

Humanities

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

VOLUME 7 NUMBER 4 • AUGUST 1986



**The
imprint
of the
present
on the past**

Contents

- 3 **The New History of the Enlightenment** by Robert Anchor
How new approaches to new subjects evoke the sense of process in an era.
- 7 **Hume and the Whig Historians:**
The place of social conditions in Hume's studies of government.
- 10 **The Arrival of Women in Medieval History** by Suzanne Fonay Wemple
A review of the scholarship reconstructing the female experience.
- 13 **The promise of a Place in History:** *The oral history of modern Iran.*
- 16 **How To Write a Murder History**
L'affaire Caillaux set on the stage of World War I.
- 19 **Remembering Andrew Jackson** by Harry L. Watson
Old Hickory's fluctuating fortunes hold a lesson for historians.
- 24 **The Transformation of Philadelphia**
Collaborative studies of the emergence of an industrial giant.
- 27 **The Old Frontier:** *Frederick Jackson Turner and U.S. historiography.*
- 30 **From Negative to Positive Images:** *Saving photos of the Southwest.*
- 31 **Bringing the Past up to Date:** *Teaching the teachers of teachers.*
- 33 **Interpretations of History**
High school teachers study "fundamental changes in historical outlook."
- 35 **What I Read on My Summer Vacation**
At St. John's College, the best way to teach is to learn.
- 36 **What Americans Should Know:** *Western civilization or world history?*
- 39 **The Humanities GUIDE:** *Funds for Faculty Study*

Humanities

A bimonthly review published by the National Endowment for the Humanities

Chairman: Lynne V. Cheney

Director of Public Affairs:

Susan H. Metts

Assistant Director for Publications:

Caroline Taylor

Editor: Linda Blanken

Managing Editor: Mary T. Chunko

Editorial Board: Marjorie Berlincourt,

James Blessing, Harold Cannon,

Richard Ekman, Donald Gibson,

Guinevere Griest, Pamela Glenn

Menke

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 this publication may be freely reproduced with appropriate credit to *Humanities*. The editor would appreciate copies for the Endowment's reference. The chairman of the Endowment has determined that the publication of this periodical is necessary in the transaction of the public business required by law of this agency. Use of funds for printing this periodical has been approved by the director of the Office of Management and Budget through September 1988. Send requests for subscriptions and other communications to the editor, *Humanities*, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506. Telephone 202/ 786-0435. (USPS 521-090) ISSN 0018-7526.

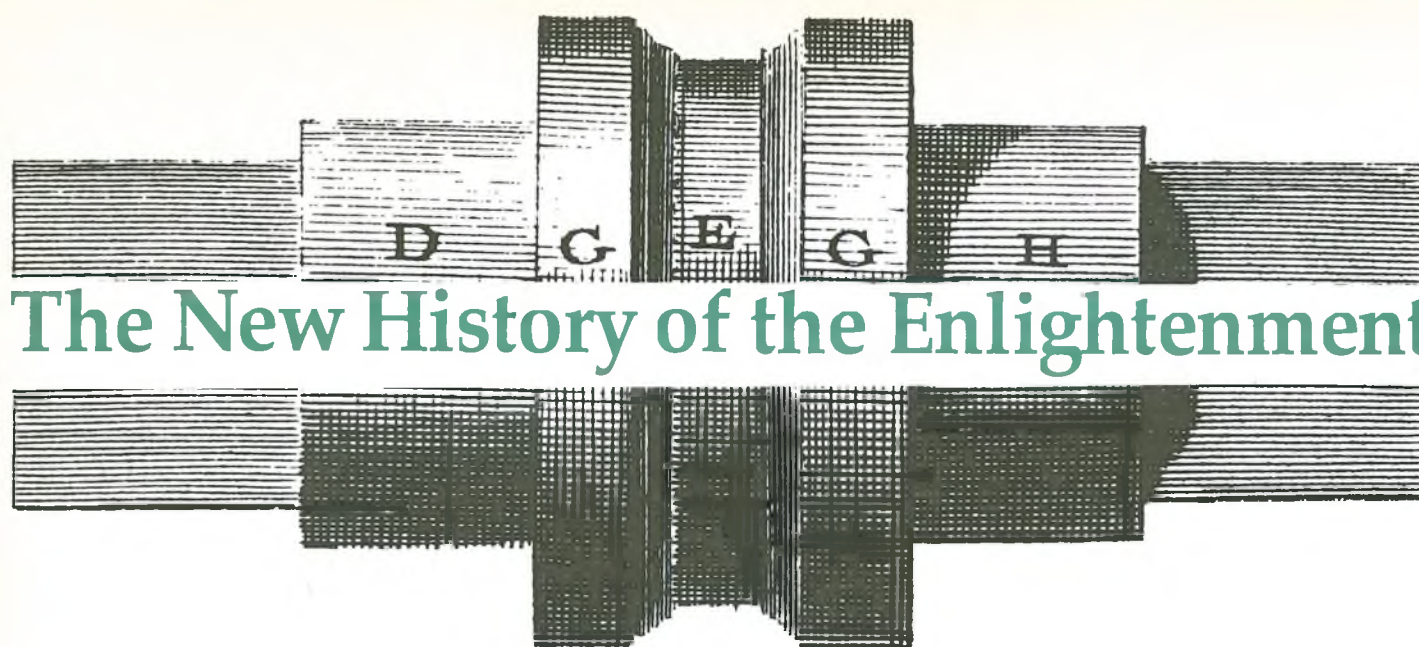
Editor's Notes

History is frequently as reflective of the present as it is of the past; historians necessarily draw on the methods, the subjects, and the theories of their own age in their attempts to recreate an earlier one. The three historians writing in this issue of *Humanities* show that this imprint of the present is not necessarily a distortion of the past, but rather a focusing device, which makes distant issues and events more visible.

Intellectual historian Robert Anchor of the University of California, Santa Cruz, discusses the ways in which the new history has enriched the understanding of the Enlightenment through emphasizing the "synchronic, structural dimensions" of the period. Medieval historian Suzanne Fonay Wemple of Barnard College discusses recent scholarship on the relatively new subject of women in the Middle Ages and suggests the topics remaining to be explored before a history can be written that will integrate women's experiences into the general history of the time. Finally, political historian Harry L. Watson of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, traces the changing interpretations of the Jacksonian presidency through five periods of American historiography and demonstrates that "each major group of revisionists has discovered some important and enduring insight that subsequent scholars have been forced to include in their accounts."

How scholars interpret history will matter little, however, if they disregard the widespread ignorance of the past among American youth, evidenced by the preliminary findings of a survey being conducted by the National Assessment of Educational Progress. *Humanities* also describes some of the efforts now underway to correct this deficiency so that history may continue to inform the future.

—Linda Blanken



The New History of the Enlightenment

Cooperation and exchange among history, the social sciences, and other fields in the humanities have become routine in recent years and have contributed significantly to the interdisciplinary and international character of contemporary historical scholarship. New models, methods, and fields of research, which were nonexistent or only in their infancy forty years ago, have proliferated at an amazing pace since the Second World War, and more particularly since the mid-1960s. Quantitative history and psychohistory, women's history and history of the family, ethnic and oral history, history of popular culture and technology, anthropology and critical theory, linguistics and discourse analysis—all have generated new historiographical strategies and practices which have dramatically altered historians' sense of the past. Because of these and other developments, the new history is more innovative and self-critical than the old; more democratic and less "elitist"; more global and less Eurocentric; more preoccupied with the potential of history to be, in Habermasian language, an "emancipatory" discipline; and more sophisticated about the complex relationships between theoretical-methodological and political-ideological considerations in actual research. Indeed, it would not be rash to speak of a fundamental reorientation of historical studies, which became apparent around the mid-1960s, and which suggests the impact of the present in interpreting the past.

Significant changes of this kind do not, after all, occur in a vacuum. The

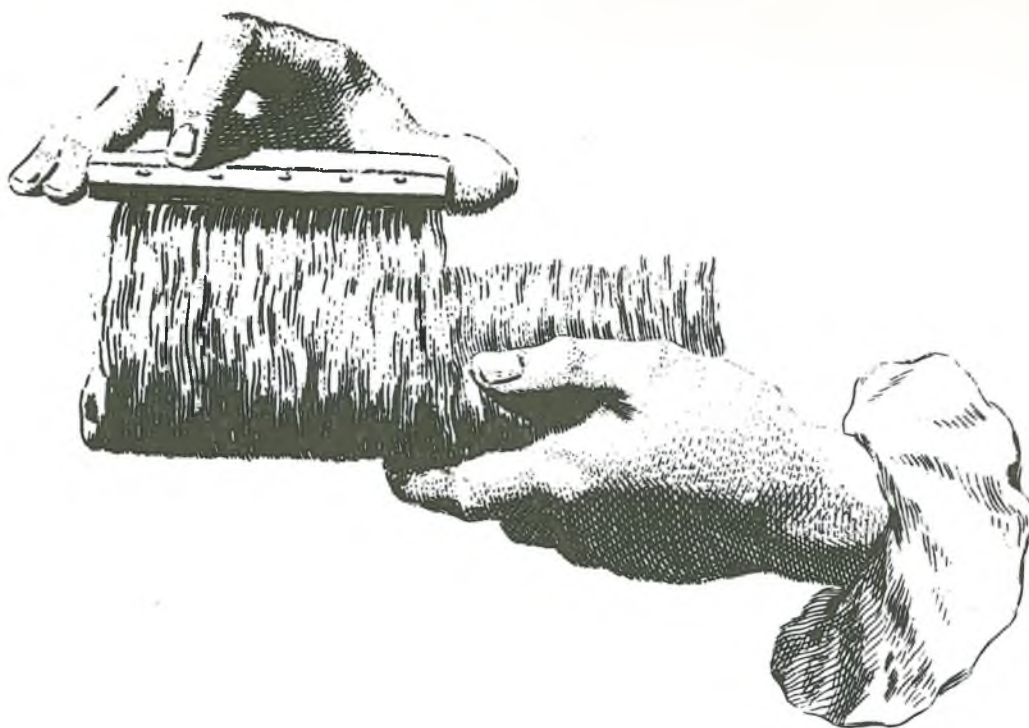
questions asked by the new historians are those that preoccupy all of us nowadays: the nature of power, authority, and leadership; the relationship of political institutions to underlying social patterns and value systems; attitudes toward gender, class, and race; sexuality, marriage, and family; work, leisure, and consumption; wealth, status, and privilege; law, crime, and punishment; the relationship of religion, science, and magic as explanatory models of reality; the impact on people's lives and ways of looking at the world of literacy and education; the strength and meaning of ritual, symbol, and custom as ways of sustaining community; patterns of social resistance and obedience; and the shifting ecological balance between man and nature.

These new trends are transforming virtually every field of historical study, including the Enlightenment. Indeed, the Enlightenment is of particular interest to the new historians in that it offered the first program in the history of mankind for the construction of an ideal society based entirely on secular materials—a program that established itself, during and after the French Revolution, as the characteristic world view of the Western world. It was with Enlightenment values—encapsulated in the revolutionary slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" and reconstituted in the nineteenth century as "liberalism"—that Western mankind entered the twentieth century to face the challenges of mass society and technological culture. Thus, the crises experienced in the twentieth century were per-

ceived as well to be crises of the Enlightenment tradition. It is not surprising, therefore, that much of the best contemporary thought takes the form of an attack upon or defence of the original Enlightenment. In recent decades, many thinkers have come to believe that there were serious flaws in the Enlightenment faith in reason, science, education, and the perfectibility of the human species. We need only think of such important works as Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947), Michel Foucault's *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1961), and Jean François Lyotard's *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1979). Given the central place occupied by the Enlightenment in current thinking about the future of Western and world civilization, it is not surprising that our understanding of that tradition should be permeated by our perceptions of the present.

A few of the main areas of activity, which characterize the new history of the Enlightenment and distinguish it from the old, are those pioneered principally by the *Annales* school of historians. One such area is the study of the functions, composition, and organization of a whole array of institutions below the level of those of the nation state: institutions regulating the production and distribution of wealth, power, and status, such as the business and professional classes; institutions for socialization and education, such as the family, the school, and the university; institutions for social control, such as the police, prisons, and

A schematic top view of a roller in a machine to form wrought-iron rods, from Diderot's L'Encyclopedie.



asylums; institutions for local government, such as town meetings, churchwardens, and political clubs; and institutions for culture and leisure, such as museums, academies, art galleries, publishing houses, the book trade, and festivals.

Beyond social institutions there is an intense interest in social processes: in social, geographic, and occupational mobility, both between groups and among individuals within groups; and in group conflict or cooperation. This interest has led in turn to a search for the social roots of political and ideological movements, both among the elite leaders and their mass followings; for example, the *philosophes* and the various components of the Third Estate.

A third main area of activity, and one that is rapidly growing in importance, is a new kind of socio-cultural history. This takes the form of intensive studies of the effects on public opinion of changing communications, through printing, literacy, and the clandestine circulation of censored literature; of the links of high culture to its social and political matrix; of the two-way traffic between high and popular culture; and last, but not least, of the culture of the semiliterate masses as an independent study in its own right. No longer is the limelight on the tiny elite of 1, or at most, 2 percent

whose lives and careers long made up the stuff of history. There has been a deliberate attempt to break away from this ancient fascination with the hereditary holders of political and religious power, the monopolizers of the bulk of material wealth, and the exclusive producers and consumers of high culture. The emphasis has shifted to finding ways of reconstructing not only the economic and social experiences of the masses, but also the *mentalité* or mind set, the values and the world view of people who have left behind them no written record of their personal thoughts and feelings: in other words, about 99 percent of all the human race who ever lived before 1940. The impetus for this shift of subject matter came mainly from anthropology—in particular, the symbolic anthropology of Claude Lévi-Strauss, Victor Turner, Mary Douglas, and Clifford Geertz—but the techniques for exploring such dim regions of past experience have been and still are being developed on their own by a number of highly imaginative and dedicated historians who have labored to discover new source materials with which to carry on this exploration.

Among the most successful of these historians is Robert Darnton of Princeton University, whose several studies examine the composition and circulation of the low culture of

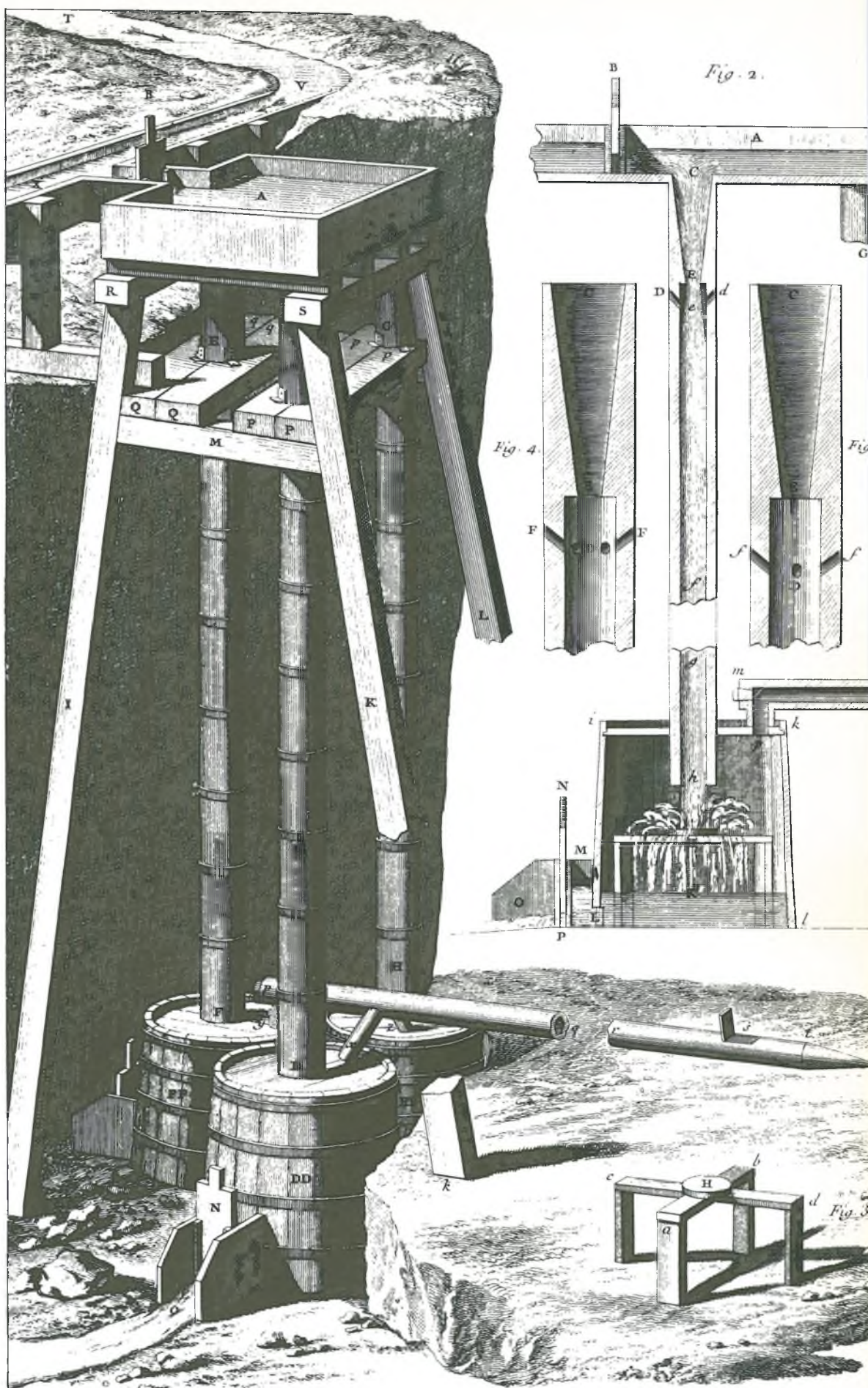
the Enlightenment. His *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (1968) was one of the first studies to bridge the gap between the intellectual Enlightenment and what he calls the popular Enlightenment. In *The Business of Enlightenment* (1979) and *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (1982), Darnton broke new ground by applying statistical procedures and anthropological models to trace the dissemination of the *Encyclopédie* and other clandestine literature and their effects on various sectors of the French reading public. And in his most recent work, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (1984), Darnton used similar techniques to explore such diverse topics as peasant folklore, workers' revolts, the bourgeois mentality, police files, and popular adaptations of Enlightenment ideas. Darnton's work dovetails with such recent reevaluations of the social implications of Enlightenment ideas as Harry Payne's *The Philosophers and the People* (1976), which shows how the intellectual elites, in their attitudes and discourses, opened a gulf between themselves and the general population and between their new high culture and the traditional low cultures of the common people.

French historians are at the forefront of the new history of the Enlightenment. Among the most creative is Michel Vovelle, whose innovative studies chart the decline of religious faith in eighteenth-century France through an analysis of hitherto unexplored testamentary literature, rather than through an analysis of familiar Enlightenment texts on religion. Daniel Roche assesses the role of the professional classes, academies, learned societies, and Freemason lodges in propagating and politicizing the Enlightenment. Dominique Julia deals with the influence of Enlightenment ideas on educational reform—religious, secular, and military—and the institutionalization of the Enlightenment in France's educational system. Jean Sgard, with the help of detailed statistical data, traces the growing importance of journals and journalists as agents of the Enlightenment and sounding-boards of social discontent. Jean Quénart examines the acquisition and distribution of literacy among the rural and sub-

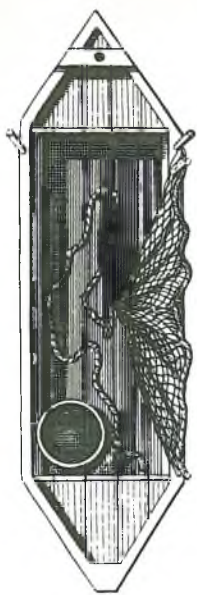
ordinate social classes and the effects the expansion of literacy had on undermining the authority of the Church and making Enlightenment thought accessible to large new sectors of the French population. And Roger Chartier investigates the deteriorating relationship between the Second and Third Estates and its destabilizing social and political effects.

German scholars are also making significant contributions to the new history of the Enlightenment. Works by Thomas Schleich on Mably and Rolf Reichardt on Condorcet portray these *philosophes* less as gifted or original thinkers than as mediators of a collective need for social change. Similarly, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and Rolf Geissler attribute the historical importance of major eighteenth-century literary works less to their aesthetic or entertainment value than to their success in undermining public confidence in the *ancien régime* and making it vulnerable to criticism in the name of the Enlightenment ideal of "natural" man. And Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink examines criminal records as a barometer of social unrest, and the role of popular writers, the lower clergy, jurists, and elements of the newly literate classes in mediating and adapting the Enlightenment to meet local needs and discontents. Unfortunately, most of the work of these French and German scholars is not yet available in English translation.

By opening up whole new areas of research and using innovative methodologies, the new history is enriching our understanding of the Enlightenment. But it has not yet produced a work of synthesis comparable, say, to Ernst Cassirer's *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (1932), Robert Palmer's *The Age of Democratic Revolution* (2 vols, 1959-64), or Peter Gay's *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (2 vols., 1966-69). And this may not be merely coincidental. For if the old history privileged "great" men, deeds, events, and ideas, the new history gives priority to structures, systems, and processes. Or, to put it another way, if the former focused on the diachronic, developmental dimension of history, the latter stresses the synchronic, structural dimension, which sometimes gives an impression of the past as a disconnected, or only loosely con-



The illustrations accompanying this essay are plates depicting trades and industry in L'Encyclopédie of Denis Diderot, published in Paris in 1751. (opposite page) Combing cotton by hand to separate cotton fibers. (above) A pump, like those in certain foundries in Dauphiny, that produced a constant draft for a blast furnace.



(above and below) Boat with fishing net and demonstration of river trawling.

nected, congeries of configurations, rather than a dynamic, coherent, casually related continuum. This difference in approach assumes added importance when we consider that the new history presents itself, often aggressively, as the blueprint of a "total" history; that is, a history capable of integrating both dimensions and all elements of a historical era, including society's underclasses. But the fact is that all historians, whether consciously or not, presuppose the priority of some factors over others; in the present case, the priority of socioeconomic factors over biographical, political, or intellectual ones. Thus, the claim of being able to integrate the various components of a historical period into a "total" history—even if great care is taken that, as far as possible, they are all adequately accounted for—cannot be met by the new history, just as it cannot be met by any explanatory historiography based on such a claim. Whenever this claim is made, it fails to take into account the fundamental difference between the facticity of history and history as process and structure. And the danger of historical literature which ignores this distinction is that it may evoke the illusory image of a complete entity whose component parts are related to each other functionally, while their relative autonomy, which cannot be explained but can only be made intelligible by narration, often goes unnoticed. This may be why the new history, in spite of its claim to being a model for "total" history, has so far failed to produce a significant synthesis of the Enlightenment.

In any case, it is a mistake I tried to avoid in my own essay, *The En-*

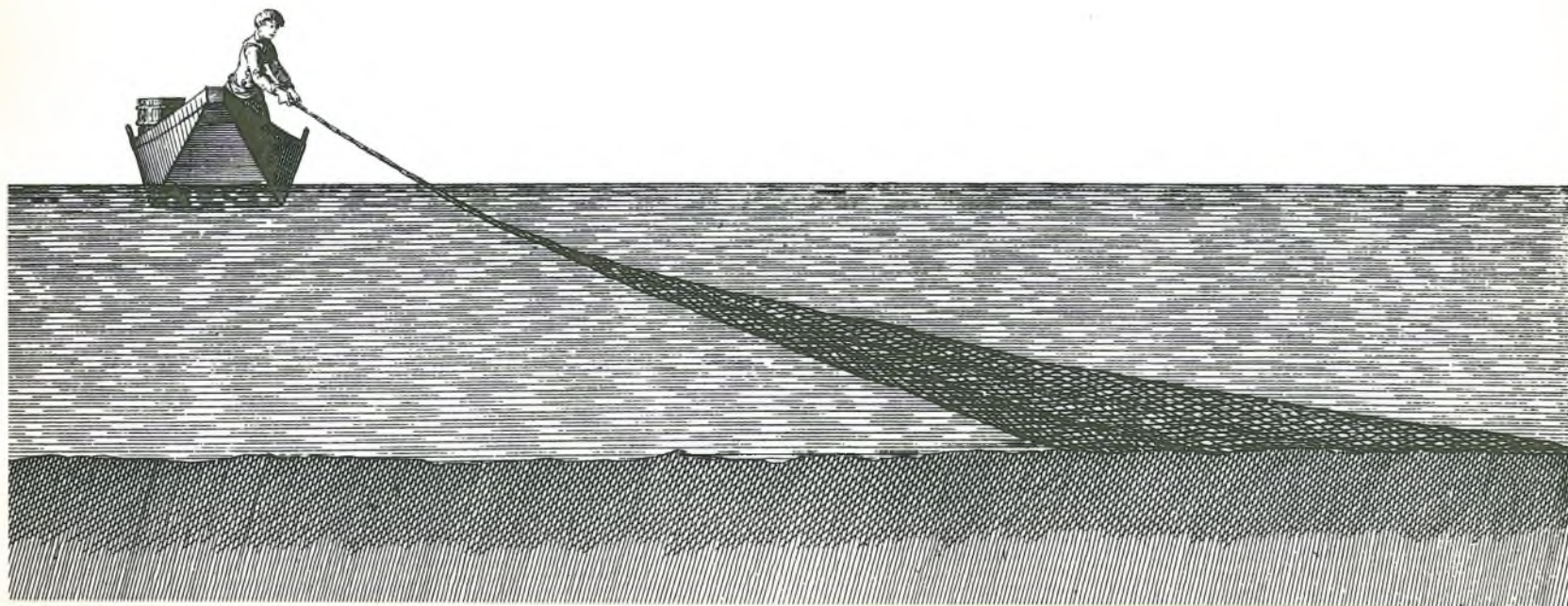
lightenment Tradition (rev. ed., 1979), which traces the course of the Enlightenment from its origins in English thought through France to Germany. On the one hand, I used some of the new history's exemplary analyses of such significant phenomena as: (1) the complex interaction between the ideas of the *philosophes* and various, often contradictory, sociopolitical interests; (2) the appropriation and transformation of the Enlightenment into an instrument of social and political protest; and (3) the process by which an initially antirevolutionary intellectual movement was transformed in the course of time into an effective revolutionary force. On the other hand, I also tried to give due consideration to the relative autonomy of the Enlightenment as an intellectual movement with a past and a future and a program worthy of critical evaluation on its own merits; that is, as a living intellectual tradition capable of transcending its immediate historical context and engaging the contemporary reader. *The Enlightenment Tradition* does not pretend to be a "total" history, but it does attempt to elucidate, in a mainly narrative mode, how Western thought acquired and secured some of its most characteristic features.

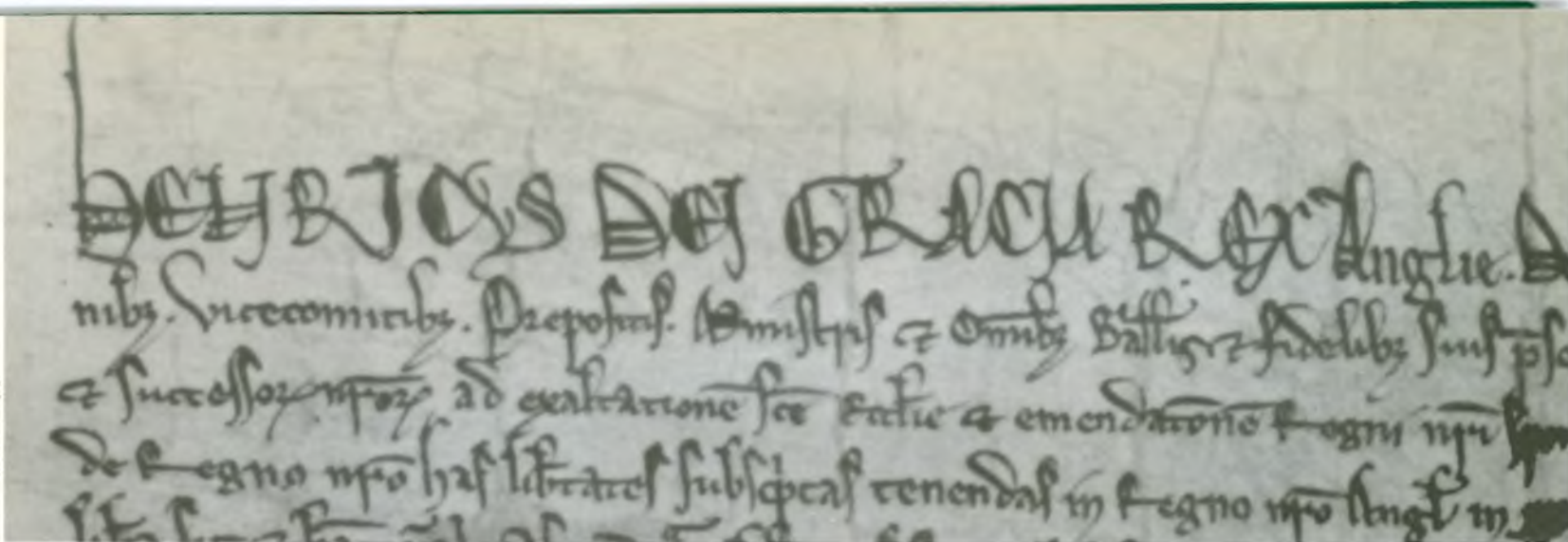
To its credit, the new history has succeeded very well in evoking a sense of the Enlightenment as a process in which all segments of society—including the "silent" underclasses—played, each in a different way, an indispensable role in its formation, dissemination, and transformation into a powerful revolutionary force. The new history thus makes a strong case for itself as an "emancipatory" historiography,

more integrative than any other, and hence better equipped to identify and unravel the complex interdependency of "knowledge" and "interests." The new history succeeds in these areas so well in fact that it is easy to overlook the assumption implicit in its methodology that changes in cultural and intellectual life occur in the same way and follow the same trajectory as changes in social structure. But how would such a methodology explain the recurrence of similar cultural and intellectual phenomena at various times in widely different historical contexts—for example, the frequent revivals of antiquity in Western history—or, conversely, the significant differences in cultural and intellectual dispositions in similar historical contexts—say, those between contemporary Britain, France, and Germany? Such questions are better answered by narrative history than by a methodology that blurs the distinction between the facticity of history and history as process and structure. This reminder, however, that the relative autonomy of the components that make up the past can only be made intelligible by narration, should not lead us to lose sight of what the new history has contributed to the interdisciplinary and international character of contemporary historical scholarship.

—Robert Anchor

Mr. Anchor, an intellectual historian at the University of California, Santa Cruz, is the author of *The Enlightenment Tradition* (University of California Press, rev. ed. 1979), *Germany Confronts Modernization* (Heath, 1972), and *The Modern Western Experience* (Prentice-Hall, 1978).





Hume and the Whig Historians

In the hundred years between the English and the American revolutions, the writing and interpretation of history in England, Scotland, and America underwent a significant change. Enlightenment rationalism impelled the great historians of the age—most notably David Hume (1711–76) and Edward Gibbon (1737–94)—to search for primary and verifiable causes to explain the course of human events. Breaking with the tradition of chroniclers such as Rapin and Clarendon, they set out to reconstruct the evolution of societies within an understandable philosophical, physical, and psychological framework. This new approach not only affected the work of subsequent historians, but also influenced the course of parliamentary government in England and revolutionary thought in America.

Scholars interested in all aspects of eighteenth-century Anglo-American civilization joined in reading Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, and others in a 1984 Summer Seminar for College Teachers conducted by J. G. A. Pocock of Johns Hopkins University. The intellectual community created there has sparked original work in eighteenth-century historiography by Pocock and the eleven seminar participants.

Pocock is currently analyzing the meaning of Christianity and barbarism in Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–88). He is reconstructing Gibbon's world view by studying the sources indicated in the footnotes to the history.

Hume and Gibbon, who lived during a period characterized by dis-

satisfaction with oligarchical and royal prerogatives, were concerned with the origin and evolution of government in human societies. Both men explored the primary causes of change in political systems, including geography, climate, religion, values, manners, social stratification, great personalities, and the stages of society. In this way, they formed the precedent for the work of modern historians such as Frederick Jackson Turner (1861–1932), who linked the development of American democracy to the existence of a large, undeveloped frontier. However, notwithstanding the Enlightenment insistence on "rational" explanations and verifiable evidence, the eighteenth-century historians sometimes shaded their conclusions to suit their political predilections, and they were frequently drawn into political debate.

Even before Hume began work on his multivolume *History of England* (1754–62), he had developed a political philosophy at odds with the received wisdom of his day. Unlike his older contemporaries Hobbes and Locke, Hume maintained that the legitimacy of government was not dependent on explicit or implicit acknowledgment of the "natural rights" of "life, liberty, and property," but was rooted instead in the customs and expectations—i.e., the social conditions—of the age. This placed him in conflict with contemporary historians such as Paul de Rapin-Thoyras and Catherine Macaulay, who identified themselves with the "Whig" political ideology favoring a more participatory

government in England. While Rapin and Macaulay argued that the erosion of royal power was justified from the Stuarts on because the kings had ignored the doctrine of natural rights supposedly vested in an ancient constitution, Hume searched in vain for evidence that any such document ever existed in medieval England, and instead traced the broadening of English government to include nobility and commoners to changing social conditions brought about by the dissolution of the feudal system.

The first phase of Hume's work, which covered the reign of the early Stuarts up to the establishing of the Commonwealth, examined the circumstances that led to the beheading of Charles I in 1649. Whig historians Rapin and Macaulay took the position that the Stuart monarchs had deserved their fate because they had illegally encroached on the "natural rights" of their subjects. Hume, using the same and also some new sources, argued that the behavior of the Stuarts did not violate accepted royal prerogatives as enjoyed under Elizabeth I and her predecessors.

Instead, Hume showed that Parliament had taken the initiative in demanding new powers. In describing the argument between James I, the first Stuart monarch, and the House of Commons, Hume says: "A spirit of liberty had now taken possession of the House: The leading members, men of independent genius and large views, began to regulate their opinions more by the future consequences which they foresaw, than by the former prece-

The Magna Carta, detail.

dents which were being set before them; and they less aspired to maintaining an ancient constitution, than at establishing a new one, and a freer, and a better."

At the heart of Hume's thesis lies his attack on the concept of an "ancient constitution" that must be preserved and revered. It was this constitution—supposedly composed in prehistory at the dawn of the Middle Ages—to which the Whigs of his period appealed as justification for the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the establishment of a Bill of Rights stipulating parliamentary supremacy over the Crown and specific civil liberties for subjects. Hume, however, did not believe that a hypothetical ancient authority should be invoked to lock England into its current brand of parliamentary rule.

Hume was dubbed an "anti-Whig" historian, although he represented the label and sought to reverse the judgment with the publication of the second phase of his work, which covered England from the Commonwealth through the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Whereas, he had depicted the first two Stuart monarchs largely as victims of forces beyond their comprehension, in his second set of volumes, he painted both Cromwell and the later two kings, Charles II and James II, as unwise rulers who richly deserved their fates. Hume castigated them for their tyrannical demands because the experience of the Commonwealth had made clear that England wanted a more limited monarchy. Thus, James II was justly deposed for violating the expectations and customs of his period—but not, as Whig ideology insisted, for failing to conform to an "ancient constitution."

Hume's third and fourth periods each contributed to his thesis in their own way. The third series of volumes, which reached back into English history to cover the reign of the Tudor monarchs, focused on conditions in sixteenth-century England. Making use of some original primary sources, Hume demonstrated that life under the Tudors was hard, the lot of the common man poor. Congruently, he showed how the parliaments in the reigns of both Henry VII and Henry VIII had acquiesced to monarchical demands,

as in the successive divorces and break with Rome of Henry VIII. The effect of the work as a whole was to strengthen the contention of his first book that the early Stuarts were merely following royal prerogative up to that point.

Hume's final volumes, which are devoted to the Middle Ages, take up the standard again against the Whig contention that a parliamentary regime is the legitimate heir to an "ancient constitution." By carefully examining the social context of documents such as the Magna Carta, Hume showed that the rights that it had supposedly restored had never existed and traced the attempt to limit King John's power in 1215 to unpopular taxes and personal vulnerability.

Professor Pocock has argued in his book, *The Machiavellian Moment* (1975), that the anti-Whig perspective that Hume popularized a generation before the American Revolution was important in the thought of the Founding Fathers. Although the impetus for the Revolution can certainly be found in John Locke's doctrine of "natural law," Hume's critique of an "ancient constitution" prescribing a parliamentary government helped free Americans to develop their own form of government based on indigenous conditions and social patterns.

Participants in Pocock's seminar are continuing the work that they began under his guidance.

Paul Fideler, who teaches history at Lesley College in Cambridge, Massachusetts, is studying changes in interpretation of English Poor Law in the eighteenth century. The law as handed down from Elizabethan times was in a state of flux and under attack during the period because, despite relatively generous provisions for relief and strict punishment of malingers, the relief rolls were rising at an alarming rate. A number of eighteenth-century historians tackled the problem, including Sir Thomas Ruggles and Sir Frederick Morton Eden. Predictably, the commentators disagreed over the cause of the problem. Ruggles asserted that labor displacement as a result of increased manufacture had created record unemployment and recommended that relief be considered a right in times of layoffs. Eden, taking the classic "conserva-

tive" view, believed that there was too much policy at work already in dealing with the poor, and insisted that public poverty was the inevitable price of economic growth in a free society. The work of both historians was characterized by the type of inquiry pioneered by Hume and Gibbon in that, instead of merely chronicling conditions, they searched for underlying causes. Fideler presented a paper on the subject at the American Historical Association annual convention in December.

Another seminar participant, Donald Wester, who teaches philosophy at Oklahoma Baptist University at Shawnee, Oklahoma, is working on the problem of causality in Hume. Through a study of changes Hume made between his early and late editions, Wester has been able to show that Hume progressively discarded providential or moral causes and increasingly ascribed social change to manners, law, and commerce. Wester also presented a paper at the American Historical Association meeting and plans to share his results at the Scottish Enlightenment conference in Edinburgh this year.

Steven Wallech, of Marymount Palos Verdes College, California, is pursuing research on the changing concept of class, revealed in the work of eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century thinkers. In the eighteenth century, "class" as we understand it was designated by terms such as "station," "rank," or "degree." Physiocrat Edmond Genet discussed the changing meaning of status as wealth shifted from land to the proceeds of labor; in *classifying* different types of status depending on how wealth was obtained, Genet laid the foundations for the contemporary understanding of the word "class." These social and lexical changes are made explicit in the works of economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo, preparing the way for Marxist interpretations of class divisions as the inherent evil that would destroy society.

—Perry Frank

"Writing and Understanding History in Britain and America 1688-1789"/ J.G.A. Pocock/Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD/\$71,590/1984/ Summer Seminars for College Teachers

(clockwise from upper right) David
Hume, 1711-76; James I, 1566-1625;
Charles II, 1630-85; Henry VIII,
1491-1547.





Walters Art Gallery

THE ARRIVAL OF WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY



(above) Details from "The Teacher Peregrinus instructing his student Theodora," Conrad von Hirsau, 13th century.

Within the past few years it has become relatively easy to find information about medieval women. Scholars have been busy writing about them, and we now have knowledge of their political views, lyric poetry, visionary writings, health, marriages, occupations, monastic life, saintly roles, heresy, and witchcraft. Fortunately the old saying of Pericles is not true of the Middle Ages; usually one finds the chroniclers describing the bad as well as the good qualities of women. It is more appropriate to remember the exclamation of St. Francis of Assisi, "God has taken our wives from us, and now Satan gave us sisters." In medieval sources, references to women abound, but one must be particularly careful in interpreting them.

The scholars who have worked on these interpretations and have produced the books and articles mentioned in this essay have had an impact on the general perception of the Middle Ages. Because of their efforts, we know not only that women had different jobs from men; that as work began to move outside the home, women were left the domestic drudgery; that women were discriminated against socially and intellectually. We know also what the more intelligent women did to overcome this discrimination, how they reacted in their time, and what they contributed to their society.

A general approach to medieval women became available to the public at large when *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages* (Methuen Inc., 1984) by Shulamith Shahar, an Israeli writer, was translated into German and from German into English by Chaya Galai. The four chapters on noblewomen, townswomen, women of the peasantry, and witches and heretics are

particularly recommended in this history of women in the high and late Middle Ages. Shahar stresses that there was no equality between the sexes, despite the feudal right that some noblewomen enjoyed, the economic privileges that delighted the majority of bourgeois women, and the fact that peasant women were employed in most agricultural tasks. Discrimination against women existed in "law and custom" in the organizations of state and society, in religion, and in literature.

In Waldensian and Catharist heresies, women held positions of greater respect than in state Catholicism, even though men predominated. Other heresies did not enable women to perform religious rites, but they opposed the existing ecclesiastical order. The predominance of women among those tried and convicted for witchcraft reflected the prevalent belief that evil was present in women more than in men. The religious and legal biases against women in twelfth-century France are explained by Georges Duby in *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France* (Pantheon, 1984), translated masterfully by Barbara Bray. The men, for economic reasons, favored endogamous unions, liked the institution of divorce, and practiced illicit concubinage even though such a triple practice was in conflict with ecclesiastical laws. Only in the thirteenth century did the Church win a long-lasting victory against these practices, but this decree favored women no more than the complex triple Germanic heritage. Proposed already by the Church fathers (with the exception of Ambrosiaster), and enforced by the Carolingians, the rule of the Church had more loopholes for prejudice than the Ger-

manic law. Unfortunately, Duby does not explore the attitudes of women toward the two conflicting institutions. His book, in fact, is more correctly classified as a study of the upper-class family, rather than of medieval women, because in the period under discussion (ninth to thirteenth century), males controlled the institution of marriage.

In contrast, Penny Schine Gold's *The Lady and The Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (University of Chicago Press, 1985) is written from a feminist viewpoint. She analyzes the two conflicting images in literature and demonstrates how these were complemented by the dual portrayal of the Virgin Mary and the female monastic experience. In epic poetry, women, although they do not engage in battle, have the same heroic aspirations as the men—strengthening the family and the feudal society. In romance, men occupy the center of the poem and women are only the recipients of their actions. In Romanesque art, Mary is usually seated holding her child in her lap, the image of the helpmate. For a short time in the early Gothic period, she stands next to her Son in heaven and appears his equal. But her exalted stance was of short duration. In later Gothic, she is still in heaven, but she is the humble virgin, while Christ is the bridegroom. Likewise, early in the twelfth century, women were accepted in the religious orders as subordinate helpmates, but as the century drew to an end, no additional females were received, allegedly because of the additional responsibility they placed on men. Fontevrault represented a notable exception, continuing as a double monastery with an abbess at its head. Church-

men everywhere regarded women as sexual dangers, yet they nurtured friendships with individual women.

Joan Ferrante's *Women As Image in Medieval Literature, from the Twelfth Century to Dante* (Labyrinth Press, 1985) is not only a powerful analysis of the medieval literary treatments of women, but is also a striking appraisal of medieval literature at large. This book shows how the symbolic treatment of women in exegesis, allegory, lyric, and romance represented the forces or the goals that directed men's actions. Ferrante's work culminates with a study of Beatrice as the symbol of heaven who, together with St. Bernard and the Virgin Mary, brings Dante to God. One should not forget, however, that Dante saw Beatrice on earth and that she remains a worldly creature even when she becomes a symbol in the *Divine Comedy*.

Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc (University of Chicago Press, 1985), by Leah Lydia Otis, effectively demonstrates that prostitution was merely tolerated as necessary for sexual morality in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; whereas, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was officially protected by various urban authorities in all European societies. In streets designated as "hot streets," legal houses for prostitutes were set up by town officials, and the women living there could not be harassed by the neighbors. Thus, the houses were municipal institutions rather than private buildings. If a town was too small to support such an establishment, the solution was to import the prostitutes "once a week." The sixteenth century put an end to officially sanctioned harlotry; keeping a brothel became a criminal activity.

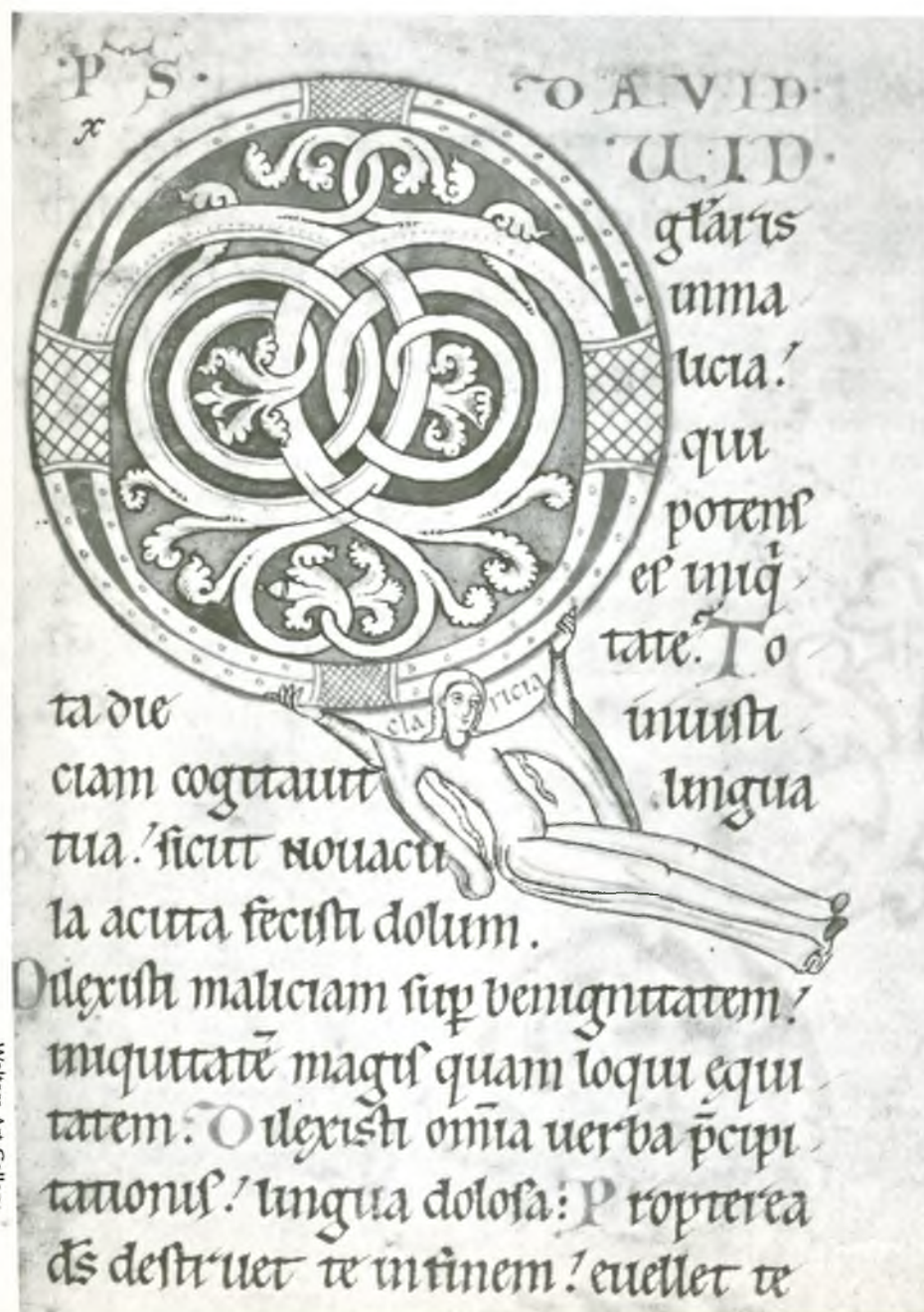
A collection of essays, *Women of the Medieval World* (Basil Blackwell, 1985), written in honor of Columbia University Professor John H. Mundy by his former students, includes such diametrically opposed pieces as Julius Kirshner's "Wives' Claims against Insolent Husbands in Late Medieval Italy," and Janet Senderowitz Loengard's "'Of the Gift of her Husband': English Dower and Its Consequences in the Year 1200." Loengard argues that the burden of maintaining the English *dos*, which required that one third of the dead husband's estate be given to his widow, weighed heavily on his heirs and resulted in legal actions by them against the widow. Kirshner, on the other hand, claims that the wife in fifteenth-century Italy frequently engaged in litigation to recover the *dos*, in this case paid by her family, especially if her husband appeared on the verge of bankruptcy.

Other pieces in the volume (fourteen in all) are also of great interest and cover religious or secular female institutions, occupations, lifestyle, and health. For example, Helen Rodnite Lemay in her "Anthonius Guainerius and Medieval Gynecology" reexamines the *Treatise on the Womb* by an early fifteenth-century Pavian professor of medicine. Guainerius treated women in their illness; his writing is therefore important both for its social and clinical values.

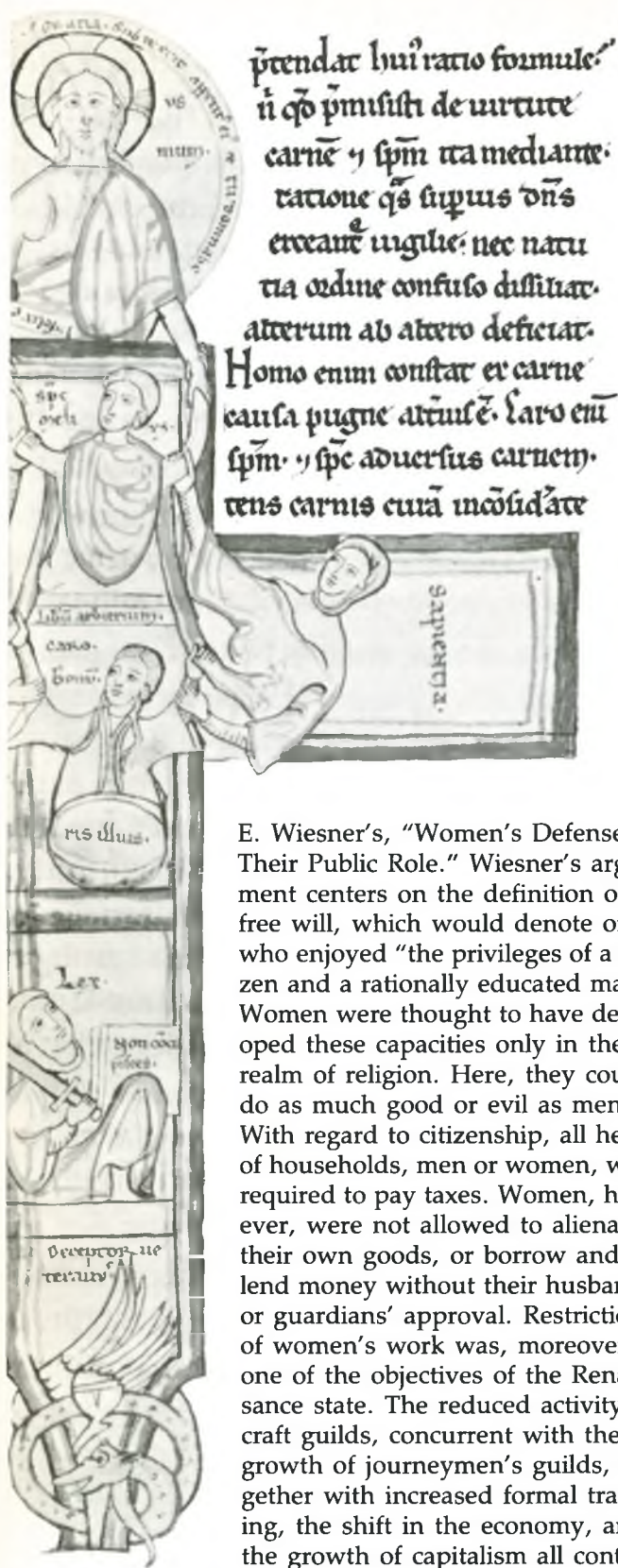
Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg's article, "The Heroics of Virginité: Brides of Christ and Sacrificial Mutilation," published in *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Syracuse University Press, 1985), edited by Mary Beth Rose, points out that a medieval nun threatened with rape would cut off her nose or lacerate her face. This article is an exploration of the ideals held by virgins in various parts of Western Europe in the early Middle Ages up to and including the eleventh century, especially when they had to face Viking, Saracen, and Magyar invasions. Besides slashing the nose or face, the traditional illnesses of leprosy, scrofulous tumors, temporary blindness and insanity were viewed as "necessary for the maintenance of chastity."

Worthy of methodological distinction in the same collection is Merry

Detail from a 12th-century German psalter, inscribed by a nun, Claricia, who drew a self-portrait as the tail of the "Q."



Walters Art Gallery



Detail from
"Reason and
Wisdom As-
sisting Flesh and
the Spirit,"
Conrad von
Hirsau, 13th cen-
tury. "Reason"
and "Wisdom"
are depicted as
women.

E. Wiesner's, "Women's Defense of Their Public Role." Wiesner's argument centers on the definition of free will, which would denote one who enjoyed "the privileges of a citizen and a rationally educated man." Women were thought to have developed these capacities only in the realm of religion. Here, they could do as much good or evil as men. With regard to citizenship, all heads of households, men or women, were required to pay taxes. Women, however, were not allowed to alienate their own goods, or borrow and lend money without their husbands' or guardians' approval. Restriction of women's work was, moreover, one of the objectives of the Renaissance state. The reduced activity of craft guilds, concurrent with the growth of journeymen's guilds, together with increased formal training, the shift in the economy, and the growth of capitalism all contributed to this restriction. But equally important were the widows' humble claims before the city magistrates. Instead of valuing their own work, they pleaded on the basis of the needs of others, their children, their family, their workers, or their clients. It is only in the seventeenth century that female work begins to be regarded positively.

A careful examination of the literature composed by women authors is the object of Peter Dronke's *Women*

of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (+203) to Marguerite Porete (+1310) (Cambridge University Press, 1984). Those interested in secular female poetry can turn to Katharina M. Wilson's edition of *Medieval Women Writers* (University of Georgia Press, 1984). Religious plays, verse, and prose can also be found in this volume. It includes works by Hrotsvit, Saint Catherina of Siena, and Hedwijch, to name some prominent writers.

Devotional literature by women is the subject of the book edited by Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature* (Oxford University Press, 1986). The pieces she assembled from various scholars assume that medieval readers were interested in and had the capacity for developing their mystical side. Including such works as those by Elisabeth of Schonau, Beatrijs of Nazareth, Saint Umilta of Faenza, and Dona Leonor Lopez de Cordoba, Petroff furnishes an appropriate counterpart to the volume edited by Wilson.

The behavior of medieval religious women, the kind of institutions they created, and their views of their vocational purposes are described in *Medieval Religious Women*, Volume I, *Distant Echoes* (Cistercian Publications, 1984), a volume edited by John A. Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank. It contains articles from Byzantine asceticism in Italy to Cistercian nunneries in England, integrating the variety of lifestyles open to women in the Middle Ages. Particularly interesting is "Muffled Voices: The Lives of Consecrated Women in the Fourth Century," by Jo Ann McNamara, who also wrote three years ago *A New Song, Celibate Women of the First Three Christian Centuries* (Haworth Press, 1983). Her essay on celibate women in the fourth century describes the types of women attracted to this mode of existence, their domestic lives, and their occupations.

There are useful observations in every article of the Nichols-Shank volume. One particularly noteworthy essay, "Benedictine Life for Women in Central France, 850-1100, A Feminist Revival," by Mary Skinner, is based on a careful search through the records of religious orders. Skinner notes a religious revival in central France in the tenth

and eleventh centuries, after Carolingian times. Was this limited to the central part of the country, or did it extend throughout France and the neighboring countries? What was its cause? We must await future studies for answers.

Although the recent scholarship discussed here has built a strong foundation for the integration of knowledge about women in the Middle Ages with knowledge about medieval society in general, other questions remain to be answered about women before such an integration can be accomplished. First, the female monastic movement needs to be described in all of the European countries. For instance, the Augustinian, the Humiliati, and the Santuccian movements in Italy, need the careful attention that has been given to the Benedictine and the mendicant orders. The lives of medieval peasant women require the same study that scholars have recently focused on the secular lives of upper- and middle-class women. How did female peasants regard their lives in the Middle Ages? What were the patterns of their work, their life cycle? Did they have models of marriage, and how were they treated as widows?

More insight on Italian women, particularly in the early Middle Ages, would be helpful. What about the lower-class women in Germany? Did they lose what rights they had, like the upper-class women did, in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? These are only a few of the questions that could be posed, and they in turn will undoubtedly suggest new avenues to explore.

In some years in the future we can expect an integration of male and female histories, as for example K.J. Leyser, in his *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society, Ottonian Saxony* (Indiana University Press, 1980), has already done. Before we can expect this task from all historians, we need more information on some aspects of medieval women.

—Suzanne Fonay Wemple

Ms. Wemple, whose most recent book is *Women in Frankish Society, Marriage and the Cloister, 500-900* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), is professor of history at Barnard College, Columbia University.



The Oral History of Modern Iran

On a visit to Tehran in January 1978 President Jimmy Carter called Iran "an island of stability in one of the most troubled areas of the world." Yet, within a year, Iran's stability was so shaken that a revolutionary movement of essentially unarmed citizens, led by a seventy-five-year-old cleric, successfully overcame one of the region's most heavily armed military forces and destroyed the Pahlavi dynasty. In the months that followed, the most "westernized" country in the Middle East abandoned its attempts to institute social reforms and modernization and embraced a seventh-century-style Islamic fundamentalism.

Some of the national conditions surrounding the revolution in Iran—a repressive, decadent monarchy and a widening cultural and economic gap between the upper and lower classes—have been compared to conditions surrounding the Bolshevik revolution, sixty years earlier. These similarities between the Soviet and Iranian revolutions led Edward Keenan, then dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and an authority in Russian history, to organize an oral history project on Iran.

Keenan thought that the emigration to Europe and America of hundreds of former Iranian officials following the 1979 revolution presented an exceptional opportunity to collect and preserve historical data. He believed that an understanding of how the Iranian political system worked was important not only for those interested in modern Iran but also for others studying the relationship between politics and de-

velopment in third world countries.

Oral histories tend to deal with the minutiae of the past "from the bottom up" and not with major, well-documented events. This unusual attempt to record a major world event is being made because few reliable primary sources were available after the 1979 revolution.

The director of the project to record Iranian history, Habib Ladjevardi, research associate at Harvard University's Center for Middle Eastern Studies, gives a number of reasons why a more traditional approach to studying the internal workings of Iran's former regime was difficult. "Because of the autocratic nature of Iran's political system," he says, "government papers, documents, and reports were (and still are) infrequently prepared prior to major decisions and subsequent to important events." In addition, the relevant documents that were produced were not preserved systematically and, in cases where they did exist, were not easily available to researchers.

There were other obstacles as well. Newspapers were censored by the government. Fear of reprisals led the few former public officials who gave interviews to practice a form of self-censorship that limited their objectivity about public matters. Publications of pro- and anti-Shah groups in exile tended to be one-sided and ideological. In fact, the main sources of relatively objective data on internal Iranian politics were the diplomatic dispatches of foreign embassies, which had their own limitations and restrictions. Many key players in the events leading to

the revolution were advanced in age, and in fact, two died within a year of their interviews.

The project's primary aim was to collect and preserve personal accounts of individuals who played major roles in important political events and decisions in Iran in order to get a clearer picture of (1) the functioning of the Iranian political system from the point of view of the actors involved in it; (2) circumstances behind major political events and decisions; and (3) additional details on the background, character, and careers of key political figures.

The list of persons to be interviewed included individuals who were active in at least one of the three important historical periods in modern Iranian history, namely, 1941-53, 1954-62, and 1963-78. Questions were aimed at those events and times with which the individual was most familiar. For example, a former minister who served in the cabinets of Razmara (1950-51) and Sharif-Emami (1960-61), was asked for specific recollections of the factors responsible for the fall of the Sa'ed cabinet in 1950 and the appointment of General Razmara as prime minister; Razmara's alleged hand in the 1949 assassination attempt against the Shah; his relations with the Tudeh party and his oil agreement with the British; the assassination of Razmara; the factors responsible for the fall of the Eghbal cabinet in 1960 and the appointment of Sharif-Emami as prime minister; the role of the Majles in the formulation and passage of laws since 1950; and the fall of Sharif-Emami's cabinet.



UPI-Bettman Newsphoto

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini waves to followers as he appears briefly at a window of his East Tehran home in February 1979.

The original master list of approximately 350 potential narrators was eventually narrowed to 150 names that included members of the Qajar and Pahlavi dynasties, former prime ministers and cabinet ministers, key members of the legislative and the judiciary, tribal leaders, political parties, opposition groups, the military, the media and private sector, top officials of the security agency SAVAK, and foreign leaders and diplomats. "It was neither possible nor probably necessary for our purposes to interview everyone on the master list," says Ladjevardi. "Yet the composition of the group we actually interviewed was such that in many cases more than one version of major political events and decisions was recorded with sufficient attention to the three historical periods in Iranian history."

Of the 123 persons interviewed to date, 27 percent belonged to the executive branch, although interviewees often belonged to more than one category. Nevertheless, Ladjevardi believes that a fair pro-

portion of individuals from each political group and institution was represented.

Interviews were conducted by five Iranians who had a good grasp of contemporary Iranian history. "In fact," says Ladjevardi, "my associate and I conducted 91 percent of the interviews. Thus most of the narrators were recorded by two individuals who had listened to all the previous oral memoirs. This arrangement, we believe, was instrumental in building a collection that is interrelated—as each new interview was built on the vast collection of data presented by previous narrators."

In the early stages of the project, the interviewers worried that they would be able to record only self-serving speeches and opinions by those who wanted to clear their own records and assign blame to others for the revolution. "A certain amount of opinion giving was inevitable," Ladjevardi says, "but we could often reduce the ratio of opinion to concrete data by posing questions that brought the respondents

back to their own experiences."

At first, the interviewers encountered a great deal of suspicion among the Iranian narrators, who believed that the project was somehow connected with the CIA. "We tried earnestly to dispel the notion that our effort was an undercover operation," says Ladjevardi. "Gradually, however, we realized that for those who harbored such doubts, explanation was futile. On the contrary, it seemed that the conspiratorial attitude at times worked in our favor as some narrators wanted to speak with us precisely because they believed we had a direct line to Washington. I remember at least one former official at the end of an interview expressing the hope that U.S. authorities would do something about the situation in Iran once they had a chance to listen to his tapes."

Interviews were given in Persian or in English, depending on the narrator's preference, and, for major political figures, were conducted in two phases. In Phase I, the interviews were unstructured and im-

promptu so as to allow the individuals an opportunity to present their own biographies and to stress those aspects of their political lives that they considered to be significant. "The limited biographical sources were a major reason why we decided to begin with an open-ended approach," says Ladjevardi. "The background data rarely gave us sufficient detail regarding the narrators' career paths, let alone the nature of their relationships with other political figures and the extent of their participation in events and decisions."

Phase II consisted of specific questions that were formulated in advance after taking into account information presented during Phase I. These questions covered major events and decisions in which the narrators had participated and explored possible omissions or ambiguities discovered in transcripts of the Phase I interviews.

"We approached the interviews with the attitude that the memoirs that we recorded should be at least a good substitute for an autobiography that would have been written, if the narrator had had the time and interest to carry it out," says Ladjevardi.

To encourage maximum cooperation, the narrators were allowed to place certain restrictions on the use of their memoirs, including specifying a time before which the material would not be available for review by scholars. Approximately 55 percent of the narrators placed no restrictions on their memoirs; another 6 percent restricted review of their memoirs until 1990. Nine percent of the memoirs are closed until the narrator's death, and 7 percent require permission of the narrator for direct quotations.

The interviewers' greatest challenge lay with those narrators who had a great deal of historical infor-

mation but little motivation to present it. Reasons for low motivation included ethical principles, worries about accusations of disloyalty to the regime they once served and about limiting future options by talking about the past, fear for relatives and possessions in Iran, and an unwillingness to expose to further criticism past actions and decisions about which the narrators were uncertain.

"To counter these sometimes formidable obstacles," says Ladjevardi, "we talked about the individuals' obligations to the history of Iran. We also appealed to their sense of self-interest, to the promise of a place in history—a kind of historical immortality."

—Caroline Taylor

"Iranian Oral History Project"/Edward L. Keenan/Harvard University, Cambridge, MA/\$691,614/1984-87/Reference Materials-Access

Interview with Mohammed Baheri, former Minister of Justice

"I do not want to say that the storm which swept through Iran with Khomeini and turned everything upside down was caused by the Shah's behavior. . . . His services to the country were numerous. But, unfortunately, some of his behavior, of course a small part of it, played a causal role in the revolution." . . .

"I asked him, 'What sort of help will Your Majesty's departure provide to Bakhtiar? Do you think Bakhtiar can rule and calm the country after your departure?' He replied, 'What are you talking about? They are counting the minutes until my departure.' I said to him, 'Why didn't you tell the people?' . . . The Shah said, 'For five years I have been pressured to leave. To which people shall I tell that?' . . . These are the Shah's exact words. Perhaps even the intonations are not different. These are his exact words. 'Shall I tell these people who go on the roof and say that they saw Khomeini's face in the moon? Shall I tell these people who made a fake cassette and said that I had ordered

the army commanders to kill people?' " . . .

"The Shah did not pay attention to those who were friends of America. He only favored those whose relation with the United States was characterized by subordination. . . . Selecting individuals who were particularly favored by the United States to participate in the government was immensely harmful. . . . The presence of such persons in the government not only did not help to promote America's system of government and her social philosophy in Iran, but it directed the people's hatred and anger towards her. This was the reason that the worst actions of history were taken against the United States by Khomeini's regime and the people supported them. The hostage crisis was based on the deep anti-American feelings of the people." . . .

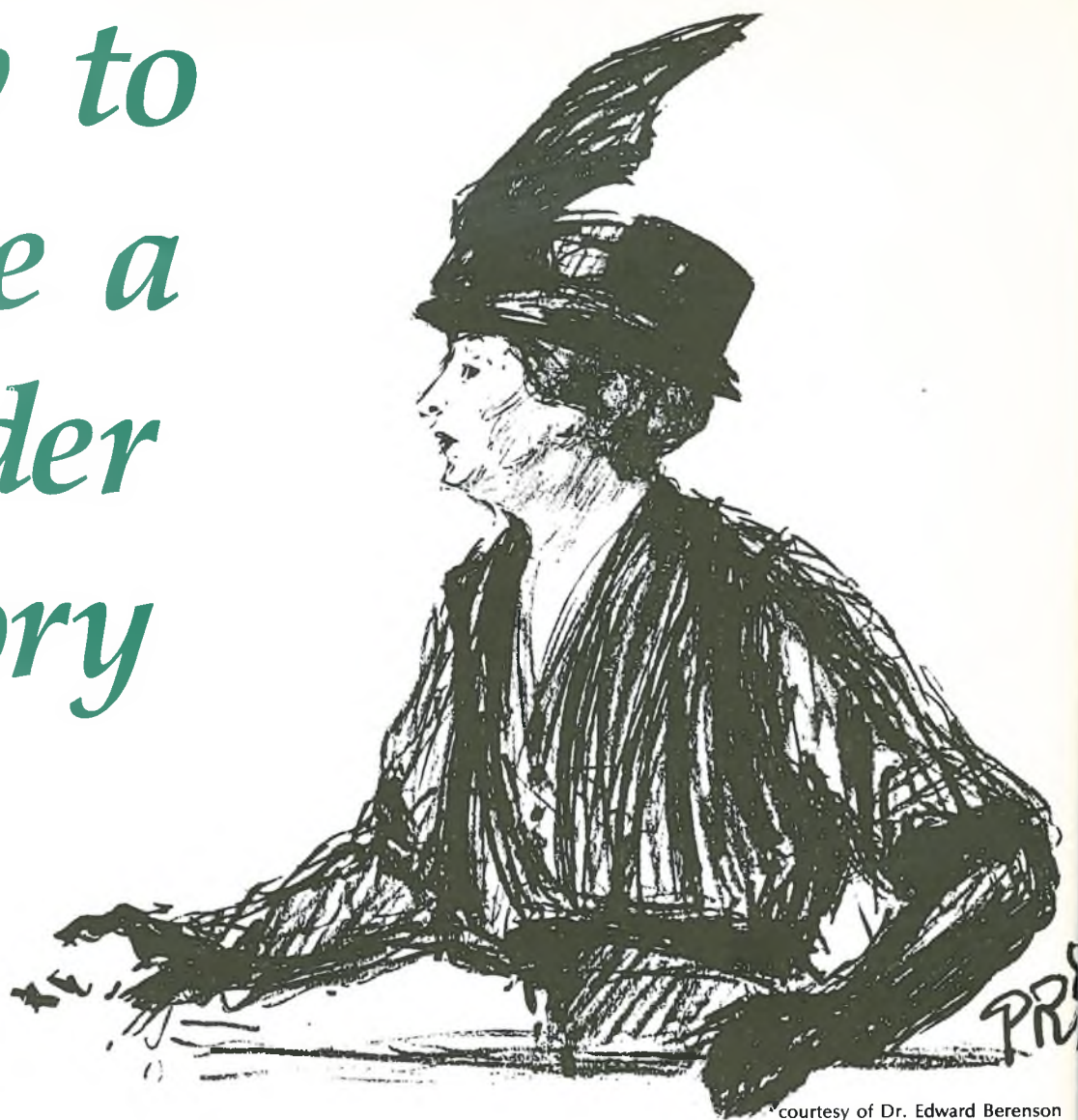
"When I reflect upon my own tiny role in the construction of Iran, I realize that the results of my efforts have all gone with the wind. But when I see that I am not alone, and

the results of the efforts of millions of persons, and even those of past generations, have had the same fate, in one way it gives me consolation, and in another it increases my sorrows and complicates my suffering. . . . I hope that I have never been overwhelmed with emotion. But it is possible that sometimes I was overwhelmed with emotion."



courtesy of Dr. Habib Ladjevardi

How to write a murder history



courtesy of Dr. Edward Berenson

A few days before the outbreak of World War I, Henriette Caillaux, wife of France's finance minister, was tried for the murder of her husband's most relentless adversary. In eight days of testimony, one witness after another identified Caillaux as the woman who had shot Gaston Calmette, editor of the right-wing daily, *Le Figaro*. Madame Caillaux did not deny the shooting. But at the end of the trial, the jury needed only fifty minutes to reach a verdict: not guilty.

For several months before the shooting, Joseph Caillaux, head of the Radical party and former prime minister, had been the object of a vicious press campaign masterminded by Calmette. The editor's litany of questionable accusations had reached a climax in mid-March 1914 when he delved into Caillaux's personal life. On March 13 *Le Figaro* published a letter Caillaux had written thirteen years earlier to his first

wife, whom he had divorced in 1911 to marry Henriette. The letter embarrassed Caillaux politically and personally, and he and Henriette had reason to fear that Calmette possessed other, more compromising missives and that these too would be published. Three days later, Calmette was dead, Henriette was in prison, and her husband had resigned from the government.

To date, historians' treatments of the Caillaux affair have resembled the newspaper accounts of 1914: Little attempt has been made to view the Caillaux affair in a broad social and political context. With support from the NEH, Edward Berenson, a historian at the University of California at Los Angeles, is delving into contemporary accounts of the Caillaux trial with an eye to what they reveal about pre-World War I France.

"The Caillaux affair became a screen onto which French men and women projected the conflicts that

threatened their society in the last months of the Belle Epoch. The shooting was either murder or deranged self-defense, depending on how one felt about the nation versus the republic and on social issues like divorce and the emancipation of women," says Berenson.

Caillaux's opponents charged that the shooting represented a conspiracy on the part of Joseph and Henriette. Their purpose, claimed Caillaux's detractors, was not to keep Calmette from publishing more personal letters, but from releasing political documents that would raise questions about Caillaux's conduct in office. During preliminary hearings that began in early April, public opinion about the case divided along ideological lines. The Right insisted that the shooting simply fulfilled Caillaux's wish to silence his political enemy. Radicals and socialists held that Calmette's attacks had upset Henriette to the point of momentary insanity and that she was not

responsible for her act.

To judge from newspaper coverage, when the trial began on July 21, 1914, Parisians seemed to be interested in nothing else. And for good reason. The headlines and stories splashed onto the front pages of Paris dailies claimed as much space as the Austro-Serbian crisis. The Parisian mass-circulation dailies turned an interesting judicial event into entertainment. The nation's elite was on stage; the whole city formed its audience. Parisians following the case read testimony from the president of the republic, from two former prime ministers, from cabinet members, directors of leading newspapers, medical experts, literary figures, and intellectuals. Squaring off in the courtroom were two of the Dreyfus affair's most celebrated lawyers: Fernand Labori, the veteran Dreyfusard who had defended Zola, represented Madame Caillaux; and the distinguished nationalist Charles Chenu pled for the Calmette family. "But more than politics was at stake," claims Berenson. "By delving into Joseph Caillaux's personal life, opening his two marriages, his divorce, his mistresses to public scrutiny, the trial called into question the mores of not just one political figure, but of the republican patriciate he embodied."

In addition, because Joseph Caillaux was France's most prominent advocate of reconciliation with Germany, the question of nationalism hovered over the case. "Caillaux was involved in international finance and banking. His business interests would have been harmed by war. Both the extreme Right and the extreme Left accused him of being more concerned with serving the interests of international banking than those of France." By examining the grounds on which Caillaux was attacked, as well as the nature of his defense, Berenson hopes to gain insight into what he calls "France's two fundamental political cultures, nationalism and republicanism."

"The Right in France had been attacking the Left for immorality since the turn of the century. The Right claimed that the republic was corrupt and decadent, run by people who had an utter disregard for traditional values. They thought that the leftists were destroying the family and, in effect, destroying authority

itself. The Caillaux trial, with its public disclosures of adultery, provided fuel for their fire."

The Caillaux trial also laid bare contemporary attitudes toward the role of women in society. A few weeks after Calmette's murder, a French newspaper sponsored a referendum on the question of female suffrage, and at the same time reported that women now represented 30 percent of the French work force. These developments distressed many French, and the Caillaux case brought the reaction against the "new woman" into sharp focus. Political conservatives blamed Henriette's act on the emancipation of women, while others—including her

husband—sought to excuse her crime on the grounds that members of the "weaker sex," easily deranged, should not be held accountable for their actions.

The central role played by the press in the Caillaux affair has enabled Berenson to consider another important phenomenon of the pre-war era, mass-circulation journalism. In 1914 four Paris dailies—*Le Journal*, *Le Matin*, *Le Petit Journal*, and *Le Petit Parisien*—each published a million copies a day. These newspapers, along with others that appealed to narrower audiences, stoked the fires of the Caillaux affair. "In many ways," explains Berenson, "the press gave the Caillaux affair its



courtesy of Dr. Edward Berenson

(opposite page)
A court drawing
of Mme.
Henriette
Caillaux on the
witness stand
which appeared
in the French pe-
riodical,
L'Illustration.
(left) During her
trial for murder,
Mme. Caillaux
listens to
testimony.

symbolic importance. By considering how it did so, I am able to examine the relationship between popular journalism and political culture in a moment of national crisis."

In choosing to study the Caillaux case, Berenson was influenced by historians of medieval and early modern Europe who have used the records of well-documented trials—both judicial and inquisitional—as a way of entering the mental worlds of individuals and societies in the distant past. He explains that "historians of pre-modern Europe have been drawn to trials largely because little exists to inform us about the era's people. Historians concerned with more recent times have been less interested in such discrete events as trials. Industrial or modern societies appear too complex and too fragmented for historians to focus on one particular criminal case. I hope to show that historians of the recent past can use certain key trials in much the same way as their medieval and early modernist colleagues."

Berenson chose to examine the Caillaux case because he sees it as one that crossed the boundaries between private life and politics. "The Caillaux affair reveals the way moral conceptions shaped France's political life and affected the legitimacy of its leaders. It brought into the political realm the moral issues of service, journalistic ethics, and the private

morality of public figures. At the same time, it raised questions about the limits of self-defense and the relationship between mental competence and criminal responsibility."

Berenson's book-length study of the case will draw upon theories of "new" narrative history—or "decentered narrative"—described by such historians as Lawrence Stone and C. Vann Woodward. In such histories, individuals and events are viewed in the light of the cultures that contain them and described in narratives that tell a multilayered story that has no single focus, resists chronological ordering, and requires the author's overt intervention. Among works that embody this form, Berenson cites Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie's *Montaillou*; Carlo Ginzburg's study of a sixteenth-century miller, *The Cheese and the Worms*; and Natalie Zemon Davis's *The Return of Martin Guerre*.

Berenson's narrative will include an introductory chapter in which he will "outline the events, revealing as little of the story as possible." That will be followed by seven chapters, each focusing on one of the principals in the case, relating the individual described to an important issue. For example, the first chapter will deal with Henriette Caillaux and the use of psychology in her defense. The second will treat Joseph Caillaux and the relationships of politics and personal life, republicanism and na-

tionalism. Other chapters will focus on Caillaux's first wife, who was prominent in the trial and represented the "modern" woman; Calmette and the role of journalism; and the presiding judge and the French judicial system.

Berenson's goal is to write a history that will appeal not only to academics, but to the educated lay person, as well. He believes that there is a great need for "history that reaches beyond the towers of academia and that places new emphasis on individuals and not just on their behavior, but on their emotions, attitudes, and states of mind."

Writing a narrative history in which the historian regularly intervenes to judge characters and events raises questions about the relationship of the storyteller to the story. Such authorial intervention also raises the issues of objectivity, point of view, and voice. To gain an informed understanding of narration and its effects, Berenson has turned to literary theory. In an epilogue he will discuss the use and meaning of narrative in history, and speculate on what a return to narrative means to the writing of history.

—Mary T. Chunko

"The 'Affaire Caillaux': A Study in the New Narrative History"/Edward G. Berenson/University of California, Los Angeles/\$27,500/1986-87/Fellowships for University Teachers.

M. Joseph Caillaux arriving at the Palais de justice.





Remembering Andrew Jackson

Presidents are often not remembered in the ways that they would choose. The most conspicuous national monument to Andrew Jackson, for example, is Old Hickory's portrait on the twenty dollar bill. Ironically, Andrew Jackson was the sworn enemy of all paper money and especially of the small bills that constituted the ordinary currency of his day and ours. During the 1830s, Jackson wanted to abolish all paper notes of less than twenty dollars. Today, he would undoubtedly specify a much higher minimum value to make up for a century and a half of inflation.

Jackson's "monument" is a good example of the changing historical meaning of a public life. Each generation writes its own history and creates its own memorials, often by contradicting the views of a preceding generation or of the historical actors themselves. In his own lifetime, Andrew Jackson hated paper money because he thought it incompatible with democracy. Today we think differently and honor Jackson for his democratic principles while forgetting his theories about the currency. For us if not for him, paper currency is as democratic as soda pop, and just as indispensable to life as we know it. Much like professional historians, the designers of the twenty dollar bill have thus revised our interpretation of Andrew

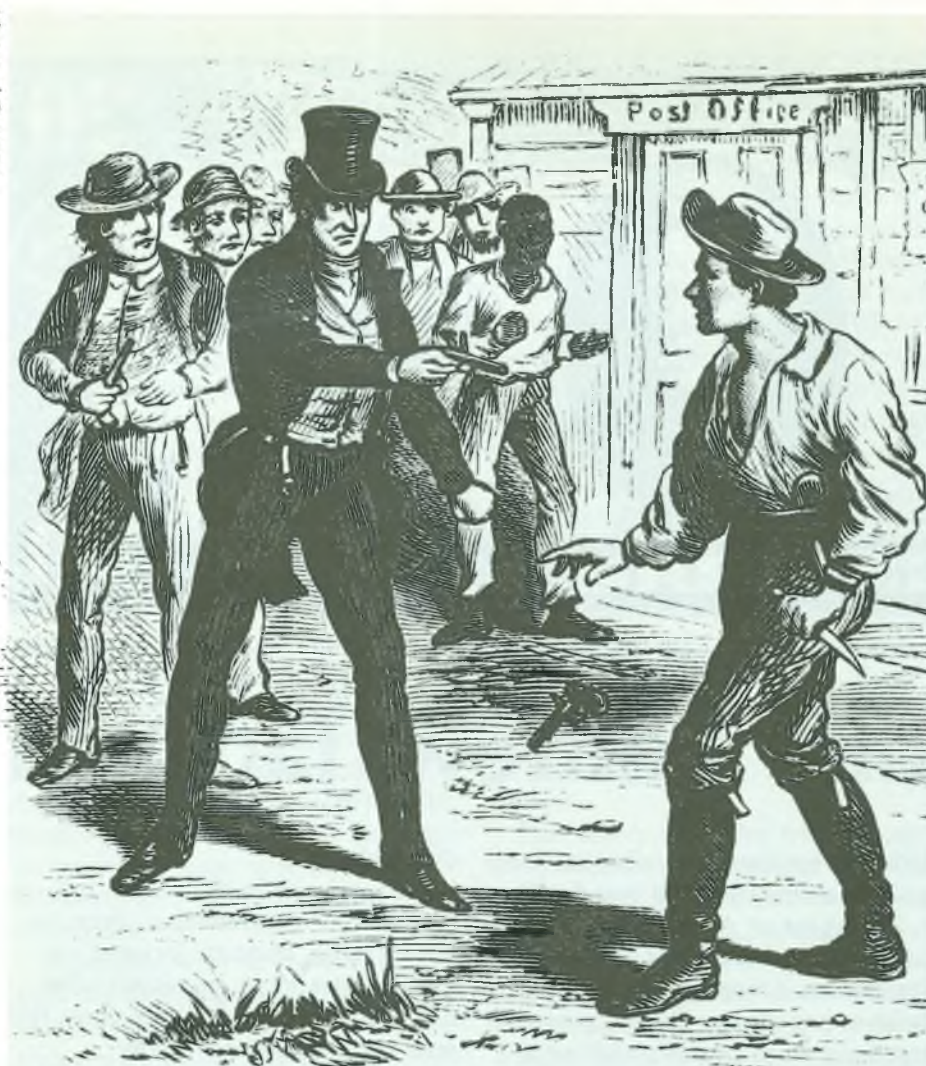
Jackson, emphasizing what interests us and obliterating the rest.

The ghost of Andrew Jackson is used to such treatment. A potent symbol for American democracy, Jackson has always elicited powerful reactions, both positive and negative, which have shifted dramatically with the tides of current events. No one knows who first coined the phrase "Jacksonian Democracy," but except for the Civil War, there is no more controversial topic in American historiography. As they have quarreled, participants in the dispute have frequently hurled the accusation of "present-mindedness" at those who disagree with them, suggesting that the other side has pressed the concerns of its own era too heavily upon the past, distorting the Age of Jackson by interpreting it in terms more appropriate to the Gilded Age, or the Age of Roosevelt, or the Cold War era. There is much truth in all these charges, but they can also be turned on their heads. By bringing its own "present-minded" concerns to the Age of Jackson, each generation has learned something new about it, something that was always there perhaps, but invisible to earlier researchers who were looking for something else. A review of Andrew Jackson's stormy historical reputation is a good way to show how American historians have used the present to learn about

the past.

The main outlines of Jackson's career are not controversial. Born on the Carolina frontier, Jackson was the first American president who did not rise to prominence from the ranks of the colonial gentry. Wounded by a British officer who had commanded the captive teenager to clean his boots, he was the only member of his immediate family to survive the American Revolution. After reading law in a judge's office, the young man made his way to Tennessee and quickly rose in politics and the militia. The War of 1812 sent him into combat as a general, first against the Creek Indians of Alabama and later against the British attackers of New Orleans. Conquering both foes with seeming ease, he became an overnight symbol of frontier achievement and old-fashioned republican virtue, just when more conventional leaders were beginning to look shopworn and even dishonest. Although defeated for the presidency in 1824, Jackson triumphed in 1828 by charging that his previous loss had been caused by corruption. Taking office, he promised to restore the political standards of the Founding Fathers, but no one could be sure what this would mean in practice.

The general did not take long to explain himself. Believing that the election of 1824 had resulted from a



This 1903 cartoon illustrates the turn-of-the-century opinion of Jackson as a defender of the people.

INCIDENTS IN THE
LIFE OF GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON
JUDGE JACKSON COMPELLING A FELON
TO SURRENDER.

"corrupt bargain" that violated the "will of the people," Jackson spelled out what he called "the first principle of our system—that the majority is to govern" and insisted that good government depended on direct popular democracy. Calling for the abolition of the electoral college and other impediments to the people's will, Jackson continued to glorify the Constitution's framers even as he ignored their doubts about the political wisdom of the masses. Although he did not advocate the appointment of unqualified men to office, Jackson did imply that talent was widely dispersed among the citizenry and that government would benefit from bringing new men into office who would lack the proprietary perspectives of an entrenched

bureaucracy. Phrased in the idiom of classical republicanism, Jackson's desire to bring the government closer to the people was a dramatic departure from the political ideology of the Founding Fathers. For the rest of his presidency, Jackson gave powerful support to the gathering movement for complete legal equality among all white male Americans.

Opposition to "rotation in office" and to other democratic values was the common thread that tied together most of the early histories of the Jackson era. As historian Charles Grier Sellers, Jr. pointed out long ago, the gentlemen scholars of the Gilded Age were never much enchanted by the strains of vox populi, and particularly not by the partisan choruses orchestrated by the spoils-

men of their own day. For "mugwump" biographers like James Parton and William Graham Sumner, Jackson's democracy was his fatal flaw. They could never forgive him for it, despite the fact that his strict insistence on laissez faire economic policies won their grudging approval.

The next generation of American historians saw a different possibility for democracy and reassessed their views of Jackson accordingly. By the first decade of the twentieth century, Progressive politicians like Robert M. LaFollette had shown how democratic appeals could rally middle class voters to the banner of reform, bringing a breath of small town and midwestern idealism to bear on the evils of eastern, industrial, boss-ridden politics. Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson likewise showed how Progressive politics could transform the White House itself. Frederick Jackson Turner's famous frontier thesis suggested that America's hinterlands were the wellsprings of its virtue, and Carl Russell Fish's careful study of the nation's civil service showed why Jackson's proposal for rotation in office had been a good idea, not a scandal. From the 1910s through the 1930s, Jackson appeared as a democratic frontier hero in the works of historians like John Spencer Bassett, Charles A. Beard, and Vernon L. Parrington.

The famous controversy that greeted the 1945 publication of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s *The Age of Jackson* thus appeared against a backdrop of two waves of historical revisionism. Old Hickory had seen himself as the savior of the Old Republic, the mugwumps had condemned him as an opportunistic spoilsman, and the progressives had praised him as a frontier democrat. Schlesinger contradicted them all by proclaiming Jackson a liberal reformer whose most important supporters were not agrarians or party hacks but class-conscious workingmen of the eastern cities. An ardent New Dealer, Schlesinger had made Andrew Jackson into a prototype of Franklin Roosevelt.

Schlesinger's case rested on the interpretation he gave to a central event of Jackson's presidency, the war against the Bank of the United States and its aftermath in state and

national politics. The B.U.S., as it was known, was a huge corporation, jointly owned by public and private capital, that was beginning to exercise some of the functions of a central bank. The B.U.S. had a monopoly of the government's banking business, and it earned impressive profits from this privilege—profits that largely found their way into the pockets of foreign shareholders. Under its president, Nicholas Biddle, the B.U.S. performed valuable services for the commercial economy as a whole, but as Jackson had long suspected, Biddle proved more than willing to abuse his vast powers over the economy to protect his bank from the threat of political control. Always alert to any threat or rival to the powers of democratic self-government, Jackson vowed to destroy the bank, vetoing its charter in 1832 and withdrawing the government's deposits from it in 1833 and 1834. When Biddle retaliated by producing a recession, Jackson decided that a currency system that depended on privately issued bank notes gave too much power to privileged corporations and he resolved to give the nation an all-metallic currency. His actions sparked a political struggle against banks and corporations generally that gave birth to the opposition Whig party. Critics blamed the Bank War for an even worse depression, which began in 1837, and political controversy over the nation's economic course reverberated through American politics for the rest of the antebellum period.

The Bank War evolved into a general attack on all privileged monopolies, a crusade that found warm support among the exploited journeymen of various eastern cities. Schlesinger viewed this struggle as an effort by workers, using Jackson as their instrument, to limit the power of their employers. In more general terms, he saw America as a pluralist society in which various groups had and would always contend for power among themselves. "The business community has been ordinarily the most powerful of these groups," he observed, "and liberalism has been ordinarily the movement on the part of the other sections of society to restrain the power of the business community." In Schlesinger's view, this was an effort that had begun in Jefferson's

day, continued under Jackson, and extended through the New Deal.

It was easy to condemn Schlesinger for present-mindedness. More detached historians saw little in common between the brawling Tennessee general and the urbane aristocrat of Hyde Park, and between Jackson's attack on a single powerful institution and the New Deal's wholesale creation of institutions to regulate a very different economy. But Schlesinger's interpretation called attention to the powerful language of class conflict that dominated Jacksonian politics and to the important connections between political change and economic development. If admiration for Roosevelt had inspired Schlesinger's study, the young scholar had turned his muse

to good account.

Schlesinger's critics rejected the idea that Jacksonians were engaged in genuine class conflict. According to economist Joseph Dorfman, they were only "expectant capitalists" who opposed the privileges that gave unfair advantages to their rivals. Expanding on this theme, historian Louis Hartz insisted that expectant capitalists filled the American past, that no serious ideological quarrels ever marred our history, and that Jacksonian rhetoric concealed an enduring American consensus about liberal democratic capitalism. Richard Hofstadter confirmed this view in his influential book *The American Political Tradition*, and the cult of consensus intensified as a Cold War mentality settled over

OF VETO MEMORY.



KING ANDREW THE FIRST.

Library of Congress

HAD I BEEN CONSULTED.

A cartoon contemporary with Jackson's presidency.

1950s America.

Like Schlesinger before them, the consensus critics had a point. Schlesinger had assumed some easy parallels between Jacksonians and the reformers of his own day, but the critics were right to insist that the dissenters of the early Industrial Revolution had very different backgrounds and agendas from the radicals and liberals who faced the Great Depression. Jackson himself was no enemy of private property or individual enterprise and no friend of big government. Any interpretation of his "liberalism" must somehow account for his obvious "conservative" commitments.

But if Andrew Jackson and Nicholas Biddle were really chummy partners in the same underlying consensus, how do we explain the extraordinary passion of the age, the fury of partisan argument, and the reckless warfare over vital business institutions?

Historians of the 1950s and early 1960s addressed this problem in various ways. John William Ward sidestepped it by tracing the common themes that Jackson's friends and enemies both saw in the old hero's life. Published in 1955, Ward's *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* became an instant classic in the emerging field of American studies. Two years later, Marvin Meyers confronted the problem or "paradox" of Jacksonian rhetorical conflict more directly in his *The Jacksonian Persuasion*. Agreeing that Jacksonians were eager to make their fortunes, Meyers also recognized their intense nostalgia for an older pastoral republic. On a different tack, Lee Benson argued in *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy* that ethnic and religious differences led Whigs and Democrats to favor rival means to achieve the same fundamental ends. Finally, in 1966, Richard P. McCormick rejected all exogenous explanations for Jacksonian party formation. Returning with a cooler tone to the favorite explanation of the mugwump historians, McCormick's *The Second American Party System* attributed political conflict to the activities of professional politicians whose main concern was the patronage and the president who controlled it.

Keeping faith with the notion of underlying consensus, all these historians had to explain the Bank War

and its attendant explosions as something other than what participants claimed it was: a mortal struggle, not simply over the symbols of American culture, but over the fundamental structure of its economy, society, and politics. From today's perspective, this consensus view seems to patronize the past by denying that past men and women could have understood their own experience or meant what they said about it. If the consensus culture of the 1950s sustained this attitude, the conflicts of the 1960s demolished it.

As intense disputes erupted between black and white, dove and hawk, hip and straight, it suddenly seemed incredible that America had ever been the bland and uniform nation that Cold War liberals had imagined. One initial scholarly response to the social unrest was to ignore the Age of Jackson in favor of trendier topics. But contemporary Jacksonian historians have learned a great deal from at least two scholarly movements of the 1960s and 1970s. They are now creating a portrait of Jacksonian democracy that ought to be much more faithful to the original.

A search for those whom the consensus had excluded was the most conspicuous scholarly response to the 1960s. Beginning with black history, and moving to the history of immigrants, workers, women, Indians, ethnic minorities, and others, the "new social historians" made a massive effort to rewrite history "from the bottom up" and uncovered a vast array of groups and struggles which older historians had ignored. Any view of American history based on an unadulterated consensus soon became untenable, and it has remained so. Thanks to the new social history, and especially to the work of historians like Sean Wilentz, Paul Johnson, Mary Ryan, and Christopher Clark, we are now much better prepared than Schlesinger was to understand nineteenth-century class conflict in its own terms, without the imposition of artificial concepts or categories from the mid-twentieth century.

Also in the 1960s, a quite different group of historians had responded to the breakdown in consensus by taking a fresh look at the impassioned language of another embattled era, the age of the American

Revolution. Led by Bernard Bailyn, Gordon Wood, and J.G.A. Pocock, these scholars took ideological conflict very seriously and were able to uncover the lost meanings of revolutionary republican slogans. Words like "liberty," "power," "virtue," "corruption," and the "common good" reemerged as living concepts when these historians examined what Americans had really meant by them in the years when Andrew Jackson grew to maturity. It is obvious from the language in his official papers, that Old Hickory had carried more than a saber scar away from the Revolution; it had shaped his whole vocabulary and outlook on public life.

If the new social historians had given America a divided past, the intellectual historians had unlocked the ideology which had once explained those divisions. The way was open for a new understanding of Jacksonian history, one that is based more closely on the social changes that antebellum Americans were actually experiencing and on the intellectual concepts which shaped their understandings of what was happening to them. It now appears that Americans of the early nineteenth century were making a difficult transition from the world of household production and the artisanal shop to the world of commercial farming and the wage system. What the victims of this process resented most was the loss of autonomy it entailed. In other words, they believed that their "liberty" was in danger.

The bank of the United States was at the forefront of the institutions which were changing the American economy. To farmers and mechanics who feared the loss of old republican values it was entirely logical to associate the bank with these changes and to call for its destruction. In his recent, award-winning biography, Robert V. Remini has shown that Jackson sided with these Americans, throwing himself against the bank and its auxiliaries in a committed struggle for what he and many of his contemporaries sincerely understood as liberty, virtue, and democracy. Like the radical thinker Orestes Brownson, Jackson wanted a society in which "all men will be independent proprietors, working on their own capitals, on

their own farms, or in their own shops." The "Monster Bank" was undermining such a world and it had to be destroyed, not merely limited or reformed.

Believing that the bank and its auxiliaries were entirely dependent on government power for their support, the Jacksonians assumed that removal of legal privileges and subsidies would be all that was necessary to halt the process of change and restore the world of preindustrial America. In actuality, Jacksonian insistence on equality contradicted the intentions of the Founding Fathers, but Jacksonians hoped the end of special privileges would restore a half-imagined utopia. Although later politicians advocated policies of laissez faire to protect the already established interests of big business, the Jacksonians advocated such policies to strangle big business in its cradle.

Over the long run, of course, Jacksonian victories were more symbolic than real. The industrialization of

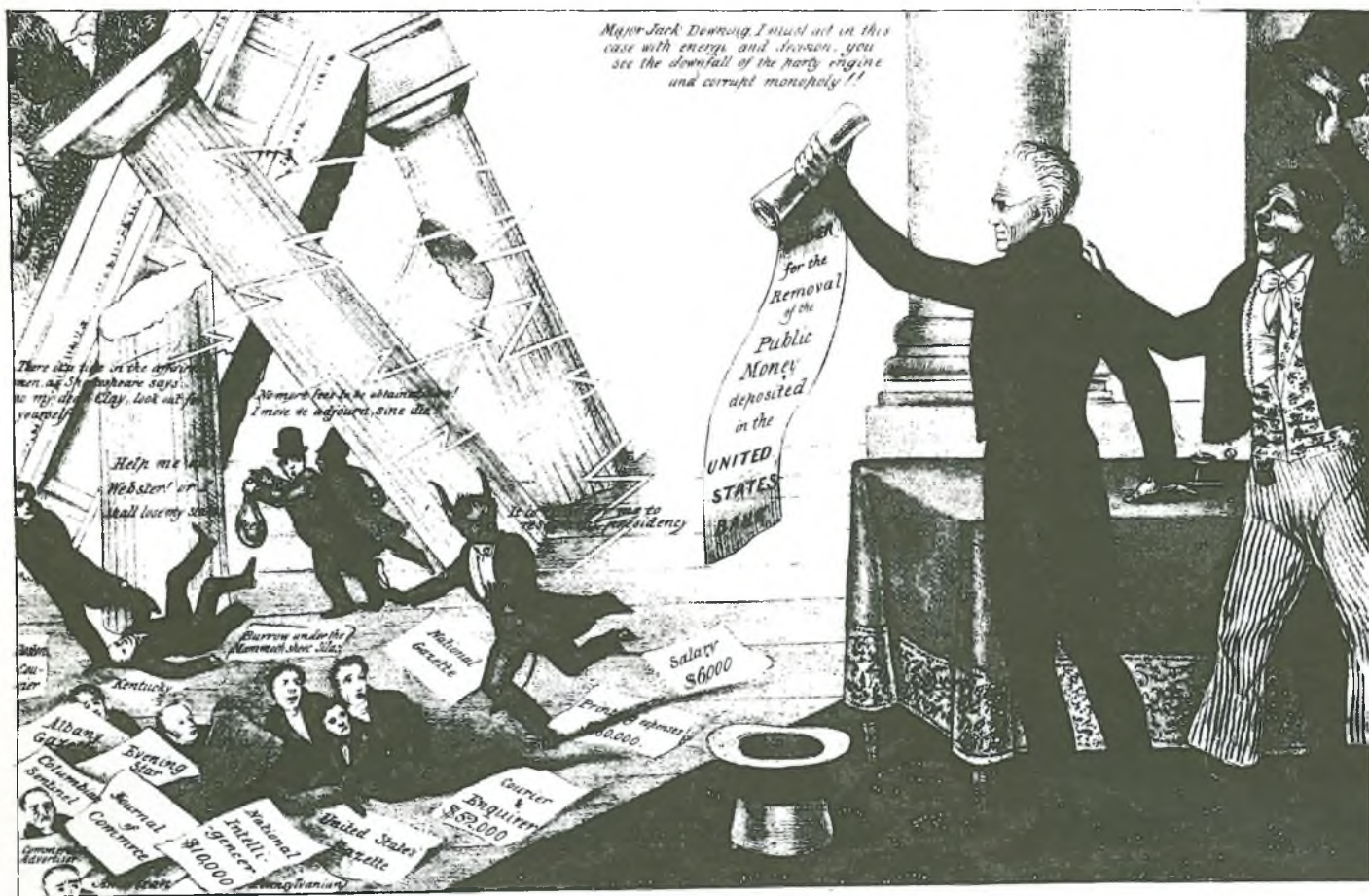
America proceeded without the B.U.S., coopting Jacksonian slogans even as it created new and enduring forms of social and political inequality. In the process, historians found the Jacksonians difficult to interpret because Jacksonian language had become all but incomprehensible to those who had never known what all the shouting had been about.

Are the cycles of Jacksonian revisionism coming to an end? Past experience suggests that there will be ample room for further disagreement in the future. But the Jacksonian controversy also suggests that new historical interpretations do more than reflect the political passions of the moment. The record of the past is not infinitely malleable, and history cannot be anything we want it to be. Each major group of revisionists has discovered some important and enduring insight that subsequent scholars have been forced to include in their accounts. The lesson is clearly not to root out all present-mindedness from our

history. That would be impossible. Instead, we should put our present-mindedness to work, using it to prompt new questions about the evidence and better history in the long run. At the same time, we must hang on to a sense of "past-mindedness" that will enable us to understand what our subjects were really talking about.

—Harry L. Watson

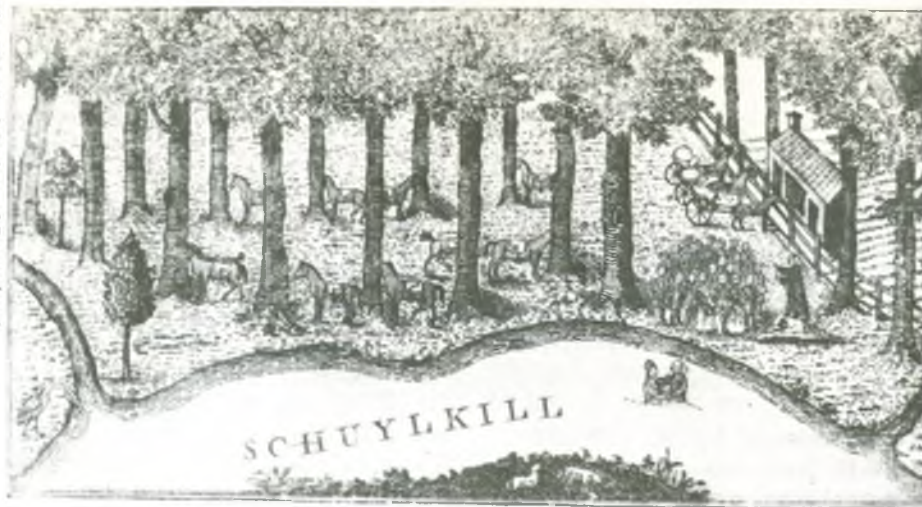
Mr. Watson, associate professor of history at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, is the author of *Jacksonian Politics and Community Conflict: The Emergence of the Second American Party System in Cumberland County, North Carolina* (Louisiana State University Press, 1981) and *An Independent People: The Way We Lived in North Carolina, 1770-1820* (University of North Carolina Press, 1983). He is currently at work on *Andrew Jackson's Republic: Politics in American Society, 1815-1840*, to be published in the *American Century Series*.



THE DOWNFALL OF MOTHER BANK.

Printed & Publ'd by H.R. Robinson, 82 Courtlandt St. N. York.

"The Bank of the United States was at the forefront of the institutions which were changing the American economy. To farmers and mechanics who feared the loss of old republican values it was entirely logical to associate the bank with these changes and to call for its destruction."



The Transformation of Philadelphia

For most Americans, Philadelphia suggests images of the birth of American democracy: Independence Hall, the Liberty Bell, and other accoutrements of the American Revolution. But in the century surrounding the dramatic events that gave the city its symbolic identity—and independently from them—Philadelphia emerged as the leading industrial center in the United States and one of the most important in the world, a small, riverbank town grown into a giant. The explosive growth of Philadelphia between 1750 and 1850 is the focus of a major study funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Now in the fourth year of a ten-year research effort, the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies is coordinating the work of dozens of scholars who are studying various aspects of the city's transformation.

The center had established a strong foundation for the research during the four years prior to initiation of the project. From 1978 to 1982, seventeen of the center's pre- and postdoctoral fellows were studying eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Philadelphia and its environs. These studies included research on the laboring poor, household economy, German and Irish immigration, and trade with England. The amount of available material made the need for scholarly consolidation increasingly clear and is part of the impetus for undertak-

ing the current project.

Directed initially by Richard R. Beeman and now by Michael Zuckerman, both historians at the University of Pennsylvania, the project is organized around ten areas of research: The Peopling of Philadelphia; Commercial Capitalism; Religion; Science, Medicine, and Technology; Industrialization; Communications; Taste and High Culture; Social Control and Social Welfare; Politics and Government; and Community Studies of a Philadelphia neighborhood and adjacent rural area.

Philadelphia institutions are rich in the demographic raw materials that scholars consult for information about economics, technology, and religion. Scholars have access to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (which houses one of the largest manuscript collections of any private American historical library), the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the American Philosophical Society, and have discovered evidence calling into question long-held beliefs about the changes that occurred during Philadelphia's Industrial Revolution.

The Peopling of Philadelphia

During the 1983-84 academic year, Alan Steinberg and Mary Schweitzer were the first resident NEH fellows. Steinberg studied nineteenth-century Philadelphia's criminal justice system, while Schweitzer exam-

ined the economic development of colonial Pennsylvania. Other significant contributions were made by Barbara Tucker of Rutgers University, who studied family business and economic development in the Mid-Atlantic region, and Susan Klepp of Rider College, who pursued demographic research and analysis.

These scholars delved into the city's records—shipping and port, census, city directories, taxes. The use of such records is, as Steinberg says, "fraught with peril." Port records, for example, may be tediously detailed but still incomplete. In addition, they only account for those people who came to Philadelphia by ship, not those who migrated from other parts of America; nor do they indicate where many of these immigrants, who were only passing through Philadelphia, eventually settled. Only in 1850 (when the center's study ends) did the census records note both the nationality and place of residence of these immigrants.

Steinberg's work in immigration patterns, building on the 1934 studies of Ralph Strassburger and William Hinke on German immigrants, was augmented by the research of Marianne Wokeck, a Philadelphia center fellow, 1980-81, and Hans Jurgen-Grabbe of the Uni-

The Library Company of Philadelphia



versity of Hamburg, who was in residence at the center during 1983-84. The combined work of these scholars led Steinberg to many interesting discoveries that he is now preparing for publication.

Notably, the German immigration into Pennsylvania was more extensive than has previously been believed, while the pattern of Irish immigration into Philadelphia was very different from that of the Germans and the English. By 1850 about 30 percent of Philadelphia's residents were foreign born, with the largest immigrant group being the Irish, followed by the Germans, and then the English and Welsh. The other important factor is that, from 1830 on, Philadelphia became less important as a disembarkation point for immigrants. From that time on, New York became the principal port on the East Coast, thus changing immigration patterns.

Schweitzer's work on the city's physical expansion benefited from previous work done by the Philadelphia Social History Project's study of the 1850 census. In addition to this information, Schweitzer has worked with the 1754 and 1789 tax lists, the 1790 census, the 1791 city directory, and other researchers' work on the tax lists of 1770, 1774, and 1775. Because she has entered all this data into the project's computer system,

the center now has an excellent data base of information on Philadelphia's early population.

Susan Klepp's research has enabled her to construct accurate life tables for Philadelphia, from 1688 to 1860. As with much of the study's findings, Klepp's data are instrumental in revising previous assumptions about Philadelphia's population growth.

Historian Michael Zuckerman believes that what has been most exciting about the work done at the center is that it is forming a group of authorities in a previously unexplored field. "Every year, with each new theme, the staff of fellows changes, but this has not precluded having former associates return to continue their work or remain in contact with the center. Everyone who is involved in this project has the sense that he or she is working on material that will affect how American history is perceived and taught."

Commercial Capitalism

The economics of Philadelphia provided a rich area of study for Diane Lindstrom of the University of Wisconsin and Billy G. Smith of Montana State University. Lindstrom, author of *Economic Development in the Philadelphia Region, 1810-1850*, was responsible for re-

cruiting other research associates and shaping the research design for this year's segment. Smith is studying the laboring and poor classes of Philadelphia. The theory that the rise of the working class in America corresponded to the Industrial Revolution has been challenged by Smith's work. By reconstructing household budgets from the 1760s to the 1790s and by consulting records of public institutions that paid allotments to individuals, such as the poorhouse, Smith is able to argue that there was a substantial poor working class in colonial America, decades before the Industrial Revolution technically began. Approximately 50 percent of the people who made their living in several skilled trades actually lived at or near the poverty level.

Smith's work also reflects the shift in neighborhoods from mixed to zoned communities. Whereas colonial Philadelphia witnessed a close proximity in the neighborhoods of the wealthy and the poor, by 1850 class and racial segregation in housing had begun.

Similarly, the agricultural studies conducted by independent scholar Lucy Simler provide vital insights into colonial agrarian society. Her work had already demonstrated the existence of a pre-Revolutionary, self-sufficient, commercial economy,



(opposite page)
Eighteenth-century engraving of a Baptist prayer meeting and baptism by the banks of the Schuylkill River. In the 1770s, there were no houses in the scene. By the mid-nineteenth century, commercial development changed the view from the Schuylkill.

and further findings have been instrumental in disproving another long-held belief. Histories have traditionally represented the colonial laborer as a kind of "specialist," skilled and working in a single trade, whether as farmer or artisan. Simler's studies of rural Chester County (an area adjacent to Philadelphia) indicate that most farmers in the eighteenth century practiced several skills; a farmer was likely to be a carpenter or a blacksmith, and a blacksmith might also be a carpenter.

The work of Ric Northrup of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, whose specialty is labor politics in Philadelphia (1800-50), combines psychological with historical research. His study of the sons and grandsons of the wealthy suggests some tantalizing theories about the power of money and finance over the human mind. By the early nineteenth century, the changing business climate caused a shift in how society regarded wealth and its production. Much of colonial wealth came from agrarian sources, but the rise of trade and business changed perceptions of the importance of work. It was no longer acceptable to rely on family wealth: Descendants were now expected to engage in new business transactions and to add to familial holdings. Northrup's research on letters, journals, and medical records demonstrates an increased degree of anxiety and depression resulting from the financial pressures on these men.

During this phase of research at the center, Roger Kennedy, director of the National Museum of American History at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., presented a series of lectures about financial magnates Stephen Girard, Nicholas Biddle, and the Duponts. He described their economic ventures and their influence on American architecture for an audience of scholars as well as members of the public.

Religion

The third phase of research completed in this past academic year focused on religion in Philadelphia, a city founded on the principle of religious tolerance and so instrumental in the development of American religious pluralism. In the eighteenth century, Philadelphia was one of the few places where Catholicism was tolerated and where, in fact, Catholic mass could be openly celebrated.

In his studies of the development of the Catholic church in Philadelphia, fellow Dale Light of Fayetteville State University, North Carolina, has raised issues about the evolution of Irish Catholicism not only in the United States but in Ireland, itself, from the nineteenth century on. His work centers on Bishop Kenrick, who established Roman centralization and hierarchy within the Philadelphian, and ultimately the American, Catholic church in the 1830s and 1840s. His influence reached to Ireland through his life-long friendship with the priest who became the Archbishop

of Ireland in 1850. Thus, argues Light, when the American Catholic church later came under the strong influence of Irish Catholicism, it was actually a reactionary movement, returning the church to an earlier stage in its own history.

Senior fellow Jerry Frost of Swarthmore College discussed ways in which church and state remained separate from the time of the Revolution through 1850, with an emphasis on the period following the drafting of the Constitution. The work of fellow Greg Dowd's (Princeton University) on native Americans was highlighted by his talk on Iroquois religion and the question of native religious revivals in the early nineteenth century, while Doris Andrews of Princeton University spoke on the Methodist movement.

Technology

During the approaching academic year, the project's fourth, Zuckerman and the team of fellows plan both to pull together the previous findings and to allow an open house for a variety of topics. The project's fifth year beckons with special appeal with the theme of "Technology" because Philadelphia was the country's manufacturing center at a time when the world was changing from an agrarian society to an industrial one. "This work is especially important because the study of early American technology is in danger of being overlooked and ultimately lost as the focus of technology research shifts toward the twentieth century," says Zuckerman.

In 1750, 12,000 to 15,000 people lived in Philadelphia, a four- to seven-block radius fanning westward from the Delaware river. Within 100 years the city burst into a metropolis of a half million people with a significant influence on American trade and industry. The importance of Philadelphia in such crucial areas as economics, religion, and technology make the studies now being pursued at the center important to the larger story of American history.

—Allyson F. McGill

"The Transformation of Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley, 1750-1850"/ Michael Zuckerman/University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia/\$403,806/1983-87/ Interpretive Research Projects

The Library Company of Philadelphia



Market Street, Philadelphia, in the 1850s.

THE OLD FRONTIER

From Horace Greeley's nineteenth-century directive "Go West, young man" to John F. Kennedy's New Frontier, the symbol of the frontier has permeated American society. Yet the power exerted by the frontier as a common cultural ideal was recognized only as the country's real frontier—the American West—was disappearing. Since 1893, when historian Frederick Jackson Turner presented his essay on the significance of the frontier in American history at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, American historians and lay people have grappled with the meaning of the frontier in American life.

The Wisconsin Humanities Committee is encouraging people in that state to explore the idea of the frontier in a number of ways. With support from the committee, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the oldest state-supported historical society in America, is publishing a paperback edition of Turner's essays intended for broad distribution. The edition will be available this autumn and will include a preface and introduction by Martin Ridge, senior re-

search associate at the Henry E. Huntington Library—a position first held by Turner; a chapter on the young Turner by his biographer, Ray Allen Billington; a bibliographic note by James Danky of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; and two of Turner's essays, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" and "The Significance of History."

Publication of the volume coincides with the Wisconsin Humanities Committee's 1986 project on "The Constitution, the Individual, and the Community," which will continue in 1987 to include "The Frontier, the Individual and the Community." The project will bring together groups of twelve to fifteen teachers, parents, librarians, and civic leaders from four Wisconsin communities for a two-day seminar focusing on the frontier encounter, and the extent to which heritage and cultural differences influence perceptions of reality. Turner's essay "The Significance of the Frontier in Amer-

ican History" will be one of the texts that participants will use to examine objectivity in rational analysis. By comparing and contrasting myth, story, and history, they will consider the strengths and weaknesses of "evocative" texts in describing the human condition. In addition, beginning this fall, a statewide radio network will carry a five-day-a-week program with a humanities magazine format. The program will feature discussion of the American frontier and focus on the activities of the state's historical society in preserving Wisconsin's frontier heritage.

Turner, who is generally regarded as one of the most influential of American historians, had strong Wisconsin connections. He was born in Wisconsin, did his undergraduate work at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, and taught there from 1885 to 1910. His frontier essay was first published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin late in 1893.

Turner himself often acknowl-



Wagon train crossing the snowy Sierra Nevadas into Lake Valley in the 1880s.

Library of Congress



State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Frederick Jackson Turner, 1861–1932.

edged the influence that growing up "on the edge of the frontier" had on his work. The town of Portage, Wisconsin, was barely a decade old when Turner was born there in 1861. Although Portage was no longer a frontier community in Turner's youth, it still retained a frontier identity. In later years, Turner recalled having seen native Americans being shipped off to reservations, loggers tying up their rafts, and a dead man—the victim of a lynch mob—left hanging as an example in Portage. The effect of such experiences was that Turner could write in 1925, "I have poled down the Wisconsin [River] in a dugout with Indian guides from 'Grandfather Bull Falls,' through virgin forests of balsam firs, seeing deer in the river . . . feeling that I belonged to it all. . . . The frontier in that sense was real to me, and when I studied history I did not keep my personal experiences in a watertight compartment away from my studies."

If Turner's experiences in Portage left him attuned to frontier folk and activities, it was his graduate work under such men as Albion Small, Richard T. Ely, Woodrow Wilson, J. Franklin Jameson, and Herbert Baxter Adams at Johns Hopkins University that made him keenly aware of

the differences between the frontier and the people and practices of the American East and Europe. The history faculty and students at Hopkins were zealous in striving to make the study and teaching of history a profession and create a new discipline of history based on rigorous methods of research.

Herbert Baxter Adams and his "germ theory" of historical development dominated the history department at Hopkins. "According to Adams," writes Martin Ridge, "all American institutions found their origin in medieval Teutonic tribal structures. He saw little utility to studying American institutional history per se. Adams's thinking was entirely compatible with ideas of the leading literary scholars of the era, who were busy establishing the critical linkages in Anglo-Saxon and American literature, but it was virtually sterile to historians deeply interested in the American past because it denied the possibility that anything original or unique could stem from the American experience." In his doctoral dissertation on the influence of the fur trade in the development of Wisconsin, Turner paid passing tribute to Adams's theory by including a discussion of the fur trade in the ancient world, but he then demonstrated that the Wisconsin experience was fundamentally different.

Turner returned to the University of Wisconsin in 1889, assuming a position on the faculty. "At first," says Jim Danky, librarian at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, "he was the only professor of history. But he wanted to make history a central part of the university's curriculum because he believed that the study of history was important in improving people's lives and was essential in engendering a sense of citizenship."

Turner expressed his views on the importance of history in an address before the Southwestern Wisconsin Teacher's Association in 1891. Later published in the *Wisconsin Journal of Education*, Turner's essay, "The Significance of History" is "a remarkable document," according to Martin Ridge. Upon its publication however, it attracted little notice. "Had the essay been prepared by a historian of national prominence, it would have been heralded as an elo-

quent and pathbreaking article marking the new direction the discipline of history was to follow for generations to come. It remains today a statement from which few if any historians would dissent."

In his essay, Turner observes that "Each age tries to form its own conception of the past. Each age writes the history of the past anew with reference to the conditions uppermost in its own time. . . . This does not mean that the real events of a given age change; it means that our comprehension of these facts changes . . . [thus] we recognize why all the spheres of man's activity must be considered. . . . Therefore, all kinds of history are essential—history as politics, history as art, history as economics, history as religion—all are truly parts of society's endeavor to understand itself by understanding its past. . . . History is all the remains that have come down to us from the past, studied with all the critical and interpretive skill that the present can bring to the task."

In his comprehensive view of history, Turner believed that the lives of the common people were important and that "the focal point of modern interest is the fourth estate, the great mass of the people . . . toiling that others might dream." Likewise believing that "in history there are only artificial divisions," Turner maintained that local history could be properly understood only in the light of the history of the world.

With the publication of "The Significance of History," Turner entered the most creative period of his life. He had easy access to the archives of the state historical society, and as the University of Wisconsin emerged as an outstanding public university he was in contact with other men and women of intellectual integrity and imagination. Martin Ridge finds that it is "fascinating to determine what books he read, with whom he talked about his work, and what periodicals he clipped and underscored. It is also possible to trace the evolution of much of his thought through his published and unpublished essays and speeches. "We will probably never know, however, what imaginative process may have been engendered when Turner read in a census bulletin of 1892 that "Up

to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movements, etc., it cannot, therefore, have any place in the census reports."

In his address to the historians meeting at the Columbian Exposition, Turner used the census bulletin's report as a starting point for speculating on what the passing of the frontier meant for America. Noting that American history heretofore had largely been the history of the colonization of the West, Turner proposed an explanation not only of the American past but also of the American character. The frontier, as Turner described it, was "the meeting point between savagery and civilization." He argued that the critical function of the frontier was promotion of democracy in America. This democracy, a unique variety, was born of individuals' access to free land, which served to create a more egalitarian society—one in which people who had not succeeded elsewhere could make a new start. This process of rejuvenation or reconstruction largely determined the American character. The personal traits of Americans could be traced, he asserted, to the environment and opportunity of the frontier.

Turner did not fail to note that a "democracy born of free land, strong in selfishness and individualism, intolerant of administrative experience and education, and pressing individual liberty beyond its proper bounds, has its dangers as well as its benefits. . . . Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken this tone from the incessant expansion which has not only been open but has even been forced upon them. He would be a rash prophet who should assert that the expansive character of American life has now entirely ceased. Movement has been its dominant fact, and, unless this training has no effect upon a people, the American intellect will continually demand a wider field for its exercise. But never again will such gifts of free land offer themselves."

Turner's theory of American democracy is rooted in the idea of economic opportunity. As Ridge sees it, "his is the pragmatic democracy of Andrew Jackson rather than the theoretical democracy of Thomas Jefferson," and adds that the notion that "a society must always afford economic opportunity for its members or risk the loss of its democratic institutions . . . is a theme that every American president since Franklin D. Roosevelt has echoed."

Although Turner's essay did not

attract much notice when he first presented it, gradually his ideas gained ground among scholars and lay people interested in history. Fifty years after its publication, the Grolier Club included the thirty-four page pamphlet in its exhibition of the 100 influential American works printed before 1900.

Since its publication, Turner's frontier essay has drawn fire from many scholars. Some have criticized Turner's definition of American democracy as resulting from the frontier experience and have decried the negative implications that this holds for American institutions in the post-frontier era. Others have objected that this theory does not take immigration fully into account, charging that Turner's view of the frontier as a nationalizing force fails to explain the Americanization of immigrants in the post-frontier era.

Despite its failure to explain every aspect of American history and national character, Turner's essay remains a classic. Perhaps the reason for this lies in the appeal that the idea of the frontier still has for many Americans. Paul Hass, senior editor at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin who first suggested that the society reprint Turner's essays in an inexpensive edition comments that "No other theory of American history has yet supplanted Turner's or captured the imagination in quite the same way."

—Mary T. Chunko



State Historical Society of Wisconsin

American history seminar conducted by Professor Turner in the Wisconsin Historical Library, 1893-94.

(right) Fernando, one of the last surviving Chumash Indians of the Ventura Mountains, prepares a trench for steaming the shafts of arrows, ca. 1912. (far right) Barracks constructed in 1782 in Santa Barbara, California.

From negative to positive images

Appropriate, English-born minister, George Wharton James seemed out of his element when he arrived in the still-wild West in 1881. But James became fascinated by the endangered native American culture he saw in California and neighboring Arizona.

Before his death in 1923, James wrote more than forty books chronicling the region and its Mojavi, Yavapai, and Havasupai tribes. A prolific photographer, he also made thousands of photographs documenting the daily lives and customs of the peoples he saw. After his death, James's unique pictorial history of the region was donated to the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, a nonprofit educational institution founded in 1907 to preserve and interpret the art, artifacts, and documentary material of the prehistoric and historic cultures of the Americas.

But many of James's best pictures—just like the vanishing society he photographed—now are in danger. They and thousands of other pictures could literally turn to dust without quick action to preserve them. With help from NEH, the Southwest Museum is trying to protect the visual memory of the region and to make the pictures more accessible to historians and researchers.

"There is very little documentation of that period remaining," says Daniela P. Moneta, the museum's head librarian and director of its film preservation project. "Much of it has already been destroyed."

Moneta explains that James and many other photographers of the early 1900s often used a nitrate-



Cassidy Collection—Southwest Museum

based film to capture the culture of native Americans facing the onslaught of American settlers. Within decades, however, the nitrate-based film begins to deteriorate. Ultimately, it can crumble into powder. The early photographers, notes Moneta, "just didn't realize it would deteriorate so quickly."

The threatened degeneration poses a major problem for historians of the period. The museum's extensive collection contains thousands of fragile negatives, taken between 1900 and 1940, of important ethnographic and archaeological documentation of California, the Southwest, and Mesoamerica. The photo library is a treasure house for researchers—particularly those living in the West—since it contains vintage prints which show the crafts, costume, dances, ceremonies, dwellings, and daily life of the native Americans. "The library includes unique images not contained in other photo archives," notes Moneta.

In addition to the George Wharton James collection, the museum's photo treasure chest includes such rare items as negatives of the dress and culture of the Cupeno and Luiseno Indians of Southern California in the early 1900s; scenes of the Seminole and Choctaw tribes in the Southeastern United States; pictures of daily life among the Pueblo and other tribes in Arizona and New Mexico; documentation of the Mayan ruins in Yucatan; and photos taken by the Southwest Museum staff during archaeological excavations in California, Nevada, and Colorado.

Craig Klyer, photo archivist at the Southwest Museum, cites the

museum's Giffen Collection as particularly important. During the 1930s and 1940s, historians Helen and Guy Giffen captured southern California's old adobe houses on film. Some of their photographs appeared in their books, *Casas and Courtyards: Historic Adobe Houses of California* (1955) and *The Story of El Tejon* (1942). "Most of these adobe structures are no longer standing. The only record we have of them is in the Giffen photographs," adds Klyer. The Giffens willed their entire collection of photographs, original prints and negatives, to the museum in 1962. Other important photos in the museum's collection document the feather-burying ceremony of the Luiseño Indians, as well as a dance ceremony in which an eagle feather skirt is worn.

The more than 11,000 nitrate-based negatives in the museum's collection "are still in good condition," says Moneta, but experts have already detected early warning signals of deterioration. "The negatives could turn to powder before we know it," she notes, adding the museum's anxiety over the film has increased greatly in the past five years.

For several decades, the negatives were kept in a cool storage area within the museum. But in 1981, a nitrate film expert with the San Diego Historical Society recommended that the deteriorating negatives be moved out of the museum because they could soon begin to emit destructive gaseous fumes and could even explode.

In 1983 the negatives were shipped out to a remote storage warehouse approved by the Los Angeles Fire Department. Now, the



Bringing the past up to date

negatives are not only relatively inaccessible to researchers, but are threatened with even more rapid deterioration because the storage facility lacks temperature and humidity controls.

With help from NEH, the museum plans to save the film by converting it into "interpositives" on safety-based film, which then can be stored in the museum for easy access by researchers. The interpositives will be similar to a positive print of the negative on paper, but it will be of finer quality, and less detail will be lost in the copying process. "Having a positive image of the negatives available will make the collection more usable and therefore more valuable to researchers," says Moneta.

The negatives are being transferred by the Producers Photo Laboratory of Hollywood, which has converted nitrate film for the California Historical Society, the Burbank Museum, and the University of Southern California Archives, and is working on a similar project for the Los Angeles Public Library. The process, including transportation from the warehouse to the Southwest Museum, costs about \$6.75 per negative and will take about two years to complete.

The museum's photo archives are already in heavy demand by historians, students, and other researchers seeking documentation of early twentieth-century cultural life in California and other parts of the Southwest. Researchers may purchase copy prints of the museum's photographs for a nominal fee. (In the case of the nitrate-based film, negatives will be made of the new interpositives, and salable prints will

be made from the negatives.) In the past two years alone, nearly 1,700 photographs have been copied for more than 300 of the museum's patrons.

The photos have been used both as illustrations and as raw material for researchers delving into the native American culture of the region. Numerous scholars have used the museum's collection, including Dr. Lowell John Bean of the State University of California at Hayward, who cites the collection in both *California Indians: Primary Resources* (Ballena Press, 1977) and *The Cahuilla Indians of Southern California* (University of California Press, 1972).

Museums and publishers also have frequently used the photo archives. The Smithsonian Institution has regularly used the archives to select photographs for its *Handbook of North American Indians*. The Heard Museum in Phoenix used some of the photos for two exhibitions in 1984, while the San Diego Museum of Man, the California Historical Society, and the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha also have acquired photographs for their exhibits, publications, and educational programs.

The museum's photo collection has become so well known that even some commercial interests are seeking copies from the archives. "Just last week, an advertising firm requested pictures of the Mayan ruins," says Moneta. "Apparently, it's going to be used in an ad for Hughes Aircraft."

—Francis J. O'Donnell

"Preservation of the Nitrate Film Collection"/Daniela P. Moneta/Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, CA/ \$38,075/1986-88/Preservation Projects



Old Chapel, Middlebury College

Photo by Erik Borg, courtesy of Middlebury College

Editor's note: Institutes funded through the Division of Education Programs focus on faculty development and are held on topics broadly applicable to the undergraduate curriculum. They are designed to strengthen the teaching of the humanities by deepening participants' knowledge of the texts, ideas, and research techniques of a field.

An institute's staff comprises several faculty members, who are noted for their contributions to scholarship as well as for their excellence in teaching. The activities they direct usually include lectures, workshops, seminars, and guest lectures as well as collaborative work among the twenty to thirty participants.

A similar program, Summer Seminars for College Teachers, is part of the Division of Fellowships and Seminars. It differs from Education Institutes in its focus on individual study under the direction of a single distinguished scholar. Seminar participants pursue an individ-

ual research project as well as discuss common readings with their colleagues in the seminar.

An article about an NEH Summer Seminar for College Teachers appears on page 7.

Is history becoming a thing of the past?

Twenty teacher educators from fifteen states prepared themselves last June to brush the dust from history books and place them in the hands of competent teachers. The teachers attended an NEH-sponsored institute, "Toward a More Perfect Union: American Federalism, 1781-1860," at Middlebury College in Middlebury, Vermont—a historic village caught in the rural embrace of the Champlain Valley. The purpose of the three-week institute was to improve the teaching of history by concentrating on the documents of history and on how those documents can be used to show high schools students how historians work to reconstruct the story of the past.

The institute, tailored for college

• to increase understanding of the historical method, that is, of how historians investigate and interpret the past.

But how does one teach teachers who teach teachers how to teach? The teacher educator, stranded at one end of this circuitous path, seems about as distant from the high school student as spring on a cold March day in Vermont.

According to John McCardell, associate professor of history and academic coordinator for the institute, one of the problems facing teacher educators is the emphasis placed by teacher training programs on abstractions rather than on practicalities. Such an emphasis results in a mastery of educationalist theory instead of an understanding of how to present history in a classroom. This situation further complicates the precarious path knowledge must take from the teacher educator to the student teacher and finally to the high school student.

"We have to get back to an emphasis on teaching history," stresses

The exercise of returning to some of the original written sources in American history made a strong impression on the participants. For Dollase, the institute definitely achieved its aim of getting to the heart of the social studies teaching dilemma: "Participants felt that they had a better grasp of how historians conduct their research, and they were intellectually challenged by each other." Furthermore, says Dollase, "the institute did affect how they thought about teaching. Almost all plan to do something with primary source materials."

The institute has begun to affect teacher education programs across the country in the form of projects proposed by participants. One such project resulted in the collaboration of teacher educator Robert Skelton and professor of history Gene Ramsey in a course on the techniques of teaching history at Southeast Missouri State University. Student teachers will examine native American culture "from the inside," says Skelton, by studying tribal documents and the writings of native Americans, including Vine Deloria. The future teachers will compare native Americans' images of themselves with those found in the writings of white settlers. Skelton hopes that the unit will "bring history to a personal level and demonstrate to students the value of using primary sources in studying and teaching history."

In another project at Central College, Kansas, teacher educator John Beineke worked with history professor John DeJong in teaching student teachers, who then went on to create their own unit on the new American Republic for junior high school students from the area.

Participants in the 1985 institute returned to Middlebury in June, 1986 for a follow-up conference, where they reported on the success of their various projects. This conference worked as a reinforcement of the original institute so that teacher educators could benefit from the practical experience gained by their colleagues.

—Leona Francombe

"Summer Humanities Institute for Teacher Educators"/Richard H. Dollase/Middlebury College, VT/\$198,561/1984-86/Exemplary Projects



courtesy of Dr. Richard Dollase

(left to right) Richard Dollase, project director; Barbara Bellows, seminar instructor; John McCardell, academic coordinator; Larry Shaw, participant from San Diego State University

instructors who teach prospective social studies teachers, addressed the following goals, conceived by the director of Middlebury's Teacher Education Program, Richard H. Dollase:

- to read (or reread) and then discuss the basic texts and original documents of American history in order to increase participants' knowledge about American culture and our evolving national identity;
- to sharpen analytical skills in looking at historical data;

McCardell, "and to teach history, you have to know history."

To achieve this goal, the Middlebury institute offered a curriculum focusing on original materials such as the *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*, Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, and *The Federalist* by Hamilton, Jay, and Madison. Mornings were spent on lectures and discussions about the texts, and in the afternoons, teachers concentrated on the actual use of original documents in teaching history.

What is the prime force behind historical events? What is progress? Why is understanding history important? Does history follow a single, universal course or display itself in many fragments?

This summer, Karl Joachim Weintraub, the University of Chicago's Thomas E. Donnelley Distinguished Service Professor in History conducted an NEH summer seminar for secondary school teachers, "Interpretations of History." The seminar grew out of a noncredit, experimental course for college and graduate students conducted by Weintraub a number of years ago, which itself derived from the university's Western civilization course group, first devised in the 1950s, when Weintraub was just beginning his career.

From June 23 to July 18, fourteen teachers from various disciplines and from as far away as New York, Minneapolis, San Antonio, Chattanooga, and Honolulu—met with Weintraub in sixteen two-hour sessions.

As a group, they discussed the questions posed above; more importantly, they studied how these questions have been addressed at various times over the past three centuries.

The seminar participants examined how several important interpretive frameworks of history have been constructed, how approaches have been affected by culturally specific world views and values. "Since about 1700, there have really been quite extraordinary fundamental changes in the historical outlook in the Western world," Weintraub states.

The required readings for the entire four weeks took up little more than 150 pages. Weintraub describes them as "short, very rich documents that lend themselves to intense analysis."

The first text is by the French bishop, Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, who in 1681 was given the duty of teaching history to the son of Louis XIV. The text Bossuet prepared for the Dauphin, *Discourse on Universal History*, is perhaps the last great expression of a view that dominated European thought for well over a millennium—the Christian providential interpretation of history.

Bossuet instructs his student, "God who has made the structure of the universe, and who, almighty by himself, has, to establish order, decreed that the parts of such a great whole should depend one upon another—that same God has also decreed that the course of human affairs should have its sequence and its proportions. . . . There has been no great change in history which has

ress of science. "This progress will doubtless vary in speed," writes Condorcet, "but it will never be reversed as long as the earth occupies its present place in the system of the universe." In the Enlightenment view, religion is a roadblock, not a path, to progress.

At about the same time, in Germany, a reaction to the renegade Enlightenment was developing. One of

Interpretations of History

not had its causes in the preceding centuries. . . . The true science of history consists in discovering in each period those secret dispositions which have prepared the great changes."

For Bossuet, as for historians for a dozen centuries before him, the study of history was the examination of a *universal* history—the unfolding of God's vast, unified plan.

But Bossuet's exegesis came as two revolutionary schools of philosophy were taking hold—those of Cartesian rationalism and of empiricism—and the centers of interest would soon shift from religion and God the prime mover to science and man. The second reading in the seminar reflects those influences.

The *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind*, written in 1793 by the Marquis de Condorcet while in hiding during the French Revolution, crystallizes the Enlightenment perspective of eighteenth-century France. Condorcet begins, "Man is born with the ability to receive sensations." From there he delineates the view of "the indefinite perfectibility of man," a human progress with no upper limit that is linked to the inexorable prog-

ress of science. "This progress will doubtless vary in speed," writes Condorcet, "but it will never be reversed as long as the earth occupies its present place in the system of the universe." In the Enlightenment view, religion is a roadblock, not a path, to progress.

"Human nature is not divine, does not rest in its own perfection," Herder wrote in *One More Philosophy of History* in 1774. "It has to learn everything, has to grow in slow advancement, has to forge ahead in continuous struggle. Its growth, therefore, will turn in those directions, only or preeminently, where opportunities open for virtue, for struggle, for progress. Every human perfection is thus, in a certain sense, national, age-bound, and strictly speaking, individual. You develop only what age, climate, need, world, destiny provide for. . . . So all comparison becomes precarious."

Yet just before this, Herder writes, "None but the Creator is able to think of the total whole of one, of all nations, in all their variety, without losing sight of their unity." Elements of providence remain. Herder does not overthrow religion; he merely places the aims of history and historians at a lower plane. He is developing a theory that examines cul-

tures and periods individually. The Enlightenment concept of indefinite perfectibility is soundly rebutted, but so too is the universal scope of Bossuet's providential history.

In the selections from the nineteenth-century professor from the University of Berlin, Leopold von Ranke, the seminar participants found a practical historian honing the thoughts of Herder's poetic declarations: "Each epoch has an immediate relationship to God. Its value does not at all derive from what comes out of it, but rests in its own existence, in its own self."

But at about the same time that Ranke was analyzing and systematizing the German historicist interpretation, a new extreme interpretation was announcing itself. Marx and Engels's *Communist Manifesto* was published in 1848.

The seminar focused on historical thought, not political, and so the choice of Marx among the readings was an unconventional one, which considers the theory that such a radical political redefinition requires an equally radical redefinition of the historical foundation.

In an 1890 letter, one of five brief documents supplementing the *Manifesto* as readings, Engels writes, "According to the materialist conception of history the determining element in history is *ultimately* the production and reproduction in real life. . . . The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—political forms of the class struggle, . . . forms of law, and then even . . . political, legal, philosophical theories, religious ideas, and their further development into systems of dogma—also exercise their influence."

Finally, the participants examined the approach of A. J. Toynbee, who, in a 1920 lecture "The Tragedy of Greece," proclaimed civilizations to be "the greatest and the rarest achievements of human society." To Toynbee, "Civilization is a work of art," and "the study of a civilization is not different in kind from the study of literature." In the 1948 essay "My View of History," he describes these civilizations, spread over six thousand years, as philosophically contemporaneous, rising and declining to the same basic challenges; in Thucydides and the Peloponnesian War he sees a reflection

of himself and World War I. But Toynbee balks at the cyclic view of history that "would reduce history to a tale told by an idiot, signifying nothing" and considers but remains unsure about a divine plan of masterful and progressive execution.

The seminar ended with what might be considered an admonishment or chastisement: the brief preface written by the British historian H.A.L. Fisher for his *History of Europe* in 1935. "Men wiser and more learned than I have discerned in history a plot, a rhythm. These harmonies are concealed to me." Why have big theories? asks Fisher.

"I don't think he is right," Weintraub comments. "But I think it important that his opinion be stated again for the participants to question whether it's possible to approach the past without some sort of framework, without preconceptions."

Each reading presents history from one particular perspective. The readings taken together show that any single interpretation of history ultimately creates its own problems, that historical interpretation is itself culture-bound and therefore never an objective observation but part of the historical fabric itself.

Weintraub concedes that the seminar is not highly "relevant," that no direct skills derive from it; one course applicant withdrew because his principal thought that the topic had no immediate application to his work. But Weintraub is proud that

Library of Congress



Arnold Toynbee, 1889–1975.

the seminar deals with topics that transcend narrow relevance.

In a broader sense these time-tested readings are relevant. Weintraub sees in the current American preconceptions and assumptions about history continuing conflicts among some of the perspectives being discussed in the seminar.

"Somehow, Americans have absorbed, by their mothers' milk almost, some belief that there is progress in history," he states.

"For many of the seminar participants there is still something left of the notion that there is a guiding force somewhere in the universe—call it God—that somehow is ultimately responsible. And then something happens that creates great doubts—such as the atomic bomb. Well, then, you're forced to rethink: What does a conception of progress imply? Technical, material progress on the one hand and nonprogress in other areas, such as moral progress.

"I think it's good for thinking human beings to struggle with that. That's an interesting conflict. The American tradition has long had this kind of tension in some way. The notion of manifest destiny is an interesting mixture of the two."

What will the group of high school teachers who have taken part in this seminar pass on to their students when they return to class this fall? "I would be happiest," says Weintraub, "if the teachers leave with a willingness to think more about these questions, a willingness to consider that these matters do, after all, affect how you present all sorts of knowledge on the human condition. If one can raise by a little notch the degree of reflectiveness of people who teach in school about what they teach, one has done a hell of a lot."

Toynbee, Marx, Ranke and Herder, Condorcet, even the seventeenth-century bishop Bossuet have contributed to today's historical and social assumptions. Their voices speak strikingly to modern students whose minds are open to considering different ways of viewing history.

—Matthew Kiell

"Interpretations of History"/Karl J. Weintraub/University of Chicago, IL/
\$59,441/1985–86/Summer Seminars for
Secondary School Teachers

It's Monday morning. The students in Clayton Rowley's eleventh-grade English class wander in to find a single question written on the blackboard. "Is it best to obey the law at all times?" Some groan, some shrug, some smile, but all of them will spend the coming week reading, writing, and discussing assignments designed to help them understand the question's implications and to formulate an answer. Rowley, a teacher at Grants High School in Grants, New Mexico, adopted this new teaching technique after attending last summer's NEH-funded institute on classic history texts at the St. John's College Graduate Institute in Liberal Education.

At St. John's college, which has campuses in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Annapolis, Maryland, the curriculum is rigidly nonelective, based on the reading and discussion of 120 "great books." Located on both campuses and founded in 1967, the Graduate Institute is designed primarily for teachers with both summer and year-long programs of study. The programs are based on the theory that one of the basic conditions for successful teaching is ongoing learning.

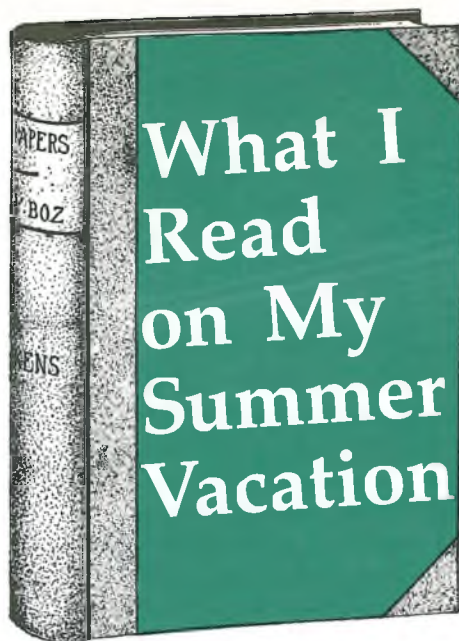
In an effort to improve further the teaching and learning of history and other humanities disciplines, St. John's selected sixteen New Mexico teachers and sixteen Maryland teachers to attend last year's summer institute on classic history texts.

In Santa Fe, fourteen New Mexico primary and secondary school teachers, specializing in various disciplines, gathered in June to begin the intensive eight-week program that was designed to familiarize participants with the central texts in history and the philosophy of history with a view to classroom application of their work in the project.

For many of the teachers it was their first experience with the Socratic teaching methods used at St. John's College.

The college urges conversation aimed at helping students to reconstruct the thoughts of other students, tutors, or authors of great books. The tutors do not dominate, but rather direct or focus classroom discussions. The emphasis is on teaching through dialogue.

The NEH fellows spent their two



months as part of this community of scholars by reading and discussing the works of some of the best historians and philosophers—Herodotus, Vico, Thucydides, Herder, Plutarch, Lessing, Tacitus, Kant, Gibbon, Augustine, Burckhardt, Hegel, Marx, Engels, Shakespeare, and Nietzsche.

One might ask how the excitement and intellectual stimulation produced from reading and discussing the complex ideas presented in Kant's *Idea for a Universal History* or Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* could be transferred to an elementary or secondary school classroom.

Lynda Myers, the director of the Graduate Institute, explained that those conducting the summer institute did not expect a knowledge of the books and the authors studied to be directly translated into lesson plans. What they did expect was that the experience of addressing central questions that have perplexed people throughout history would have an impact on the classroom. "The *Peloponnesian War* of Thucydides may not be a book that you intend to have your third graders read," she explained. "But by having teachers exercise their intellectual skills on the most demanding materials, we prepare them for finding the life and vitality and importance in the materials that are more appropriate for an elementary presentation of historical works. What we hope they gain from the experience is the art of approaching a historical problem or a problem in any discipline." Teachers who attended the institute have modified their

teaching techniques to emphasize classroom dialogue.

Rowley's approach seems to be paying off. "A lot of the students like it," he asserts. "I did notice an improvement in my students' ability to express themselves. They learned how to state an opinion and then learned how to draw on other sources to back up their positions."

Charlotte Lee, a third-grade teacher at Hondo Valley Public School in Lincoln, New Mexico, has also found ways to change her teaching methods as a result of attending the summer institute.

Lee teaches several subjects a day, so while reading a history lesson, or after reading a story, she tries to hold discussions on relevant subjects that the children seem to be interested in. "The discussions are the most pleasant times of our day," said Lee. "The children look forward to them, and I get to know my students a lot better. A number of the students do not participate regularly in the discussions, but when they do speak up, they make some of the best observations."

St. John's Graduate Institute has helped to build ties between the college and local schools. Most elementary and secondary schools in the Santa Fe and Albuquerque areas employ teachers who have attended the Graduate Institute. The college has also worked with New Mexico's department of education on such issues as teacher recertification.

So as Lynda Myers points out, "There is a web of interaction that extends from the level of the individual teacher all the way up to the state superintendent and the state department of education."

In considering the benefits that some of New Mexico's schoolteachers have derived from the Graduate Institute, a question comes to mind. What is the process by which intellectual excitement is transferred to students from a teacher who has spent eight weeks reading and analyzing the great ideas of Western civilization? Sounds like a question for the blackboard.

—Scott Sanborn

"Summer Institute on Classic Texts in History for Teachers"/Lynda Myers/St. John's College, Santa Fe, NM/\$143,550/1985-86/Humanities Instruction in Elementary and Secondary Schools

WHAT AMERICANS SHOULD KNOW

Nearly half a million freshmen entering U.S. colleges and universities this fall will enroll in an introductory college course in non-American history. As members of a civilization that inherited its religions, family structures, political and economic institutions, and artistic forms from Europe, should this generation of college freshmen be taught the history of Western civilization, which in some measure contributes to their identities as Americans? Or as members of a state that is part of a global economy and whose fate is linked not only to events in Europe but to those that might take place anywhere on the planet, should these

students be given knowledge about other cultures on whom they are to some degree dependent?

Although the issues influencing this choice are far more complex and interwoven, these are at least the lines of debate drawn at an NEH-supported conference at Michigan State University last spring. The three-day conference, "What Americans Should Know: Western Civilization or World History," convened forty historians (out of 180 applicants) who discussed the ramifications of the choice that, according to conference director Josef W. Konvitz and his fellow historians at Michigan State, faces nearly every history de-

partment in the country.

"My instinct is to ask why we cannot have it both ways, just so each history program has at least one survey," summarized Michigan State professor Richard Sullivan. The answer, "sustained by what I have heard at this conference," is that practical considerations will force the profession to opt for either a Western civilization survey or a world history survey for "two compelling reasons."

"First, within the context of a single department, even in the largest universities," Sullivan explained, "I fear that there are not sufficient human resources to conduct two demanding surveys. And in many institutions I suspect there are not enough students to populate two courses at a level commensurate with the energy required to maintain the courses."

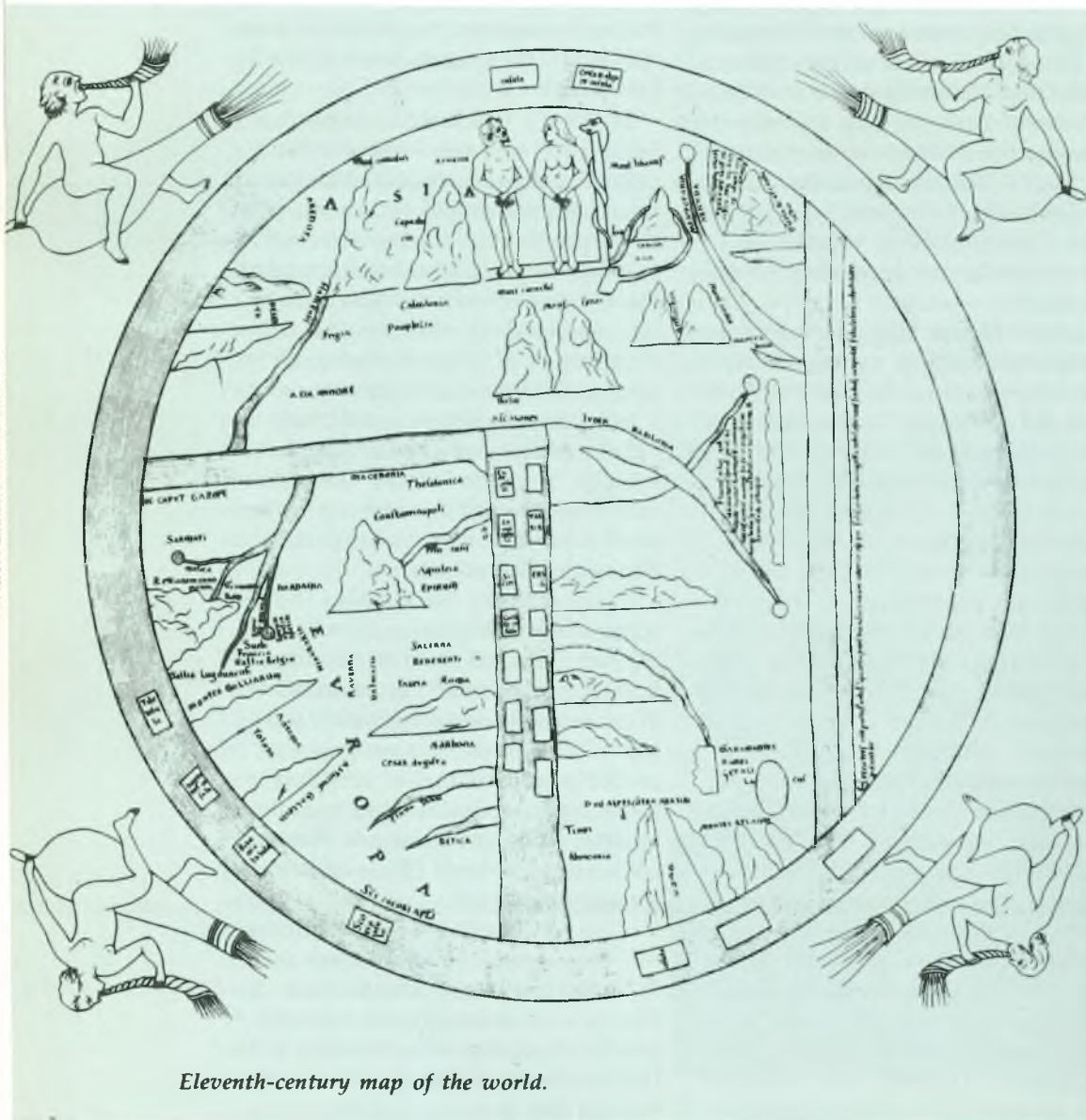
The second reason comes from the recognition by historians of the opportunity afforded them by the current revival of the liberal arts. Again and again, discussions at the conference referred to the potential of the introductory history survey course as a foundation on which to reconstruct the general humanities curriculum.

"But the conference participants also recognized," continues Konvitz, "that many of the efforts to restore core humanities courses to the curriculum involve a dilution of history. Now the required freshman course is sometimes an interdisciplinary, thematic survey instead of a chronological study of history."

The consensus at the conference was that when faculty committees are designing core curricula, historians would be in a better position to speak for history if they could present "a united front" to their colleagues in other disciplines by agreeing among themselves on a realistic requirement for all students. J. H. Hexter of Washington University, St. Louis, suggested in the paper he delivered at the conference that an optimistic expectation of time allotted for an introductory course in history would be five credit hours in each of two semesters.

"If the profession is to persuade the entire educational establishment that history has a vital contribution to make to liberal education, then

Library of Congress



Eleventh-century map of the world.

the profession must be able to say exactly what that single contribution is," Sullivan asserted.

Concern for how college students are introduced to the study of history, however, has itself a longer history than the recent reestablishment of rigorous graduation requirements. The first essay in the published proceedings of the conference, a collection of sixteen formal papers on such topics as "The Use and Abuse of the Western Scientific Heritage" and "Medieval History with a Global Perspective," is a bibliographic review of the professional literature discussing issues that have divided historians over the Western civilization survey for the past twenty-five years. The problems with the survey course that historians have written about for decades established the context for the newest discussion at Michigan State.

"One of the things that many of us continue to feel is the impact of specialized fields of knowledge," says Konvitz. "You only have to look at the textbooks to see that they are 20 percent larger than they were twenty years ago."

At the conference in East Lansing, one of the major criticisms of the Western civilization survey was its inability to accommodate new areas of research: demographic history, social history, new economic history, urban history, history of science, history of women; the new subfields that have proliferated over the last thirty years. Proponents of Western civilization surveys point out, on the other hand, that areas of research that interest scholars are not necessarily interesting or appropriate to the basic introductory course.

"One of the problems with the survey," says Konvitz is that people expect it to include Henry VIII and Erasmus, but they want to add the history of the common people as well. The history of larger social aggregates is easier to handle in a global history course."

"On the other hand," Konvitz continues, "my students find traditional, political history more interesting because it is more eventful, more dramatic. This history is criticized for being the story of elites, but the Italian Renaissance was, after all, the product of a very small number of people. Copernicus and

courtesy of NASA



Newton were individuals."

In a paper called "What is Western about Western History?" Lynn Hunt of the University of California, Berkeley, urged a return to the classics of comparative history that were written at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Works by Max Weber and Elisee Reclus, created "in the moment of tension between specialization and generalization" avoid the charges of ethnocentricity by global historians, such as Eric R. Wolf who argues that belief that "the West has a genealogy only turns history into a moral success story, a race in time in which each runner of the race passes on the torch of liberty to the next relay." Comparative approaches are appropriate to the survey because they focus on the tensions between the use of great works and the necessity of generalization, between the use of models and particulars of historical experience, and between the West and non-Western elements.

Kevin Reilly of Somerset County College, Summerville, New Jersey, is the president of the four-year-old,

1,000-member World History Association. According to Reilly, there are two problems with the Western civilization survey that world history would correct. "To begin with, we no longer are as dependent on European issues and events. We are more dependent on countries outside of Europe than we were when the Western civilization course was developed between the two world wars.

"We live in a smaller world than we did before the development of multinational corporations and international banking. Americans are dependent on events in Iran, the Philippines, China—to a much greater extent than they were thirty of forty years ago. The Western civilization course was developed because America had a sense of being involved in a developing European conflict. That's no longer the case."

Further, Reilly argues that the American identity itself is changing. "We are beginning to realize that we are no longer all Europeans."

J. H. Hexter of Washington University, St. Louis, unabashedly calling his paper in favor of Western

civilization "An Ethnocentric View," supported the course because "in the past forty-five years no other (introductory survey) has worked as well for as long." But he argued for a specific formula of gifted lecturers; mature, prepared discussion leaders; and readings from source collections as well as textbooks rather than the "standard educational disaster: a standard lecture course, with assign-

generalities there were no precise answers."

In the bibliographic essay that opens the volume of conference proceedings, Edith Dolnikowski and Janet Baldwin observe that advocates of world history articulate their arguments more forcefully and explicitly than the advocates of Western civilization courses. Although both Sullivan and Konvitz remarked

Konvitz. "Most of the textbooks used for introductory surveys have been around for twenty or thirty years. There are two or three being written now that will probably affect the way the introductory survey is taught. We're also seeing a gradual increase in graduate study in history. The number of Ph.D.'s in the field peaked in 1973 and has been declining since then. But more positions will be available in the 1990s, so that decade will introduce a new generation of teachers to the field. Finally, ends of centuries have traditionally been times of very compressed social and cultural change. And along with change, there is a demand for historical interpretation. The 1990s will be an interesting decade for historians."

J. H. Hexter suggested a practical plan for the conference participants to take back to their institutions. "Here is the place for that splendid statement, become a platitude only in consequence of its verity: 'Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to fulfill it.' Let us avoid as far as we can the reinvention of the wheel; let us especially refrain from reinventing variants on the square wheel. . . . Only two options make sense: (1) If resources are particularly scarce direct them all to the time-tested Western civilization course. (2) If there is (a) a critical mass of faculty members deeply convinced that they can devise a radically different but better course than Western civilization to occupy the curriculum slot that is there to fill and (b) enough resources to render the experiment possible, then run Western civilization and the alternative course against each other for, say, a five-year period, providing equal resources during the trial period and testing relative success at the end. If nothing else, determining what 'equal resources' are and arriving at an agreement on how to measure success will keep the relevant portion of faculty at each others' throats and possibly out of the administration's hair for several years."

—F. Peter Wigginton

"What Americans Should Know: The Introductory History Course Reassessed"/ Josef W. Konvitz/Michigan State University, East Lansing/\$123,312/1984-85/ Exemplary Projects

"... the most important long-term historical processes that have made the world what it is today have taken place within a geographic or demographic context greater than any single civilization.... I know of no colleagues who organize their U.S. surveys around fifty lecture units, each devoted to the history of a single state. Likewise at the world-historical level, the profession should aim to identify those trends and developments that transcend purely political or ethnocultural boundaries."

—Ross E. Dunn

from the conference proceedings, What Americans Should Know: Western Civilization or World History?

ments out of a survey textbook, which the students sensibly do not read. They need not because the ultimate testing at exam time requires them only to dish back cold to the lecturer the by then stiff porridge that during the past several months has been dished out to them tepid in lectures." No survey course, in Hexter's implicit argument, will survive some of the frightful pedagogical practices that have victimized Western civilization surveys.

Richard Sullivan reported in his summary statement that the issue of what Americans should know was not settled at the conference. "Americans should know about global problems; Americans should acquire a respect for other cultures; Americans should know where they came from; Americans should know about processes that determine the shape of societies; Americans should know the enduring ideas that have sustained civilized existence; etc. But beyond these rather commonplace

that this was also true of the conference discussions, neither was prepared to award a clear victory to global history. "The strongest voices, the most cogent arguments, the most persistent advocacy were in my judgment for the world history survey," said Sullivan. "But in conceding this point as representing the most insistent and determined voice heard at this conference, I must admit that I am personally convinced that the Western civilization survey is to be preferred."

Konvitz believes also that some of the major issues remain unresolved: the lack of a coherent framework in both approaches that allows students to integrate material into a unified, coherent understanding, and the fact that the contemporary global political system and the global interests of the great powers are all the product of Western civilization.

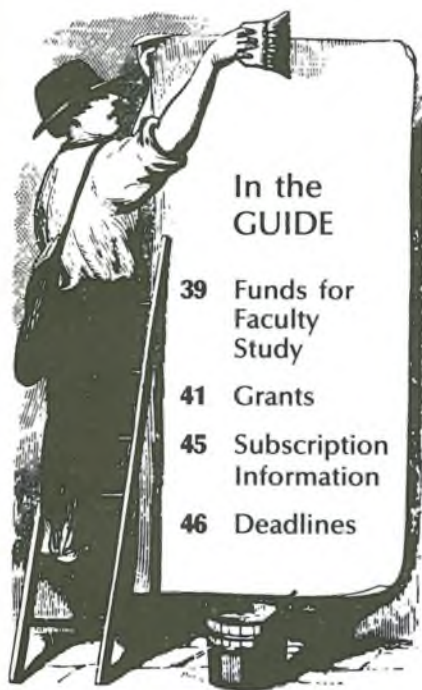
Other considerations will contribute to making the next fifteen years a challenge for historians, says

THE Humanities GUIDE

*for those who are
thinking of applying
for an NEH grant*

Funds for Faculty Study

Faculty enhancement. Faculty development. Faculty reinvigoration, reengagement, renewal. The terms abound for the kind of study and discussion among faculty that make them more excited about their work in the classroom, that encourage an exchange of ideas, and that foster cooperation and respect among colleagues—in other words, that contribute to “good teaching.” Growing institutional interest in these faculty activities suggests that collegial study among faculty strengthens their abilities to teach and, thus, enhances the quality of education offered at colleges and universities. The NEH Division of Education Programs will support faculty within a particular institution to engage in the cooperative study of basic texts and primary sources in the humanities as an avenue to improving their institution’s humanities curriculum.



In the Central Disciplines Higher Education Program, three categories of funding define goals that the NEH is anxious to support: Improving Introductory Courses, Promoting Excellence in a Field, and Fostering Coherence Throughout an Institution. Faculty study and discussion programs directed toward achieving one of these goals at two- or four-year colleges or universities may receive support as part of larger projects for educational improvement or as distinct projects on their own.

As in all of the Endowment’s programs, proposals to the Central Disciplines Program are evaluated by a process of peer review. The Endowment solicits advice from knowledgeable people outside the agency, who are usually college administrators and professors in various fields of the humanities. These panelists and reviewers are asked to keep several criteria in mind when evaluating a proposal, such as a sound intellectual justification for the project and its likelihood for success. These criteria, descriptions of the various funding categories, as well as general advice for preparing proposals are contained in a brochure, available by writing or calling the Division of Education Programs, Room 302, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506, 202/786-0373.

The following examples of faculty study and discussion projects are intended to show the various forms that such projects may take as well as some of the characteristics that make proposals of this type competitive in the peer review process.

Improving Introductory Courses

The only course that all students

are required to take at Centre College, in Danville, Kentucky, is the Introductory Humanities Sequence, a two-semester survey of art, music, philosophy, and literature of the classical, Renaissance, and neoclassical periods of European history. Centre College’s request for support from the NEH to improve the introductory sequence, like many of the projects proposed to improve introductory courses, included funding for faculty development as one of several ways to achieve this goal. The funding is being used for campus workshops conducted by a visiting art historian and musicologist, and for sabbatical leave and summer stipends for research and study related to the sequence. When recommending funding, nearly all panelists cited the investment that the college had already made in the development of the course. The proposal states, “The college’s commitment to the development of the Introductory Humanities Sequence is demonstrated in the financial resources made available in the form of release time for instructors preparing to teach the course for the first time. Over the past three years, six instructors have been given a total of twenty courses off to develop and team-teach the pilot courses or to teach in the adapted course for the first time.” Institutional commitment to a project is a requirement for funding. The proposal should also demonstrate that NEH funds are necessary in order for the project to take place.

It is important to note that panelists react not only to the ideas in a proposal but to the way they are presented. One panelist commented, “The proposal inspires confidence because it is cogently

written, because it concentrates on substance, rather than on pedagogy."

Promoting Excellence in a Field

James Madison College of Michigan State University offers students a liberal education concentrated on public affairs. The college received support from NEH in 1984 to bring more humanities study into the upper-level courses in social sciences.

The proposal demonstrates that a foundation for the project exists in the successful integration of the humanities and the social sciences in some parts of the Madison College curriculum. In one field of concentration, for example—justice, morality, and constitutional democracy—great books form the core of the curriculum. Students read Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Rousseau, Hegel, Marx, and Nietzsche or Weber. By pairing faculty seminars and other faculty development activities with a revision of upper-level courses, the Madison faculty is working to increase the humanities content of other areas of the curriculum.

Faculty seminars have been conducted by Sheldon Wolin, who assigned readings by Hannah Arendt, Martin Heidegger, and Michael Oakeshott and by philosopher Alan Bloom, who led faculty in an examination of liberal education and the study of the texts.

Although a separate, well-defined plan was presented for each activity, the proposal made clear that the project was being undertaken as an integrated effort to revitalize the faculty and to remind them of the college's dedication to providing a liberal arts education to its students. The proposal states, "We ex-

pect these activities to sharpen our collective understanding of the role of the humanities in the study of public affairs, contribute to faculty development, improve individual courses, and make our upper-level curricula more vital and coherent. While these activities are discussed separately below, we see them as working in tandem. Indeed, each will stimulate and reinforce the others. Accordingly, at the outset of the project we emphasize those activities that deepen our common perspective and enhance our individual expertise; in the later stages we emphasize those that are aimed at course and curricular revision." Panelists' reactions demonstrated their admiration for the strong, unified goal toward which all activities of the project were directed.

Fostering Coherence Throughout an Institution

Among the four goals that Willamette University in Salem, Oregon, proposed "to restore the humanities to a central place in the life of the College of Liberal Arts" was the institution of an "intellectually invigorating program of faculty growth and renewal in the humanities, which provokes a rethinking of course content, augments subject area expertise, and facilitates faculty interaction and cooperation." The faculty program was designed to help achieve the overall goal of engaging students in the critical reading and analysis of great texts in the humanities. The faculty instituted a common reading list of about twenty titles, for example, that all Willamette students are required to read during the first two years of university study.

Faculty development activities in the project include a workshop for

twenty faculty members each May, led by a scholar of national reputation and focusing on various approaches to textual analysis and on questions of epistemology germane to the integrated program; a four-week course review and revision process involving most of the faculty during the summer; individual six-week stipends for extended humanities study for eight faculty members selected each year.

Panelists were unanimous in the endorsement of the proposal. One panelist wrote, "More than most of the proposals I've read, it speaks to a clearly integrated plan and an intellectual approach that carries through all elements..." Another wrote, "There is the excellent idea of a common reading list of major texts in the humanities which every student will be expected to have read and studied by the time he graduates. There is also the good idea of having faculty members consult directly with one another about ways to integrate the material of their courses. And there is the heartening background of a faculty reading seminar, in which for two years humanists have been meeting to discuss the intellectual underpinnings of the new curriculum." These comments show that intellectual content is as important to the successful proposal as a clearly defined plan of activity.

Proposals for faculty study and discussion should indicate specifically the activities that are planned and precisely the institutional goals that will be achieved as a result. Staff members in the Central Disciplines Program will review draft proposals and offer advice to applicants. A directory of staff names and telephone numbers appears on page 46.

Nomination of David Lowenthal to NEH Council

David Lowenthal has been nominated to be a member of the National Council on the Humanities for a term expiring January 26, 1992. He will succeed Marcus Cohn.

Since 1966 Dr. Lowenthal has been a professor in the political science department at Boston College and served as chairman of that department from 1967 to 1974. Previously, he was an associate professor and chairman of the political sci-

ence department at Wheaton College, 1958-66; an instructor at Harvard University, 1955-58; and an instructor and assistant professor at North Carolina State College, 1950-54.

Dr. Lowenthal graduated from Brooklyn College (B.A., 1943), New York University (B.S., 1946), New School for Social Research (M.A., 1948; Ph.D., 1953). He is married, has two children, and resides in

Sharon, Massachusetts. Dr. Lowenthal was born February 1, 1923, in Brooklyn, New York.



photo by Lee Pellegrini

RECENT NEH GRANT AWARDS

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

Archaeology & Anthropology

Adler Planetarium, Chicago, IL; James S. Sweitzer: \$30,000. To plan a permanent exhibition interpreting the planetarium's collection of historical scientific instruments. *GM*
American Museum of Natural History, NYC; Enid Schildkrout: \$34,458. To plan a temporary exhibition and catalogue on the art and culture of the Mangbetu peoples of north-eastern Zaire. *GM*

American School of Classical Studies, New York City, NY; Martha H. Wiencke: \$50,000. For final preparation and publication of studies of material discovered at the Neolithic and Bronze Age site of Lerna in southern Greece. Six scholars will complete research and revise manuscripts for five descriptive catalogues of architecture, pottery, and other objects. *RO*

American Schools of Oriental Research, Philadelphia, PA; Joseph A. Callaway: \$69,642. To complete the last two volumes of the excavations at Ai (et-Tell), a Bronze and Iron Age settlement in Palestine. *RO*

Bryn Mawr College, PA; Richard S. Ellis: \$24,640. To prepare for publication the first of two phases of analysis of materials from salvage excavations at Gritille, Turkey. *RO*

Cleveland Museum of Natural History, OH; David S. Brose: \$100,000. To reinstall the exhibition at the Sears Hall of Human Ecology, interpreting traditional and modern societies in the diverse habitats in which they function. *GM*

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, VA; George L. Miller: \$50,000. To expand a study to establish a cost-indexing and classification system of English ceramics into the late 18th and early 19th century. *RO*

Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; Peter I. Kuniholm: \$175,000. To extend an unbroken dendrochronological sequence as far back as the third millennium B.C. and attempt to establish links with the 7272-year absolute oak chronology for Northern Europe. *RO*

Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, IL; Carolyn P. Blackmon: \$54,427. To create a series of interpretive programs to augment the exhibition "Te Maori' Maori Art from New Zealand Collections." *GM*

Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; Gordon R. Willey: \$135,000. To prepare a data base, the *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, which will serve the needs of cultural and art historians, epigraphists, and archaeologists. *RO*

Historic Deerfield, Inc., MA; Robert Paynter: \$15,000 Or; \$25,000 FM. To conduct a combined archaeological and historical investigation of spatial and temporal variations in land use in order to test historical assumptions about cultural process in a rural New England

community (1670-1850). *RO*

International Folk Art Foundation, Santa Fe, NM; Marsha C. Bol: \$40,000. To plan a major exhibition on Mexican masquerade emphasizing the history of masking and costume from the Spanish conquest to the present day. *GM*

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul; Nicholas K. Westbrook: \$300,000. To create a traveling exhibition, a catalogue, and educational programming exploring the transition from traditional Hidatsa Plains Indian society to modern reservation life by focusing on three Hidatsa whose lives spanned the period 1840-1920. *GM*

Museum of the American Indian, NYC; Brenda S. Holland: \$24,850. To document a collection of artifacts recovered by the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition of 1917-12 from excavations at the site of Hawikku, an old Zuni village in New Mexico. *GM*

Northern Illinois U., DeKalb; William L. Fash, Jr.: \$20,000 Or; \$44,000 FM. To conduct an archaeological and iconographic investigation of Structure 10L-26 at the site of Copan, which holds the longest extant hieroglyphic inscription in the aboriginal Western Hemisphere. The research will facilitate the decipherment and interpretation of a major Late Classic Maya monument. *RO*

Port of History Museum City of Philadelphia, PA; Robert W. Eskind: \$12,517. To plan an interpretive exhibition of ethnographic materials from Eastern Siberia illustrating the practices of peoples of the Amur River Valley and examining the region as a cultural crossroads. *GM*

Rochester Museum and Science Center, NY; Lyn Kraus Cowan: \$19,500. To conduct a six-week summer program for high school students introducing them to archaeology and anthropology through investigation of Seneca Iroquois sites and activities, using the museum's collections and resources on Iroquois culture. *GZ*

San Diego Museum of Man, CA; Douglas G. Sharon: \$107,627. To create an exhibition and educational programs presenting the culture of the Huichol Indians of western Mexico. *GM*

School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM; Michael J. Hering: \$4,5900. To plan for the documentation of Southwestern ethnographic and archaeological objects in the collection of the School of American Research. *GM*

Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, CA; Daniela P. Moneta: \$38,075. To provide computerized documentation of the photo archives at the Southwest Museum. *GM*

Texas A&M Research Foundation, College Station; J. Richard Steffey: \$56,250. To complete the study and reconstruction of an 11th-century Islamic ship, the earliest extant example of a skeletally built seagoing vessel.

RO

U. of California, Los Angeles: Doran H. Ross: \$78,431. To create an exhibition and publication on decorated gourds from north-eastern Nigeria, explaining the ethnography and socio-cultural history of gourd use and decoration. *GM*

U. of Chicago; John Carswell: \$10,000 Or; \$63,600 FM. To excavate a major maritime trading site in northern Sri Lanka and to prepare the results for publication. *RO*

U. of Maryland, College Park; Kenneth G. Holum: \$175,000 Or; \$125,000 FM. To implement a traveling exhibition interpreting Herod's remarkable city and harbor at Caesarea. *GM*

U. of New Mexico, Albuquerque; Mari Lyn Salvador: \$118,255. To implement a permanent exhibition exploring human cultural development, the biobehavioral complexes underlying it, and the analytical process of archaeological discovery. *GM*

U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia: Robert H. Dyson: \$200,000. To create an exhibition, catalogue, and related interpretive programs focusing on the role of art in the late 19th- to early 20th-century Eskimo, Athabaskan, and Tlingit cultures in Alaska. *GM*

U. of Pittsburgh, PA; Robert D. Drennan: \$30,000. To implement an archaeological investigation of the formation of chiefdoms in northern South America through a regional examination of human settlement in the Alto Magdalena of Colombia. *RO*

U. of South Carolina, Columbia; Michael A. Hoffman: \$86,000. To analyze and prepare for publication the results of ten years of archaeological work at Hierakonpolis, the largest predynastic site in Egypt. *RO*

U. of Texas, San Antonio; Richard E.W. Adams: \$20,000 Or; \$60,000 FM. To conduct an archaeological investigation of a Classic Maya urban site in lowland Guatemala. *RO*

U. of Wisconsin, Madison; Emmett L. Bennett, Jr.: \$27,500. To publish a volume of transcriptions, photographs, and drawings of the corpus of Linear B inscriptions from Pylos. *RO*

Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks, Richmond; John D. Broadwater: \$15,000 Or; \$66,000 FM. To excavate the best preserved British ship of the nine sunk at the Battle of Yorktown in 1781. *RO*

Youth Vision, Inc., Providence, RI; David S. Marshall: \$29,660. To conduct a project in which young people will research the culture of the Foster-Gloucester area of Rhode Island under the direction of scholars in anthropology and folklore. *GZ*

Arts—History & Criticism

Asian Art Museum Foundation, San Francisco, CA; Clarence F. Shangraw: \$100,000 OR; \$125,000 FM. To implement a temporary, traveling exhibition of 100 sculptures and 200 miniature paintings that will interpret for the general public the concept of RASA, which underlies the philosophy of aesthetic appreciation in India. *GM*

Boston U., MA; Anne Emerson: \$43,200. To conduct a project in theater criticism for high school students, in which participants will explore dramatic texts in depth as the plays are brought to life by a professional theater company. *GZ*

Brooklyn Museum, NY; Richard Fazzini: \$100,000 OR; \$200,000 FM. To implement a temporary, traveling exhibition about the Ptolemaic Period in Egypt (330-30 B.C.). A scholarly catalogue, other publications, and educational programs will accompany the exhibition. *GM*

Denver Art Museum, CO; Janet E. Krulick: \$54,293. To conduct summer programs for youth in three areas of art history: native American, medieval and Renaissance European, and 19th-century French. A curriculum and an activity book will be developed for youth in these areas of the museum's collections. *GZ*

Founders Society, Detroit Institute of Arts, MI; Suzanne W. Mitchell: \$78,500. To implement educational programs and interpretive materials to accompany a temporary, traveling exhibition that presents notable paintings from Japanese collections as they relate to the history, literature, and philosophy of medieval Japan. *GM*

Indianapolis Museum of Art; James J. Robinson: \$33,053. To plan for a traveling exhibition, related catalogue, and symposium focusing on Chinese women painters and the milieu in which they worked, from the 14th through the 20th century. *GM*

Japan Society, Inc., NYC; Rand Castile: \$50,000 OR; \$50,000 FM. To implement an exhibition of 205 items of porcelain from the Burghley House collection interpreting this Japanese art form within the context of 16th through 19th century Far Eastern and European cultural, social, and economic history. *GM*

Jewish Museum, NYC; Norman Kleeblatt: \$200,000. To implement a temporary exhibition and catalogue examining the complex history of the Dreyfus Affair through works of art, artifacts, documents, and memorabilia. *GM*

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, CA; Earl A. Powell III: \$5,000. To computerize the museum's registration systems and collection files. *GM*

Minneapolis Institute of Arts, MN; Francis J. Puig: \$15,000. To plan an exhibition which will compare examples of glass, ceramics, silver, and furniture produced in Europe and the United States between 1620 and 1820. The cultural circumstances behind the transferral, syncretism, and change of European forms and technology in America will be highlighted. *GM*

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA; William K. Simpson: \$27,775. To plan a temporary exhibition about Egyptian mummies, their aesthetic and cultural significance and the conservation treatment for 21 objects. *GM*

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA; Eleanor Sayre: \$41,200. To plan an exhibition and catalogue examining Goya and his works in the intellectual, social, and political milieu of the Enlightenment. *GM*

Museum of Modern Art, NYC; Arthur

Drexler: \$90,000. To create a catalogue and public programs to accompany an exhibition evaluating Mies Van der Rohe's architecture to celebrate the centennial of his birth. *GM*

Oberlin College, OH; Palli D. Davis: \$26,498. To implement workshops, lectures, informal discussions, small-group exercises, and individual research projects for students of aesthetics. *GZ*

Princeton U., NJ; David P. Billington: \$60,000 OR; \$80,000 FM. To implement a collaborative study of ancient and modern architecture, which will test a new approach for criticism of large-scale modern buildings from the perspective of engineering. *RH*

Studio Museum of Harlem NYC; Mary S. Campbell: \$60,000 OR; \$25,000 FM. To implement a traveling exhibition, catalogue, and related interpretive programs focusing on works by five black American artists active during the Harlem Renaissance of 1919-29. *GM*

Tufts U., Medford, MA; Anne H. Van Buren: \$40,000. To complete a book on costume dating in late medieval art, primarily French and Flemish, focusing on illuminated manuscripts, painted panels, and incunabula. *RO*

U. of Alaska, Fairbanks; Terry P. Dickey: \$82,158. To implement a traveling exhibition of Alaskan native art and a catalogue on the life histories of four Alaskan native artists. *GM*

U. of Arizona, Tucson; Richard Hosley: \$39,709. To complete a major comprehensive study of Renaissance English playhouses, 1575-1642, in the light of all available evidence from historical records and from the over 600 plays performed during the period. *RO*

U. of California, Los Angeles; Edith A. Tonelli: \$35,715. To plan an exhibition, catalogue, and related educational programs exploring French caricature in the Revolutionary period. *GM*

U. of California, Los Angeles; Edith A. Tonelli: \$36,975. To plan an exhibition that will define the history and development of the Chicano art movement, 1965-80. A panel of consultants will convene to define a format for establishing the cultural and historical framework for the emergence of Chicano art as a national phenomenon. *GM*

U. of Minnesota, Minneapolis; Lyndel I. King: \$200,000. To implement an exhibition of Richardsonian-style building in the American Midwest, examining the geographical and cultural circumstances that contributed to its popularity, in an effort to deepen public appreciation of the architectural roots and history of local monuments. *GM*

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MD; Abigail B. Quandt: \$40,000. To implement conservation treatment of 14 manuscripts from the gallery's permanent collection, including works from medieval Europe and the Byzantine Empire created between the 12th and 16th centuries. *GM*

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MD; Gary K. Vikan: \$157,118. To implement a temporary exhibition that reunites four silver hoards of a single silver treasure of sixth-century Byzantine art. *GM*

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MD; Eric Zafran: \$17,167. To plan a temporary, traveling exhibition that will explore the artistic achievements of Mannerism, a 16th-century style that spread through Europe between the Renaissance and Baroque periods. *GM*

Classics

Coppin State College, Baltimore, MD; John J. Furlong: \$15,000. To plan a collaborative project among the Baltimore City Public

Schools, Coppin State College, and Johns Hopkins University. *ES*

History—Non-U.S.

Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, PA; David Shulman: \$113,353. To study the social and cultural life of the Nadu tribe in the Tamil area of southern India from the mid-16th to the early 18th century. *RO*

Metropolitan Arts, Inc., NYC; Robert G. Rosen: \$10,000 OR; \$50,000 FM. To develop a computer-based videodisc program on urban history and culture in Western civilization. *EH*

Organization of American Historians, Bloomington, IN; Margaret Strobel: \$8,000. To develop curricular materials on women in the third world. *EH*

Stanford U., CA; John B. Dunlop: \$50,000 OR; \$100,000 FM. To microfilm Russian and Soviet Union newspapers, pamphlets, and rehouse the photograph collection. *PS*

Temple U., Philadelphia, PA; John A. Hostetler: \$13,500. To complete a manuscript analyzing a religious movement in America normally located in wilderness areas. *RO*

U. of Oregon, Eugene; David J. Curland: \$206,867. To complete a collaborative project for Oregon secondary teachers of history and languages. *ES*

Yale U., New Haven, CT; Hesung C. Koh: \$117,346. To conduct a four-week institute with extensive follow-up activities for 24 secondary school teachers to study Korean history and culture. *ES*

Ehsan Yarshater, New York, NY: \$58,247. To prepare the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. *RI*

History—U.S.

California State University, Los Angeles, CA; Donald O. Dewey: \$121,090. To conduct a four-week institute with extensive follow-up activities on the American Constitution for 44 eighth grade teachers. *ES*

Cape Cod Museum of Natural History, Brewster, MA; Barbara A. Bullock-Wilson: \$14,000. To plan a permanent exhibition about the impact of human interactions with the Cape Cod environment from prehistoric times to the present. *GM*

Carnegie-Mellon U. Pittsburgh, PA; Michael P. Weber: \$100,000 OR; \$50,000 FM. To study the evolution of social attitudes and values of blue-collar workers in western Pennsylvania over three generations. *RO*

Chicago Historical Society, IL; Ellsworth H. Brown: \$200,000 OR; \$75,000 FM. To implement a permanent exhibition about the founding and early years of the United States using the holdings of the society to reflect the experiences of diverse segments of the population, including famous statesmen and ordinary people. *GM*

College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA; George V. Strong: \$96,377. To conduct a summer institute and follow-up activities on the history of American diplomacy with Europe and the Soviet Union; participants will be 30 secondary school social studies teachers from Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and the District of Columbia. *ES*

Duke U., Durham, NC; Michael A. Gillespie: \$70,000. To study the ratification of the federal Constitution by each of the 13 states, exploring the connections among theoretical debate and the political dynamics of ratification. *RO*

Elmhurst Historical Museum, IL; Virginia Stewart: \$130,052. To implement two exhibitions documenting and examining the history

of Elmhurst, Illinois. *GM*

George Mason U., Fairfax, VA; Roy A. Rosenzweig: \$65,000. To produce a comprehensive social history of Central Park in New York City from 1850 to the present. The work will be a model illustrating the evolution of a public space through study of the social, political, and economic forces that shaped its history. *RO*

Grand Valley State College, Allendale, MI; Dennis S. Devlin: \$81,105 OR; \$3,000 FM. To conduct a four-week summer institute and follow-up activities for 40 Michigan secondary school social studies teachers. The primary focus will be the history of the U.S. Constitution, with a secondary focus on the history of Michigan as it relates to the Constitution. *ES*

Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; Sally Schwager: \$121,647. To conduct a four-week institute with extensive follow-up activities for 25 secondary school teachers to study women in American history. *ES*

Louisiana State U., Baton Rouge; Elsie S. Hebert: \$9,994. To plan for Louisiana's participation in the U.S. Newspaper Program. *PS*

Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; Mary Ellen Hayward: \$40,000. To plan the interpretive reinstallation of the society's main exhibit galleries in order to convey themes pertaining to the state's economic, social, cultural, and artistic heritage, from the 17th century to the present. *GM*

Mississippi Dept. of Archives and History, Jackson; Patti C. Black: \$65,000. To install a permanent, six-segment exhibition interpreting Mississippi history from 1865 to 1890. *GM*

Mississippi Dept. of Archives and History, Jackson; Elbert R. Hilliard: \$161,796. To computerize bibliographic and holdings records for all newspapers in the state and plan for microfilming. *PS*

Museum of American Textile History, North Andover, MA; Thomas W. Leavitt: \$160,000 OR; \$140,000 FM. To implement a permanent exhibition on the development of the textile factory system in the United States showing how labor was transformed by power technology. *GM*

Museums at Stony Brook, NY; Martha V. Pike: \$42,893. To implement a permanent exhibition interpreting the impact of industrialization on carriage manufacturing in America. *GM*

Museums at Stony Brook, NY; Martha V. Pike: \$27,067. To plan a temporary exhibition and educational programming interpreting life in the 19th century in the area known as the Three Villages—Setauket, Stony Brook, and Old Field. *GM*

Museums at Stony Brook, NY; Susan E. Klaffky: \$31,000. To develop a brochure and presentation on the impact of industrialization on horse-drawn public transportation, focusing on four vehicles and related primary source materials in the museum's collection. *GZ*

New York Public Library, NYC; Irene M. Percelli: \$164,124 OR; \$82,440 FM. To catalogue approximately 2,000 newspapers and microfilming the titles most significant for research. *PS*

Old South Association in Boston, MA; Cynthia S. Stone: \$50,000 OR; \$50,000 FM. To implement a permanent installation addressing the significance of the Old South Meeting House in terms of its religious role in colonial society, the principles of the American Revolution, and the preservationist movement at the end of the 19th century. *GM*

Old Sturbridge Village, MA; John O. Curtis: \$25,000. To document more than 2,500 pieces of New England furniture, dating from about 1650 to 1850, for use in interpretive exhibi-

tions at Old Sturbridge Village. *GM*

Old Sturbridge Village, MA; Warren Leon: \$137,189. To conduct a series of interpretive programs for general audiences exploring how the Constitution was taught, comprehended, and implemented as a symbol and a model in early 19th-century America. *GM*

Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum, Canyon, TX; Bobby D. Weaver: \$145,625 OR; \$60,000 FM. To catalogue newspaper holdings in the three largest newspaper repositories in Texas. This project will produce bibliographic and holdings records for approximately 7,500 newspaper titles. *PS*

Ramsey County Historical Society, ST. Paul, MN; Virginia B. Kunz: \$39,230. To plan three centers that will interpret the historical development of the city of St. Paul in relationship to the Mississippi River. *GM*

Rutgers U., New Brunswick, NJ; Ralph McCoy: \$144,208 OR; \$35,000 FM. To catalogue 3,017 newspaper titles located in 537 repositories throughout the state to produce an up-to-date union list of newspapers in New Jersey. *PS*

Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., Boulder, CO; James R. Giese: \$152,892. To conduct a four-week institute and follow-up activities for 45 secondary school teachers to study the history, literature, religion, art, and architecture of the early American national period. *ES*

Strong Museum, Rochester, NY; Harvey Green: \$15,017. To plan an exhibition, educational programs, a publication, and a symposium linking the appearance, production, and consumption of household textile furnishings to cultural issues in Victorian America. *GM*

Texas A&M Research Foundation, College Station; Donald A. Frey: \$15,000 OR; \$60,000 FM. To excavate and examine the earliest known shipwreck sites in the New World and to produce a systematic survey of selected harbors for evidence of remains of ships from Columbus's expeditions. *RO*

U. of California, Berkeley; Bernard R. Gifford: \$150,000 OR; \$34,000 FM. To conduct an institute with follow-up activities on the Constitution and American law for 45 California social studies teachers. *ES*

U. of California, Los Angeles; Rebecca H. Morales: \$16,843. To plan an exhibition and catalogue on the history of the automobile industry in Southern California. *GM*

U. of Georgia, Athens; J. L. Gulley: \$10,000. To plan for Georgia's participation in the U.S. Newspaper Program. *PS*

U. of Kansas, Lawrence; William M. Tuttle: \$83,206. To conduct an 18-month project investigating the kinds of experiences Americans had as children during World War II and the consequences of these experiences in later life. *RO*

U. of Nevada, Reno; Robert E. Blesse: \$127,921. To catalogue some 875 Nevada newspaper titles and produce a Nevada newspaper union list on microfiche. *PS*

U. of Tennessee, Chattanooga; Robert C. Fulton: \$53,270. To implement a program in which youth will be trained to conduct individual and small-group research projects in regional history. *GZ*

Washington State Library, Olympia; Nancy B. Pryor: \$10,000. To plan for Washington State's participation in the U.S. Newspaper Program. *PS*

Western Carolina U., Cullowhee, NC; James E. Dooley: \$5,460. To plan for a collaborative project designed to place regional history in a national perspective. *ES*

Interdisciplinary

All Indian Pueblo Council, Santa Fe, NM; Sally T. Hyer: \$69,921. To implement a program in which high-school students will study the history of the Santa Fe Indian School and its place in the evolution of native American education. Oral histories, a resource collection, and a traveling exhibition will result. *GZ*

American Council of Learned Societies, NYC; John K. Fairbank: \$100,000. To complete volumes 14 and 15 of *The Cambridge History of China*, a comprehensive history that presents an authoritative overview of the field. *RO*

Association for Recorded Sound Collections, Washington, DC; Elwood A. McKee: \$48,298. To study the preservation and conservation of sound recordings. Curators from six major repositories will examine current literature on the problem, devise an agenda of research needs, and explore ways to develop national standards for preserving recorded sound materials. *PS*

California State U., Hayward Fdn.; Michael W. Dols: \$80,000. To study the Islamic hospital from the early Middle Ages to the 19th century, placing it in the context of Islamic culture and developments in European medicine. *RH*

Christopher Newport College, Newport News, VA; Timothy E. Morgan: \$32,019. To begin the first phase of a three-year investigation of the history of blacks in Isle of Wight County, Virginia. Using traditional historical research, oral history, and historical demography, youth will produce reports, a slide-show, and public symposia on black history since emancipation. *GZ*

Conservation Ctr. for Art & Historic Artifacts, Philadelphia, PA; Lois O. Price: \$26,025 OR; \$3,000 FM. To continue a preservation survey and consultation activities over a three-year period. *PS*

Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; Sander L. Gilman: \$17,400. To study the presuppositions inherent in the visualization of medical knowledge of gender in anatomical illustrations from the Middle Ages to the 20th century. *RH*

Council on Library Resources, Washington, DC; Deanna B. Marcum: \$150,000. To produce a documentary film for public television on preservation of library materials. *PS*

George F. Elmdorf; Latin American Bibliographic Foundation, Redlands, CA: \$68,116. To continue a bibliography of works printed in Nicaragua, or written by Nicaraguans, or about Nicaragua, 1900-78, based on the holdings of U.S., Nicaraguan, and other foreign collections. *RC*

Elizabeth M. Grant; Xavier University, New Orleans: \$680. To attend a *SOLINET* workshop. *PS*

Manitowoc Maritime Museum, WI; David L. Pamperin: \$181,250. To complete permanent exhibitions on Great Lakes maritime history, provision of new museum facilities, and underwriting the costs of the development of office. *CA*

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge; Charles Weiner: \$30,000. To study the patenting of biomedical innovations through an analysis of case studies of significant examples. *RH*

Montana Historical Society, Helena; Robert M. Clark: \$23,612. To complete a project undertaken as part of the U.S. Newspaper Program. *PS*

David B. Morris: \$70,000. To study the inter-related roles of literature and medicine in the understanding of pain. *RH*

National Humanities Center, Res. Tri. Park, NC; John M. O'Connor: \$120,000. To conduct two three-week summer institutes for

high school social studies and English teachers with follow-up activities. *ES*

Oregon International Council, Salem; Robert T. Willner: \$78,590. To conduct a one-month institute and three follow-up conferences in Asian studies for 30 elementary and secondary school educators. *ES*

Portland Public Schools, ME; Peter R. Greer: \$113,644. To conduct a three-week summer institute and follow-up activities for 50 elementary and secondary school teachers studying classic Socratic dialogue techniques. *ES*

Princeton U., NJ; Charles C. Gillispie: \$55,000. To study the relationship between science and government in France (1770-1830) to investigate reasons for the preeminence of French science at that time. *RH*

Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, CA; Patricia A. Campbell: \$51,200. To conduct a project in southern California introducing youth to anthropology and archaeology. *GZ*

Social Science Research Council, NYC; Francis X. Sutton: \$270,000. To conduct collaborative research on Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. The SSRC will emphasize the study of the languages, cultures, and history of Southeast Asia. *RO*

State Library of Iowa, Des Moines; Marilyn M. Nickelsburg: \$9,959. To investigate the relationship between religious freedom and the First Amendment. *GZ*

SUNY Res. Fdn./College at Cortland, Cortland, NY; Roger E. Sipher: \$110,945. To conduct a five-week institute for high school social studies teachers on teaching Latin American studies. *ES*

Tufts U., Medford, MA; Steven P. Marrone: \$55,000. To study the clash of Aristotelian science with the intellectual traditions of medieval culture by focusing on the reception of the new science by 13th-century scholastics. *RH*

U. of California, Santa Cruz, Berkeley; Nancy J. Chodorow: \$27,500. To complete a historical study of women psychoanalysts from the 1920s to the present. *RO*

U. of Massachusetts, Amherst; Murray M. Schwartz: \$126,355. To conduct two six-week summer institutes and follow-up activities for 12 secondary school teachers to improve the teaching of American history and poetry. *ES*

U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Joel D. Howell: \$68,000. To study the role of new medical technology in effecting a transformation of American hospitals from 1895 to 1925. *RH*

U. of Oklahoma, Norman; Mary J. Nye: \$48,490. To study the development, form, and content of chemical theories, illuminating the reciprocal influences between chemists and physicists in shaping these theories during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. *RH*

U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Sandra T. Barnes: \$70,466. To study cultural interaction in the West African coastal city of Lagos, Nigeria (1700-1860). *RO*

Virginia Polytechnic Inst. & State U., Blacksburg; Arthur L. Donovan: \$63,000. To study the development of chemistry in the 18th century, integrating the evolution of this science with Lavoisier's revolutionary theory. *RH*

Yale U., New Haven, CT; Joseph S. Fruton: \$36,800. To study 12 research groups that played active roles in the development of biochemistry from 1850 to 1940. *RH*

Language & Linguistics

Bethel College, Minnesota, St. Paul; William A. Smalley: \$30,000. To study the origin and development of a writing system for Hmong,

a language used previously only by nonliterate speakers. *RO*

Georgetown U., Washington, D.C.; Deborah Tannen: \$110,000. To study the similarities between conversational and literary discourse in American, English, and modern Greek. *RO*

New York U., NYC; Bernard Garniez: \$117,436 OR; \$3,000 FM. To conduct a four-week institute on contemporary France for 20 high school teachers of French. *ES*

Oklahoma State U., Stillwater; Santiago Garcia: \$85,675. To conduct a four-week institute with follow-up activities for 30 Oklahoma teachers of French and Spanish. *ES*

SUNY Res. Fdn./College at Plattsburgh, NY; Jeanne H. Kissner: \$124,008. To conduct a four-week summer institute and follow-up activities for 30 secondary school teachers of French who will study the history and culture of French Canada. *ES*

U. Press of New England, Hanover, NH; Thomas M. Johnson: \$14,550. To purchase an office-wide processing and data storage system that will facilitate manuscript development and transmission to typesetting. *RP*

U. of Oregon, Eugene; Scott C. DeLancey: \$55,328. To prepare for publication the Klamath language texts and to study the language's structure. *RO*

U. of Texas, Austin; Winfred P. Lehmann: \$13,978. To complete the *Gothic Etymological Dictionary*. *RT*

U. of Utah, Salt Lake City; Stephen W. Durrant: \$18,522. To develop a foreign language institute focusing on teacher training, basic foreign language instruction, and a new graduate program in the teaching of foreign languages. *EH*

U. of Wisconsin, Madison; Elliott R. Sober: \$32,000. To study modern biological methods of reconstructing historical relationships among species to see how these methods are applicable to reconstructing historical relationships among languages. *RO*

Westminster College, New Wilmington, PA; Jacob Erhardt: \$70,965. To conduct a four-week institute and extensive follow-up activities on German literature and culture for 25 language teachers. *ES*

Literature

CUNY Res. Fdn./City College, NYC; Saul Brody: \$140,350. To conduct a four-week institute with extensive follow-up activities for 35 high school teachers to study Western literature. *ES*

CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College, Flushing, NY; Judith Pasamanick: \$150,000 OR; \$25,000 FM. To conduct a four-week institute and follow-up activities for 45 elementary school teachers to study folklore, fables, and proverbs. *ES*

Dallas Institute of Humanities & Culture, TX; Louise S. Cowan: \$43,316 OR; \$25,000 FM. To conduct a four-week summer institute and follow-up activities on the epic tradition for 45 secondary school English teachers. *ES*

Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC; Margaret H. O'Brien: \$161,343. To conduct a summer institute and follow-up activities to improve the teaching and learning of Shakespeare in secondary schools. *ES*

Ohio Wesleyan U., Delaware; James W. Biehl: \$92,801. To conduct a four-week summer institute and follow-up activities for 30 secondary school teachers on Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson, and Webster. *ES*

Teachers College, Columbia U., NYC; Judith Pasamanick: \$150,000 OR; \$25,000 FM. To conduct a four-week institute and follow-up activities for 45 elementary school teachers to study folklore, fables, and proverbs. *ES*

U. of Colorado, Boulder; Paul M. Levitt: \$155,630. To conduct an institute and follow-up activities on writing and literature for secondary school English teachers. *ES*

U. of Virginia, Charlottesville; Harold H. Kolb: \$267,406 OR; \$15,000 FM. To implement a two-year collaborative American literature project with in-service programs, colloquia, graduate seminars, and scholars-in-residence. *ES*

WGBY-TV, Springfield, MA; William P. Perry: \$150,000. To produce a three-hour television dramatization of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and a 30-minute documentary on the writing and critical reception of the book. *GN*

Philosophy

Baylor College of Medicine, Houston, TX; Baruch A. Brody: \$4,989. To conduct a conference for college and university teachers on the relation of moral theory to moral judgment. *EH*

Religion

Princeton U., NJ; Norman Itzkowitz: \$128,293. To conduct a five-week institute for 36 teachers on Islamic history and culture. *ES*

U. of California, Santa Barbara; Gerald J. Larson: \$34,964. To conduct a series of guest lectures on the theory and practice of academic study of religion. *EH*

Social Science

Temple U., Philadelphia, PA; Daniel J. Elazar: \$120,868. To conduct a four-week institute with follow-up activities on American federation for 35 social studies teachers. *ES*

Capital letters following each grant amount have the following meanings: *FM* Federal Match; *OR* Outright Funds. Capital letters following each grant show the division and the program through which the grant was made.

Division of Education Programs

<i>EB</i>	Central Disciplines in Undergraduate Education
<i>EK</i>	Improving Introductory Courses
<i>EL</i>	Promoting Excellence in a Field
<i>EM</i>	Fostering Coherence Throughout an Institution
<i>ES</i>	Humanities Instruction in Elementary and Secondary Schools
<i>EH</i>	Exemplary Projects in Undergraduate and Graduate Education
<i>EG</i>	Humanities Programs for Nontraditional Learners
<i>GZ</i>	Youth Projects

Division of General Programs

<i>GN</i>	Humanities Projects in Media
<i>GM</i>	Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations
<i>GP</i>	Humanities Programs for Adults, formerly Youth Projects
<i>GL</i>	Humanities Programs in Libraries

Division of Research Programs

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

Office of Preservation

<i>PS</i>	Preservation
-----------	--------------



In *Humanities*, the bimonthly review of the National Endowment for the Humanities, the space that other magazines fill with ads is devoted to more of the writing by distinguished scholars and educators that won *Humanities* a national award for "excellence in educational journalism."

You'll find writers like:

John Canaday on art as the essential historian
William H. McNeill on the global repercussions of Columbus's discovery

Gregory Rabassa on the power of language

Wayne C. Booth on literary criticism

Diane Ravitch on American education

Robert Penn Warren on his association with Cleanth Brooks

We're glad that federal regulations prevent us from selling ads. That gives us more room to tell you about current research, education, public programming, and funding opportunities in all fields of the humanities. But federal regulations also require us to sell *Humanities*. For only \$14, you will receive a year's subscription—6 issues of a magazine packed with ideas, with reports on NEH activities, with a special section for those who are thinking of applying for an NEH grant. Every issue contains a complete listing of NEH grants by discipline • current application deadlines • staff names and telephone numbers • regular features on exemplary projects AND NO ADS! Well, just one.

Humanities

Of, by, and for the people active in the world of thought. Join them. Subscribe today.

Change of address?

Send your new address, with the label from the latest issue, to Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Please enter my subscription to **Humanities** for one year 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 MasterCard Total charges \$ _____

Credit card no. _____ Exp. date: Mo./Yr. _____

Name — First, Last (please print or type)

Title/Institution

Address

City

State

Zip Code

Please make checks and money orders payable to **Superintendent of Documents**

Mail to **Humanities**, Office of Public Affairs, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C. 20506.

DEADLINES

GUIDE

Deadlines in boldface

For projects beginning after

Central Disciplines in Undergraduate Education—*Lyn Maxwell White 786-0380*
 Improving Introductory Courses—*Lyn Maxwell White 786-0380*
 Promoting Excellence in a Field—*Lyn Maxwell White 786-0380*
 Fostering Coherence Throughout an Institution—*Lyn Maxwell White 786-0380*

October 1, 1986
October 1, 1986
October 1, 1986
October 1, 1986

April 1987
April 1987
April 1987
April 1987

October 1, 1986

April 1987

December 1, 1986

July 1, 1987

January 8, 1987

July 1987

March 15, 1987

September 1987

March 15, 1987

September 1987

Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars—*Karen Fuglie 786-0466*
 Fellowships for University Teachers—*Maben D. Herring 786-0466*
 Constitutional Fellowships—*Joseph Phelan 786-033, Maben D. Herring, Karen Fuglie 786-0466*

June 1, 1987

January 1, 1988

June 1, 1987

January 1, 1988

June 1, 1987

January 1, 1988

October 1, 1986

May 1, 1987

January 15, 1987

June 1, 1987

March 15, 1987

September 1, 1988

November 1, 1986

May 1, 1987

March 1, 1987
March 1, 1987

Summer 1987
Summer 1988

March 1, 1987
April 1, 1987

Summer 1987
Summer 1988

46

DEADLINES · DEADLINES · DE DEADLINES · DEADLINE

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202

**Deadlines in
boldface**

For projects
beginning after

Division of General Programs—Donald Gibson, Director 786-0267

Humanities Projects in Media—James Dougherty 786-0278

September 19, 1986 April 1, 1987

Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations—Dudley Varner 786-0284

December 12, 1986 July 1, 1987

Public Humanities Projects—Malcolm Richardson 786-0271

September 19, 1986 April 1, 1987

Humanities Projects in Libraries—Thomas Phelps 786-0271

September 19, 1986 April 1, 1987

Division of Research Programs—Richard Ekman, Director, 786-0200

TEXTS—Margot Backas 786-0207

Editions—Margot Backas, Kathy Fuller, David Nichols, Peter Schultz 786-0207, Pat Shadle 786-0358

June 1, 1987 April 1, 1988

Translations—Martha Chomiak, Sharon Cohen 786-0207

June 1, 1987 April 1, 1988

Publication Subvention—Margot Backas, Kathy Fuller, Peter Schultz 786-0207, Pat Shadle 786-0358

September 1, 1986 April 1, 1987

REFERENCE MATERIALS—John Williams 786-0358

Tools—Helen Aguera, Anne Woodard 786-0358

November 1, 1986 July 1, 1987

Access—Patricia Shadle, William Maher 786-0358

November 1, 1986 July 1, 1987

INTERPRETIVE RESEARCH—Dorothy Wartenberg 786-0210

Projects—David Wise, Robert Bledsoe, Kenneth Garcia 786-0210

October 1, 1986 July 1, 1987

Humanities, Science and Technology—Daniel Jones, Elizabeth Arndt 786-0210

October 1, 1986 July 1, 1987

REGRANTS—Eugene Sterud 786-0204

Conferences—Crale Hopkins 786-0204

July 1, 1986 January 1, 1987

Centers for Advanced Study—David Coder 786-0204

December 1, 1986 July 1, 1987

Regrants for International Research—Eugene Sterud 786-0204

February 15, 1987 October 1, 1987

Regrants in Selected Areas—Eugene Sterud 786-0204

February 15, 1987 October 1, 1987

Division of State Programs—Marjorie Berlincourt, Director 786-0254

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

Office of Challenge Grants—James Blessing, Director, 786-0361

May 1, 1987

December 1, 1986

Office of Preservation—Harold C. Cannon, Director 786-0570

Preservation—Steven Mansbach 786-0570

December 1, 1986

April 1, 1987

U.S. Newspaper Program—Jeffrey Field 786-0570

December 1, 1986

July 1, 1987

June 1, 1987

January 1, 1988

DEADLINES

GUIDE

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

SECOND CLASS MAIL
POSTAGE & FEES PAID
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT
FOR THE HUMANITIES
PUB. NO. 187526

Official Business

Penalty For Private Use, \$300.00

ISSN 0018-7526