the 'ivory tower' in which a professor is supposed to spend his life—a figure of speech, by the way, which owes its existence to a nineteenth-century conflation of a simile from the Song of Songs and Danaë's tower in Horace—has many more windows in the comparatively fluid society of this country than in most others."

Although Panofsky spent most of his time immersed in the study of the great civilizations of the past, he was very much a man of the present. He was intrigued by much of modern art, he loved and wrote about American films, and he once published an essay on the iconography of the Rolls Royce radiator.

He loved his new country and, as did so many of his fellow émigrés, counseled her when he saw things amiss. "Nothing short of a miracle," Panofsky lamented in one lecture, "can reach what I consider to be the root of our troubles [those of higher education in the humanities], the lack of adequate preparation in the high school stage. Our public high schools—and even an increasing number of the fashionable and expensive private schools—dismiss the future humanist with deficiencies . . . I have still to meet the humanist who regrets that he had to learn some mathematics and physics in his high school days."

Panofsky's humanism sprang from that of the Renaissance, which, he explains in an essay called "The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline," is a combination of classical and medieval concepts. The classic *humanitas* is the quality that lifts man above the animals and barbarians, "that gracious blend of learning and urbanity," writes Panofsky, "that we can only circumscribe by the discredited word 'culture.'" In the Middle Ages, *humanitas* was a description of mortality, of that which makes humans less than divine. "It is not so much a movement as an attitude," Panofsky writes of the Renaissance meaning of humanism, "which can be defined as the conviction of the dignity of man, based on both the insistence on human values (rationality and freedom) and the acceptance of human limitations (fallibility and frailty). This attitude imbues the work of Panofsky with reverence for the artists he studies and with sympathetic understanding of their human motives. —Linda Blanken

'The Origin and Development of Erwin Panofsky's Theories of Art' / Michael Ann Holly / Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva NY / \$2,700 / 1983 / Summer Stipends

Hannah Arendt

Dozens of people were forced to sit in the aisles or stand as more than 500 bodies anxiously crammed into New York University's Schimmel Auditorium in October 1981. The occasion for this gathering wasn't a political rally or a celebrity's appearance—it was a three-day conference to discuss the life and works of Hannah Arendt, the German-born political philosopher who emigrated to the United States in 1941 after fleeing Hitler's Germany.

Arendt, who had been university professor of political philosophy at the New School for Social Research, was said at her death in 1975 to be one of the foremost political thinkers of the twentieth century. Her death was followed quickly by a spate of biographies and scholarly monographs probing her views of democracy and the problems of modern society.

The New York University conference, which featured lectures and feisty debates by political philosophers from France, Britain, Israel and the United States, appeared to confirm that Arendt's influence continues to grow. Yet Arendt has been the subject of bitter public controversy, and the conference showed that scholars still cannot agree upon interpretations of her views of politics, philosophy, history and ethics.

"Her political philosophy is one of the authentically great creations of our time," said Bernard Crick, a political philosopher from the University of London, who noted that an academic "cult" has grown up around Arendt in recent years.

"She's been subject to very different and conflicting interpretations," reflects James Knauer, a teacher at Lock Haven State College in Pennsyl-

vania who is writing a book on Arendt's political philosophy with help from an NEH grant. "She's been called a conservative, she's been called a liberal, she's been called radical, and she's even been called a totalitarian—despite the fact that she wrote a book assailing totalitarianism!"

Most scholars do agree on one thing—that many of Arendt's views were carved out of personal experiences. Says one biographer, Elisabeth Young-Bruehl: "She was able to generalize on the basis of her experience about the conditions of political action and the nature of good judgment."

Arendt was born in East Prussia in 1906, the daughter of prosperous Jews. Her maternal grandparents were Russians by birth and had fled Russian anti-Semitism. When World War I broke out, Arendt's mother bundled her off to Berlin to escape the advancing Russian troops. Throughout her life, Arendt would characterize herself as a pariah, and a loner.

In 1924, Arendt received a bachelor's degree from Königsberg University and a doctorate in philosophy four years later from Heidelberg University, where she studied under such eminent philosophers as Martin Heidegger, Edmund Husserl and Karl Jaspers. Her doctoral dissertation, "St. Augustine's Concept of Love," was written under Jasper's supervision and asked the ethereal question how was it possible to follow the commandment "Love Thy Neighbor" while simultaneously pursuing the Christian vision of the hereafter. Arendt was wrestling with similar philosophical problems until she was thrown headlong into politics by what she later



© Fred Stein, ICP

termed an "outbreak of history": the rise of Adolph Hitler.

She had moved with her first husband in 1931 back to Berlin, where she became aware through Zionist friends of Germany's growing anti-Semitism. They persuaded her in 1933 to undertake a political act—to make excerpts from official anti-Semitic tracts which the Zionists wanted to display as "horror propaganda" to inform other Jews about the extent of prejudice in the country.

At the same time, Arendt agreed to harbor in her apartment several German communists who bitterly opposed the Nazi establishment. For these actions, Arendt was arrested and jailed by the Gestapo. Friendled by a guard, she fled the country to Prague, Geneva, and finally to Paris.

From 1934 to 1940, Arendt was a social worker in Paris, helping to resettle French and German refugees in Palestine. She was shocked—and deeply alienated from philosophy—to learn that her mentor Heidegger was collaborating with the Nazi regime in Germany. Arendt later concluded that "moments of truth" could be found in anecdotes rather than in philosophical debate.

During the 1930s, Arendt also became suspicious of the Jewish establishment, believing that wealthy Jews were doing little to defend the interests of Jews in other nations. A quarter of a century later, Arendt elaborated on her views in a book—*Eichmann in Jerusalem*—that would rock the establishment and turn many in her religion against her.

While in Paris, Arendt was forced and then married to a Trotskyite worker. In the spring of 1940, as Hitler's tanks rumbled toward

Paris, enemy aliens like Arendt were ordered to report to internment camps. During a brief period of administrative chaos, Arendt and her fellow prisoners had a choice: to escape, as Arendt put it, "with nothing but a toothbrush," or to stay and take their chances. Arendt chose to flee. Many of those who stayed behind eventually were shipped to Auschwitz.

In 1941, Arendt arrived in New York, where she became research director of the Conference on Jewish Relations. She began to write political articles urging creation of a joint Arab-Jewish state in Palestine. Developing an acerbic polemical style, Arendt also penned essays on refugee life in which she insulted other émigré writers by saying that they were so busy posturing that they failed to act as a community and neglected the practical aspects of life. (Ever-practical herself, Arendt once maintained that a hot breakfast was the solution to all New York school problems.)

Though Arendt began associating with English and American writers including W.H. Auden, Randall Jarrell and Mary McCarthy, her mind was still haunted by the image of her fellow Jews and other groups slaughtered by Hitler's minions. This brooding produced her first major work, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951), which is still used as a basic text in many universities to explain how Nazism came into existence.

At the heart of the book are the concentration camps, which Arendt viewed as laboratories in which totalitarian rulers could prove that anything is possible. The camps, she believed, were an essential means of establishing total power, by eliminating all freedom and spontaneity. The

rulers could "organize the infinite plurality and differentiation of human beings as if all humanity were just one individual."

One writer noted that the book, "with its almost obsessive inspection and interpretation of data and its dense, occasionally claustrophobic prose, suggests someone employing every intellectual strategy at her command—not to mention every piece of information—to release herself from a nightmare." Arendt herself described the topic as "a crystalized structure which I had to break up into its constituent elements in order to destroy it."

By claiming that Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia essentially shared the same form of government—an analysis contested by many historians and political scientists—Arendt's book provided fuel for the arguments of the Cold War. Arendt spent a year in Europe planning a second book designed to spell out the differences between Nazism and Soviet Marxism, but she was diverted by her apparent disagreements with Karl Marx over the nature of human life to write a more theoretical work, *The Human Condition* (1958).

In this book, she described man not only as a worker but as a unique individual who exercises his freedom and reveals his individual self in action. She said that men are capable of free action, but that this requires a public setting inhabited by equals who are aware of their own freedom. Furthermore, she pointed to the ancient Greek *polis* to argue that the point of politics is exactly to create a public space for such action. In the process, Arendt designed a theory that clashed with both classical liberals, who maintain that politics is designed to protect the private interests of community members, and Marxists, who argue that politics is the inevitable outcome of social interest and conflicts.

Arendt continued to publish articles in a variety of journals ranging from the conservative to the liberal. She objected to the notion of "schools of thought," and commented that "intellectually, non-conformism is the sine qua non of achievement."

Arendt came to be called the "first lady of Jewish letters," but she published another non-conformist work that would make many enemies among the Jewish communities in the United States and Europe.

She was commissioned by *The New Yorker* to cover the Jerusalem trial of Adolph Eichmann, the Nazi official in charge of Jewish deportation. The resulting book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963), put forth a dual thesis: that Eichmann's evil was "banal" because it rose not from sinister depths but from mere thoughtlessness, and that Jewish leadership in Nazi-occupied Europe could have saved many lives by being less acquiescent.

That same year, Arendt completed another book, *On Revolution*, which compared the revolutions in America

and France. The book lavishly praised the American uprising as a "political" revolution that culminated in a republican form of government, while it panned the "social" revolution of the French. Socialist author Michael Harrington was so befuddled that Arendt could espouse apparently contradictory radical and conservative views that he concluded there must be "two Arendts."

During the 1960s and early 1970s, Arendt developed a new following among members of the New Left with essays assailing administration policies on Vietnam and Watergate. "It is," she remarked of the latter, "as though a bunch of con men, rather untalented mafiosi, had succeeded in appropriating to themselves the government of the mightiest power on earth." Yet when Arendt was asked to locate herself on the political spectrum, she replied "I am nowhere. I am really not in the mainstream of the present or any other political thought. But not because I want to be so original—it so happens that I somehow don't fit."

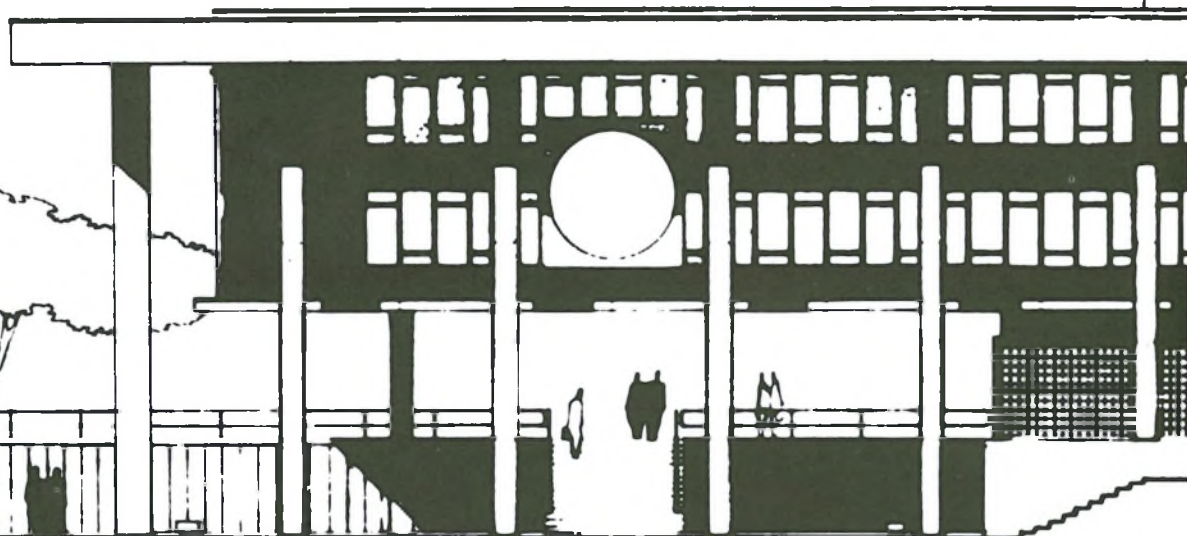
Though British philosopher Sir Isaiah Berlin dismissed Arendt's writings as "metaphysical free association," and called her the "most over-rated" writer of the century, the crowded auditorium at the 1981 New York University conference suggests that Arendt's writings are more important than ever for hundreds of scholars. The University of London's Bernard Crick noted that it might take "five years" simply to summarize her work. Empire State College's Reuben Garner, who organized the conference with funding from the New York Council for the Humanities, adds that "Her contributions to philosophy, to political thought, to history and to ethics were no mere kicking in the gallows."

One conference participant, James Knauer, is exploring a new interpretation of the political philosophy of Arendt, whom he calls "an absolutely major and seminal thinker." Knauer argues that although Arendt frequently attacked Karl Marx, the two had more in common in their views of man's place in society than Arendt was willing to acknowledge. Knauer also contends that in her writings, particularly in *The Human Condition*, Arendt produced the theoretical underpinnings of modern participatory democracy.

"Arendt believed that the essence of humanity is the ability of people to live together," says Knauer. "She believed we emerge from the natural or animal world through our ability to associate as political animals." Knauer concedes, however, that he's "not necessarily seeking the true Arendt, but the truest Arendt—she's sufficiently enigmatic that she's a challenge."

—Francis J. O'Donnell

"Hannah Arendt on Politics: Toward a Radical Theory of Democratic Praxis" / James T. Knauer/Lock Haven State College, PA/\$2,700/1983/Summer Stipends



Americans associate the name of the Bauhaus with a ubiquitous and easily recognizable style in buildings, furniture and graphics. But the Bauhaus was much more than a style epitomized by pure geometric shapes and bold, clean design. It was a movement that sought to change society as it went about reshaping the built environment and the look of everyday objects. The Bauhaus' founder, architect Walter Gropius, wanted nothing less than to build a new social structure for Germany.

Born in a surge of idealism that mirrored the spirit of the early Weimar Republic, the Bauhaus rose like a phoenix from the ashes of a defeated Germany. The Bauhaus (literally "house of building") was both school and workshop. For its students, who came to Weimar to work beside master craftsmen and artists, the Bauhaus seemed a utopian community of creativity. The Bauhaus masters included architects Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe; painters Lyonel Feininger, Wassily Kandinsky, Josef Albers and Paul Klee; and designers Laszlo Maholy-Nagy and Herbert Bayer. Marcel Breuer came to the Bauhaus as an eighteen-year-old student and produced his first tubular steel-framed chair at twenty-two, after observing the handlebars on his bicycle and wondering whether the same technology might also shape a chair.

For a phoenix, the early Bauhaus was a shabby bird. With a subsidy from the state of Thuringia too meager to cover supplies, the school opened in a building formerly occupied by the Academy of Fine Arts in Weimar. Students, many in threadbare or makeshift clothing, scrounged through trash piles to find materials for the handicrafts Gropius believed essential to an artist's training. For some, food from the Bauhaus vegetable garden constituted the only meal of the day.

Such activity lent a "gemutlich" air to the Bauhaus. But this was in keeping with its tenets that the artist was not only designer but fabricator, and that creativity meant knowing the materials one worked with.

"The ultimate aim of all visual arts is the complete building," Gropius wrote in the Bauhaus' recruitment brochure, which was illustrated with

Supers the

Feininger's inspirational woodcut, "The Cathedral of Socialism." The ideal "complete building" should fulfill a series of objectives. These were outlined by le Corbusier in *Vers une architecture* (1922), and they became the hallmarks of the Bauhaus and what eventually came to be known as International Style. The design of a building should use modern techniques of mass production; it should suit the needs of urban culture—particularly mass housing; and it should express in visual form the dynamism of modern life. This "new spirit" represented a conscious challenge to the nineteenth-century cultivation of naturalism, historicity, individualism and sentimentality.

Buildings in the Bauhaus tradition are characteristically constructed of steel, or steel-reinforced concrete, and sheathed in a "skin" of glass, brick or concrete. The crisply outlined geometric forms are undecorated, and the lavish use of glass creates blocks of open, light-filled space. Quintessential examples include Mies' Seagram Building in New York and the Lake Shore Drive Towers in Chicago, and Gropius' Harvard Graduate Center in Cambridge. All are buildings ingrained in the American consciousness, but though the architecture of the Bauhaus has become so familiar in this country, little is known about the origins of the Bauhaus in the social and political ferment of post-World War I Germany.

The philosophical constructs of the Bauhaus and their parallels in the rise and fall of the Weimar Republic have recently been researched by Judith Pearlman, a New York television and film producer. With NEH support, she is filming the story of the Bauhaus in the years between the end of the war in 1918 and the rise of Hitler in 1933. The film is in two parts: a two-hour drama focusing on events in Germany, and a half-hour documentary exploring the influence of the Bauhauslers who came to America as refugees from the Nazis.

The documentary is being completed here, and the drama will be shot this winter in East Germany at the sites of the restored Bauhaus compounds in Weimar and Dessau. In Berlin, where the Bauhaus was lodged in an abandoned telephone

company building, now destroyed, buildings of similar appearance are available for the film. Pearlman expects that editing of the two films will be finished by October, 1984, and that they will be shown on television during the 1984-85 season.

She has already cast some of the major roles, using East German actors who speak English—the sound track will be natural rather than dubbed. "It is surprising how many good actors we have to choose from," Pearlman says. "The actor who will play Gropius looks like Gropius, and we found someone who looks like graphic designer Herbert Bayer and even plays the guitar, as Bayer did."

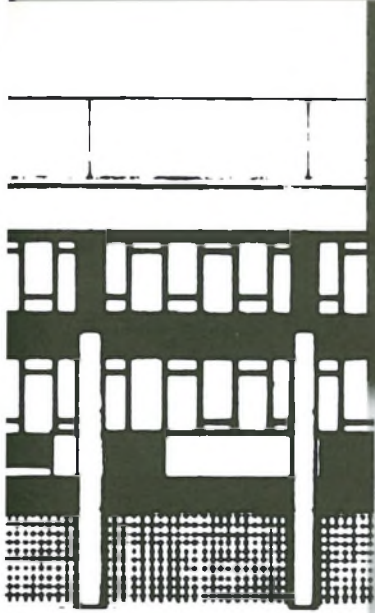
The film will use black and white photos and newsreels for background and historical context. Paintings, sketches, murals and furnishings created at the Bauhaus between 1919 and 1933 will set an authentic scene. A recreation of Oskar Schlemmer's "Triadic Ballet," first produced at the Bauhaus, will also be part of the film. And animated drawings in rapid montage will illustrate the school's revolutionary teaching methods.

Gropius' dictum, "to start from zero," meant that novice artists had to learn to see the world around them in terms of basic shapes and colors. Only then, after a first course in vision and design, could they study simple structures (in which forms are joined) and go beyond that to study the relationships of forms in space. Implicit as well in "starting from zero," was the desire to wipe clean the slate of history. Bauhaus students believed the school was forging a model for the future, participating in the creation of a more perfect world.

It was not always easy, however, to resolve such questions as: did it violate the purity of art to design products to be manufactured and sold for



© Yousuf Karsh, ICP exhibit 1983



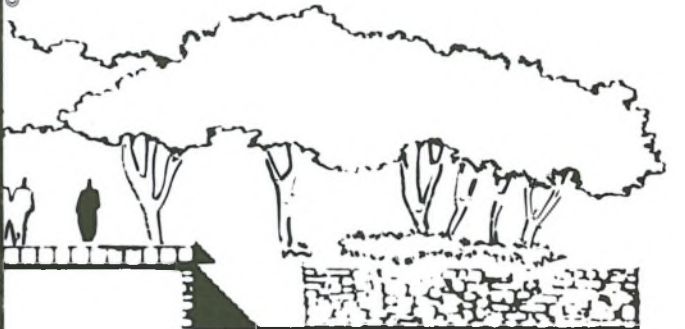
ion Drawing), The Architects Collaborative



The Museum of Modern Art



© Philippe Halsman, ICP exhibit 1979



Mies van der Rohe



© Yousuf Karsh, ICP exhibit 1983

Walter Gropius

profits that might keep the school open? Was it morally right for an architect or designer to contract for the sale of work done at the Bauhaus? When one design was chosen over another, should the losing artist hide his pique because the Bauhaus was a collaborative effort? Can artists be aloof from politics?

According to Pearlman, the Bauhaus story of creation and decline is characteristic of all utopias; people are simply not as noble as their ideals. Many of the school's founders left the Bauhaus even before the Nazi seizure of power, finding they could not work in an environment where collaboration was valued more than the work of the individual artist. The political cataclysm in Germany also affected the school. The Right—particularly the National People's Party (later the National Socialists), perceived the Bauhaus as communist-infiltrated, if not outright communist in ideology (Hannes Meyer, Gropius' successor as director, considered himself a scientific Marxist, but also made the school financially solvent through contracts for sales of Bauhaus designs); and as a shelter for foreigners (Kandinsky was Russian) and Jews (Maholy-Nagy).

Technically, the Nazis didn't close the Bauhaus; the faculty resigned. But by 1933 the school was a shell, having been forced by the Nazis to move from Weimar to Dessau to Berlin, and shattered by personal and political polarization within. The Bauhaus style was transplanted to the United States with the exodus of the most eminent of the school's architects and artists.

Even before the Bauhauslers

arrived here in the mid-1930s, their work and ideas were hailed by the *avant garde* as the wave of the future. In 1932, the Museum of Modern Art mounted a comprehensive exhibition, "The International Style," which created a sensation. The catalog, written by Philip Johnson and Henry Russell Hitchcock, was avidly read long after the show had closed. Brown University art historian William Jordy, in an essay on the Bauhaus in America, notes that the two authors of *The International Style* did not sufficiently explore "the deeper social, psychic, cultural and symbolic aspects of the movement, which had given it urgency during the twenties." Jordy writes that Gropius, preparing to teach at Harvard, asserted that he did not mean to teach "style" but a "method."

A host of books on modernism appeared in the 1930s, including Gropius' *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus* (1935). Sigfried Giedeon's *Space, Time and Architecture* (1941), an elaboration of his Charles Eliot Norton lectures at Harvard, is still in print after five versions. Jordy calls it "the most spectacularly influential among all the German-influenced books which are important for American understanding of modern architecture." The book was designed by Herbert Bayer, whose American career with various corporations and advertising agencies helped revolutionize graphic design here.

Gropius and, for a time, Breuer, taught at Harvard, where they attracted some of the brightest stars of modern architecture—Europeans particularly—who came to Cambridge as visiting faculty and guest lectur-

ers. At Harvard, Gropius introduced the basic instruction in elemental shapes, structure and spatial relationships that had been the foundation of Bauhaus teaching.

Mies van der Rohe taught at the Illinois Institute of Technology. The son of a stone mason, Mies himself had never attended either architectural or engineering school. His early training had been with his father on the job. Later, he was apprenticed to an architect. Mies required his students to do rigorously detailed drawing exercises along with their training in elemental vision. While Gropius thrived on the collaborative effort and the clash of differing views, Mies was a meticulous planner who believed that buildings were not "designed" but "developed."

Moholy-Nagy tried to transplant the Bauhaus to Chicago, opening the New Bauhaus there in 1937, but he was heavily burdened by the constant need to seek support and died in 1946 at the age of 51. The school survived as the Institute of Design, later merging with the Illinois Institute of Technology. In 1928, Moholy-Nagy's first book, *The New Vision* had brought the basic visual concepts of the Bauhaus to Americans. Later, drawing on his American experiences, he wrote *Vision in Motion* (1941).

Josef Albers also tried to start a Bauhaus in America. At Black Mountain College in Georgia he formed a community of artists who lived and worked together in an abandoned resort. Gropius and Breuer even

designed a building for the school. But the isolated rural setting was vastly different from the cosmopolitan Bauhaus, and Albers eventually went to Yale. Through teaching, all of these Bauhauslers trained an entire generation of architects, artists and designers, many of whom are now teaching a new generation.

For a school whose life-span was fourteen years, and in which no more than 1,250 students enrolled, the Bauhaus has had an influence all out of proportion to its numbers.

The Bauhaus has been criticized for bequeathing to America a legacy of sterile architecture—upright boxes and glass slabs; apartment houses that resemble factories, whose occupants have neither privacy nor a sense of community. The Bauhaus buildings in Germany are smaller in scale. None is more than a few stories high. (In Europe, the cost of a steel structure was prohibitive.) The glass towers Mies designed in this country were made possible by the technology that was so admired—and emulated—by Europeans.

Mies' buildings, although they have been imitated here and around the world (too often clumsily) remain triumphant monuments to the achievement of the Bauhaus spirit.

—Anita Mintz

"The Bauhaus in Weimar"/Judith Pearlman/Film Fund, NYC/\$53,250/1980–82/"The Bauhaus in Weimar, 1919–1933"/ClioFilm, NYC/\$500,000/Humanities Projects in Media

Josef Albers

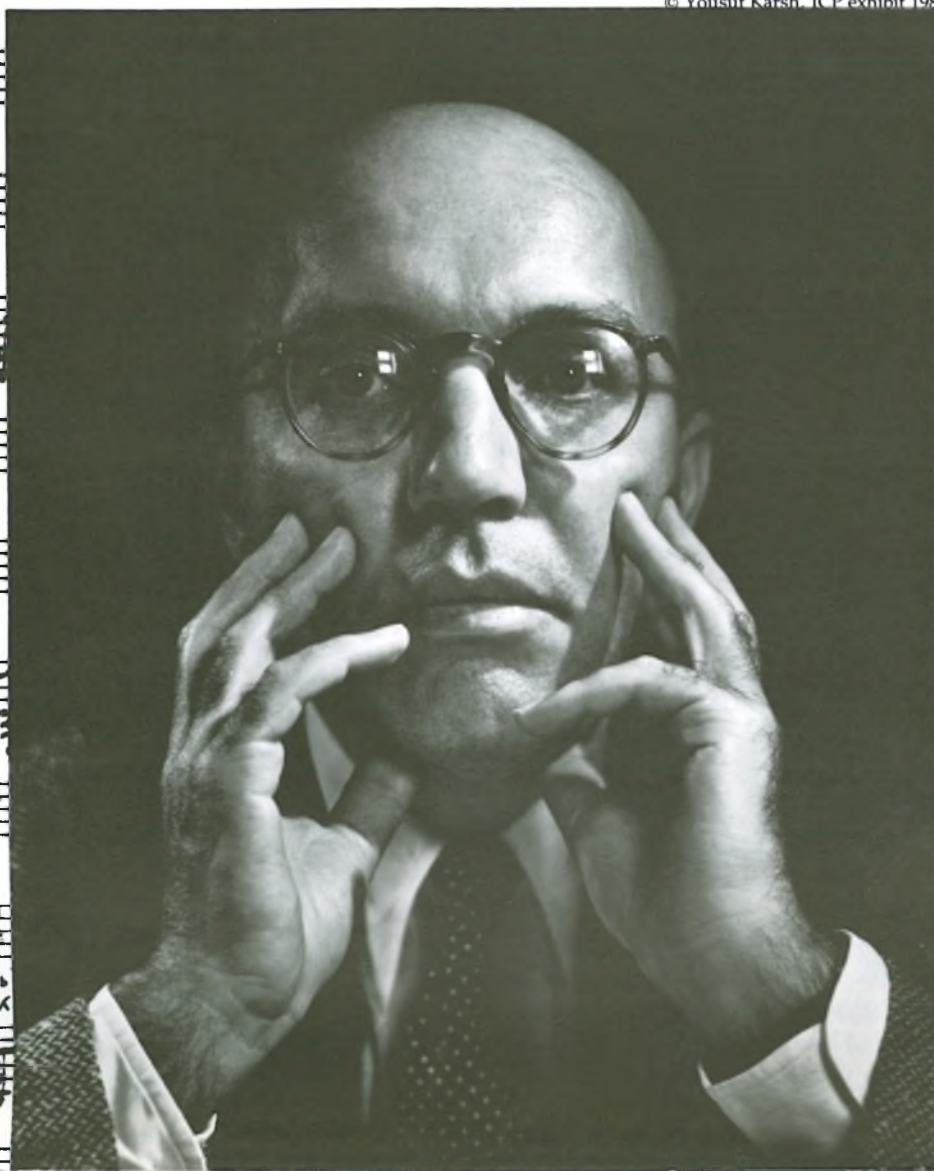
Ein kleine
Weihnachten 1939

Nanna's Lied

Chor-Buch

Leone Weiss

© Yousuf Karsh, ICP exhibit 1983



KURT WEILL

An *Opera News* survey conducted during the 1979-80 season reported that the number of works by Kurt Weill performed in American opera houses during that year surpassed those of any other composer. Further there has been a burgeoning of Weill scholarship, as journalists, musicologists, and critics have begun to reassess Weill's contribution to American musical culture.

This resurgence of interest in the work of the German-American composer can partly be attributed to his most famous interpreter, his widow, actress Lotte Lenya. Weill scholar Kim Kowalke, president of the Kurt Weill Foundation, says that Lenya "singlehandedly carried the torch" for Weill's music for thirty years after his death. She became the chief proponent of her husband's works amid the Kurt Weill revival in the 1950s when she was starring in the wildly successful revival of *The Threepenny*

Opera, which ran in New York for seven years.

Born Karoline Blamauer in Vienna in 1898, Lenya was the daughter of a coachman and a laundress. She met Weill through director George Kaiser when both were visiting Kaiser's summer villa. Lenya was asked to meet Weill on his arrival and row him across the lake to the villa. It was this meeting, according to biographers, that made a profound impression on the composer. The fact that Lenya was not a trained singer, but an actress who could not read music, fit in with Weill's desire to flout operatic convention.

Lenya was not only the leading figure in reviving the performance of Weill's work in the fifties, she recently became important in reviving scholarly interest in the composer. In 1979, Kowalke, after consulting with Lenya and learning of the wealth of material that she held

in a private vault for safe-keeping, urged her to consider selling or donating Weill's documents to an institution that could both care for them properly and make them available to the public for research. Having maintained his ties with Yale University, Kowalke was able to work out an arrangement whereby Lenya would deposit the collection, which contains autograph scores of the American works, as well as those of the unpublished European works; and sketches, correspondence, and photographs, in the Yale Music Library. This she did in 1980. Every year thereafter, she agreed to make a donation of several works, and upon her death to bequeath the entire collection to the University.

Thus, with Lenya's death in 1981, a wealth of materials covering Weill's entire career became available to Weill scholars and enthusiasts. According to Yale's Music Librarian

Harold Samuel, the Weill-Lenya Archive, as it is called, brings together for the first time all of Weill's papers. Although Weill's published European scores remain the property of Universal Verlag, the Viennese publisher has made excellent photocopies available for inclusion in the Yale archives.

Under a grant from the NEH, Yale has begun the archival processing of these materials, a task projected to take two years to complete. Begun in April of this year, the work will include the compilation of a formal Register for the archives; the conservation of deteriorating items; the filming of musical manuscripts; and the establishment of a reference file of photographs, culled from more than 2,000 in Lenya's collection.

To celebrate the opening of the Weill-Lenya Archive, the Yale Music Library sponsored a Weill conference November 2-5, 1983. Thirty-five scholars and acquaintances of Weill and Lenya from all over the world presented papers and contributed personal glimpses of the artists as they knew them. Among the works performed during the four-day gathering were Weill's *Cello Sonata*, *Violin Concerto*, *Second Symphony*, the *Suite from the Threepenny Opera*, the song cycle *Der Frauentanz*, and the opera *Der Jasager*.

According to Kowalke, a unique aspect of the conference is the fact that many Weill scholars who knew of each other and had read each other's work met for the first time. David Drew was the keynote speaker; besides Drew and Kowalke himself, most of the other participants had never seen any of the materials in the Yale collection. So, in addition to being a meeting of the minds, it was an occasion for the scholars to have their first look at this wealth of source material.

Musical scholarship has begun to revise its evaluation of Kurt Weill. As a result of the productions and research which have taken place over the past ten years, Kowalke says, "open-minded people are beginning to see that Weill's works are not period pieces, but exciting works of art in and of themselves." The 1978 production of *Street Scene* by the New York City Opera, for example, led critic Andrew Porter to remark:

In much the same way that Handel can be claimed as Britain's greatest opera composer, Kurt Weill might be claimed as America's: a master musician, master musical dramatist, and large soul who found song for the people of his adopted country, learned its idioms, joined them to his own, and composed music of international importance."

The availability of Weill's papers will enable the world to get a clearer picture of the man whose career defined him in so many different ways, for the identity of the real Kurt Weill remains something of an enigma. Born the son of a cantor in the German town of Dessau in 1900, Weill

received his earliest musical training from the composer Englebert Humperdinck, a student of Richard Wagner. Dessau had a rich musical life, centered on a Wagnerian operatic tradition, and Weill's earliest compositions, including a string quartet, a cello sonata, an oratorio, and two one-act operas, clearly show the influence of nineteenth-century German romanticism.

Yet this is the same man who, at his death in the United States in 1950, was best known by Americans for his contributions to American musical theater: notably the haunting "September Song" from *Knickerbocker Holiday* (1938), the American folk opera *Down in the Valley* (1948), and his final effort, *Lost in the Stars*, an adaptation of Alan Paton's novel, *Cry, the Beloved Country*. Few on this side of the Atlantic understood or even knew of the revolutionary work which had made his reputation in Europe, *Die Dreigroschenoper*, or *The Pimp Opera*.

It is one of the great ironies of Weill's life that this work, which created such a sensation when it was premiered in Germany in 1928, and so aroused the Nazi authorities that they banned it from performance in 1933, was a dismal failure when it opened on Broadway that same year. The discrepancy in its reception is symbolic of the many misunderstandings that have surrounded Weill's life and work.

One of the reasons that Weill has been so little understood is that his career, which spanned two continents and a wide variety of musical forms, was divided in half by political and cultural events. As Kim Kowalke explains, "There was a dichotomy between two Weills. At his death in 1950, he was unknown

in America for his European works, which Hitler had banned during the Nazi era. And he was unknown in Europe for his American works. He had two separate careers which didn't overlap."

Weill dissociated himself from his past upon his arrival in America in 1935. He felt in an awkward position: he was well known in Europe for works that were no longer allowed to be performed; his major European success had been a failure in the New World; and the collaborative relationship with Bertolt Brecht, with which most of his earlier successes had been associated, had come to an end. Weill wanted to "carve out a new identity for himself" in the United States, says Kowalke, and "resisted attempts to revive his German works." In assimilating himself into American society, he contributed to his own obscurity.

Because the majority of the works Weill wrote after his arrival in America lay within the realm of musical theater, Kowalke says, American critics and musicologists have hesitated to regard him as a "serious composer." Kowalke describes the reaction he himself received from a panel of thesis advisers at Yale in 1973 when he proposed Weill as a dissertation topic. "One distinguished musicologist on the panel laughed and said, 'I like 'September Song' too, but I wouldn't write a thesis on it.'"

This condescending attitude toward Weill's American works has been echoed by European critics as well. Weill biographer Ronald Sanders quotes the German critic H.H. Stuckenschmidt, who knew Weill in Berlin: "Weill had decided to write 'commercial' music. His songs had lost their poisonous bite. Neither *Lady in the Dark*, a psychoanalytical play

with operetta interludes, nor *One Touch of Venus*, not the American opera *Street Scene* nor the American folk opera *Down in the Valley*, written for students, has the sharp attack of the works written with Brecht . . . Success was dearly bought by loss of quality."

Another of the aspects of Weill's art that has made him hard to categorize is his penchant, as Kowalke says, for "writing popular music for serious things and serious music for popular things." Thus, *Die Dreigroschenoper*, which purports to be an opera, is filled with popular tunes expressive of the cabaret culture of post-World War I Berlin, which turn operatic conventions upside down just as Bertolt Brecht's libretto flouts the conventions of the middle class. But the musical drama *Lost in the Stars*, which opened on Broadway in 1949, features the musico-dramatic convention of a Greek chorus.

Weill's chameleon-like ability to assimilate popular musical idioms into the fabric of his work has also drawn contempt from critics. "From the standpoint of national identity alone," writes Sanders, "there have been not only a German and an American Weill, but also briefly a French one (he lived outside Paris from 1933 to 1935) and even more briefly an English one (he did a London show in the summer of 1935); and in each case he managed to write some music that sounds typical of the host country." This same phenomenon caused Harold Clurman to remark, "If he had landed among the Hottentots, he would have become the outstanding Hottentot composer of the Hottentot theater."

Kowalke admits that this trait of Weill's has led many to regard him as less than original. But he feels that

this facility served what Weill saw as the most important function of music: its ability to communicate with its audience. Weill's upbringing led him to disdain the aristocratic pretensions of nineteenth-century operatic and concert performances, and to seek the creation of *Zeitoper*—"opera for the times"—which would reach the common people. One way to achieve communication with audiences was to deal in themes they could understand; another way was to speak to them in the musical language with which they were familiar. "Weill knew his audiences and what musical styles they would accept very well. He also knew that in the theater, immediate impact was essential," explains Kowalke.

The "dean" of Weill scholars, David Drew, who has been involved in the study of Weill's life and works since 1958, puts it even more strongly. "The appalling chasm which divides our contemporary culture into two, and unfortunately necessitates the use of such terms as 'highbrow' and 'lowbrow,' is something which should never cease to concern the serious artist—the example of Weill should be a continual inspiration, for he is the only composer to have bridged the cultural chasm since the heyday of late-nineteenth-century Italian opera—a period which Weill much admired."

What seems essential now is an examination of Weill the composer in the context of his entire career, an examination that the Weill-Lenya archive will make possible.

—Elizabeth Heston Farmer

"Processing The Archives of Kurt Weill/ Harold E. Samuel/Yale University, New Haven, CT/\$47,934/1983-84/Research Resources

The autograph manuscript "Nana's Lied," (opposite page) from the collection of the Yale Music Library clearly shows the names of Kurt Weill and Bert Brecht and the date, 1939. Actress Lotte Lenya, Weill's widow, was the foremost interpreter of his work and is largely responsible for the resurgence of interest in Weill's music. She bequeathed her entire collection of Weill source material to the Yale Music Library upon her death in 1981.



© Lotte Jacobi, ICP Permanent Collection

Germans in the Making of America



Presidential Commission for the German-American Tricentennial



The tricentennial of the founding of Germantown, now part of Philadelphia, by Rhenish Mennonites in 1683, is being celebrated with a commemorative postage stamp, symposia, cultural exchanges, and a variety of other activities. This celebration of the first German group settlement in North America and the response to a census question, asked for the first time in 1980, have coincided to suggest, in a manner startling to those who seek to understand the cultural evolution of the United States, the extent of German influence in our country.

Coincident with this celebration is a recent announcement by the Bureau of the Census that persons wholly or partially of German national ancestry account for over one-quarter of the total population of the United States. If Africans, Asians, and Native Americans are removed from the total, Germans form nearly one-third of the remaining white, largely European group. Some 49,225,000 persons claimed German ancestry, including 17,944,000 who listed themselves as purely Teutonic and 31,281,000 who were partially German. Moreover, many Americans who reported Swiss, Austrian, or "Dutch" ancestry are probably descended from ethnic Germans. If we add the Austrian and 70 percent of the Swiss figures, the total reaches almost 51,000,000, more than 27 percent of those responding. Persons of German ethnic ancestry are, by this enlarged count, more numerous than any other group.

Perhaps these figures should not surprise us. After all, the German influx began in early colonial times, and since 1820, when accurate immigration statistics began to be compiled, Germans have constituted, by far,

the largest group entering America—a total of more than 7,000,000 in the period 1820–1980.

What do these millions mean, and how much importance should we attach to the current tricentennial? I suggest that our country—culturally, socially, and ideologically—bears a much deeper Teutonic imprint than previously has been recognized. We must begin to reinterpret our national character in view of the magnitude and length of the German presence.

Individual Germans were among the very early American settlers, long before the founding of Germantown. New Netherland had Germans in its population as early as the 1630s, and ethnic Germans were among the settlers of New Sweden in the Delaware Valley a decade later. One of the latter, a Holsteiner named Peter Jochim, founded a prolific family who, using Yokum, Yoakum, Yocum and other variant spellings, ultimately spread across much of America and even into our comic strips.

Indeed, the Germantown colony hardly deserves all the current attention. Its founding marked neither the first immigration of Germans to America, nor the beginning of a major influx. Not until a quarter-century later, about 1710, did the flood tide begin, a mass migration that continued through the remainder of the colonial period.

Southeastern Pennsylvania became the single most important goal of colonial Germans. Even as late as 1790, that state was home to over half of the total population of German surnamed persons. A third of Pennsylvania's inhabitants were German at the time of the first federal census. Their English neighbors quickly corrupted the word *Deutsch* into "Dutch," providing the popular term "Penn-

sylvania Dutch" that still enjoys widespread usage. Other colonial Germans settled parts of upstate New York, particularly New Paltz and the Mohawk Valley. The classic American novel, *Drums Along the Mohawk*, is set in a German region. By 1790, more than 8 percent of New York's population was German.

While colonial New England received few Germans, the South attracted many colonies. The Great Valley of the Appalachians in interior Maryland, the back country of Virginia; New Bern and the Piedmont of North Carolina, the hinterland of Savannah in Georgia, and several interior districts of South Carolina, particularly around Orangeburg, were all settled by German-speaking immigrants before 1790. At the first federal census, Maryland's population was 12 percent German, Georgia's 8 percent, Virginia's 6 percent, and the Carolinas' both 5 percent. Some rural portions of the South Carolina back country remain dominantly Lutheran to the present day.

Often the surnames of colonial immigrants became corrupted or Anglicized, partially concealing the magnitude of the German element. Some common and illustrative changes are Schmidt into Smith, Bernhardt into Barnhart, Werner into Varner, Merkel into Miracle, Bach into Baugh, and Wagner into Waggoner.

By 1790, as a result of the colonial immigration, some 277,000 Germans lived in the United States, about one in every eleven whites. After the Revolution, the Teutonization of America accelerated, initially as a result of the rapid proliferation and diffusion of the Pennsylvania Dutch. From their colonial stronghold at the northern end of the Great Valley,

a natural route to the interior, they spilled southwestward into Maryland, where Frederick became a largely German town and into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Even as far south as the Valley of East Tennessee, Lutheran parishes were established.

From the Great Valley, Germans spilled through mountain gaps to occupy parts of the Carolina Piedmont and the Bluegrass Country of Kentucky. Others, rejecting the Great Valley route, migrated in heavy Conestoga wagons across the Appalachians and entered the Ohio Valley. Much of the lower Midwest received substantial numbers of Pennsylvania Dutch by 1840, and a sprinkling dispersed even as far as Texas. As they moved west, acculturation accelerated, intermarriage became common, and German identity faded.

In great part, though, the development of the German element in the first half of the nineteenth century was accomplished by continued immigration. This movement had never really stopped, and the British introduction of Hessian soldiers in the Revolution permitted the influx to continue even during wartime. The 1820s witnessed the beginning of the largest German immigration yet, a movement that peaked in the 1850s. Ohio, particularly Cincinnati and its hinterland; central and eastern Missouri; a swath across Illinois from Chicago to St. Louis; and southern Wisconsin became principal new German settlement areas, with a lesser concentration in central Texas.

Following the Civil War, the number of German-speaking immigrants once again surged upward, and the period 1865–1895 witnessed the largest influx ever. Germans were well represented in the rush into the last

BIBLIA,
Das ist:
Die
Heilige Schrift
Altes und Neues
Testaments,
Nach der Deutschen Uebersetzung
N. Martin Luthers,
Mit jedes Capitels kurzen Summarien, auch
begefügten vielen und richtigen Parallelen;
Nebst einem Anhang
Des dritten und vierten Buchs Esra und des
dritten Buchs der Maccabäer.
Germantown:
Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1743.



National Portrait Gallery



Heinz Moos Publishing, Baltimore

The Concord stamp (facing page, left) was issued by the Postmaster General to commemorate the German-American Tricentennial. (left to right) An early Pennsylvania Dutch painting depicts George Washington. The title page of the first Bible published in the colonies, 1743. Babe Ruth, the immortal Sultan of Swat. Manhattan, prophetically envisioned in 1881 by the German-born caricaturist, Thomas Nast, 1881.

desirable unsettled lands of North America, particularly the Great Plains, but the primary goal of postbellum immigrants lay in the manufacturing regions. Virtually every growing industrial city in the Northeast and Midwest developed a German ethnic neighborhood, and some southern cities, particularly New Orleans and Galveston, also became partially Germanized. Even the population of a provincial city as remote as San Antonio was close to one-third German by 1880. Rural German settlement during this period was directed mainly to Kansas, Nebraska, southern and central Minnesota, and the eastern Dakotas.

In contrast to the earlier immigration, the late nineteenth-century influx drew heavily upon the Prussian provinces of eastern Germany and upon the German ethnic communities in Russia. The unification and rapid industrialization of Germany, accompanied by Bismark's blistering denunciation of those who "discarded their Fatherland like an old coat," did not staunch the emigration.

Twentieth-century German emigrants were drawn largely from the cities and professional classes rather than the peasantry, which had dominated the earlier periods. The disruptions caused by the two world wars and, particularly, the expulsion of many millions of Germans from eastern provinces after 1945, provided huge numbers of emigrants, and the United States continued to receive a large share.

Altogether, the several periods of immigration brought America a highly varied human cargo: peasants and professors, laborers and scientists, missionaries and criminals. The Germans, as was true of most groups coming to America, had

"undesirables" among them. For example, citizens of one village in northern Germany recently published a local history, tracing the community from the earliest recorded times to the present day. Reference is made to a certain family named D—that was notorious for committing a wide variety of crimes in the village toward the middle of the nineteenth century. Out of desperation, the local peasantry, the landlord, and the church pooled funds and sent the entire family to America in 1856, an accomplishment duly listed in the table at the end of the book summarizing the most important village events of the past thousand years. John Dillinger, too, was German-American.

So massive an immigration, continuing over so long a period and directed to most parts of the country is bound to have exerted great influence, and so it did. Virtually ignored, however, in the great majority of existing studies of German-Americans is an assessment of the contributions of the common folk. The emphasis has been on the elite, those famous Americans of German birth or ancestry. The military exploits of von Steuben, Eisenhower, Nimitz, Pershing, and Custer are well known, as are the political and intellectual achievements of Carl Schurz and his fellow "Forty-Eighters." The accomplishments of Einstein and other scientists have received due attention, as have the craftsmanship and industrial exploits of the Kaisers, Coorses, Studebakers, and Steinways. We are even reminded that many great athletes such as Babe Ruth, Honus Wagner, and Harry Stuhldreher were German-Americans. It is natural and expected that minority peoples should seek out and admire

their ethnic heroes. Yet the relative handful of famous German-Americans has been far less consequential in the shaping of America than have the anonymous common folk.

An appropriate place to begin a search for this vernacular imprint is in the rural culture that dominated the preindustrial United States. The German folk of colonial America were the contributors of such vital material elements of pioneer and rural culture as the long (or "Kentucky") rifle, the covered wagon, the "Franklin" stove, and the distinctive "Pennsylvania" barn, distinguished by a projecting, cantilevered upper level. It is not by chance that the Alamo museum in San Antonio, where some of the weapons used by the defenders of 1836 are preserved, contains a long rifle of Pennsylvania German manufacture. German folk-carpenters contributed heavily to the evolution of the American log cabin, drawing upon their experience in Switzerland, the Black Forest, and eastern Germany.

On a broader scale, German farmers played a major role in shaping the livestock-feeding and grain-raising systems that ultimately produced our "Corn Belt and "Wheat Belt" agriculture. Colonial southeastern Pennsylvania was the probable nucleus of these two farming systems, and later immigration of Germans and Russian Germans to the Midwest and Great Plains strengthened the tradition. That we are a nation partial to beef and pork, rather than being mutton-eating Britishers, owes much to these early Teutonic farmers. Similarly, our favored alcoholic beverage is a German-type light beer, not English stout or ale or Celtic whiskey. Our German-like fondness for cattle-derived dairy prod-

ucts and the presence of an expansive "Dairy Belt" across the northern tier of states places us in company with the Teutonic barbarians "with butter-smeared beards" described two millennia ago by the Roman Tacitus. Our favorite cheeses include such German generic types as Swiss and Muenster.

We also find deep German roots beneath that most thoroughly American of institutions: the middle-class, family-owned-and-operated farm. The English-African coastal South would have given us the plantation and feudal slavery as a national model; the Scotch-Irish of the Appalachians offered only Celtic subsistence hill farming and herding, supplemented by hunting and gathering; and the Puritans of New England had little success cultivating their cold and stony soil, eventually resorting to that certain sign of bad land and poverty—sheep raising—or leaving the land to go to sea or tinker with machines in the towns. So the heavily Germanized Middle Colonies, especially Pennsylvania, had the task of shaping the agriculture of the vast American heartland. The American family farm, the cornerstone of Jeffersonian democracy, was in no small part the result of a juxtaposition of agriculturally skilled, land-hungry Teutonic immigrants of the colonial era and a fertile, abundant, temperate, and largely empty land on which their central European crops and stock thrived.

The religious contribution of the Germans in America has been much less than their numbers would suggest. Moreover, some popular misconceptions exist concerning the denominational makeup of the German-Americans. The overwhelming majority of Germans, even within

Pennsylvania, are not Mennonite or Amish. Germany is roughly evenly divided among Catholics and Protestants, but America drew disproportionately from the latter. Colonial Germans were largely Lutheran and Reformed; in the 1780–1860 immigration Lutherans continued to prevail, though German Catholics and Jews participated to a much greater extent than previously. The largest wave of Mennonites accompanied the post-Civil War immigration, forming part of the Russian-German group of settlers.

The German-based Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian churches adapted slowly and ineffectually to frontier democracy, failing to win substantial numbers of converts. Indeed, they lost ground almost from the first to British dissenter Protestant groups that were ideally suited ideologically and logistically to serve the American back country. One result was a large German Methodist church in the United States. The Mennonites, Amish, Dunkers, Schwenkfelders, and German Jews never actively sought converts, remaining ethnic denominations by choice, while German Catholicism, heavily represented in the nineteenth-century immigration, never had a chance for notable expansion in a Protestant-dominated society. Today the three largest Lutheran bodies in the United States, each dominantly German, claim a total of fewer than eight million members. It is clear that the majority of those claiming German ancestry no longer belong to the churches of their immigrant forefathers.

Linguistic data, too, would lead one to dismiss German cultural influence in America as minimal. While the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect still survives after a third of a millennium,

and other German-based patois are heard here and there, the mother tongue has fared poorly. Indeed, Yiddish is probably the most viable form of German speech in America today. In the process of abandoning their ancestral tongue, the Germans did implant some words and idioms in American English, such as “gobble up” (from *Gable*, “fork”), “nix” (Yiddish “nothing”), “kindergarten,” “smear-cheese” (from *Schmierkaes*, “cottage cheese”), “hamburger,” and possibly “O.K.” (written by a prominent German-American businessman as approving initials on requests), and “blizzard” (from *blitzartig*, “lightning-like”). Even the standard or “Midwestern” form of American English may owe many of its differences from British English to German influence.

A search for a German political imprint on America yields greater results. True, Eisenhower was the only President of proven German surname, though some genealogists

believe the Lincoln family is derived from the Pennsylvania Dutch Link-horns. George Bush could double the total in the future, but, again, prominent personalities provide a poor index of influence at the grass-roots level. Also misleading is the emphasis traditionally placed on German liberalism in America, particularly that linked to refugees from the abortive 1848 revolutions. German America, politically, is not Carl Schurz and his kind, not progressives, populists, and abolitionists. Nor is German America correctly characterized by the liberal utopianism of the Harmonites and similar groups.

Instead, the German gift to America is rock-ribbed conservatism, quintessential Republicanism. Our German element grew largely from a solidly conservative peasantry, driven by necessity and frustrated ambition to emigration. In the face of freedom, success, and landownership, it became even more conservative. German immigration has a lot to do with the

fact that ours is a basically conservative society. Why did populism fail and the New Deal fade? At least part of the answer lies, I believe, in our Teutonic conservatism.

Evidence of the German influence in the making of America can be found in many other facets of our society and culture, in everything from our university system, based on a German rather than English prototype, to the Swiss yodel in country music.

The census revelation will lead some, in this tricentennial year, to proclaim Germans as America’s largest ethnic group, the largest minority in a country of minorities. To do so would obscure the major point, the most important revelation. For Germans in America are, to a great extent, no longer ethnic. If ethnicity does survive among a minority of them, the basis is perhaps more often religious than linguistic or national. For more than three centuries Germans have mixed and intermarried with other groups; they have been acculturated and in the majority of cases, possibly assimilated. In the process they added much that was German to the American mixture. The revelation of 1983 is that America, in culture, economy, politics, and society, is substantially Teutonic. By abandoning their ethnicity, by attaining numerical abundance, and by achieving geographical dispersal, Germans have had much to say about what our country became. Those who would understand us also must understand the depth and breadth of this heritage.

—Terry G. Jordan

Mr. Jordan, a cultural geographer who specializes in the folk culture of America, holds the Walter Prescott Webb Chair of History and Ideas in the Department of Geography, University of Texas, Austin.



The famous trial of German-born Peter Zenger, August 1735, at which a first victory was won for freedom of the press in America.

Heinz Moos Publishing, Baltimore

Humanities

is the award-winning bimonthly of the NEH.

In order to receive it regularly, you must subscribe!

Mail this form to the Government Printing Office —

TODAY!

6 issues for \$14

Please enter my subscription to *Humanities* for one year, six issues, at \$14.00 domestic or \$17.25 foreign.

☐ Check enclosed for \$ _____ Money order enclosed for \$ _____

☐ Charge to my Deposit Account No. _____ ☐ Order No. _____

☐ Charge to VISA ☐ Charge to Master Charge

Credit card no. _____

Expiration date: Month/year _____ Total charges: \$ _____

Please make checks payable to: Superintendent of Documents

Mail To: Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

Name—First, Last

Title/Institution

Address

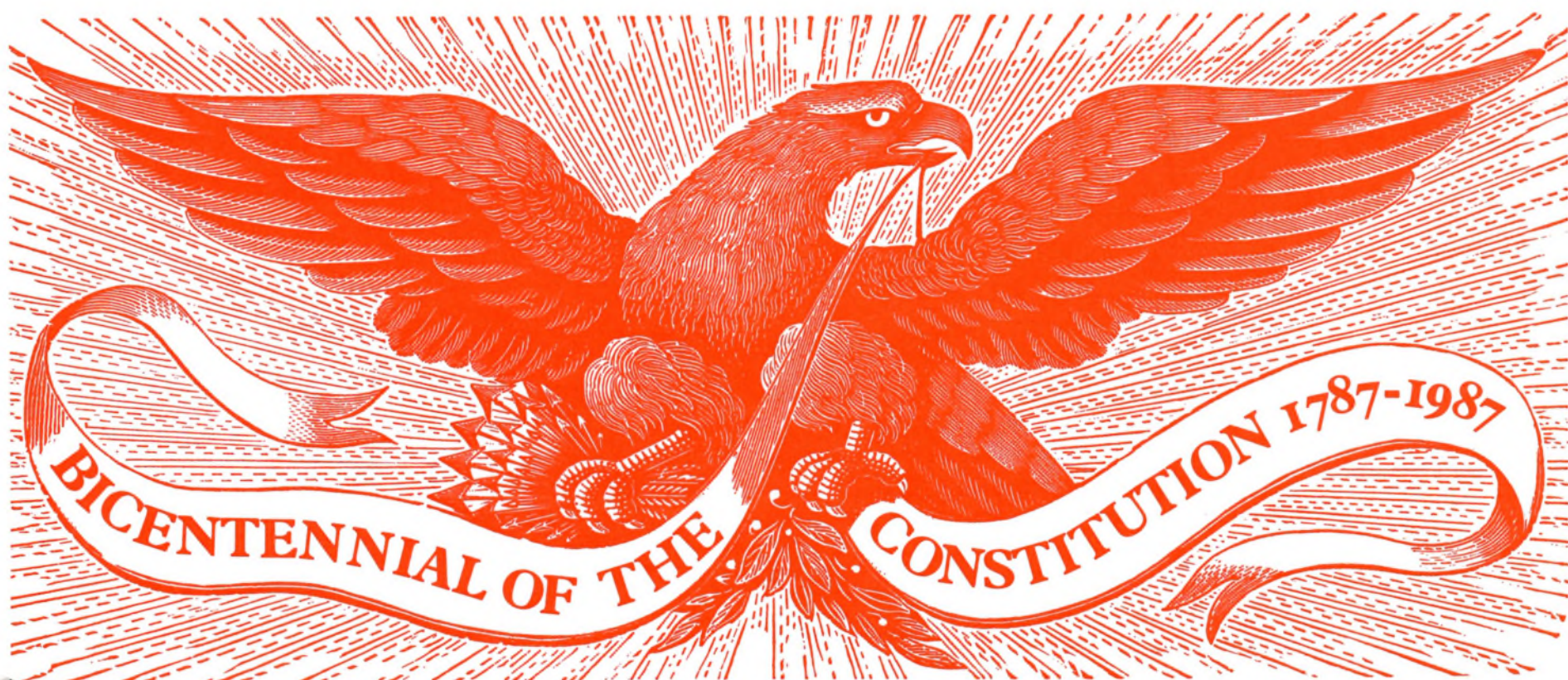
City

State

ZIP Code

PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE

ORDER FORM



The Constitutional Classics

During the great debate over ratification of the Constitution, a series of eighty-five letters explicating and defending the draft instrument appeared in *The Independent Journal* and other New York newspapers above the signature, Publius. The articles, the handiwork of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay, were then published as *The Federalist*.

The work, whose stated subject is "the conformity of the proposed Constitution to the true principles of republican government," has long been recognized as the enduring treatise setting forth the principles of American government and the ideas that inform the American polity today as well as they did in 1787. According to Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., Professor of Government at Harvard, *The Federalist* and Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* are "the two classic books on America." Like many classics, they are mentioned reverentially more frequently than they are read.

Last summer, Mansfield taught a four-week NEH Institute at Harvard for secondary school teachers that focused on close reading of *The Federalist* and *Democracy in America*. The group also read Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*, which expounds the fundamental concept of human rights to which the Founders' subscribed: portions of Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* ("to see where the notion of separation of powers came from"); some of Lincoln's speeches ("to appreciate his revival and inspired transformation of the Founders' ideas"); and concluded with an examination of the debate on the question of equality of result vs. equality of opportunity, ("perhaps the most profound social and political issue in America in the last decade") through readings on Affirmative Action. One of the purposes of the Institute, was "to see what can be learned from a classic and to challenge

the notion that old books must contain bygone ideas."

The theme was that "America was founded not merely for the particular benefit of the American people, but chiefly as an experiment for mankind of its capacity for self-government." The theme is sounded by Hamilton in the first article of *The Federalist*: "It seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force." *The Federalist* is not simply an American constitutional document; it belongs with the major theoretical works on the ends and means of government.

The universal significance of the American experiment was also the central concern of Tocqueville writing in 1835: ". . . In America, I saw more than America. I sought the image of democracy itself, with its inclinations, its character, its prejudices, and its passions, in order to learn what we have to fear or to hope from its progress."

For Mansfield, who taught in partnership with Delba Winthrop, a Tocqueville specialist who is also his wife, the intensive reading of these texts with secondary school teachers is "something practical that can be done for 'excellence' " in education. Such institutes are part of the NEH Education Division's efforts to improve the teaching of subjects that are the staple of American high school education, such as history, languages, and literature. One of the Institute participants, Robert Dakin, an American history teacher in a junior high school in Claremont, New Hampshire, says: "Curriculum fads come and go. Anyone teaching

should know the subject well. If you don't know your subject, there's nothing to communicate." Dakin says he was "tired of going to workshops" that make everything relative. As one who tries to incorporate source material into his class assignments ("not easy with eighth-graders"), Dakin says that when he saw the announcement of the Institute, "I drooled."

The twenty teachers at the Institute were a remarkably diverse group. They ranged from a 25-year-old recent graduate from Chicago to a 58-year-old teacher from Arkansas, and included Ph.D.'s, a Catholic nun, teachers from private schools, junior and senior high school teachers, supervisors, and teachers from inner-city schools as well as rural districts. Mansfield was impressed with the way they adapted to the very demanding schedule — about 100 pages of reading each day; morning lectures, punctuated by discussions; guest lectures and more discussion in the afternoon; two short written papers and one oral presentation.

They found the heavy workload a welcome challenge. "I had missed doing really hard work," says Mary Reed, who teaches geography, U.S. history and humanities at a Washington, D.C., junior high school. Robert Dakin calls the Institute "by far the most enriching experience in my seventeen years of teaching." Mansfield was struck with the teachers' facility of speaking on their feet, in comparison with graduate students, who tend to be too cautious when they speak. Dakin, in turn, reports the teachers' were "all in awe of Mansfield — not because he was a Harvard professor," but because of his "brilliant mind" and the lucidity of his presentations.

Bettie H. Hill, from Ashdown, Arkansas, a town of about 7,000 in the rural southwestern part of the state, jokingly describes herself as

the "token deep southerner," the one supposed to be the hillbilly. "I'm not," she says firmly. Hill has been teaching for twenty years. In a "previous life" she raised five children, taught music and, and although she had earned a degree in history and political science, went back to school for eighteen credits in education in order to receive certification. It was a "total waste of time," she says ruefully, "I learned absolutely nothing."

The last time Hill seriously studied *The Federalist* was at the University of Arkansas in 1948, and as for Tocqueville, like most of the others in the Institute, she "had never read him all the way through." And while pedagogical concerns were not topics specifically on the agenda, she and the rest of the groups were always thinking of ways to present the material to students. "Students know when you know what you're talking about," Hill says. The greatest value of the Institute, she is convinced, is the firm foundation it gave the teachers in their own work, knowledge they will automatically transmit to their students.

Bettie Hill is determined to spread the word throughout her own state about what she did last summer. She has sent material to the governor, and is scheduled to talk to the Arkansas Social Studies Council. The news "will travel further than Ashdown, Arkansas," she promises.

As for recommending this kind of intensive study to her school system, Washington, D.C.'s Mary Reed says, "I already have." And Robert Dakin says, "If I were director of a college, I would require every student — no matter what major — to read *The Federalist*."

— Barbara Delman Wolfson
"The American Experience"/Harvey C. Mansfield/Harvard U., Cambridge, MA/\$64,930/1983/Humanities Instruction in Elementary and Secondary Schools

Nearest Grant Application Deadlines



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

DIVISION OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS—Richard Ekman, Director 786-0373

Central Disciplines in Undergraduate Education		
Improving Introductory Courses— <i>Lyn Maxwell White 786-0380</i>	April 1, 1984	October 1984
Promoting Excellence in a Field— <i>John Walters 786-0380</i>	April 1, 1984	October 1984
Fostering Coherence Throughout an Institution— <i>Blanche Premo 786-0380</i>	April 1, 1984	October 1984
Humanities Instruction in Elementary and Secondary Schools— <i>Carolynn Reid-Wallace 786-0377</i>		
Collaborative Projects	January 6, 1984	July 1984
Institutes for Teachers	January 6, 1984	July 1984
Exemplary Projects in Undergraduate and Graduate Education— <i>John Strassburger 786-0384</i>	January 6, 1984	July 1984
Teaching Materials	January 6, 1984	July 1984
Humanities Programs for Nontraditional Learners— <i>Gene Moss 786-0384</i>	April 1, 1984	October 1984

DIVISION OF FELLOWSHIPS AND SEMINARS—James Blessing, Director 786-0458

FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMS— <i>Maben Herring 786-0466</i>		
Fellowships for Independent Study and Research— <i>David Coder 786-0466</i>	June 1, 1984	January 1, 1985
Fellowships for College Teachers— <i>Karen Fuglie 786-0466</i>	June 1, 1984	January 1, 1985
Summer Stipends for 1985— <i>Joseph Neville 786-0466</i>	October 1, 1984	Summer 1985
Constitutional Programs— <i>Maben Herring and David Coder 786-0466</i>	June 1, 1984	January 1, 1985
HBCU Faculty Study Graduates Program— <i>Maben Herring 786-0466</i>	June 7, 1984	January 1985
SEMINAR PROGRAMS		
Summer Seminars for College Teachers— <i>Jeanette Beer 786-0466</i>		
Participants: 1984 Seminars	March 1, 1984	Summer 1984
Directors: 1985 Seminars	February 1, 1984	Summer 1985
Summer Seminars for Secondary School Teachers— <i>Ronald Herzman 786-0463</i>		
Participants: 1984 Seminars	February 1, 1984	Summer 1984
Directors: 1985 Seminars	February 1, 1984	Summer 1985
Centers for Advanced Study— <i>Julian F. MacDonald 786-0473</i>	February 1, 1984	Fall 1985

DIVISION OF GENERAL PROGRAMS—Jeffrey Wallin, Director 786-0267

Humanities Projects in:		
Media— <i>Richard Huber 786-0278</i>		
Children's Media	January 30, 1984	October 1, 1984
Regular Media Projects	January 30, 1984	October 1, 1984
Museums and Historical Organizations— <i>Gabriel Weisberg</i>	April 30, 1984	January 1, 1985
Special Projects— <i>Leon Bramson 786-0271</i>		
Program Development (including Libraries)	February 6, 1984	October 1, 1984
Youth Projects	November 7, 1983	July 1, 1984
Younger Scholars Program	November 15, 1983	April 1984

DIVISION OF RESEARCH PROGRAMS—Harold Cannon, Director 786-0200

Intercultural Research— <i>Marjorie Berlincourt 786-0200</i>	February 15, 1984	July 1, 1984
Basic Research Program— <i>John Williams 786-0207</i>		
Project Research— <i>Gary Messinger 786-0227 and David Wise 786-0225</i>	March 1, 1984	January 1, 1985
Archaeological Projects— <i>Eugene Sterud 786-0207</i>	March 1, 1984	January 1, 1985
Research Conferences— <i>Eugene Sterud 786-0207</i>	February 15, 1984	October 1, 1984
Travel to Collections— <i>Eric Juengst 786-0207</i>	January 15, 1984	June 15, 1984
Humanities, Science and Technology— <i>David Wright 786-0207</i>		
NEH Projects	March 1, 1984	January 1, 1984
NEH-NSF EVIST Projects	February 1, 1984	October 1, 1984
Research Resources— <i>Jeffrey Field 786-0204</i>	June 1, 1984	April 1, 1985
Publications— <i>Margot Backas 786-0204</i>	May 1, 1984	October 1, 1984
U.S. Newspaper Projects— <i>Pearce Grove 786-0221</i>	January 15, 1984	July 1, 1984
Reference Works— <i>Dorothy Wartenberg 786-0210</i>		
Tools— <i>Crale Hopkins 786-0210</i>	October 1, 1984	July 1, 1985
Editions— <i>Helen Aguera 786-0215</i>	October 1, 1984	July 1, 1985
Translations— <i>Susan Mango 786-0213</i>	July 1, 1984	April 1, 1985

DIVISION OF STATE PROGRAMS—Donald Gibson 786-0254

Each state establishes its own grant guidelines and application deadlines; therefore, interested applicants should contact the office in their state. A list of those state programs may be obtained from the Division of State Programs.

OFFICE OF PLANNING AND POLICY STUDIES—Armen Tashdianian, Director 786-0424

Planning and Assessment Studies— <i>Arnita Jones 786-0420</i>	March 1, 1984	October 1, 1984
Special Competition: Analysis of Existing Data Resources*— <i>Jeffrey Thomas 786-0420</i>	January 23, 1985	July 1, 1984

OFFICE OF CHALLENGE GRANTS— <i>Thomas Kingston 786-0361</i>	May 1, 1984	December 1984
---	--------------------	---------------

* See page 25.

RECENT NEH GRANT AWARDS

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

Archaeology & Anthropology

American Place Theatre, NYC; Glenn M. Hinson: \$17,500. To develop and present humanities materials ancillary to a folk-theater production of a medicine show. *GP*

Case Western Reserve U., Cleveland, OH; Henry S. Robinson: \$9,226. To complete research on the occupational and religious use of Corinth from 4,000 B.C. until c. A.D. 1700. *RO*

Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; Thomas W. Leavitt: \$7,771. To prepare a traveling exhibition of photographs and drawings depicting recent archaeological research and discoveries at Sardinia. *GM*

Hansen Planetarium/Salt Lake Co. Government, UT; Mark E. Littmann: \$80,196. To produce a planetarium program on the celestial navigation and cultures of the ancient voyagers of Oceania to be distributed to 500 planetaria. *GM*

Macalester College, St. Paul, MN; Stephen R. Hitchcock: \$6,575. To develop high school curriculum materials concerning the folk traditions of Appalachia. *GY*

Massachusetts College of Art, Boston; Deborah Ungar: \$15,000. To prepare a film examining the lives of four artisans and links in the historical chain of traditional craftsmanship, and their survival in an industrialized society. *GY*

Mayme Waggener High School, Louisville, KY; Louis M. Weeks: \$818. To develop guidebooks to two college-based archaeological museums for use by public school students. *GY*

Montana State U., Bozeman; Michael W. Hager: \$15,000. To plan the installation of a permanent exhibit on Native American cultures in the northern Rockies over the past 11,000 years. *GM*

Oboade Institute of African Culture, Washington, DC; Barry E. Dornfeld: \$14,945. To research and develop a detailed scene treatment and demonstration film on issues of cross-cultural understanding as exemplified by a traditional African performing group in residence in the U.S. *GY*

Palm Springs Desert Museum, CA; James W. Cornett: \$13,437. To plan a temporary exhibit on the function and symbolism of the baskets of the Shoshone Indians, a desert tribe of California. *GM*

Rochester Museum & Science Center, NY; Richard C. Shultz: \$15,000. To plan a permanent exhibit focusing upon the meeting of Native America, American, and European cultures in the region of upper New York State from the years 1550-1820 and upon the resulting cultural changes and adaptations. *GM*

Stanford U., CA; Albert Dien: \$8,384. To complete "Abstracts of Current Chinese Archaeological and Humanistic Research." *RT*

Textile Museum, Washington, DC; Ann P. Rowe: \$85,371. To implement an exhibition and catalog focusing on the patterns of trade, stylistic development, and cultural contexts of textiles created on the north coast of Peru between 1350 and 1570, during the height and decline of the Kingdom of Chimor. *GM*

Tufts U., Medford, MA; Miriam S. Balmuth: \$15,000. To plan a major traveling exhibition of Sardinian antiquities focusing on the sequence of cultures in ancient Sardinia from the earliest settlements in 5,000 B.C. to the Roman conquest in 300 B.C. *GM*

U. of Arizona, Tucson; Richard G. Vivian: \$29,101. To install a permanent exhibit on the use of caves as dwellings with focus on prehistoric life in the Southwest. *GM*

U. of Massachusetts, Boston; Michael T. Tierney: \$8,424. To conduct intergenerational research on coming of age in South Boston. An anthology and public forum will result. *GY*

U. of Minnesota, Minneapolis; Lyndel I. King: \$13,000. To plan two auxiliary exhibits supplementing a display of Mimbres pottery. One exhibit will feature the U. of Minnesota excavations at Galaz in the 1920s; the other will focus

on the ceramics of the neighboring Mogollon peoples in the Southwest. *GM*

Arts—History & Criticism

Art Institute of Chicago, IL; Richard R. Brettell: \$15,000. To plan an international exhibition interpreting the Biedermeier arts, those produced for and by the middle class of Austria and Germany from 1815 through 1850. *GM*

Astoria Motion Picture & TV Foundation, NY; Rochelle Slovin: \$10,000. To plan a self-study project to determine the intellectual goals of the Museum of Motion Pictures and Television as well as its scope and its philosophy of collecting. *GM*

Clemson U., SC; Virginia D. Lane: \$2,493. To plan a project to collect slides of 17th- and 18th-century domestic architecture in the coastal towns of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. *GY*

Corcoran Gallery, Washington, DC; Barbara S. Moore: \$20,000. To produce a self-touring guidebook to the Gallery's permanent collection of 19th-century American landscape painting from the period 1825 to 1875. *GM*

Film Fund, NYC; John C. Walker: \$30,000. To script a 58-minute, 16 mm documentary film on the life and work of the American photographer and filmmaker Paul Strand. The proposed film will cover 60 years of Strand's work. *GN*

Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; David H. Chan: \$12,481. To develop and produce a film highlighting the place of jazz in American culture by examining the life of an influential teacher/performer. *GY*

High Museum of Arts, Atlanta, GA; Donald C. Peirce: \$15,000. To plan an exhibition exploring 19th-century American cultural and artistic history through decorative arts, painting, sculpture and architecture. *GM*

Intersection, San Francisco, CA; Jack Chen: \$23,280. To implement a traveling exhibition on the West Coast tracing the history, evolution and social role of America's Chinese theater. *GM*

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, CA; Earl A. Powell, III: \$77,630. To create a traveling exhibition which will survey sculpture within the context of the German Expressionist movement, 1910-1937, with an emphasis on Germany's social, political, cultural, and economic climate. *GM*

Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; Edward C. Carter, II: \$48,582 OR; \$20,000 FM. To complete the edition of the papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. *RE*

Mills College, Oakland, CA; Philip E. Linhares: \$15,000. To create a temporary exhibition and catalog on the Shojiro Nomura collection of fukasa, Japanese ornamental and ceremonial textiles used in the presentation of gifts. *GM*

Minneapolis Institute of Arts, MN; George S. Keyes: \$15,000. To plan a major international exhibition on 17th-century Dutch marine art and the way in which it mirrors the values and ambitions of the explorers, merchant oligarchs and naval heroes who spread Dutch influence and culture throughout Europe and into new worlds. *GM*

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA; Anne L. Poulet: \$15,000. To plan a 1985 exhibition to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the births of Bach, Handel, and Scarlatti. *GM*

Museums at Stony Brook, NY; David W. Cassidy: \$208,894. To implement a temporary exhibition and related programs which will interpret the Museums' collection of paintings, musical artifacts, and manuscripts of William Sidney Mount. *GM*

National Museum of Women's Art, Washington, DC; Suzanne Perkins: \$10,000. To conduct a self-study of the resources of the National Museum of Women's Art and to formulate long-range plans for the use of these resources in

humanities exhibits and programs. *GM*

Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC; Frank L. Horton: \$60,000 OR; \$19,000 FM. To continue research on the "Index of Early Southern Artists and Artisans." *RT*

Philadelphia Museum of Art, PA; Kathryn B. Hiesinger: \$139,450. To implement a temporary exhibition which surveys 40 years of 20th-century American and internationally designed objects for commercial use. *GM*

Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, OK; Marcia Y. Manhart: \$15,000. To plan a traveling exhibition devoted to the history of the contemporary crafts movement within the larger context of American art from 1950 to 1980. *GM*

U. of Kentucky, Lexington; William J. Hennessey: \$11,311. To plan a temporary exhibition devoted to the novel "Don Quixote" by Cervantes, the latter work being understood as an important source of inspiration for visual artists, composers and playwrights. *GM*

U. of Maryland, College Park; Rachel W. Wade: \$100,000 OR; \$23,000 FM. To edit the keyboard concertos of C.P.E. Bach. *RE*

U. of Missouri, Columbia; Marian M. Ohman: \$72,721. To prepare a series of programs for 4-H youth on the history of town planning and architecture in small Missouri towns. Groups will share their experience via teleconferences. *GZ*

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Robert H. Dyson: \$128,695. To plan a traveling exhibition of the Mayan art of Tikal, Guatemala, illuminating through archeological evidence the economy, history, religion and society, in general, of this ancient Mayan civilization. *GM*

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond; Ella-Prince T. Knox: \$46,095. To plan a major traveling exhibit which will explore artistic, social, literary, historical and economic influences on painting in the South from 1564 to the present. *GM*

WGBH Educational Foundation, Boston, MA; Judith G. Wechsler: \$77,625. To prepare three scripts and three storyboards for a projected series of 13 30-minute television programs on painting and the world of the painter from the Renaissance to the present. *GN*

Evan A. Ziporyn: \$2,500. To transcribe and analyze in article form a representative sampling of compositions from the musical repertory of the Balinese Shadow Play Theatre for American musicians and scholars. *GY*

History—Non-U.S.

American Ditchley Foundation, New York; Charles W. Muller: \$5,000. To provide publication costs of the 1983 Bicentenary Lecture of Lord Home of the Hirsell, delivered at the dedication of the Old Post Office bells. *RP*

Asia Society, Inc., NYC; Datus C. Smith, Jr.: \$50,000 OR; \$100,000 FM. To compile an "Encyclopedia of Asian History." *RT*

GWETA, Inc., Washington, DC; Charles B. Hobson: \$15,000. To plan a series of nine 60-minute documentaries, examining the history of Sub-Saharan Africa through its indigenous, Islamic and Western heritages. *GN*

Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky: \$133,691. To plan conservation of the Peabody Museum's collection of Mayan artifacts to prepare them for loan to the Science Museum of Minnesota to be used on a five-sites traveling exhibition interpreting Mayan history and culture. *GM*

Miami U., Oxford, OH; Heanon M. Wilkins: \$11,559. To complete a critical edition of the "Chronicle of Enrique III" by Pero Lopez de Ayala. *RE*

Princeton U. Press, NJ; Margaret H. Case: \$20,000. To compile an "Encyclopedia of South Asia." *RT*

Renaissance Film Project, Princeton, NJ; Theodore K. Rabb: \$50,000. To produce the first film in a ten-part series for television which will

trace themes of the Renaissance period from 1350 to 1650. *GN*

Research Foundation of CUNY, NYC; Barbara B. Oberg: \$15,600. To continue preparation of a supplement to the microfilm edition of the papers of Albert Gallatin, 18th- and 19th-century financier and statesman, and to complete an index and guide for the edition. *RE*

Teaneck Public Library, NJ; Hilda Lipkin: \$81,070. To create and present a series of public programs on the history of Teaneck including lectures, slide-tape presentations and exhibits based on oral histories. *GL*

Unicorn Projects, Inc., Potomac, MD; Ray A. Hubbard: \$786,616 OR; \$200,000 FM. To produce a 60-minute film based on David Macauley's book "Cathedral," which will present, in animated episodes intercut with live-action documentary, the story of the building and functioning of a fictional, but historically representative, medieval French cathedral. *GN*

U. of California, Riverside; J. Arch Getty: \$81,462 OR; \$64,788 FM. To create a data base of information on the Soviet bureaucracy during the period of Stalin's rise to power, 1917-1941. *RT*

U. of Iowa, Iowa City; George D. Schrimper: \$113,115. To plan a permanent exhibition depicting the daily life of a group of Mesquakie Indians along the Iowa River in the Fall of 1845 interpreting the history, language, and culture of the period. *GM*

U. of Utah, Salt Lake City; Aziz S. Atiya: \$650,082 FM. To continue work on the *Coptic Encyclopaedia*. *RT*

Yale U., New Haven, CT; Paul J. DiMaggio: \$22,749. To plan an analysis of the data collected by the Museum Program Survey of 1979 from 575 art and history museums. The impact on educational programming of such factors as museum size and revenues will be studied. *OP*

Yale U., New Haven, CT; Jack H. Hexter: \$103,000 OR; \$39,226 FM. To continue editorial work on the surviving sources on the English Parliaments of 1625 and 1626. *RE*

History—U.S.

Alabama Public Library Service, Montgomery; Edwin C. Bridges: \$10,000. To prepare a statewide plan for the bibliographic control and preservation of Alabama newspapers. *RC*

Atlanta Jewish Federation, GA; Jane Leavey: \$48,425. To prepare an exhibition at Emory University in conjunction with the 250th anniversary of the founding of Georgia. *GM*

Boot Hill Museum, Dodge City, KS; Richard W. Welsh: \$7,500. To produce a slide-tape orientation program for the Boot Hill Museum to supplement the museum's exhibits and present an overview of the period from 1872 to 1890, reflecting the area's natural history, the economic and cultural history of Dodge City, and the myths associated with the city. *GM*

California State Library Foundation, Sacramento; Gary F. Kurutz: \$10,498. To develop a statewide program for newspaper bibliographic control via the CONSER database and establish priorities for the preservation of California newspapers. *RC*

City of Alexandria, VA; Dory P. Twitchell: \$15,000. To plan a permanent exhibit focusing on the lives of several families in Alexandria, Virginia, to convey the city's history from the 18th through the 20th centuries. *GM*

Dept. of Conservation and Cultural Affairs, St. Thomas, U.S. VI; Henry C. Chang: \$17,363. To prepare a comprehensive bibliographic description and union list of national and local newspaper files in the libraries of the Virgin Islands. *RC*

Essex Institute, Salem, MA; Dean T. Lahikainen: \$14,681. To develop new interpretation for the Institute's museum and its historic structures that will link them to together thematically. *GM*

High School of Music and Art, NYC; Jeremy H. Engle: \$1,375. To research and develop a life

presentation for use in the schools on the subject of the evolution of Goldens Bridge, a utopian community established in the 1920s. *GY* **Historic Saint Augustine Preservation Board**, FL; Amy T. Bushnell: \$3,000. To create a data base composed of biographical information on the inhabitants of St. Augustine, Florida, from 1565 to 1821. *RT*

Indiana, U., Bloomington; Elaine F. Sloan: \$10,000. To implement an effort among state agencies and libraries to plan for cataloging newspapers and to establish future priorities for microfilming to assure their preservation and access by scholars and the general public. *RC*

Iowa State Historical Department, Iowa City; Peter H. Curtis: \$8,650. To conduct a survey of Iowa newspaper depositories in order to determine the extent of updating needed to the 1976 *Bibliography of Iowa Newspapers*. *RC*

Library of Michigan, Lansing; JoAnne Jager: \$10,000. To prepare a statewide conference and a newspaper title and depository inventory involving the cooperative library system in Michigan and academic institutions and statewide organizations concerned with newspaper history and publishing. *RC*

Maryland Hall of Records Commission, Annapolis; Christopher N. Allan: \$10,000. To plan a newspaper project in Maryland, the compilation of an inventory of Maryland newspapers, 1727-1982, and a survey of institutions in Maryland and other states to locate extant files. *RC* **Merrimack Valley Textile Museum**, North Andover, MA; Thomas W. Leavitt: \$30,100. To implement a new permanent exhibit devoted to the changing nature of factory work in textiles in this country from 1800 to 1930. *GM*

Metropolitan Pittsburgh Public Broadcasting, PA; Danforth P. Fales: \$15,000. To plan a series of eight to twelve 30-minute documentaries on the meaning of American legal and constitutional traditions as interpreted by contemporary legal thinkers. *GN*

Mississippi State Historical Museum, Jackson; Patti C. Black: \$18,000. To implement a permanent exhibit which examines the struggle for civil rights in Mississippi from 1954 to 1970. *GM* **Montana Historical Society**, Helena; Robert M. Clark: \$84,569 OR; \$18,000 FM. To survey, catalog, and enter into the CONSER data base via the OCLC system of bibliographical information about and holdings statements for all Montana newspapers. *RC*

National Video Communications Inc., San Diego, CA; George A. Colburn: \$14,992. To plan a series of three 60-minute documentaries focusing on the three central Constitutional issues: Separation of Powers, Federalism, and Judicial Review. *GN*

New York State Library, Albany; Peter J. Paulson: \$10,000. To complete a statewide inventory and bibliographic control of New York State newspapers. *RC*

Oakland Museum Association, CA; L. Thomas Frye: \$185,000. To implement a permanent interpretive exhibition on 20th-century California, its history and culture. *GM*

Oberlin College, OH; Michon A. Boston: \$2,395. To research the 150-year history of black women students at Oberlin College, the major pioneer liberal arts college in integrated coeducation. *GY*

Onondaga County Dept. of Parks & Recreation, Liverpool, NY; Dennis J. Connors: \$15,000. To plan an orientation facility to the Ste. Marie de Gannentaha "living history" compound through audiovisual presentations, demonstrations, and interpretive exhibits. *GM*

Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum, Canyon, TX; Bobby D. Weaver: \$9,998. To plan a project to locate all extant newspapers in Texas, to publish a union list, to enter data on the holdings into CONSER, and to preserve Texas titles on microfilm. *RC*

Ramsey County Historical Society, St. Paul, MN; Virginia B. Kunz: \$10,000. To plan a self-study to determine the most effective way to interpret agricultural history at the Gibbs Farm Museum, a 19th-century Minnesota farmstead. *GM*

Research Foundation of SUNY, Albany, NY; Eloise A. Briere: \$80,324. To prepare a library-based project of lectures, workshops, exhibitions and other activities about North Americans of French and French-Canadian origin. *GL*

Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence; Paul R. Campbell: \$5,561. To develop a plan to survey and record bibliographical data on Rhode Island newspapers, to produce a printed list of newspapers, and to develop a preservation microfilming program. *RC*

Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence; Richard K. Showman: \$56,175. To provide editorial work on "The Papers of General Nathanael Greene." *RE*

Rice U., Houston, TX; Lynda L. Crist: \$24,400 OR: \$10,000 FM. To continue work on volumes 5, 6, and 7 of the edition of the papers of Jeffer-

son Davis. *RE*

Rutgers U., New Brunswick, NJ; Hendrik Edelman: \$10,000. To prepare a comprehensive state plan to gain bibliographic control of newspaper holdings in New Jersey and to microfilm, or otherwise preserve, selected newspaper files which are in danger of disintegration. *RC* **Saint Mary's City Commission**, MD; Michael J. Devine: \$9,930. To conduct a self-assessment of St. Mary City's public programs by working with consultants to identify new means through which its collections and historic sites can be interpreted and presented to a wider public. *GM*

State Library of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg; David R. Hoffman: \$10,000. To prepare a state plan for newspaper bibliography, bibliographic control, and microfilming. *RC*

Ulysses S. Grant Association, Carbondale, IL; John Y. Simon: \$19,210 OR: \$15,000 FM. To implement editorial work for "The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant." *RE*

U. of California, Los Angeles; Roberto R. Calderon: #2,500. To conduct research of written and oral sources on coal mining communities on the Texas border during the early 1900s. A resources collection for the local library, plus pamphlets and radio scrips will result. *GY*

U. of Delaware, Newark; Susan Brynteson: \$10,000. To plan a comprehensive survey of all newspapers published in Delaware, an inventory of their present locations, and a methodology for entering the information in an on-line data base. *RC*

U. of Hawaii, Manoa, Honolulu; Nancy J. Morris: \$9,923. To conduct a comprehensive inventory of all the newspapers published in Hawaii and ultimately microfilm those Hawaii newspapers identified as important and endangered. *RC*

U. of Kansas, Lawrence; Sheryl K. Williams: \$36,800. To organize, catalog and produce study positives for a collection of photographic glass plate negatives documenting Kansas local history from 1888 to 1923. *RC*

U. of Kentucky Research Foundation, Lexington; Paul A. Willis: \$10,000. To prepare a state plan aimed at upgrading state newspaper collection and preservation programs, promoting the application of cataloging standards, identifying extant files, and making newspapers more accessible to the researcher. *RC*

U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Jerome M. Clubb: \$75,000. To create a data base for family history using surveys conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1917-1919 and in 1935-1936. *RT*

U. of Utah, Salt Lake City; Roger K. Hanson: \$6,480. To prepare a plan for bringing an estimated 800 Utah newspapers under better bibliographic control. *RC*

U. of Virginia, Charlottesville; J.C. Levenson: \$111,489 OR: \$20,000 FM. To complete an edition of the letters of Henry Adams. *RE*

Vanderbilt U., Nashville, TN; Everett W. Cutler: \$79,000 OR: \$13,150 FM. To continue work on the edition of the correspondence of James K. Polk. *RE*

West Virginia U., Morgantown; Harold M. Forbes: \$9,945. To plan an intensive program of bibliographic control and preservation microfilming for the newspapers of West Virginia and of that portion of Virginia which became part of the new state in 1863. *RC*

Western Heritage Center, Billings, MT; June E. Sampson: \$14,921. To plan an 18-month exhibit and series of interpretive programs on the Yellowstone River as a central force in shaping the prehistory, history and life of the people of southern Montana. *GM*

Yale U., New Haven, CT; Dan A. Oren: \$2,388. To research and write a manuscript on the history of Jews at Yale University. The results will chronicle the experience of members of a minority ethnic group within an elite American university. *GY*

Interdisciplinary

Alamo Navajo School Board, Inc., Magdalena, NM; William O. Berlin: \$47,068. To plan a project that will allow youth on the Alamo Navajo Reservation to discover, through archival and archaeological analysis as well as ethnographic research, their own written and/or documented history. *GZ*

Al Tidom Association, Inc., NYC; Lawrence H. Schiffman: \$36,500 OR: \$20,000 FM. To prepare two volumes of "The Krasilschikov Commentaries" on the Palestinian Talmud. *RE*

American Council of Learned Societies, New York; John William Ward: \$28,350. To plan a self-study of the programs and priorities of the American Council of Learned Societies. A five-person visiting committee will review existing data on fellowship recipients, interview ACLS Program officers and other staff, and prepare a

report of its findings. *OP*

American Labor Museum, Haledon, NJ; John A. Herbst: \$96,650. To plan three local sites using photographs, artifacts, and documents to interpret a silk mill, a worker's home, and the mill owner's home in the context of the industrial history from 1841 to 1920 in America's major center of silk production, Paterson, New Jersey. *GM*

Appalachian Consortium, Boone, NC; Barry M. Buxton: \$5,072. To plan a museum cooperative among Appalachian Consortium members to share an exhibition on the history of timber and use in the area. *GM*

Asian Cine-Vision, Inc., NYC; Peter Chow: \$16,585. To prepare a film/discussion program series including lectures, exhibits, guides to resource collections and bibliographies. *GL*

Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, Philadelphia, PA; Gail F. Stern: \$139,700. To implement a temporary, traveling exhibition devoted to the American artist-immigrant experience since 1930 as reflected in the style, content and expression of the paintings, drawings, prints, photographs and sculpture of 40 foreign-born artists. *GM*

Boston Children's Museum, MA; Elaine H. Gurian: \$15,000. To plan a traveling exhibit of American Indian games, borrowed from the Harvard Peabody Museum, which will reveal the environmental elements in these games, their social contexts, and the differences and similarities among those of various tribes and between the games for men and women. *GM*

Cincinnati Historical Society, OH; Daniel I. Hurley: \$13,035. To plan two temporary exhibits exploring the economic and social roles played by two important early industries based on the processing of agricultural goods for the general market. *GM*

Citizen Band Potawatomi Tribe of Oklahoma, Shawnee; Patricia Sulcer: \$38,321. To prepare the Citizen Band Potawatomi Tribe in training a group of its own youth to collect ethnographic material from tribal elders in the areas of language, history, religion, art and music. *GZ*

Civilization and the Jews WNET/13, NYC; Stuart M. Schear: \$15,000. To research and produce a 30-minute film on the modernization of traditional women by focusing on the increasing participation of Eastern European Jewish women in politics, culture, and the economy in the period between 1880 and 1945. *GY*

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, VA; Robert C. Birney: \$15,000. To plan a permanent interpretive living history program for the Courthouse of 1770 exploring the development, under English colonial rule, of the American legal system. *GM*

Columbia Education Center, Portland, OR; Ralph T. Nelsen: \$34,293. To develop and disseminate a series of 20 field-trip packages for use by local Girl Scout groups in exploring landmarks of cultural and historical import in the Columbia Basin Region. *GZ*

Conner Prairie Pioneer Settlement, Noblesville, IN; John L. Larson: \$15,000. To plan a living history program and development of printed materials for the Doan House, a site to be interpreted as an early 19th-century unlicensed inn. *GM*

Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma, Anadarko; Linda S. Poolaw: \$55,972. To provide an opportunity for Delaware youth to learn about tribal history, traditional culture, and language. *GZ*

Dickson Mounds State Museum, Lewistown, IL; Judith A. Franke: \$15,000. To plan two permanent exhibits at the Dickson Mounds Museum, an on-site archaeological museum, focusing on Native American sites from the Paleo era to the 19th century, and most specifically on the life and culture of the Mississippian Indians in A.D. 1000. *GM*

Dutchess Community College, Poughkeepsie, NY; Arthur H. Pritchard: \$9,334. To prepare a seven-week summer program introducing 30 youth to the local history and cultural anthropology of a small village on the Hudson River and of the nearby great mansions it served, in the period before World War I. *GZ*

Delaware County Historical Association, Delhi, NY; Linda B. Norris: \$14,942. To develop an interpretive plan focusing upon the effects of technological change upon rural domestic life eventually to be installed in the Gideon Grisbee House, one of the properties of the Delaware County Historical Association. *GM*

Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, IL; Carolyn P. Blackmon: \$27,104. To implement supplemental interpretive programs in conjunction with the major traveling exhibition "6,000 Years of Chinese Art" while in Chicago. *GM* **Fisk U.**, Nashville, TN; Jessie C. Smith: \$172,708. To prepare 15 public lectures and programs and a series of summer outreach programs on black folk culture. *GL*

Folk Media Group, Palos Verdes Est, CA; E. Anthony Collins: \$15,00. To produce a film on

three traditional Ozark musicians whose experiences reflect the unique cultural, historical, and creative influences which have shaped the lives of the people in this area. *GY*

Franklin Institute Science Museum, Philadelphia, PA; J. Shipley Newlin, Jr.: \$15,000. To plan a permanent exhibit highlighting the historical, scientific, and technological developments in electricity since 1740 and examine their relationships to and effect upon the economic, political and social fabric of society. *GM*

Hampshire Educational Collaborative, Northampton, MA; Cecelia E. Scaife: \$14,940. To plan a project enabling a group of 20 high school youth to participate in a summer institute where they will study the themes of self-sufficiency and interdependence related to agriculture in western Massachusetts during the period 1790-1850. *GZ*

Hickory Museum of Art, NC; Suzanne Hall: \$2,640. To help high school students explore the history and heritage of their county, using as a focal point the county's dominant industry, the making of furniture. *GZ*

Institute of the American West, Sun Valley, ID; E. Richard Hart: \$35,000 OR: \$29,875 FM. To prepare public programs that explore issues related to American Indian self-rule. *GP*

Katonah Galley, NY; Betty Himmel: \$16,449. To implement a temporary exhibition focusing on individual cabinet makers, all working in the peak period of Shaker productivity, 1800-1875. *GM*

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, CA; Earl A. Powell, III: \$305,140. To implement a traveling exhibition of works of art portraying Buddha which will convey his impact on the history and cultures of Asia. *GM*

Louisiana Museum Foundation, New Orleans; Steven Reinhardt: \$104,428. To publish an interpretive catalog to accompany a traveling exhibition dealing with Louis XIV and his world, both within France and outside, in her Louisiana territory. *GM*

Maine Maritime Museum, Bath; John S. Carter: \$13,728. To plan a permanent exhibition and catalog exploring the history of the lobster fishery from precolonial times and its impact on the family structure, social organization, and commerce of the Maine coast. *GM*

Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, Rochester, NY; Harvey Green: \$102,308. To implement a major permanent exhibition, catalog and public symposium examining childhood and child rearing in America between 1825 and 1915. *GM*

Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; Mary Ellen Hayward: \$115,736. To implement a permanent exhibition interpreting Baltimore's maritime history in light of the historical, technological, and social events which have shaped the growth of the port and subsequently the State of Maryland. *GM*

Mobile Public Library, AL; Erin L. Kellen: \$6,850. To implement a project using field and archival studies in the community that will try to discover what it was like to grow up in Mobile during the thirties and forties. The applicant received a planning grant in 1982 to develop the proposal. *GZ*

Museum of Our National Heritage, Lexington, MA; Clement M. Silvestro: \$90,790. To prepare a traveling exhibit with films, lectures and a catalog on the use of ceramics as archaeological evidence for documenting the social and cultural history of New England. *GM*

Museums at Stony Brook, NY; Merri M. Ferrell: \$15,000. To plan a permanent interpretive exhibition on carriage manufacturing in America with emphasis on the impact of industrialization on the production of carriages. *GM*

New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord; James L. Garvin: \$22,904. To implement programming and the publication of printed materials for an exhibition on tools and toolmaking in New Hampshire: an annotated catalog, a gallery guide, craft demonstrations, and gallery tours. *GM*

Paraphrase, Inc., Bronx, NY; Ruth J. Abram: \$15,000. To plan a traveling exhibition and other interpretive elements on the history of the American woman physician from 1835 to the present. *GM*

Peabody Museum of Salem, MA; Paul F. Johnston: \$72,648. To implement a permanent exhibition on the impact of the commercial steamship upon social and economic history, worldwide culture and technology from the late 18th-century to the modern day. *GM*

Pejepscot Historical Society, Brunswick, ME; David N. Bray: \$9,950. To prepare a self-study designed to explore historical issues of 19th-century Maine as depicted in the collections and properties of the Pejepscot Historical Society. *GM*

Research Foundation of CUNY, NYC; D. Cohen: \$50,721. To conduct a series of 40 book discussion programs designed to examine ethnic and cultural themes treated in literature and

films. *GL*

Rhode Island Black Heritage Society, Providence; Irene U. Burnham: \$129,162. To implement a temporary exhibition that will examine black life in Providence from 1776 to 1865. *GM*

Shaw U., Raleigh, NC; Clarence Toomer: \$34,176. To plan the arrangement and description of the archives of Shaw University, an institution of importance in the history of black education. *RC*

Sonoma State U., Rohnert Park, CA; Ruth A. Hafter: \$180,105. To mobilize the resources of Sonoma State University for a Refugee Study Project in a regional effort for the interpretation and dissemination of information about cultures of Indochina now represented in California. *GL*

Southern Illinois U., Carbondale; Carolyn C. Morrow: \$106,650. To initiate a conservation program to serve the needs of libraries and historical institutions in the Midwest. This endeavor is designed to become self-supporting by the end of the grant period in 1986. *RV*

Texas Historical Commission, Austin; Cindy Sherrell-Leo: \$32,803. To conduct two ten-day seminars on the interpretation of history in museums for museum personnel within the 13-state Mountain Plains Region. *GM*

Texas Southern U., Houston; Cary D. Wintz: \$17,984. To plan oral and archival history studies by secondary students about the Julia C. Hester House, a settlement house and community center that has served a predominantly black Houston neighborhood. *GZ*

Thames Science Center, New London, CT; Jane Woldsworth: \$95,000. To implement a permanent exhibition exploring the natural and cultural features of eastern Connecticut while thematically developing the interrelationship between people and nature within this geographic area. *GM*

U. of California, Los Angeles; Wolf Leslau: \$60,000. To complete the preparation of the Etymological Dictionary of Geez, the classical language of Ethiopia. *RT*

U. of California, Los Angeles; Barbara G. Valk: \$72,000 OR; \$22,459 FM. To complete the index to 230 major periodicals pertaining to Latin American Studies published between 1970 and 1975. *RC*

U. of Illinois, Chicago Circle; Mary Ann Johnson: \$14,814. To plan a major reinterpretation of the Jane Addams' Hull House historic site including an interpretive exhibit, a series of audiovisual presentations, a catalog and a lecture series. *GM*

U. of Illinois, Urbana; David S. Bechtel: \$20,000. To consolidate the University's one- and five-year follow-up surveys of its graduates into two master files organized by field of study, campus, and degree level, and subsequent preparation of this material into a descriptive report of the career patterns of humanities graduates. *OP*

U. of New Hampshire, Durham; John D. Bardwell: \$88,560. To plan traveling programs based on the University of New Hampshire's sizable literature and photographic resources in the area of New Hampshire history and culture. *GL*

U. of New Mexico, Albuquerque; Linda S. Bell: \$10,993. To plan a modular traveling exhibition and catalog of color photographs illustrating the cultural history and continuity of traditions and lifeways of prehistoric, historic, and modern Southwestern Pueblo peoples. *GM*

U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Barbara M. Klaczyńska: \$120,656. To research and present 25 local history projects by 100 youth who live beyond a 25-mile radius of Philadelphia. *GZ*

White Earth Oral History Project, MN; Winona LaDuke: \$7,094. To develop curriculum materials on the traditions of the Anishinabe people using previously collected resources from the elders of the community. *GY*

Language & Linguistics

American Council of Learned Societies, NYC; Jason H. Parker: \$300,000 OR; \$375,000 FM. To implement the Joint Committee on Chinese Studies (JCCS), a national group of scholars dedicated to the promotion of advanced scholarship on China in the humanities and social sciences. *RI*

Association of American Universities, Washington, DC; John C. Crowley: \$30,000. To plan an assessment of the National Research and Advanced Education Resource Base in Foreign Languages and Area Studies. *OP*

Bentley R. Layton, New Haven, CT: \$20,000. To prepare a reference grammar of the Coptic language. *RT*

Georgia U., Atlanta, GA; Lee Pederson: \$85,000 OR; \$97,000 FM. To edit the three-volume *Legendry and Maps for "The Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States,"* one of the component projects of

the "Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada." *RT*

Research Foundation of SUNY, Albany, NY; Wilhelm F.H. Nicolaisen: \$45,000. To complete a "Concise Dictionary of Scottish Place Names." *RT*

U. of Chicago, IL; Erica Reiner: \$200,000 OR; \$140,000 FM. To continue work on "The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary." *RT*

U. of Illinois, Chicago Circle; John S. Rohsenow: \$13,000. To compile a "Chinese-English Dictionary of Elliptical Proverbs"—proverbs which are particularly susceptible to misunderstanding and very important in Chinese writing and speech. *RT*

U. of Wisconsin, Madison; Lloyd A. Kasten: \$250,000 OR; \$82,663 FM. To complete the Dictionary of Alfonsine Prose, the first published stage of the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language. *RT*

Literature

Association for Asian Studies, Inc., Ann Arbor, MI; Louis A. Jacob: \$35,675. To complete the "Bibliography of Asian Studies" for 1980 and the beginning of compilation for 1981. *RC*

Duke U., Durham, NC; Clyde D. Ryals: \$5,750. To plan consultation to determine the automated design system needed to facilitate the editing and publication of "The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle." *RE*

Learning in Focus, Inc., NYC; Robert Geller: \$628,000 OR; \$100,000 FM. To produce a two-hour dramatization of James Baldwin's novel, "Go Tell It on the Mountain" for television. *GN*

Lehigh U., Bethlehem, PA; Albert E. Hartung: \$87,737. To complete the final volumes (8-10) of the revised, expanded, and extended "A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500," originally compiled by John Edwin Wells in 1916. *RT*

Modern Language Association of America, NYC; John J. Morrison: \$165,000 OR; \$60,000 FM. To continue work on the revision of volumes one and three of "Wing's Short-Title Catalogue," a three-volume guide to works published in the English Language or in lands under British rule, 1641-1700. *RC*

Research Foundation of CUNY, NYC; Norman Kelvin: \$35,000. To complete a critical edition of the collected letters of William Morris. *RE*

U. of Bridgeport, CT; Wilson H. Kinnach: \$56,286 OR; \$10,000 FM. To complete the edition of the early sermons of Jonathan Edwards. *RE*

U. of California, Los Angeles; Alan Roper: \$39,000 OR; \$24,736 FM. To continue work on a critical edition of the complete works of John Dryden. *RE*

U. of California, San Diego, La Jolla; Diego Catalan: \$99,057 OR; \$394,527 FM. To continue work on the "General Catalogue of the Pan-Hispanic Romancero" nad the International Electronic Archive of the Romancero. *RT*

U. of California, Santa Barbara; Elizabeth H. Witherell: \$142,827 OR; \$75,000 FM. To continue preparation of editions of the writings of Henry D. Thoreau. *RE*

U. of Colorado, Boulder; Virgil Grillo: \$91,089. To investigate George Orwell's 1984, secondary studies of the novel and its author, and interpretations of the book from the perspectives of historiography, ethics, aesthetics, political science and the philosophical and historical aspects of sociology and economics. *GL*

U. of Illinois, Chicago Circle; Audrey Lumsden-Kouvel: \$21,220. To prepare a scholarly translation of the 16th-century prose treatise, "De los nombres de Cristo" by the Spanish poet and Augustinian friar, Luis de Leon (1527-1591), with a comprehensive introduction, notes, bibliography and index. *RL*

U. of Nebraska, Lincoln; Charles W. Mignon: \$28,000. To complete the edition of Edward Taylor's "Upon the Types of the Old Testament." *RE*

U. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; William D. Ilgen: \$119,985. to prepare on-line cataloging through the OCLC bibliographic utility of approximately 21,000 Spanish and Catalan plays dating from the late 17th to the mid-20th century. *RC*

U. of Washington, Seattle; Thomas F. Lockwood: \$11,000. To prepare a facsimile edition of Fielding's "The History of Our Own Times." *RE*

U. of Wisconsin, Madison; Richard A.J. Knowles: \$91,976. To compile a New Variorum Edition of *King Lear*. *RE*

Virginia Polytechnic Inst. & State U., Blacksburg; Paul M. Sorrentino: \$27,000. To prepare a new edition of Stephen Crane's correspondence. *RE*

Washington State U., Pullman; Nicolas K. Kiessling: \$20,000 OR; \$20,000 FM. To complete an edition of Robert Burton's "The Anatomy of Melancholy." *RE*

Western Kentucky U., Bowling Green; Ward Hillstrom: \$32,226. To conduct a series of programs and seminars exploring the changing concepts of childhood in the 19th century. *GL*

Yale U. New Haven, CT; Frank Brady: \$90,000. To provide for work on an edition of the private papers of James Boswell. *RE*

Philosophy

Colgate U., Hamilton, NY; Walter M. Stroup, Jr.: \$2,440. To examine epistemological parallels between Eastern mysticism, especially Buddhism, and modern physics. Scholarly publications and a lecture will result. *GY*

Indiana U., Indianapolis; Edward C. Moore: \$115,000 OR; \$12,500 FM. To continue work on a comprehensive chronological edition of the writings of Charles S. Peirce. *RE*

Saint Bonaventure U., NY; Girard J. Etkorn: \$117,576. To prepare critical editions of Duns Scotus' philosophical commentary "Questions on the Metaphysics" nad Adam Wodeham's "Lectura Secunda." *RE*

Southern Illinois U., Carbondale; Jo Ann Boydston: \$100,300 OR; \$82,000 FM. To complete the editing of volumes 6-14 of "The Later Works of John Dewey, 1925-1953." *RE*

U. of Tampa, FL; Herman J. Saatkamp, Jr.: \$80,000 OR; \$5,000 FM. To continue editorial work on "The Sense of Beauty," and "Interpretation of Poetry and Religion" in the works of George Santayana. *RE*

Religion

J. Meric Pessagno, Westport, CT: \$1,000. To provide English translation of Maturidi's "Kitab al-Tawhid", an important 10th-century theological treatise. *RL*

Social Science

Association of Former Members of Congress, Washington, DC; Robert Gerald Livingston: \$10,000. To publish essays by German and American scholars comparing the workings of the Congress and the Budestag. *RO*

Educational Testing Service, Princeton, NJ; Jerilee E. Grancy: \$22,544. To plan an analysis of Educational Testing Service data on students who took the SAT or GRE between 1975 and 1982 to prepare profiles of prospective undergraduate and graduate Humanities majors. *OP*

Rutgers U., New Brunswick, Piscataway, NJ; Rodney T. Harnett: \$15,000. To conduct a study comparing the quality of students obtaining Ph.D.'s in the humanities in 1971, 1976, and 1981 with those obtaining professional degrees in business, law, and medicine. *OP*

Science Museum of Minnesota, St. Paul; Curtis M. Hadland: \$300,000. To plan a temporary interpretive exhibition which traces human attitudes towards wolves from prehistoric times to the present to provide a humanities context within which to assess scientific perceptions. *GM*

Syracuse U., NY; Steven J. Taylor: \$57,449. To enable 40 high school students to use qualitative skills related to cultural anthropology, history, and literature, in the study of school and institutional settings for the mentally retarded as well as societal attitudes toward the disabled. *GZ*

U. of Illinois, Urbana, Champaign; Stephen S. Prokopoff: \$14,485. To plan a traveling exhibition on the art of the mentally ill, drawing on the work and collection of the late Dr. Hans Prinzhorn covering the period of 1890 to 1920. *GM*

U. of Wisconsin, Madison; David A. Woodward: \$75,000 OR; \$122,396 FM. To continue preparation of the third volume of an encyclopedic history of cartography: "The Cartographic Enlightenment, 1670-1780." *RT*

West Virginia U., Morgantown; Kenneth C. Martis: \$89,635. To complete a "Historical Atlas of Political Party Representation in the United States Congress: 1789-1987." *RT*

State Programs

Arkansas Endowment for the Humanities, Little Rock; Manuel Ramirez: \$96,000.

Association for the Humanities in Idaho, Boise; Robert Allred: \$50,000

California Council for the Humanities, San Francisco; Richard Wasserstrom: \$50,000.

Connecticut Humanities Council, Middletown; M. Kathleen McGrory: \$50,000.

Illinois Humanities Council, Chicago; Richard Brown: \$85,000.

Indiana Committee for the Humanities, Indianapolis; James Blevins: \$65,000.

Maryland Committee for the Humanities, Baltimore; Robert C. Schleiger: \$50,000.

Minnesota Humanities Commission, St. Paul; Virginia Lanegran: \$75,000.

Nevada Humanities Committee, Reno; John C. Unrue: \$25,000.

Texas Committee for the Humanities, Austin; Archie P. McDonald: \$50,000.

Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy, Charlottesville; John D. Wilson: \$50,000.

Washington Commission for the Humanities, Olympia; Philip H. Ashby: \$150,000.

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

Education Programs

EB Central Disciplines in Undergraduate Education

EH Exemplary Projects, Nontraditional Programs, and Teaching Materials

ES Humanities Instruction in Elementary and Secondary Schools

Program and Policy Studies

OP Planning and Assessment Studies

General Programs

GP Program Development

GY Younger Scholars

GZ Youth Projects

GL Libraries Humanities Projects

GM Museums and Historical Organizations Humanities Projects

GN Media Humanities Projects

Research Programs

RH Humanities, Science and Technology

RC Research Resources

RD Research Conferences

RE Editions

RI Intercultural Research

RL Translations

RO Project Research

RP Publications

RT Research Tools

RV Conservation and Preservation

RY Travel to Collections

In the next issue . . .

Poetry & Letters

The Two Wordsworths
Stephen Parrish shows how Wordsworth's love letters reconcile the "two selves" of this towering, ambiguous Romantic.

The Letters of Henry Adams
J. C. Levenson discusses these editions that continue the education about Henry Adams.

Poetry Still
Makes Things Happen
Christopher Clausen compares poetry's current state with its past achievements.

In Defense of Poetry
J. D. McClatchy describes the special knowledge that modern poetry imparts.

What Has Happened in Literary Studies?

Lawrence Lipking reviews the past 25 years of literary studies to determine if the much discussed "crisis" in the field is real or imagined, destruction or rejuvenation.

LETTERS

The Press of History

Your article, "Yesterday's Newspapers," makes a convincing case for the value of newspapers in understanding and interpreting American history.

Without wishing to depreciate in any way the potential research benefits of the Newspaper Project, I would like to point out that at least two other very significant objectives are also being served. First, many archives, libraries, and local government buildings are groaning under the burden of vast newspaper holdings. This project promises to preserve the historical information, but also to free for other needed uses tens of millions of dollars worth of archival storage space. Second, this effort is bringing together archivists, librarians, and historians to solve a problem of national scope.

Since many of the other challenges we face in preserving and providing access to historical information can only be met by this type of cooperative approach, the structures created by the Newspaper Project may lead to new techniques for addressing these other common problems. The Coalition for the Preservation of Alabama Newspapers happily salutes the NEH for its leadership in this important area of historical records preservation.

—Edwin C. Bridges

Chairman, Coalition for the Preservation of Alabama Newspapers

NEH NOTES & NEWS

OPPS Program Solicitation

The Endowment's Office of Program and Policy Studies has announced a program solicitation inviting proposals to study the condition of the humanities through analysis of existing data resources. While any humanities-related topic is eligible, the Office especially encourages applications dealing with one of six broad priority areas: the state of the disciplines in the humanities; financing the humanities; humanities education; humanities programming for the out-of-school public; the humanities labor force; and trends in the demand for and use of humanities resources.

The maximum level of funding for each award shall not exceed \$25,000. The deadline for receipt of proposals is January 23, 1984.

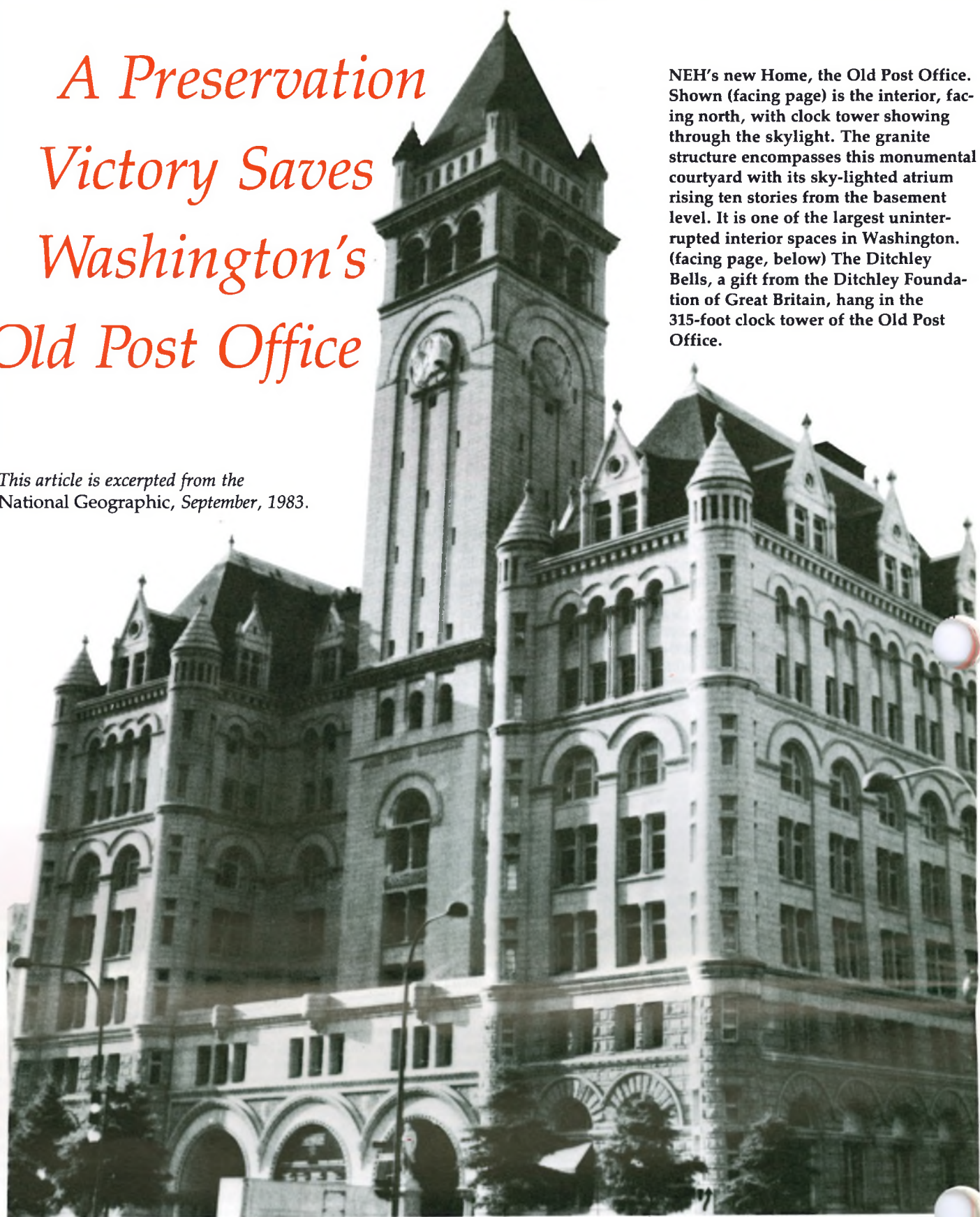
Copies of the program solicitation and application forms can be obtained by writing to:

Office of Program and Policy Studies
Room 402
National Endowment for the Humanities
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20506

26

A Preservation Victory Saves Washington's Old Post Office

This article is excerpted from the National Geographic, September, 1983.



NEH's new Home, the Old Post Office. Shown (facing page) is the interior, facing north, with clock tower showing through the skylight. The granite structure encompasses this monumental courtyard with its sky-lighted atrium rising ten stories from the basement level. It is one of the largest uninterrupted interior spaces in Washington. (facing page, below) The Ditchley Bells, a gift from the Ditchley Foundation of Great Britain, hang in the 315-foot clock tower of the Old Post Office.

The Old Post Office building in Washington, D.C., ten floors of gray Maine granite topped by a 315-foot clock tower, looked, one critic said, like "a cross between a cathedral and a cotton mill."

It seemed to have been built under an unlucky star. In 1899, not long after the building was occupied, former Washington Postmaster James P. Willett plunged down an elevator shaft and departed this life. It became the "old" Post Office after just fifteen years, replaced by a more efficient edifice. To citizens gazing up at its tower, the tallest structure in the capital save for the Washington Monument, the building was that "Old Tooth."

While accumulating grime beside Pennsylvania Avenue, the Old Tooth housed the nation's postmasters general until 1934, then the overspill of sundry federal agencies, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As other architectural fashions bloomed along the "Avenue of the Presidents," the Romanesque revival

style of the Old Tooth drew contempt; for decades the building lay under the threat of demolition.

But Americans have been rediscovering their cities in recent years, and the Old Post Office bids to become a tower in the movement. Reprieved and renovated, upgraded from grimy derelict to community asset, the pioneering project combines government quarters with shops, restaurants, entertainment, and just plain fun. Its salvation was due to a mannerly public revolt, decisively abetted by the late Nancy Hanks, chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts under Presidents Nixon and Ford, and to 30 million dollars in federal funds.

Seven floors of pleasant offices already house federal agencies devoted to the arts and humanities. The arched galleries of these upper floors look down on a magnificent cortile, or inner court, 99 feet wide and 184 feet long. The first-floor area, where mail was once sorted, now boasts restaurants that overlook a

stage. Roundabout on three levels, 60,000 square feet of space has been leased for specialty food shops and boutiques that will cater to both office workers and capital visitors.

That is not all. In the tower, dramatically visible through the cortile's glass canopy, ten great bells will peal from time to time, providing, their donors hope, that occasional "blinding flash of inspiration which helps drive civilization on its way." A bicentennial gift to Congress from the Ditchley Foundation of Great Britain, the bells duplicate those of Westminster Abbey. In fact, they were made in the same foundry, Whitechapel, that cast bells for the abbey four centuries ago (and later cast the Liberty Bell). For a closer look, or for a panoramic view of Washington, visitors will ascend to the tower entrance in a glass-walled elevator.

The recycled building will provide a "multisensory experience" and host a "festival market," according to Charles C.G. Evans, Jr., of the Evans Development Company of

Baltimore, in charge of the commercial areas. Evans is planning morning-to-evening cultural programs in the cortile, with musicians, jugglers, dancers, and puppeteers. "We are treating the city to a nonstop party," declared architect Benjamin Thompson, who designed the food and shopping areas, as well as markets in three other cities, Boston's Faneuil Hall, Baltimore's Harborplace, and New York City's South Street Seaport, all testifying to the new vitality of the American city.

Like most federal buildings of its day, the Old Post Office was designed in the Treasury Department by the office of its supervising architect, Willoughby J. Edbrooke. The design was inspired by the Allegheny County Courthouse in Pittsburgh, one of the most renowned buildings to emanate from the drawing board of Henry Hobson Richardson. In the 1870s and into the 1880s, Richardson utilized the rough stonework, massive piers, and turrets inspired by 12th-century Romanesque architecture of southern France. Edbrooke also applied the style to federal buildings in St. Paul, Milwaukee, and Omaha.

Architectural tastes change, however, especially in Washington, where officials periodically attempt to bring grandeur to streets and structures. In the great triangle of Pennsylvania and Constitution Avenues and 15th Street, the Old Post Office had been the single federal edifice. A drive for classic order and more office space, headed by Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon, resulted in an enclave of new buildings — the Federal Triangle—in the years after World War I.

The Old Tooth was to be extracted. Only the Depression, foreshortening the Mellon plan, saved it. But time was taking a toll. Its deterioration was dramatized in 1956 when a 1,200-pound clock weight crashed through two floors.

Other buildings along Pennsylvania Avenue also needed attention. Labor Secretary Arthur J. Goldberg reported to President John F. Kennedy in 1961 that the avenue's north side was "a blighted area that is

unsightly by day and empty by night." Thus was born another commission charged with replanning the avenue. Its proposals dealt in modern superblocs. Dissenting architecture would be replaced with updated versions of the Federal Triangle buildings constructed in the late 1920s and 1930s. Only the Old Post Office's tower would be allowed to remain — standing in naked solitude. Public anger began to rise. "The Old Post Office was there first!" I protested in my "Cityscape" column in the *Washington Post* in 1970. Not many years previously, the idea of preserving an obsolete building without historic significance had seemed vaguely un-American. But now civic activists were beginning to argue that the urban environment had valuable cultural attributes and, like wilderness, needed protection from destruction and pollution. An early pioneer in the Save-the-Old-Post-Office drive was Alison Owings, then 26, a television producer: "Every time I returned to Washington from a trip, I found another piece of the city gone. I thought of the skill and caring and effort that craftsmen applied to laying a course of brick or carving woodwork. I got mad at the arrogance of bulldozing this devotion."

On April 19, 1971, she rallied two dozen protesters in front of the doomed Old Tooth. Their slogan, Don't Tear It Down, became the name of their organization. Officials were to hear that name many times, for the group attacked the Pennsylvania Avenue plan before zoning and planning agencies, the City Council, and congressional committees.

They hoped, as did I, not merely to salvage an old pile of granite but to adapt it to another use. The ground floor, we suggested, could be "Washington's Ghirardelli." Recently completed, San Francisco's Ghirardelli Square had rekindled urban bustle around an old chocolate factory.

The new mood began to catch on; officials who had espoused the radical rebuilding of Pennsylvania Avenue began to back away. Still, the government's landlord, the General Services Administration (GSA), ada-



Government Services Administration

manly clutched the death warrant. GSA is, after all, in the business of providing efficient quarters for bureaucrats; it reckoned that an extension of the nearby Internal Revenue Service building would provide twice as much office space as remodeling the Old Tooth.

Enter Nancy Hanks, a crafty politician and girlishly unaffected, warm-hearted woman. "She cared deeply—she cared about little things," said Bill N. Lacy, who introduced her to the Old Post Office when he was director of architecture and environmental arts for the National Endowment for the Arts. . . .

"Old buildings are like friends," Miss Hanks told a Senate subcommittee. They reassure people in times of change. The National Endowment, she hoped, would "encourage people to dream about their cities — to think before they build, to consider the alternatives before they tear it down." No building, she thought, could give greater visibility to these goals than the Old Post Office.

She hoped it could be used for both government offices and public enjoyment. But commercial activities were prohibited in federal buildings by law. Her office drafted the Public Buildings Cooperative Use Act, passed by Congress in 1976, which made it possible to bring into this and other federal buildings the throb of the marketplace and the vitality of the stage. In memory of Miss Hanks, who died last January, Congress named the Old Post Office and its plazas the Nancy Hanks Center.

Washington architect Arthur Cotton Moore had long been active in

the fight to save the building. A renovation design competition was won by a joint venture of McGaughy, Marshall, and McMillan, Arthur Cotton Moore Associates, Associated Space Design, Inc., and Stewart Daniel Hoban Associates. Together they created the award-winning multi-tiered cortile area. When they replaced the metal roof with glass, they uncovered and enhanced what in my mind is one of the most cheerful interior spaces in all architecture.

The cortile area, named the Pavilion, was leased for 55 years to the Evans Company, which is investing nine million dollars of its own to create shops and other spaces. "It's a wonderful opportunity for both parties," Charles Evans said. "The taxpayer gets not only rent but also a share of the income from the commercial services. In other words, we'll be making money for the government."

. . . The hum of the place is certain to attract Washingtonians as well as tourists from the great monuments on the Mall, just a short walk away. After office hours tourists have too few places to rest their feet in downtown Washington; when the workers go home, Pennsylvania Avenue still turns into a veritable necropolis.

Lighting up after dark, the Nancy Hanks Center will surely spark further activity. With the restoration of other buildings, Pennsylvania Avenue could again become a people magnet and the lively, cosmopolitan Main Street of the nation.

—Wolf Von Eckardt

Mr. Von Eckardt writes about architecture for *Time* magazine and other publications.



Government Services Administration

Featured in this issue of Humanities . . .



1 **The Intellectual Emigrés** by Peter Gay. How the intellectuals who fled from Hitler's Germany transformed American academic life.

4

The Emigré Photographers. With their high-speed leicas and their unique vision, the émigré photographers documented the history of their time.



5

The Emigrés' Vision of America by Anthony Heilbut. The author of *Exiled in Paradise*, the 1983 Los Angeles Times Book Award nominee for history tells how a "generation of Tocquevilles" mastered the culture and made sense of it for the natives.



8



Einstein. Using an exhibit created by the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, the state humanities committees honored the scientist revered not only for his revolutionary reshaping of modern physics, but also for his deep understanding of the humanities.

9

Thomas Mann: The Long Road to America by Sol Gittleman. Few writers began on the Right and eventually found a spiritual home in liberal democracy. Thomas Mann's literary legacy is this century's most complete picture of the relationship of literature to freedom.



11

Erwin Panofsky. How the forced emigration of Erwin Panofsky ushered in explosive growth in the discipline of art history in America.

12

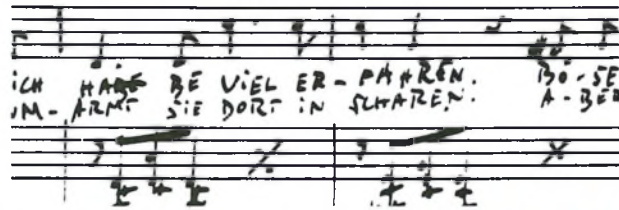
Hannah Arendt. The controversial political philosopher who thought that "intellectually, political nonconformism is the sine qua non of achievements."



The Bauhaus. The school whose rise and fall mirrored the fortunes of Weimar but whose tenets revolutionized the style and substance of twentieth-century architecture and design.



14



16 **Kurt Weill.** In a culture that uses such unfortunate terms as "highbrow" and "lowbrow," Weill may have been the only composer to have bridged the chasm since the heyday of Italian opera.

18

Germans in the Making of America by Terry G. Jordan. A cultural geographer demonstrates that Americans of German ancestry are more numerous than any other group and shows the extent to which America's Germans have influenced our tastes in food, housing, sports, weaponry and politics.



21

The Constitutional Classics. A four-week Institute at Harvard focuses on two classics that are mentioned reverentially more frequently than they are read: *The Federalist* and Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, food for secondary school teachers' summer thought.



- 2 Editor's Notes
- 20 Humanities Subscription Information
- 22 Grant Application Deadlines
- 23 Recent NEH Grants
- 26 NEH Notes & News Letters
- NEH's New Home

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT
FOR THE HUMANITIES
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20506

Official Business

Postage and fees paid
National Endowment for the Humanities
SECOND CLASS/CONTROLLED CIRCULATION
Penalty For Private Use, \$300.00

