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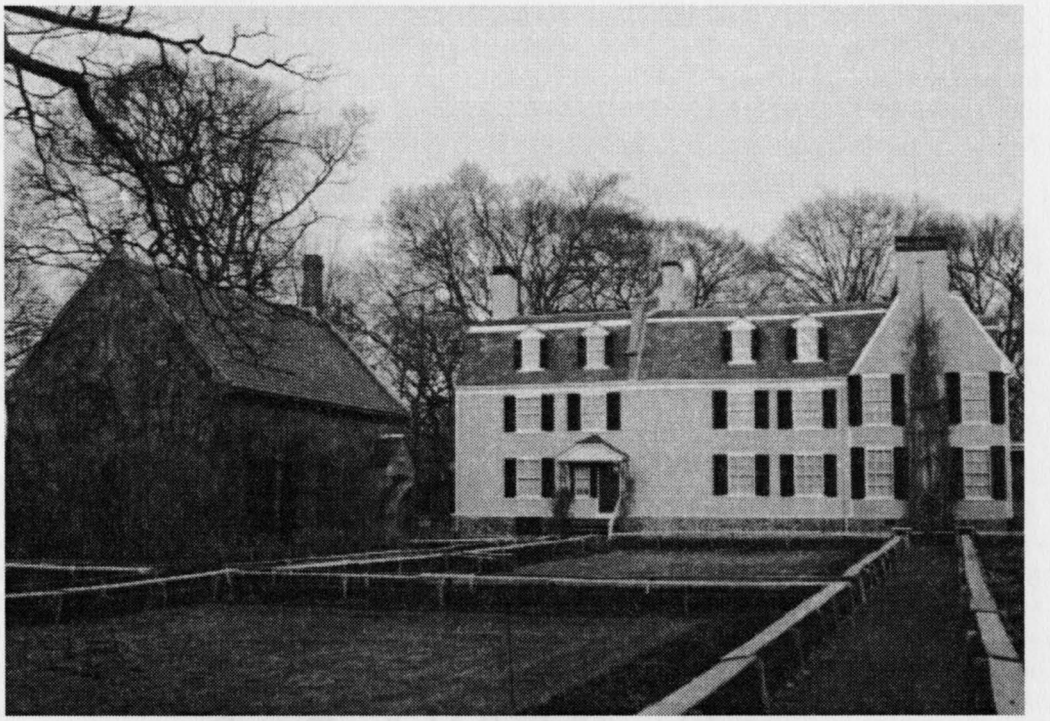

Adams National Historical Site, Quincy, Massachusetts
The Stone Library (left) and the Old House (right) are pictured above.
Photograph courtesy of the Adams Papers staff

Documentary Editing

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Contents

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ARTICLE

Moravians and Cherokees at Early Nineteenth-Century Springplace Mission, Georgia

Rowena McClinton

In 1799, two years before Moravians began to build the Springplace Mission, near present-day Chatsworth in northwest Georgia, they came together in Salem, North Carolina, at the annual meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen to consider a mission among the Cherokees.[1] The Moravians wanted information about the "mind and circumstance" of their Cherokee neighbors who lived some three hundred miles distant.[2] When the congregation queried Brother Abraham Steiner about his extraordinary enthusiasm for a Cherokee mission, he answered by saying that the New Testament command, "Go ye into all the world" did not include the clause, "if they call you."[3] They went anyway.

Two disparate cultures, Moravians and Cherokees, interacted for over three decades in the early nineteenth century at a site called Springplace, so named for its three rich limestone springs located within the mission proper. The timeliness of the mission's formation was particularly significant in that Cherokees wanted Moravians to teach their children English, not German, so they could live peacefully with settlers, though encroachment on Cherokee land and resources went unabated. Additionally, co-existence with Anglo-America, they reasoned, would forestall further land cessions. United

[1]In 1787, Bethlehem Moravians reorganized the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Heathen from the vestiges of the original society established in 1745. They applied for a charter through the Confederation Congress, which gave the organization governmental recognition and official status to its missionaries as proper agents to evangelize Indians. The headquarters for the society for both provinces of the Moravian Church remained in Bethlehem until Salem received its own charter in 1823. J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum, 1722–1957* (Bethlehem: The Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, Moravian Church in America, 1967), 230.

[2]Adelaide L. Fries, trans. and ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina,* 16 vols. (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1922–68), 6: 2620, 2621.

[3]Edmund Schwarze, *History of Moravian Missions among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (Bethlehem: Times Publishing, Co., 1923; reprint, Grove, Oklahoma: Stauber Books, 1999), 42.

States design on Cherokee lands had already reduced the Cherokee Nation to a land base that was a fraction of their original ancestral holdings.[4]

The Moravian Church, or the Unity of the Brethren, predated the Protestant Reformation and had a history of persecution for its objections to armed violence, the swearing of oaths, and the machinery of church and state.[5] The Cherokees, emerged from centuries-old Mississippian tradition that imbued the physical world with spiritual meaning. Their very rocks and streams held life-giving forces that were foreign concepts to Anglo-Americans who would dislodge Cherokees in the 1838–39 forced removal. Gradually, displaced Cherokees established a new homeland in Indian Territory, now the state of Oklahoma.

The Moravians originated from remnants of Czech Hussites, followers of fifteenth-century martyr Jan Hus and in the eighteenth century they attracted German Pietists. For several centuries, the Hussites remained a "hidden seed" in the hills and valleys of Bohemia, and along the Moravia River in what is now the southeastern Czech Republic. In the 1720's, they emerged as Bohemian refugees, fearing repercussions from Hapsburg Roman Catholic authorities, and among the orthodox Lutheran Church as outcasts, known as Pietists, a people who viewed Christianity as a religion of the heart. In 1722, the exiles began to settle on friendly German territory: estates in southeast Saxony, in particular Herrnhut, the hereditary lands of the von Zinzendorf family. Under the leadership of well known Pietist Saxon Count Nicholas

[4]These treaty cessions totaled approximately 50 million acres ceded between 1721 and 1785. These lands included the following portions or all of present day states: South Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama.For the definitive work on Cherokee land cessions, see Charles C. Royce, Bureau of Ethnology, *The Cherokee Nation of Indians: A Narrative of Their Official Relations with the Colonial and Federal Governments; fifth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology for the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1883–1884* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1887) 129–371.

[5]Peter de Beauvior Brock, *The Political and Social Doctrine of the Unity of Czech Brethren in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (The Hague: Moulton and Co., 1957), 46–81, 98, and 191; and *Pacifism in Europe to 1914* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), 36–41. During the German War of Liberation, many Moravians became imbued with nationalism, and congregations in Saxony and Prussia officially abandoned their position on non-combat. In 1815, Prussia, now controlling all Saxon congregations, withdrew the grant of exemption and the Brethren registered no objection to the state. In 1818, the Pennsylvanian Moravian stand on armed participation ended when that synod "officially withdrew the ban on members performing military service." Whether to bear arms or take a conscientious objector's position was left up to the individual. Somewhat later, the more conservative North Carolina Brethren adopted the position that allowed their young men to bear arms, Independence Day, 4 July 1831. Peter de Beauvior Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 327–9.

Ludwig von Zinzendorf, the Unity of the Brethren asylum seekers and German Pietists continued to encounter considerable oppression due to their pacifism and unorthodox practices in the Lutheran Church.[6] Zinzendorf's worship customs appeared to foster a "fourth species of religion" banned by the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, which had permitted only Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists freedom of worship though dictated by imperial rulers of some three hundred principalities.[7]

A close-knit people, the Brethren attained trust for one another and used their courage and confidence to establish distant colonies. Reinforcing their sense of community, Moravians created an intensive personal society, where every person was a "Brother's Keeper." The Brethren carefully selected members whose occupations met community needs, and those chosen for the missionary field enjoyed the greatest prestige.[8]

Consequently, internally motivated by an impulse to proselytize, Moravians established foreign settlements. Their success in colonizing resulted from their stimulus to evangelize "forgotten peoples" and their impressive and resolute zealousness.[9] Historically, Moravians struggled to assist "backward peoples to overcome their handicaps by means of psychological and economic regeneration."[10] But they bowed to external pressures as well. Oppression and the threat of persecution prompted them to emigrate overseas, and as a consequence of migration, they spread the gospel to the heathen.

As many Brethren emigrated to become missionaries in British North

[6]For the most definitive biography of Zinzendorf, see John R. Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf: The Story of His Life and Leadership in the Renewed Moravian Church* (Bethlehem: Department of Publications and Communications, 1989).

[7]Dale W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1978), 6, 7, 21, 22, 159; Peter C. Erb, ed. *Pietists: Selected Writings* (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1983), 1–9; Edward Langton, *History of the Moravian Church, The Story of the First International Protestant Church* (London: Great Britain East Midland Allied Press, 1956), 85; and A.J. Lewis, Zinzendorf, *The Ecumenical Pioneer* (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, SCM Press, LTD., 1962), 33, 34. In America church adherents became known as Moravians, a name signifying the Moravia region in present-day southeast Czech Republic. But in Germany, the society, the Unity of the Brethren, managed to survive under the auspices of the recognized state Lutheran Church and by 1748, it assumed a legal status and in 1924, the state recognized the church as a separate entity. Brock, Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War, 196.

[8]Gillian Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds, A Study of Changing Communities* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1967), 20, 200.

[9]Jacob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism among Early American Moravians* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1933), 14–18.

[10]John Gottlieb Ernestus Heckewelder, ed. and foreword by Paul A. W. Wallace *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh, 1958), 26.

America, they established two principal provinces, Bethlehem and Salem (now Winston-Salem, North Carolina), to govern their membership and support missionary activity. Colonial and Early Republic Moravian missionary enterprises stretched along the eastern seaboard and into interior America as far west as present-day northwestern Georgia, where they ministered to the Cherokees during the New Republic.

The Brethrens' commitment to proselytizing among the "heathen" resulted from a sense of their unique place in history that germinated from a common past of oppression.[11] The meaning of that shared experience also prompted them to record their spiritual journeys in writing. So with quill in hand, Moravian missionaries, far from their home congregations, corresponded with their co-religionists in Europe and far-flung missions in Greenland, Labrador, the Caribbean, and Africa by carefully recording their observations of non-European cultures in diaries. The center of Moravian piety–grateful devotion to the crucified Savior and total abject humility for His shed blood–held the Moravian cultus together and tied spiritual and secular realms. In additon to this sense of uniformity that epitomized Moravian coherence, their world-wide correspondences, and general penchant for producing copious documents sustained their distinctiveness over long periods of time.[12]

Moravian documents from Springplace, in particular the *Gambold Springplace Diary*, serve as examples of distinctiveness. The two-volume edition, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, 2 volumes, 1805–1813,*

[11]Moravian Bishop August G. Spangenberg wrote the treatise on Moravian perceptions of the heathen that included those people who had not entered into a covenant relationship with God and His Son Christ. He conceptualized the bond as resembling the way "God called the people of Israel to be his people and to bless and protect them as his people." Thus God consented to enter into a covenant with "a certain race of men," a people who recognized God's calling as a reciprocal agreement binding one to the other. According to Spangenberg, God wanted to manifest His glory in them in a "peculiar, distinguishing manner." He postulated that other peoples, though no fault of their own, lacked knowledge of God's contract and historic perception to share "in this peculiar covenant of grace," so they were generally considered aliens and commonly called "heathen." Spangenberg admonished Moravians in this way: "Do not be terrified by the inhuman wickedness prevailing among the heathen and do not be deceived by appearances, as though the heathen were already good sort of people." August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *An Account of the Manner in which the Protestant Church of he Unitas Fratrum, Or United Brethren, Preach the Gospel and Carry on their Missions among the Heathen* (Barby, Germany, 12 December 1780), 1, 2; 45–46; and Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina,* 1: 13.

[12]Craig D. Atwood and Peter Vogt, eds., *The Distinctiveness of Moravian Culture: Essays and Documents in Moravian History in Honor of Vernon H. Nelson on the Seventieth Birthday* (Nazareth: Moravian Historical Society, 2003), "Introduction" by Peter Vogt, 4.

and 1814–1821, now in press at the University of Nebraska Press, is evidence of just how intense times were for the Cherokees and their sojourners, the Moravians, who recorded those encounters almost daily for seventeen years.[13] The first volume extends from 1805 to the beginning of the Creek War (1813); the second volume encompasses the following years, 1814–21. These diaries are, handwritten in German script, for the most part transcribed and translated from approximately 1,490 pages. In editing and translating the *Gambold Diary,* I felt duty bound to the principal diarist, Anna Rosina Gambold, to remain as close to the era and region as she understood her time and space.

In keeping with a quote from Julian Boyd's 1958 article, "God's Altar Needs Not Our Pollishings," in translating, I adhered to precision of meaning rather than literary grace.[14] Passive voice is preserved. This is significant because the passive voice is especially notable when the Savior, the centerpiece of Moravian theology, is addressed in prayer and other supplications. According to the Moravians, the sacrifice God made through His Son was so overpowering that addressing God and Savior directly would signal improper conduct. Capitalizing He, Him, and His in reference to God and Savior not only reinforces Moravian perspectives, but also strengthens precision of meaning.

In the same article, Boyd pointed out how Zoltan Haraszti edited an early colonial work, *The Whole Book of Psalms,* written by Reverend John Cotton, the Puritan minister, without compromising the true language of the times. I tried to uphold the same editorial values when addressing the particularities of early nineteenth-century German. I used nineteenth-century English in the translations which, Haraszti points out, means that past usage often runs counter to modern sensibilities. For example, when the diarist writes "alte Frau," or old woman in English, I did not substitute "elderly" for "old." The term "chief" appears throughout the diaries, applied to a number of people whom the Cherokees themselves would not have considered "chiefs," but the translation does not substitute "leader," an ethnographically more accu-

[13]The contents of this essay are derived from the Editorial Policy of the following work in press, McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees,* 2 volumes, volume 1: 1805–1813; volume 2: 1814–1821. Endorsed in June 1996 by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission with subvention grants (2) of $10,000 to defray publication costs.

[14]Quoted from the preface of *The Whole Book of Psalms* (Facsimile edition in two volumes, ed., Zoltan Haraszti, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956); I am quoting from Julian P. Boyd's "'God's Altar Need Not Our Pollishings'" in New York History, Vol. XXXIX, no 1(January 1958), 3–21

rate term. Native American scholars today often avoid the term "chief," except in specific cases when it is clear that Indians themselves applied an equivalent term, because Europeans widely used "chief" erroneously. Moravians used the term when they perceived individuals as "chiefs" and recorded their observations accordingly. Contextualizing such words lies at the center of my methodology.

For instance, the very language of the diaries gives us considerable insight into the world of nineteenth-century Moravians. Obsolete terms such as "Welschhuhn" or turkey and "Welschkorn" or Indian corn refer to foodstuffs indigenous to the Western Hemisphere.[15] Moravian Springplace missionaries preferred a corn developed in the late eighteenth-century rather than the Indian variety. "Welschkorn" and "Welschhuhn" also means foreign corn and chicken, respectively, so to make sense out of what they encountered, Moravian missionaries recorded what they saw and modified common nineteenth-century terms to indicate Native origins as well as exoticism. The southeast landscape of North America in all its flora and fauna was foreign to them.

A major problem in translating was maintaining the cultural context for racial terms such as the German word "Neger," negro in English. Moravians looked upon all peoples as worthy for salvation and did not equate Africans with chattel slavery. As used by the missionaries, "Neger" lacked the negative implications by which other European cultures justified slavery. Despite modern conventions of using African American or Black to refer to people of African descent, this translation of the *Gambold Diary* adheres to the words closest to early nineteenth-century terms the Moravian missionaries used that is, Neger (negro) and Indianer (Indian), but in annotations, I explain the context.[16] Early nineteenth-century Moravians considered all "heathens," in this case Africans and Cherokees, in a non-European cultural rather than racial context. Moravians applied the term "Heiden" (heathens) to denote non-Christian believers and persons lacking a European education; this expression also refers to non-Christian foreigners more generally. Count von Zinzendorf exhorted his followers to go among the "forgotten peoples of the world" and demanded that Moravians not look upon other cultures with contempt.

Throughout the manuscript, the diarist incorporated an "in-house"

[15] *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm* (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1854), 16, 14: 1456. (The Grimm brothers prefer the spelling Wälsch.)
[16] Unless the term "Schwarze" (Black) is used.

vocabulary. Many terms in the Glossary of the edited diary illuminate the particulars of the Moravian vocabulary. For example, "das Sprechen" or speaking: Every communicant prior to Holy Communion was required to have an interview or speaking about his or her spiritual life and fitness for Holy Communion. These "speakings" did not resemble confessions; rather they allowed communicants to confide in the spiritual leader the condition of their hearts and their matters of "soul searching." The term "Anbeten" means adoration of the Lord. But the term in Moravian usage has further meaning, literally prostration. In Moravian services, worshippers prostrated themselves by lying down and stretched out, with their faces to the floor, hands clasped on their heads, and elbows out to the side of their heads. Other Moravian terms are: "Gottes Acker" or God's acre. It signifies God's field in a broader sense than graveyard or cemetery. Moravians believe that "bodies of believers are sown awaiting the Resurrection." At Springplace, God's Acre was on the eastside of the property between the lane and the fence surrounding the mission.

While the *Gambold Diary* expresses a decidedly Moravian point of view, I have been careful to denote the Cherokee world view, even though Moravians recorded the words. For example, Chief Elk of Pine Log came into the mission and related his story of the origin of the Cherokees. The following is a quote from the *Gambold Diary:*

> At first there was a man and a woman on the earth.[17] They had two sons, who made an attempt on the life of their mother on the pretext that she was a sorceress because she procured sufficient food for them without planting and they could not discover where she got it. And this was her way: she went out and quickly returned with the necessary provisions. The bad intentions of the sons against the mother were finally found out, and she talked this over with them and requested they stop, because she would not stay with them much longer but would go into the sky; they would never see her again. However, she would

[17]McClinton, *"The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees,"* volume 2: Diary entry, 13 October 1815. The Elk story held further relevance for the Cherokees because he explained the significance of Cherokee attachment to land and the source of food. Later Cherokee shaman Swimmer explained to ethnologist James Mooney that the first man and woman, Kanati and Selu, held the secrets to the origin of the hunt for game and the mystery surrounding the growing of corn. Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees from 19th and 7th Annual reports B.A.E.* (Nashville: Charles and Randy Elder-Booksellers, reproduced; 1982), 242–49. For a similar translation, see Clemens De Baillou, "A Contribution to the Mythology and Conceptual World of the Cherokee Indians," Ethnohistory (1961): 100–102.

> attentively watch all of their behavior. If they resolved to be evil, gloom would surround them. Soon thereafter she left her sons and quickly rose into the heights. The father was not home at that time. When he came home, he expressed his displeasure at his sons' conduct toward their mother, and he admonished them to improve themselves.[18]

Instead of using the term heaven for the German word for "Himmel," I chose heights or sky which better reflects the Cherokee point of view. Concepts of heaven and hell in the Christian tradition were almost nonexistent, but the Cherokees had definite ideas about the cosmos and their connection to it. The Cherokees believed that the sky was a stone vault to which the earth was attached by four cords. The cords represented the cardinal directions and the color of each was symbolically important. The red east exemplified vitality; the blue north symbolized divisiveness; the black west represented death; and the white south signified harmony and wisdom.[19] "This world," where the Cherokees lived, existed somewhere "between perfect order and complete chaos." Order and predictability reigned in the "upper world," and disorder and change characterized the "under world." So their ideas about the cosmos differed dramatically from the Christian concept of the universe.

The *Gambold Diary* also reveals Cherokee sense of humor and again Cherokee attachment to their cosmos. In April of 1812, John Gambold went to the Cherokee Council at Oostanaula, some thirty miles from Springplace, to quell Indian concerns about recent earthquakes and aftershocks.

> All the Indians, and especially the older chiefs, were very friendly to Brother Gambold.[20] When old Chief Sour Mush had once spoken with much affect in the Council, he had Brother Gambold told through an interpreter that he was not

[18]The story implied that the "bad intention" was her boys' threat on her life because they thought she was a sorceress. Raymond D. Fogelson, "The Conjuror in Eastern Cherokee Society," *Journal of Cherokee Studies,* vol. 5 (Fall 1980): 60–87.

[19]Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1976; reprint, 1992), 121–25. For further study of the Cherokee cosmic world, see Hudson, *Elements of Southeastern Indian Religion* (Leiden: E.J. Brill Press, 1984), 1–15.

[20] At this Council Gambold met the oldest and most respected chiefs, persons he had never before met. Correspondence, John and Anna Rosina Gambold, to Simon Peter, 11 May 1812, Moravian Archives Salem; hereafter cited as MAS. Furthermore, the missionaries noted that repeated requests by the United States to the Cherokees to relinquish their lands caused considerable consternation among their chiefs. They noted that prudent chiefs stood firm. Some viewed the United States government's promise to continue to bring the "arts of "civilization" to them as a reason to stay. But others wished to stay if they could live by hunting. Correspondence, John Gambold to Simon Peter, 22 September 1812, MAS.

> angry at all with the white people, but with his own people's misbehavior and recklessness. Among other things in his talk, he told those present, 'Recently the earth has sometimes moved a little. This brought you great fear, and you were afraid that you would sink into it, but when you go among the white people to break into their stalls and steal horses, you are not afraid. There is much greater danger, because if they catch you in such a deed, they would certainly shoot you down, and then you, indeed, would have to be lowered into the earth.[21]

* * * * *

The translation does not adhere to strictly grammatical German but follows the essence of meaning, carefully preserving the significance and the era's or Moravians' characteristics.[22] In the translation-annotated section (years 1805–21), dates are italicized for readability. Indentations for paragraphs are throughout the translation (years 1805–21) even though the German manuscript lacks paragraph indentations. Italics are used to denote underlined words in the German manuscript, printed texts, and also German-Moravian terms not translated such as "Singstunde," "Lebenslauf," and "Kinderstunde," which are rituals and customs idiosyncratic to Moravians.

The historically significant materials, both at the Bethlehem and Salem archives, were consulted for annotations and indentification because they add to our understanding of the dynamics of cultural contact. In particular, the correspondence of missionaries from Springplace to Salem, translated by the late Elizabeth Marx, was crucial for annotations. The correspondence elucidated contacts the missionaries had with other mission schools. For example the following annotation pertains to Moravian missionary Gottlieb Byhan's visit to a Presbyterian school at Hiwassee (Tennessee) located near the mouth of the Hiwassee River:

> During his visit, Byhan witnessed a public exam. Student Fox

[21]McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees,* [Volume 1,] Diary entry, 30 April 1812.

[22]The unique nature of the project required that I collaborate with many translators and that some of the editorial procedures closely match the characteristics of the text, and as a result standard English grammar and punctuation replaced German structure and usage. Translators included Dr. Steven Rowan and Roy Ledbetter, both of St. Louis, the late Dr. Lothar Madeheim and the Reverend Vernon Nelson of the Bethlehem Archives, Northern Province of the Moravian Church, the Reverend Dr. C. Daniel Crews of the Salem Archives of the Southern Province of the Moravian Church, and the late Professor Hans Bungert of Regensburg, Germany. Dr. Crews was instrumental in finalizing the manuscript.

> Taylor won a silver medal worth about $2.00. On one side of the medal were the engraved words: "The Second Presidency" [of George Washington] and the other side had the letters U.S.A. and an engraved cotton gin "designed very neatly." The rest of the pupils received knife straps, coral beads, and money.[23]

A concerted effort was made to identify all Springplace visitors. This was difficult because the Murray County (Georgia) Courthouse, the site of Springplace, burned around the middle of the nineteenth-century which meant that many sources for indentification were lost. Biographical materials of mission visitors appear in the Biographical Index at the end of Volume 2, which is divided into the following sections: Cherokee visitors, non-Cherokee visitors, Moravian missionaries and visitors, and visiting missionaries from the America Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) to the Cherokees and Choctaws. Additional appendices, also at the end of volume 2, are Bibliographical Essay; "Catalogue of Scholars at Spring Place Mission School, 1804–42" (includes the names of parents and domicile); "Glossary of German-Moravian Terms"; "Moravian Customs and Calendar"; sample of German script from 1807; and maps of Springplace, ferries, Vann's plantation, and the Cherokee Nation about 1820.

Most spellings of Cherokee and Anglo-American names and place names are standardized; however, there are exceptions. For example, when the author Anna Rosina is showing special affection, Springplace student Dick becomes Dickey when ill. There are varying names given to Moravian convert Peggy Scott Vann [Margaret Ann] Crutchfield to reflect the progressive stages of her relationship with the missionaries. For example, the Moravians address her first as Mrs. Vann, Peggy, then our Peggy, and finally our Sister Peggy. The same holds true for Moravian convert Second Principal Chief Charles Renatus Hicks; initially he is known as Mr. Hicks, Charles Hicks, and then our Brother Hicks. James Vann's mother is recognized as Mother Vann, old Vann woman, and then Mother Vann (again), and when she is baptized a Moravian, Sister Mary Christiana. Automatically when Cherokees were baptized, they received the title of "Brother" or "Sister."

Spelling variations for names are common. Many times the diarist used the letter "G" for "K" or "C" interchangeably. Though some missionaries were born in America, all spoke and wrote German, and the coversational

[23]McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees,* volume 1: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan to Christian Lewis Benzien, 7 April 1805, MAS.

German reflects the dialect of Saxony where a "softer" enunciation of certain consonants was common. So the "K" and "C" sounds in English cognate with the German "G." This is true with Timberleg or Timberlake, Gunrod or Conrad, and Gotoquaski or Kotoquaski. The same holds for Ghigau or Chiconehla (perhaps, Nancy Ward). In other regards, throughout the diary, the family name for David Watie, father of Buck or Elias Boudinot, appears as Ooaty. However, for purposes of clarity, the spelling reflects the more commonly known spelling Watie. For lesser-known Cherokees, the spelling of personal names has not been altered.

Anna Rosina Kliest Gambold is the author of the primary diary unit or "parent document" in German script.[24] In addition to providing important insights in the Springplace mission through her diary entries, Anna Rosina led quite a spectacular life. She was born in 1762 and educated in Bethlehem at the Female Seminary for Young Ladies, where she lived in the Single Sisters House, a dwelling place for unmarried Moravian women. Her employment was as fine arts teacher in the school, where she was the first instructor of painting. She was known in Moravian circles as a poet and her poetic talent was in constant demand for the love-feasts and celebrations of all kinds. Anna Rosina Kliest was a student of nature and the science that lay behind the secrets of nature. When she married John Gambold in May 1805 and accompanied him to Springplace the following October, she took her love of teaching art and science with her. The expansive gardens she created caught the attention of travelers through the Cherokee Nation. After the Reverend Elias Cornelius of the American Board Commissioners for Foreign Missions of Boston visited Springplace, he recommended her extensive horticultural pursuits to the *American Journal of Science.* In 1818 the *Journal* published her article and list of plants at Springplace.[25] She served the mission from 20 October 1805 to 16 February 1821, the time of her death.

Anna Rosina was the principal diarist for the month and year beginning

[24]Anna Rosina Gambold's penmanship in English, which matches her German script style, can be found among the microfilmed letters of the National Archives, Washington, D.C., Bureau of Indian Affairs, Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801–1835, Record Group 75.

[25]C. B. Mortimer, *Bethlehem and Bethlehem School* (New York, NY: Stanford & Delisser, 1858), 152–53. For a list of her Springplace plants, see "Mrs. Anna Rosina Gambold Plants of the Cherokee County: 'A list of plants found in the neighborhood of Connasarga River, (Cherokee Country), where Springplace is situated,'" in *The American Journal of Science* (New York, NY: J. Eastburn and Co., 1818, 1819), 245–51, made by Mrs. Gambold, at the request of the Rev. Elias Cornelius; and Daniel L. McKinley, "Anna Rosina (Kliest) Gambold (1762-1821), Moravian Missionary to the Cherokees, with Special Reference to her Botanical Interests," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society,* vol. 28(1994): 59–99.

1 October 1805 to 30 June 1820. Springplace missionary Gottlieb Byhan wrote from 1 January 1805 to 1 October 1805. Her husband John Gambold wrote in her place at various times, although it is unclear why: 1 April to 30 September 1812; 1 August to 2 November 1813; and 22 July to 31 October 1816. Beginning summer of 1820, Johannes Renatus Schmidt and his wife Gertraud Salome came to Springplace from New Fairfield, Canada, but authorship is not certain. Neither Salem Archivist Daniel Crews nor I are certain about the handwriting even upon re-inspecting from the diary dated 1 July 1820 through the year 1821.[26]

The repository for the *Gambold Diary* is in the Salem Archives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Both the Salem and Bethlehem Moravian Archives catalogue the complete group of diaries, along with extracts, as the *Springplace Diary*, all of which attribute Gambold as author.[27] Since the Salem congregation sent the Gambolds to the Cherokee Nation, their records returned to that congregation.

Due to Anna Rosina's illness and subsequent death in February of 1821, John did not leave Springplace until March 1821, when he was reassigned to the recently opened Moravian Cherokee mission, Oothcaloga, some thirty miles south of Springplace. To complete the entire tenure of the Gambold years, the year 1821 is included in this edition.

Transcending time and archaic language, this edition of the *Gambold Diary* provides an important link to the past. Through careful translation, contextualization of particularly sensitive words, words that epitomize Cherokee world view, preservation of vocabulary and usage typical of the era, and the identification of place names and of the many Cherokee and non Cherokee mission visitors, this publication of the *Gambold Diary* opens a window into public and private spheres of a bygone era. Furthermore, the documents disclose just how the Cherokee people sustained considerable opposition while remaining resolute to remain in the American South, though forced removal was a few years away.

[26]To determine actual writers from time to time in other time frames, Assistant Archivist Mr. Richard Starbuck and I studied the various missionaries' handwritings and checked them against letters they wrote to members of the Salem congregation. Crews and I both perused the documents again 9 July 2004 at the Moravian Archives Salem.

[27]Note: The Salem Archives houses several "diaries" attributed to Gambold. The dissertation, "The Moravian Mission among the Cherokees at Springplace, Georgia," was a documentary edition of the *Gambold Diary* (1815–1817) extracted from Anna Rosina's non-circulating manuscript, yet attributed to the Gambolds. It was written at Salem and sent to the Bethlehem and Herrnhut (Germany) congregations.

REVIEW

Communication and Freedom: *The Correspondence of John Dewey*

Martin Coleman

The Correspondence of John Dewey, Volumes 1-3: 1871–1952, Past Masters Series. Edited by Larry A. Hickman, General Editor; Barbara Levine, Editor; Anne Sharp, Editor; Harriet Furst Simon, Editor. Charlottesville, VA: InteLex Corporation, 2005. For pricing information see http://www.nlx.com/titles/titldewc.htm (1 CD-ROM). 1-57085-260-x (Windows)

"Of all affairs, communication is the most wonderful," wrote American philosopher, psychologist, educator, social scientist, and political activist John Dewey (LW.5.132).[1] His enthusiasm for communication is apparent in the latest edition of *The Correspondence of John Dewey.* The CD-ROM contains over 21,600 letters as well as photographs, facsimiles, and assorted transcribed documents, including the FBI's 1943 report on Dewey, which notes that the "[s]ubject...apparently does nothing but write."[2]

Dewey undeniably wrote much, but as John Shook points out in his introduction, this did not preclude activity in a number of political, educational, and labor organizations and regular vacationing in Hubbards, Nova Scotia, and Key West, Florida. Furthermore, the letters themselves suggest that this epistolary output (along with the 37 volumes of *The Collected Works of John Dewey*) was not indicative of a professionally minded obsessive. One correspondent writes to Dewey: "Few indeed are the persons who have joie de vivre, the capacity to put forth energy and be alively interested in things, without deriving that energy from blind and passionate attachment to some archaic, non-existential compulsion. Philosophers like you are among those few."[3]

[1]Standard references to John Dewey's works are to the critical edition, *The Collected Works of John Dewey, 1882–1953,* edited by Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969–1991), and published as *The Early Works: 1882–1898* (EW), *The Middle Works: 1899–1924* (MW), and *The Later Works: 1925–1953* (LW). These designations are followed by volume and page number. For example, page 270 of volume 5 of *The Later Works* is cited as "LW.5.270."

[2]1943.04.29 (16483): Federal Bureau of Investigation to To whom it may concern.

[3]1949.09.04 (11065): John D. Graves to John Dewey.

The writer is commenting on Dewey's temperamental immunity to superstitions, and this temperament is consistent with Dewey's philosophic outlook. As was discussed in the review of the previous edition of *The Correspondence,* Dewey's embrace of the possibilities for growth and meaning in concrete human experience gives added significance to an electronic edition of his works and letters.[4] Dewey would not have a blind and passionate attachment to a traditional literary medium and instead would be eager to explore the possibilities of an electronic format.

One of the great achievements of the editors of *The Correspondence* is the collection of the equivalent of 60 printed volumes in an easily searched and stored medium. Like the earlier editions of *The Correspondence,* this edition is available on CD-ROM and in a web server format for institutions. For both formats the publisher, InteLex of Charlottesville, Virginia, provides the proprietary application Folio VIEWS, which is required for reading and searching the database (or infobase, as the publisher calls it) of the Dewey correspondence.

This latest edition of *The Correspondence* is the first to cover Dewey's entire correspondence from his first known letter in 1871, a statement of his religious faith submitted to First Congregational Church, Burlington, Vermont, and most likely written by his mother, to his last letters of 1951 and 1952, as well as condolences sent to his widow. This edition contains the third edition of Volume 1, which covers the years 1871 to 1918; the second edition of Volume 2, which covers the years 1919 to 1939; and the first edition of Volume 3, which covers the years 1940 to 1952. This last thirteen-year span contains 12,000 letters compared to 3,800 in Volume 1 and 5,800 in Volume 2. In an improvement over the previous edition of *The Correspondence,* the user is now able to search all three volumes simultaneously. The Center for Dewey Studies is planning a supplementary volume of *The Correspondence* that will begin with 1953. This volume will include correspondence pertaining to the disposition of the Dewey literary estate, the origins of the project to publish *The Collected Works of John Dewey,* and the establishment of the Center for Dewey Studies at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

With the first appearance of Volume 3 of *The Correspondence* comes a new introduction by John R. Shook, Associate Professor of Philosophy and

[4]For a review of the previous edition see Martin A. Coleman, "Another Kind of E-Mail: The Electronic Edition of *The Correspondence of John Dewey,*" *Documentary Editing,* Summer 2004, 26:2, 92-120. Consult the previous review for more detailed discussions of the first two volumes of the correspondence and of the browsing software.

Director of The Pragmatism Archive at Oklahoma State University. Like the introductions to Volumes 1 and 2 by Larry Hickman and Michael Eldridge, Shook's introduction surveys the vast collection of letters and provides a chronological guide to the high points of *The Correspondence.* The introductory essay is offered as one tool among others that is intended to help the researcher make his or her way through the material. *The Correspondence* also preserves the illegible text, typographical errors, overstrikes, and insertions as well as page breaks and paragraphing found in the original documents. The conventions employed are faithful to the original without being obtrusive for the reader. Other helpful tools include the "Identifications" section, which collects brief profiles of people and organizations mentioned in *The Correspondence,* and the extensive chronology of Dewey's life. The two latter tools may be consulted as needed, but the readable introductions by Hickman, Eldridge, and Shook are recommended reading for anyone interested in serious research involving the correspondence.

Volume 3 of *The Correspondence* provides insights into Dewey's political activities and opinions at a crucial time in United States history, that is, the struggle with communism and the Second World War. Volume 3 also contains a running commentary on Dewey's continued philosophical reflections. And, of course, it includes letters discussing family matters such as his second marriage, his children and grandchildren, and his health.

Dewey's political activity had brought him to the notice of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1928 in connection with the notorious Sacco-Vanzetti case.[5] A document from 1930 reveals that the FBI was interested in Dewey's views regarding communism.[6] A document from 1942 is a summary of reports from the Special Committee on un-American activities, and it concludes that Dewey was not "engaged in any activity which would be considered inimical to the best interest of the internal security of this country."[7]

Shook, in his introduction, refers to a 1957 document not yet included with *The Correspondence* that indicates the FBI still had not lost interest in Dewey even after his death and that J. Edgar Hoover requested a posthumous report on Dewey. This document gives the cause of the 1942 report: it was a Custodial Detention–C investigation. This means that if the report had resulted in the issuance of a custodial detention card, Dewey could have

[5]1928.12.17 (12505): Federal Bureau of Investigation Division Director to W. J. Morris.
[6]1930.01.28 (10929): Federal Bureau of Investigation to To whom it may concern.
[7]1942.10.20? (16481): Federal Bureau of Investigation to To whom it may concern.

been arrested any time national security was thought to require it. Shook writes that the 1957 report "laconically notes that among the many messages of congratulations for [Dewey's] ninetieth birthday, one letter was from President Harry Truman."

The 1942 FBI report notes that Dewey was mercilessly criticized by communists for his work in 1937 as Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. And even his friend Corliss Lamont writes in 1940, "I still think that your attitude on the Moscow Trials and on Soviet Russia in general is terribly mistaken."[8] In 1947 the FBI notes Dewey's attempt to dissociate himself from a book, *Man Against Myth* by Barrows Dunham, which he had earlier endorsed. According to the FBI report Dewey was prompted by his friend Albert C. Barnes to pursue this course, and indeed Dewey wrote Dunham explaining that he was "disturbed by the reports that my endorsement of your book carried with it an endorsement of that part of your economic-political with which agree with those of the P C A, Wallace and other Pro-Soviet partisans."[9] Dewey was cordial as he explained that he did not write with the hope of changing Dunham's view but rather with the intent of explaining why he was disturbed. Dewey went on to explain that he believed "[a]ppeasement of the Soviet brand of totalitarianism if kept up especially by this country is as sure...to lead to war as did the earlier appeasement of the German brand."[10]

The disagreement with Lamont and the dissociation with the views of Dunham did not mean Dewey always agreed with those who opposed communism. In 1949 Dewey and his friend and former student Sidney Hook disagreed in print over the effort to identify and terminate teachers who belonged to the Communist Party. Dewey is concerned about the wider results of such tactics, while Hook points out that Communist Party members are obligated to teach communist principles. Hook writes, "I conclude that membership in the C. P. is prima facie evidence of a man's unfitness to teach."[11]

Dewey is sometimes criticized as being politically naïve, but he explicitly distinguished himself from the American liberals who deluded themselves about Josef Stalin. Dewey wrote in 1940 that it "is a tragedy that Russia turned out as she has–Stalin is one of the great Judas Iscariots of all history

[8]1940.04.24 (13658): Corliss Lamont to John Dewey.
[9]1947.05.03 (14775): John Dewey to Barrows Dunham.
[10]Ibid.
[11]1949.06.27 (13183): Sidney Hook to John Dewey.

but since he is what he is, it is well to have it made apparent, tho of course the good party fanatics wont see it."[12] Three years later he continued his condemnation of Stalin writing that he "did so much to kill the idealistic enthusiasm I saw in '27, that his destruction of what was best in the revolution is a thing I find it difficult to forguve in him. That the Russians are a great people and will in time find their way back I have never doubted."[13]

Not only do Dewey's letters challenge charges of at least certain kinds of *naïveté,* they can be positively prescient. Consider a 1942 letter in which he wrote that "most schemes of world organization seem to mean in practice some kind of 'Anglo-saxon' hegemony or some quasi military policing of th[e] world to keep 'bad nations' from breaking loose. And/or most such schemes are too much of the nature of blue-prints to meet the actual strain of || events."[14] If he had spoken of rogue nations and ideological fantasies instead of "bad nations" and "blue-prints" he would have produced a contemporary commentary.

What emerges from Dewey's correspondence is a picture of a thinker who is fallible but honest and who refuses to be tied down by party lines. That he disagreed with both communists and anti-communists indicates an independence of mind and a deep loyalty to the best aspects of a liberal political tradition. He further demonstrated this independence of mind and commitment to freedom in his opposition to the internment of Japanese-Americans after the outbreak of war with Japan, and also in the case of English philosopher Bertrand Russell. The letter to President Franklin Roosevelt concerning internment of Japanese-American makes the claim that such methods approximate "the totalitarian theory of justice practiced by the Nazis in their treatment of the Jews." It also states that the public opinion motivating the internment seems "to have been born in large part of ancient racial prejudices, greed for the land the Japanese have developed, and a popular hysteria inflamed by stories of Japanese sabotage and disloyalty."[15]

In the case of Russell, conservative religious groups successfully sought to prevent him from taking a chair of philosophy at City College in New York, because they objected to his writings on sex and marriage. Russell was deemed by his critics to be a threat to the moral well-being of the youth. As

[12] 1940.02.19 (08683): John Dewey to Bertha Aleck.
[13] 1943.06.25 (08692): John Dewey to Bertha Aleck.
[14] 1942.06.04 (13817): John Dewey to Mercedes Moritz Randall.
[15] 1942.04.30 (14138): John Dewey et al. to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

the scholar Robert B. Westbrook rightly points out, "Dewey had little love for Russell or his work"; however, Dewey not only fought the protest against Russell, he also found Russell a position when efforts against the protest failed.[16]

The Correspondence illustrates Dewey's attempts on Russell's behalf. In a letter to Sidney Hook, Dewey wrote that he had said he "would be glad to be included in the || Phil Assn statement & added a line about 'clerical interference'."[17] Dewey signed a letter to Mayor La Guardia of New York from the Committee for Cultural Freedom, of which Dewey was the honorary chairman. The letter states that the court decision barring Russell from his appointment "is the most serious setback yet sustained by the cause of free education in America."[18] Dewey also wrote personally to La Guardia after the mayor attempted to quell the controversy by striking from the budget the position at City College originally offered to Russell. Dewey argues that such a decision is as fraught with disaster for higher institutions of learning as the original attack on Russell.[19]

Given Dewey's effort on Russell's behalf and Russell's own cavalier misreading of Dewey's work in Russell's published criticisms, there seems some bit of irony in the wake of a 1950 letter from the American historian and public intellectual Henry Steele Commager to the Nobel Committee of the Swedish Academy. Commager wrote for the American Center PEN Club in nominating John Dewey for the Nobel Prize in Literature.[20] This was the year that Bertrand Russell won the award.

The most philosophically significant correspondence of Volume 3 is that between Dewey and Arthur F. Bentley. A selected and edited version of their correspondence was published in a 700-page volume in 1964 by Sidney Ratner and Jules Altman.[21] From this philosophical partnership of Dewey and Bentley came the 1951 book *The Knowing and the Known*. Shook notes that "their collaborative attempts to clarify key philosophical terms...had begun in earnest" in 1939, and that in the next 12 years, the period covered

[16]Robert B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991) 512.
[17]1940.03.17 (13030): John Dewey to Sidney Hook.
[18]1940.04.02 (13292): John Dewey, George S. Counts, Sidney Hook, and Horace M. Kallen to Fiorello H. La Guardia.
[19]1940.04.06 (13291): John Dewey to Fiorello H. La Guardia.
[20]1950.01.31 (18953): Henry Steele Commager to Nobel Committee of Swedish Academy.
[21]Sidney Ratner and Jules Altman, editors, *John Dewey and Arthur F. Bentley: A Philosophical Correspondence, 1932–1951* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1964).

by Volume 3, the two thinkers exchanged over 1400 letters.

The correspondence with Bentley is undeniably significant given the number of letters and subsequent published works (essays, a book, and the published selection of the letters). It seems worthwhile, then, to note the other correspondents Dewey held in similar esteem. In 1949 a New York lawyer named John Graves initiated an exchange of letters with Dewey on psychological and philosophical subjects. Dewey appreciated greatly the candor that characterized his correspondence with Graves, and he wrote, "You can hardly realize what it signifies to me to send you practically anything which comes into my head." Dewey continued: "I only have two other correspondents, one A F Bentley...and the other still a graduate student in phil at Columbia."[22] Dewey was referring to Lyle K. Eddy to whom he then wrote about Graves: "He [Graves] has in addition to great energy [a]nd enthusiasm a saving grace of humor...and I get personal encouragement as well as ideas on special points from him."[23]

The correspondence with Graves provides an interesting insight into Dewey's understanding of his own philosophical talent. Dewey wrote:

> [W]hen I was younger and not so set in conceit as Ive since become I used to compare myself philosophically with colleagues and others. I concluded that in the long run I had one advantage. As a rule, when they ran across something with which they didnt agree, the one interest they displayed–if any at all–was to find reasons for rejecting it. I found by contrast was to wonder why an intelligent person would hold and say such a thing, and it didnt I decided my policy was the better of the two.[24]

Obviously, Bentley, Eddy, and Graves were not the only people with whom Dewey was corresponding. It seems apparent he was referring to philosophical correspondents. His range of other correspondents was wide and varied. Among his more regular exchanges were those with his former students and friends Joseph Ratner and Sidney Hook; with other professional colleagues such as Max C. Otto, Adelbert Ames, Jr., and Horace M. Kallen; and with many other friends such as Corinne Chisholm Frost, a teacher and journalist with whom he corresponded for 20 years, and Bertha Aleck, a friend met while traveling and with whom he exchanged letters for 12 years.

[22]1949.07.26 (11009): John Dewey to John D. Graves.
[23]1949.07.30 (14296): John Dewey to Lyle K. Eddy.
[24]1949.07.26 (11009): John Dewey to John D. Graves.

Throughout Volume 3 there are many letters from Dewey to Roberta Lowitz Grant, who would become his second wife. (There are 281 letters from Dewey to Roberta in *The Correspondence.*) She was the daughter of a family from Oil City, Pennsylvania, with whom Dewey was friends prior to her birth. The letters between Dewey and Roberta begin in 1936. She married Robert C. Grant in September 1939, and he died in December the following year. Shook points out in his introduction that no letters from Roberta to Dewey have been found. Dewey wrote, "I never leave your letters around & I never keep them long, much as I should like to. But I don't keep them as I see sometimes you have kept mine."[25] Dewey writes of family, friends, other domestic matters, and his activities of the day. Dewey and Roberta were married in December 1946, and Volume 3 includes letters arranging the small ceremony and informing close friends of the wedding.[26]

The Correspondence of John Dewey has always taken advantage of the great space afforded by the electronic medium to include not only letters written by or to John Dewey but also letters written by or to his family and friends. These additional letters include correspondence of his wives prior to their involvement with Dewey. Also included are letters about Dewey, and there are several such letters that appear in *The Correspondence* for the first time with the third edition. Some of the additions are newly discovered letters to and from John Dewey, but the majority are not. One addition is from Emma Goldman to Agnes Inglis commenting on Dewey's writing: "This morning I read an article of his in the Seven Arts. It was positively empty. Not a single thought or idea worth while."[27] Other additions critical of Dewey come from George Santayana. These inclusions give background to the disagreements between the two thinkers discussed in the previous review of *The Correspondence.*[28]

Santayana characterized Dewey's naturalism as "half-hearted" because it seemed to emphasize the human foreground to the exclusion of the background of the nonhuman universe. Dewey responded that Santayana's naturalism was "broken-backed" because it seemed to exclude human experiences of reflection from nature. Santayana's response to the whole

[25]1940.02.27? (09724): John Dewey to Roberta Lowitz Grant.
[26]1946.12.08 (13426): John Dewey to Jerome Nathanson; 1946.12.09 (10341): John Dewey to W. R. Houston; 1946.12.09 (14064): John Dewey to Max C. Otto.
[27]1917.04.30 (10991): Emma Goldman to Agnes Inglis.
[28]See Coleman, "Another Kind of E-Mail," *Documentary Editing,* Summer 2004, 26:2, 92–120.

exchange revealed his shyness at direct confrontation, and in fact he seemed surprised at the controversy as if he were very unpracticed in philosophical debate. In contrast, Dewey's response indicated that the exchange was a matter of course and nothing to be lingered over. The same kind of detachment is evident in Dewey's critical remarks on Santayana appearing for the first time in Volume 3.

Dewey acknowledged with approval Santayana's recognition of the biological and the virtues of Santayana's books (and *The Life of Reason* in particular). But without lapsing into anything like a polemical tone Dewey, borrowing a phrase of William James, characterized Santayana to Lyle Eddy as a "once-born" intellectual.[29] Dewey makes the comment by way of contrast with his own continually developing views and in agreement with Santayana's own statements concerning his own fully formed philosophical outlook. Elsewhere Dewey echoes in agreement another's criticism of Santayana's philosophy as fixed and juvenile.[30] Dewey also makes a telling comment about Santayana's "unfortunate acquaintance with East Indian philosophy."[31]

The difference between Santayana's fixity and Dewey's emphasis on growth and developmental processes suggests the appeal that Dewey's philosophy holds for those who would read approvingly Joseph Ratner's encomium to Dewey on his 85th birthday, and included in a letter to the editor of the *New York Times*:

> Dewey's greatest overall contribution has been the encouragement he has given to people...to work out their problems from their own centers, and to learn that only through frank interchange of ideas and through cooperative investigation and team-play can progress be made in the solution of theoretical and practical problems.[32]

A great virtue of *The Correspondence of John Dewey* is the opportunity it gives to scholars to work out their problems with a freedom not always possible when one is working with materials restricted to an archive or a library's special collections. The editors of *The Correspondence* honor the spirit of Dewey by embracing new technologies to promote conversation about and inquiry into Dewey's ideas.

[29]1948.05.04 (14921): John Dewey to Lyle K. Eddy.
[30]1944.05.21 (10022): John Dewey to W. R. Houston.
[31]Ibid.
[32]1945.10.18 (20298): Sidney Ratner to *New York Times* Editor.

REVIEW

New Ways of Looking at Old Texts

Eric L. Saak

New Ways of Looking at Old Texts, III. Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1997–2001. Ed. W. Speed Hill. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 270. Tempe, Arizona, 2004. 210 pp. ISBN 0866983139.

There is no end to textual violence. Texts are raped, pillaged, and plundered because of any variety of literary or historical interpretation in support of pet theories and/or ideologies. As such, editors are accomplices. If only it were so simple. Far too often texts are violated by editors long before they are able to be so by other interpreters, much as Helen of Troy was abducted by Theseus long before Priam's son stole her away. Yet if anyone can put an end to, or at least slow down, the textual abduction of scholarship, it is we who are involved in scholarly editing. Editors too can be rapists, and often have been, despite standards and procedures set down in handbooks. Yet editors have the unique opportunity to defend the chastity of the passively mute texts. To do so, editors must break the bonds of their disciplinary fetters, look beyond their proverbial nerdish noses, and begin to recognize the commonality of the phenomena we call texts in order to effect a renaissance of editorial practice and theory that can rightly assume the foundation of all humanistic scholarship. A grandiose dream, perhaps, but dream we must, and dare to allow our dreams to change us and our practice, as Esther Katz put it to the ADE on 13 November 2004.[1] Yet it is precisely our dream world that we must escape, a dream world in which we are important, essential, and ever so superior, to bring about a renaissance of textual scholarship.

New Ways of Looking at Old Texts should be the proverb pasted on every editor's bathroom mirror. Yet here it is the third such title of a collection of essays, all special publications of the Renaissance English Text Society, and may very well, as its predecessor did, find its way onto "graduate reading

[1]Esther Katz, "I Dreamed of Editing," *Documentary Editing* 26 (2004): 195–203.

lists, there being no alternatives."[2] If one can take seriously the ADE mission as being "to provide a scholarly community for people interested in editing historical and literary texts and to promote the use of these records by students, teachers, and scholars," and can interpret that mission as extending beyond the confines of dead Americans, this is a volume that merits notice.[3]

New Ways III consists of seventeen essays presented at the MLA and the International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan. Here one can find the wonders of the First-Line Index of Elizabethan Verse in the contribution of Steven W. May (pp. 1–12), as well as two separate complex stemma's of Donne's elegy, "The Bracelet," with a complete collation of line 11, in that of Gary A. Stringer (pp. 13–26). For experts in English Renaissance literature, this volume offers a wealth of detail certainly sufficient to get the juices flowing and cause one to ponder whether Donne actually wrote 'yet', 'yett', 'Yett', or 'yit' (p. 18–19). Yett [*sic*] there are also contributions relevant to editors of documents other than Tudor-Stewart. Such is Jean Klene's "Working with a Complex Document: The Southwell-Sibthorpe Commonplace Book" (pp. 169–75), which aptly illustrates the hidden difficulties of editing Folger MS. V.B. 198. What at first seemed to "be a relatively simple and straightforward task," (p. 169) turned quite messy, questioning authorship, dating, and title. Moreover, in addition to the complexity of a document as such, is, as Michael Roy Denbo makes clear, the complexity of the task of editing itself (pp. 65–73). Denbo approaches the Holgate Miscellany, an early seventeenth-century verse commonplace book, "as a social document" (p. 66), using "the contemporary use and understanding of 'manuscript'" (p. 67) as the guiding principle of his edition. While one can, and perhaps must, question what "the contemporary use and understanding of 'manuscript'" actually is, since Denbo never tells us, he does make an important distinction, even if somewhat incomprehensible: "Unlike an edition that focuses on a particular text as something to read, this edition seeks to understand the activities and practices that were required so that the

[2]W. Speed Hill, ed., *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts, Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985-1991* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies/Renaissance English Text Society, 1993); W. Speed Hill, ed., *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts, Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1992-1996* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies/Renaissance English Text Society, 1998). W. Speed Hill, "Preface," ix.

[3]ADE "Constitution." http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/ade/about/constitution.html

document could be read (p. 67)." What he is getting at here, it seems to me, is not so much that his edition is not meant to be read, or that there is a difference between a 'text' and a 'document,' but rather the question of how the text/document is to be read: as a piece of literature or as an historical artifact? The problem that Denbo is dealing with is one also recognized by Michael Rudick in his contribution "Editing Ralegh's Poems Historically" (pp. 133–142), when he points out that the debate between stemmatology and eclecticism "ignores the source of the problem, which is not methodological, but instead–may we say?–ontological" (p. 140). Agreed. What is the ontological status of these 'things' we call 'texts' and/or 'documents'? And what is the ontological status of these 'things' we call 'editions'? And what is the relationship between the two?

The present volume under review offers no answers to these questions, and neither will I, here and now, at least. In many ways, these questions are the aporiae of the editorial craft, and bring the praxis of documentary editing ever so dangerously and fearfully near the abyss of editorial and literary theory. While we may continue to discuss the extent to which a particular 'text,' 'document,' or 'manuscript' most appropriately should be classified as 'literature' or 'artifact,' as well as how such categories should be defined, we must also take the time to ponder the nature of what we as editors are producing and/or creating. All editions are artificial and ahistorical, except in terms of the history of the time in which they are produced. Technology has forced the issue, and it is surprising to note that of the seventeen contributions to this volume, only two explicitly take on the problematic of electronic media and the implications thereof for the theory and practice of editing (pages 27–35, 37–46). Yet even here, Margaret J. M. Ezell uses electronic technology to reconceptualize seventeenth-century textuality, rather than to reconceptualize editing as such. In breaking the "strict division of 'public' and 'private' and our model of separate, gendered spheres of literary activity" (p. 29), Ezell argues:

> The circulation of literary materials was governed not by a separation into public and private spheres of discourse, nor even of domestic versus commercial production. Instead, to borrow the terms of the electronic writer, the circulation of literary material among a social group serves to create and strengthen bonds between friends, family, and also generations through actively engaging them in not only the reading of literary texts but also the compilation and distribution of and contribution to them. What to us may appear as textual chaos and disorder

> may simply have been the complexity of one aspect of the dynamics of early modern literary culture we have yet to consider (p. 34).

All well and good, but she does not take the next step to hypothesize on the 'textual chaos' of modern editors and just what it is that we think we are doing. How might the possibilities electronic media offer challenge editors to reconceptualize the discipline as such? Such is the question posed by R. G. Siemens (pp. 37–44), though even here, it is done so as a future possibility: "Potentially, we are participating in a process that may ultimately lead to a re-conception of the thing itself" (p. 44). It is great if the computer age throws new light on the textualities of the past, but what does it have to say about the textualities in which we create our texts that we happen to call editions? And here we have returned to the question of the ontological status of texts with the added insight that editors, as Jorge Gracia termed it, form an essential component of the 'composite author'.[4] Such an author function of editors is painfully evident in the various editions of Lucy Hutchinson's biography of her husband John, as David Norbrook impressively brings to light in revealing the gendered alterations of Lucy's 'original' text ("'But a Copie': Textual Authority and Gender in Editions of 'The Life of John Hutchinson,'" pp. 109–30), which the new Oxford edition will present for the first time. Recognizing the 'composite author' of texts/documents allows for returning texts/documents to the realm of the social, which is where they, and our editions thereof, belong, as emphasized by Denbo and Rudick (p. 66 and 142). Yet before the papers of this collection were presented, Gabrielle Spiegel argued that we should endeavor

> ...to locate texts within specific social sites that themselves disclose the political, economic, and social pressures that condition a culture's discourse at any given moment. Involved in this positioning of the text is an examination of the play of power, human agency, and social experience as historians traditionally understand them. Only after the text has been returned to its social and political context can we begin to appreciate the ways in which both language and social reality shape discursive and material fields of activity and thus come to an understanding of a text's "social logic" as situated language use.[5]

[4]Jorge J. E. Gracia, *Texts. Ontological Status, Identity, Author, Audience* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 102.
[5]Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text. The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 27–28.

Spiegel, though, is a medievalist, and there is no evidence that her English Renaissance colleagues took her work into account, nor that of any other medievalist, with the notable exceptions of Rudick, who employed Paul Zumthor's term *mouvance* (p. 140), and Siemens, who adopted Tim Machan's distinction in his *Medieval Literature: Texts and Interpretation* between 'lower criticism' and 'higher criticism' (p. 38).[6] This is a collection of essays by specialists for specialists, or in other words, it is rather inbred. There is virtually no 'cross-fertilization' of interdisciplinarity, even though many of the articles concern issues central to all textual scholars, medievalists as well as Americanists. Had the contributors dared to cross boundaries and borders in attempts to build bridges this volume might have found its way onto graduate reading lists beyond those of English Renaissance textual scholars. Violence can be perpetrated too by sins of omission.

There is value, I believe, in cross-disciplinary, even if not interdisciplinary, discussion and perhaps this truism especially applies to editors, all of whom are dealing with texts. Most members of ADE most likely will not get cold chills reading about the stemma of Donne's poetry (which is also true, I would suspect, of most readers of Donne's poetry), yet how to handle complex texts, or even 'simple' ones for that matter, are challenges facing all editors and the essays here collected ably discuss some of the problems involved. Yet there is another point to reviewing this collection here. The contributors to the volume, as mentioned above, are in general not in dialogue with editors of medieval texts, though they should be, and editors of eighteenth through twentieth-century Americana rarely, I would assume, turn to editors of Renaissance literature, though it might behoove them to do so. There is a modernist bias in ADE. Of the 106 projects listed on the ADE website that are associated with ADE, only five are devoted to pre-seventeenth-century texts. Moreover, in reading about the history of documentary editing on the same website, the Middle Ages and Renaissance have been completely erased, even though 'modern' textual scholarship began in the Renaissance and "collections of writings, letters, and/or speeches by leading figures" date back far before "the late eighteenth century."[7] Such lack of dia-

[6]Tim William Machan, *Medieval Literature: Texts and Interpretation* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1991).

[7]"The practice of publishing collections of writings, letters, and/or speeches by leading figures dates back to the late eighteenth century and became popular by the mid-nineteenth .... The project that is generally cited as the progenitor of 'modern' documentary editing is The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, begun at Princeton in 1943." http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/ade/about_editing/history_editing.html.

logue may or may not lead to 'textual violence' regarding the documents we are editing, but it certainly does do violence to our practice by way of impoverishment. *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts* can provide new ways of looking at an 'old discipline' and at ourselves. It is only with such new perspective that we can begin working toward fulfilling our dreams of the future and bring the documents of the past out of their silent slumber,[8] a slumber that, with respect to the past and our understanding of it, does the greatest violence of all. *Ad fontes!*

[8]"Want er liggen nog ongelooflijk veel teksten uit het verleden als slapende Doornroosjes te wachten op de prins die ze wakker kust." (Because there are still so many texts waiting as Sleeping Beauties for their prince to kiss them awake.) Marita Mathijsen, *Naar de letter. Handboek editiewetenschap* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1995), 18.

Notes

A section dedicated to providing useful information to promote scholarship in the field.

The Times They Are A-Changin': Literary Documentary Editing in an Electronic Post-Structuralist World

Joel Myerson

I began working as a literary textual editor in the summer of 1968, my second year of graduate school at Northwestern University. At that time Northwestern housed The Writings of Herman Melville and I was taken on board as a trainee. I will always remember the shining moment when I realized that I had mastered the Hinman Collator and that a great future awaited me because of it. I spent the next three years working there, and in the next decade got up to speed on my own. I served as a vettor for the Center for Editions of American Authors, which, incidentally, sealed over one hundred volumes between 1966 and 1976, which gives you an idea of how exciting things were at this time in the editorial field. Later, I began work on my own editions of Louisa May Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Margaret Fuller. Let us now go back, briefly, to those glorious years, when there was truly a textual moment.

Imagine, if you will, a school of criticism (the old "New Critics") that believed the text should be interpreted without reference to biography or historical circumstances, and, because of this, it was essential to have accurate texts in order to interpret what the author actually wrote.

Then imagine, that to meet this need, universities housed and generously supported editorial projects, and that many of the people working on these projects were graduate students, and that they could choose among many courses offered in bibliography and textual editing, and that many of them wrote dissertations that were editions of volumes in that edition, and that they were competitive on the job market because the scholars of this time (many of them knowledgeable about Renaissance and Shakespearean editing) knew that textual scholarship involved not only drudge work, but also a keen knowledge of the author's life, the times in which he or she lived, the social circumstances of authorship and publication, the book trade in general, and, of course, the ability to read a text critically.

Then imagine that a new federal agency, the National Endowment for the Humanities, was brought into being, and that one of its goals was to fund editions.

And then, imagine that print runs were 1,000 copies because the government gave grants to libraries to purchase books, and that many of these books won scholarly book awards, and that scholarly journals regularly reviewed editions, and-perhaps this is the hardest of all to imagine-that professors actually bought the books themselves.

Believe it or not, this really happened, I am not making it up. In the present day, all of us know the dire straits in which the editing profession finds itself, so I would like to briefly suggest some reasons for what has happened in literary editing and in English departments, in addition to such shared concerns among historical and literary editors as the drop in book sales, lack of federal funding, and the like.

The landscape of the literary profession has changed enormously in the forty years that I have been observing it. The old "New Criticism" had been replaced by the new "New Criticism," which, at various points in its manifestations, has declared that the author is dead, a point of view that essentially asks why we should worry at all about the text that the dead, usually white male, author wrote, when we can create whatever meaning we wish from that text; and, this, of course, means that the decision about whichever text we choose is far less important than is our own desire to create meaning in that text. English departments have increasingly become worlds of intellectual McCarthyism, where the party line must be followed–even if it shifts as the wind does–and in which editors have become second-class citizens. Scholarly journals reinforced the perception that editing is irrelevant when they decided not to review textual editions any more.

Then, too, technology has proven a double-edged sword, suggesting to university presses that as much as possible can be placed on the web without much cost–to them, that is, not us–and they have been wary about publishing print editions of any kind.

Another problem is that nearly all the A-list authors have been edited and it is virtually impossible now to make a case for a print edition of a B-list author simply on literary, as opposed to cultural, merit.

The final trend in the literary profession I would like to mention is the death of the single-author dissertation, to be replaced by studies containing four or five short chapters, each discussing one or two books by an author, that deliver the definitive word about some general theme. If critics like

these just parachute in and then move on to their next assignment, then they will reach for whichever text is handy.

Thus, to come back to the beginning, the old paradigm that was in place for the generation before mine is broken: that of scholars deeply knowledgeable about the lives and writings of an author who then learned about editing in order to present accurate editions of that author's writings.

In closing, I will try to be upbeat by quoting Henry David Thoreau as, I believe, he would comment on the world that today's literary editor finds in the new "New Criticism" English department: "It is not all books that are as dull as their readers."

First Encounters with Documentary Editing, or, Tales in Training[1]

Amy Speckart

Which of these things is not like the other?
SELECTION, VERIFICATION, ANNOTATION, SEX, ALCOHOL, INDEXING

Asking this question of seasoned editors (at an ADE meeting) might skew the answers a bit. Or maybe I missed something when I attended Camp Edit. At least, that is how it seems having talked to several veterans of the Camp Edit of the 1970s, which had a level of camaraderie that quite exceeded my own, comparatively chaste experience a year ago.

In this and other ways, training programs in documentary editing under the aegis of the NHPRC have changed over time, reflecting changes in the profession. Camp Edit, for instance, no longer requires campers to bring their own typewriters. Now, knowledge of computerized word processors is assumed, and digitization is the new frontier. During a nine-month NHPRC fellowship in historical documentary editing, a fellow is more likely to learn about XML coding than how to prepare a microfilm collection.

Camp Edit and the NHPRC fellowship also mirror the history of federal funding for documentary editing. In 1972, when Camp Edit held its first session, the camp lasted for two weeks and five NHPRC fellowships were awarded. This was a time of optimism about the availability of federal funding for the support of documentary editing, in part because there were fewer projects to support. Since then, though, the number of projects has increased and staffs have expanded. As federal funds have had to stretch further, financial support for training programs has eroded. Camp Edit now lasts for one week instead of two, reducing the amount of time spent on tutoring and drinking–I mean, on sharing experiences with other editors. And the number of NHPRC fellowships in documentary editing has been steadily declining, from an average of five fellows a year in the later 1960s and 70s, to three fellows annually in the 1980s, to two in the 1990s, down to an average of one per year since 2000. This year, the fellowship program is suspended due to uncertainties in the federal budget.[2]

[1]A paper delivered at ADE Annual Meeting, October 2005 in Denver, revised 9/13/06
[2]List of former fellows in historical documentary editing, National Historical Publication and Records Committee, www.archives.gov/nhprc/projects/documentary-editing/fellows.html (accessed 27 July 2005).

Given the financial pressures on the NHPRC and the risk that NHPRC-sponsored training programs will continue to erode, I feel that it is worth reflecting on the benefits of training. My original idea for this paper was to collect people's stories of their first experiences with documentary editing–surely there would be fun and foibles in that, I thought. Memories of impromptu cocktail parties in the early days of Camp Edit was a promising start. On the job, however, editors seem to be a serious lot who care about their work and overcome significant challenges, such as cramped work-spaces and the necessity for teamwork. Moreover, the people I interviewed extolled the benefits of Camp Edit and the NHPRC fellowship program in their own lives. In this paper, I will give a brief history of these programs, and then highlight some of my own experiences as a fellow.[3]

Whereas there have been historians since the dawn of man, techniques of documentary editing are not as instinctual. Thus the Historical Editing Institute–fondly known as Camp Edit–and the NHPRC fellowship were born to offer training. The founding fathers of modern documentary editing were nearing retirement, and there was felt a need to train the next generation. Camp Edit is a successful outreach program that offers basic instruction in a one-week course. The course is thought to be especially helpful to solo editors, in part for the opportunity the camp provides to connect with other people in the field. In fact, before ADE was born, Camp Edit used to be the only annual meeting place for senior editors who came to teach the course.[4]

Another useful component to Camp Edit is that it provides an overview of the variety of methods that projects use to address common challenges, such as what to do with interlineation or deletion of text. I attended Camp Edit before I started my fellowship, and I sometimes found the variety of available techniques dizzying. There is no one right way to show deletion of text, for instance, and while diplomatic transcription and clear text are easy to tell apart on the printed page, there are various shades of transcription methods in between. One senior editor told me that he likes to send staff to Camp Edit for precisely this reason–so that they learn how other projects address problems, in hopes of improving methods at home.

The NHPRC fellowship, like Camp Edit, offers a valuable opportunity to network and to learn the fundamentals of documentary editing. But it is pre-

[3]I wish to thank the following persons for the oral interviews that were the basis of this essay: Elaine Crane, Amy Flanders, Ann Gordon, Martha King, Jim McClure, Barbara Oberg, Elaine Pascu, Jim Taylor, John Van Horne, and George Vogt.
[4]Conversation with George Vogt, 18 August 2005.

cisely because each project has its own way of doing things that there is a built-in tension in the fellowship experience, I believe, between learning the fundamentals and learning the peculiarities of the host project. For this paper I will focus on two issues that are commonplace in documentary editing but that have a particular twist in the Jefferson Papers office because of the long history of the project: (1) the relationship between annotation and the time it takes to produce a volume; and (2) the selective use of new technologies.

Before I begin discussion of those issues, though, a brief introduction to the office is helpful. The Jefferson Papers began over a half-century ago, in 1943, under the leadership of Julian Boyd, then the Princeton University Librarian. The Jefferson Papers is considered the first modern documentary editing project, principally for the standards of scholarship in the annotation. The project was also ambitious in its scope as the first comprehensive edition of Jefferson's papers, with incoming as well as outgoing correspondence.

Visible markers of the project's history are everywhere in the office. To give you a brief walk-through: the office has an inconspicuous front door in an inconspicuous location: the basement of our host university's main library. Through this door is a central room that leads to three additional office spaces. Eight staff members work in fairly close quarters. In these rooms, the sheer weight of history is impressive. Bookcases along the walls contain books and microfilm reels for handy reference, including the thirty-one volumes of the Jefferson Papers published thus far, standing proudly altogether like soldiers at attention. Art objects collected over the years include a bust of Jefferson sitting in one corner, reproductions of several paintings of Jefferson, and a portrait of Julian Boyd, the project's founding father. Peek around to one of the smaller office rooms and you will see lining the walls the roughly seventy-thousand file folders that contain photocopies of Jefferson-related documents. Nearby is the card catalog that has served as the control system of the Jefferson Papers for over half a century. Here and there are file folders whose contents have long been forgotten, created by editors of previous generations. Also gathering dust is a broken microfilm reader that visiting high school students find curious.

There are ghosts in the office. Julian Boyd seems to give us the most trouble. Boyd left a legacy of over-long annotation in the late 1960s and 70s that slowed the pace of producing volumes. Even though the pendulum has since swung back in favor of minimal annotation in order to keep to a faster timetable, there remains a degree of defensiveness to the question, "why is the project taking so long?" This was evident to me back in March, when *The*

Wall Street Journal ran a front-page headline that read, "Why a Life's Work is Taking Princeton so Long to Document," and "Unfinished Jefferson Project is Now in Its 63rd Year."[5] Despite all the positive aspects of being a feature article in a national newspaper, there was a sense of dismay in the office that the project's past history overshadowed our current pace of production.

And the project's public image is bound to be affected once again when we produce with Princeton University Press a digitized version of the Jefferson Papers. Right now, a digital edition is in the planning stage, and I can tell that the prospect of a greater internet presence involves a change in our identity. With thirty-one printed volumes behind us, it is difficult for the office to change its priorities mid-stream. For now, our budget priorities are on producing printed volumes, and this alone is enough to challenge us financially.

This brings me to the topic of fundraising, which has been an unexpected part of my education at the Jefferson Papers. From Princeton University's Development Office I learned how to throw a party–always a useful skill. While attending Humanities Advocacy Day in Washington D.C. last spring, I met several congressmen and their staff to discuss the zeroing-out of the NHPRC in the president's proposed federal budget.

I had few illusions about the purpose of my presence at the meetings: as an NHPRC fellow, I represented the commission's commitment to training the next generation of editors who will continue to publish the documentation of our nation's history.

But are NHPRC-supported training programs necessary to maintain the health of the profession? Certainly many documentary editors have learned on the job, and there are other training programs available, such as a new fellowship offered by Founding Fathers Incorporated. The NHPRC has an important role, though, in providing consistent support for documentary editing, while individual initiatives come and go. Not only do Camp Edit and the NHPRC fellowship provide basic instruction, but they also foster communication between senior and junior editors which, based on the interviews I conducted, went a long way to keep junior editors in the field and get them their next job. Given that the NHPRC has provided so much of the internal structure of documentary editing over the last fifty years, any further erosion of its training programs weakens the profession as a whole.

[5] *Wall Street Journal*, 15 March 2005.

Recent Editions

Compiled by Heather C. Smathers and Carrie Torrella McCord

This quarterly bibliography of documentary editions recently published on subjects in the fields of American and British history, literature, and culture is generally restricted to scholarly first editions of English language works. In addition to the bibliographical references, Internet addresses are provided for the editorial project or the publisher. To have publications included in future quarterly lists, please send press materials or full bibliographic citations to Johanna Resler, Managing Editor, *Documentary Editing,* IUPUI, ES 0010, 902 West New York Street, Indianapolis, Indiana 46202-5157 or email: jeresler@iupui.edu.

d'ALBERT-LAKE, VIRGINIA. ***An American Heroine in the French Resistance: The Diary and Memoir of Virginia d'Albert-Lake.*** Edited by Judy Barrett Litoff. New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2006. $29.95. 320 pp. ISBN: 082322581X [cloth], ISBN: 0823225828 [paper]. This intriguing text details the fascinating story of a true American heroine. Virginia d'Albert-Lake risked everything to help conceal and protect downed Allied airmen in France during World War II. The book includes two main documents, d'Albert-Lake's diary, detailing her participation in the French Resistance until 1944 when she was taken as a prisoner of war, and her post-war memoir. The editor provides a detailed introduction about women in the French Resistance as well as careful annotations throughout the text. Other notable features of the book are an afterword, several appendices, an index and an essay by d'Albert-Lake's son Patrick.

http://www.fordhampress.com

AMERICAN HISTORY. Bailey, Jack. ***A Texas Cowboy's Journal: Up the Trail to Kansas in 1868.*** Edited by David Dary. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. 160 pp. $24.95. ISBN: 0806137371. This text was published in cooperation with the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum. It incorporates the earliest known daily diary of a cattle drive from Texas to Kansas. This firsthand account by Jack Bailey illuminates the life of cowboys in the post-Civil War era. The editor furnishes a detailed introduction and comprehensive footnotes.

http://www.oupress.com

AMERICAN HISTORY. ***Experiencing Mount Vernon: Eyewitness Accounts, 1784–1865.*** Edited by Jean B. Lee. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006. 304 pp. $45.00 [cloth] ISBN: 0813925142. $19.95 [paper] ISBN: 0813925150. This text presents eyewitness accounts of Mount Vernon, George Washington's grand estate. The editor gathered together a variety of sources including personal correspondence, journals, periodicals, and speeches in which individuals recalled their impressions of the historic landmark. The editor furnishes annotations as well as maps and photographs.

http://www.upress.virginia.edu

AMERICAN HISTORY. ***Letters of Valeria Belletti: Adventures of a Hollywood Secretary: Her Private Letters from Inside the Studios of the 1920s.*** Edited and Annotated by Cari Beauchamp. Foreword by Sam Goldwyn Jr. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. 236 pp. ISBN: 0520245512 [cloth] ISBN: 0520247809 [paper]. This text presents letters from Valeria Belletti to her friend Irma. Belletti worked at this time for Samuel Goldwyn and Cecil B. DeMille, and her letters document in detail living and working conditions in Hollywood culture during the transition from silent movies to "talkies."

http://www.ucpress.edu

AMERICAN HISTORY. ***Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes of the American Temperance Movement.*** Edited by Paul D. Sanders. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006. $49.95. 304 pp. ISBN: 9780826216458. This text encompasses over four hundred musical lyrics from the temperance movement. These lyrics were most often sung to common tunes like "The Star-Spangled Banner" or "Auld Lang Syne." The editor presents the sheet music for thirty-two such melodies, dividing them into five chapters: patriotic songs, hymns, traditional Scottish songs, popular songs, and Civil War songs. Alongside these melodies are placed the temperance lyrics as well as the lyricist's name. The editor incorporates many temperance cartoons throughout the book and an introductory essay for each chapter.

http://www.umsystem.edu/upress

AMERICAN POETRY. ***American War Poetry: An Anthology.*** Edited by Lorrie Goldensohn. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2006. 448 pp. $27.95. ISBN: 0231133103. This impressive poetry anthology consists of

wartime verse from the Revolutionary War through the Gulf War. The editor provides bibliographic information about each author and each place mentioned. Annotations place each poem in its historical and literary context.

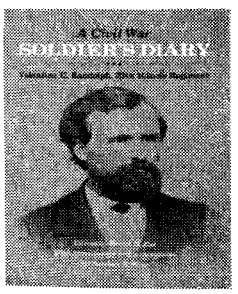
http://www.columbia.edu

BENTHAM, JEREMY. ***The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham: Correspondence: Volume 12: July 1824 to June 1828.*** Edited by Luke O'Sullivan and Catherine Fuller. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2006. $170.00. 580 pp. ISBN: 019927830X. This text consists of 301 letters both to and from Bentham, written between 1824 and 1828. Most of the correspondence is published here for the first time, collected from archives worldwide. The editors provide annotations to place each piece of correspondence in its historical context.

http://www.oup.com

BRITISH HISTORY. ***Narratives of the Poor in Eighteenth-Century Britain, 5 Volume Set.*** Edited by Alysa Levene, et al. London, England: Pickering and Chatto, 2006. 2000 pp. $750 ISBN: 1851968091. This text marks the first publication of such a diverse display of firsthand accounts of poverty. The book illuminates the experiences of the lower echelon of British society from the early 1700s to 1834 and the passage of the Poor Law Amendment Act. The editor offers a detailed general introduction as well as introductions for each of the five volumes. Headnotes and endnotes help contextualize each document and a comprehensive index appears in the final volume.

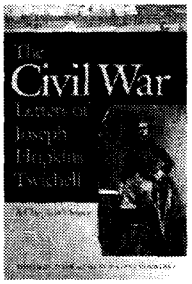
http://www.pickeringchatto.com



CIVIL WAR. ***A Civil War Soldier's Diary: Valentine C. Randolph, 39th Illinois Regiment.*** Edited by David D. Roe. Commentary & Annotations by Stephen R. Wise. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006. 290 pp. $35.00. ISBN: 0875803431. Valentine C. Randolph recorded his experiences with the 39th Illinois Regiment from his enlistment to his final day of military service in a personal diary. His journal mentions events not recounted in other Civil War era documents. The diary is not solely about the military manuevers of the

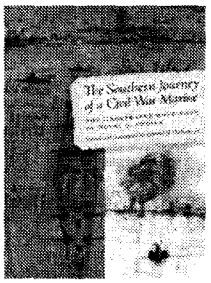
39th, but also delves into Randolph's views on military use of civilian property and racial prejudice in the military. The editor includes annotations, maps, a preface, and a detailed epilogue.

http://www.niupress.niu.edu



CIVIL WAR. ***The Civil War Letters of Joseph Hopkins Twitchell: A Chaplain's Story.*** Edited by Peter Messent and Steve Courtney. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006. 352 pp. $34.95. ISBN 0820326933. Joseph Hopkins Twitchell was a Civil War chaplain whose insider view of the life as a soldier and minister is preserved in correspondence to his relatives in Connecticut. The editors present a selection of this correspondence, which illuminates the hardships faced in war. Twitchell discusses among other things, politics, and slavery, the difficulty in counseling other soldiers, tending to the injured and even burial of fallen soldiers. The editors include an introduction, extensive annotations and an afterword.

http://www.ugapress.org



CIVIL WAR. ***The Southern Journey of a Civil War Marine: The Illustrated Note-Book of Henry O. Gusley.*** Edited by Edward T. Cotham Jr. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. 256 pp. $24.95. ISBN: 0292712839. Henry O. Gusley recounted his experiences as a U.S. Marine during the Civil War, serving off the Gulf Coast. His journal is one of the only surviving firsthand accounts of a Civil War marine. The editor incorporates drawings by Daniel Nestell, a doctor who served at one point on the same vessel as Gusley. The editor also provides a detailed introduction and comprehensive annotations.

http://www.utexas.edu

DEFOE, DANIEL. ***Religious and Didactic Writings of Daniel Defoe: 2 Sets of 5 Volumes.*** Edited by W. R. Owens and P. N. Furbank, et al. London, England: Pickering and Chatto, 2005. 1616 pp. $725.00. ISBN: 1851967389: Volumes 1–5. 2000 pp. $725.00. ISBN: 1851967435: Volumes 6–10. These two sets are part of the *Pickering Masters Series*. These treatises offer insight into the religious and political beliefs of the author of *Robinson Crusoe*. These

writings are often deemed to be Defoe's most influential and were surpassed in sales only by his famous novel. The editor provides an introduction, detailed explanatory notes, and a consolidated index.

http://www.pickeringchatto.com

FERGUSON, ADAM. ***The Manuscripts of Adam Ferguson.*** Edited by Vincenzo Merolle, et al. London, England: Pickering and Chatto, 2006. 464 pp. $195.00 ISBN: 1851968172. This book incorporates over thirty essays on a wide variety of subject matter by one of the leaders of the Scottish Enlightenment. This volume encompasses his writings on philosophy, anthropology and history. The editors provide well-crafted introductions that to historically contextualize Ferguson's works.

http://www.pickeringchatto.com

FRYE, NORTHROP. ***The Collected Works of Northrop Frye Volume 18: The Secular Scripture and Other Writings on Critical Theory, 1976–1991.*** Edited by Joseph Adamson and Jean Wilson. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2006. 625 pp. $103.00. ISBN: 0802039456. This volume includes *The Secular Scripture* as well as thirty other writings on literary criticism and theory by Northrop Frye. The editor furnishes a detailed introduction, maps, and an epilogue.

http://www.utppublishing.com

GARVEY, MARCUS. ***The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Volume X: Africa for the Africans, 1923–1945.*** Edited by Robert A. Hill, et al. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. 975 pp. $90.00. ISBN: 0520247329. Previous volumes of the *Marcus Garvey Papers* focused on the his repatriation movement in the United States. Volume X explores the role of Africans in the creation of Garvey's movement. The edition is an impressive collection of African documents regarding nationalism in pre-World War II Africa. The editor provides an introduction as well as photos, maps, and illustrations.

http://www.ucpress.edu

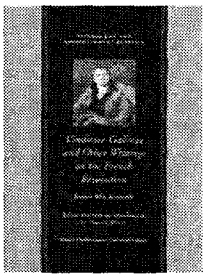
JEFFERSON, THOMAS. ***The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Volume 32: 1 June 1800 to 16 February 1801.*** Edited by Barbara B. Oberg, et al. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005. 718 pp. $99.50 ISBN: 0691124892. This volume follows Jefferson through his presidential campaign and its tan-

gled outcome. Aaron Burr and Jefferson tied in the electoral college, which resulted in six days of balloting in Congress. The editor includes a foreword as well as a Jefferson chronology and an appendix.

http://www.pupress.princeton.edu

JEFFERSON, THOMAS. ***The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series: Volume 2: 16 November 1809 to 11 August 1810.*** Edited by J. Jefferson Looney, et al. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006. 812 pp. $99.50. ISBN: 0691124906. This volume illuminates Jefferson's life immediately after the end of his presidency in 1809, encompassing over five hundred letters both to and from Jefferson.

http://www.pupress.princeton.edu



MACKINTOSH, JAMES. ***Vindiciae Gallicae and Other Writings of the French Revolution.*** Edited by Donald Winch. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2006. 341 pp. $20.00 [cloth] ISBN: 0865974624. $12.00 [paper] ISBN: 0865974632. This volume is the first modern edition of the writings of James Mackintosh, lawyer, member of Parliament, historian and philosopher, and it features extensive annotations. The book includes Mackintosh's writings on the French Revolution and reform needed in the British Parliament. Notable features of the text are an introduction, a note on the texts used in this edition and a chronology of Mackintosh's life.

http://www.libertyfund.org

MARSHALL, JOHN. ***The Papers of John Marshall: Vol. XII: Correspondence, Papers, and Selected Judicial Opinions, January 1831–July 1835, with Addendum, June 1783–January 1829.*** Edited by Charles F. Hobson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. 656 pp. $80.00. ISBN: 0807830194. This volume of *The Papers of John Marshall* is the final book in the series, covering the largest portion of Marshall's surviving correspondence. This volume also includes judicial opinions from Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831) and Worcester v. Georgia (1832), along with editorial notes explaining the background and circumstances.

http://uncpress.unc.edu

MONTGOMERY, LUCY MAUD. ***After Green Gables: L. M. Montgomery's Letters to Ephraim Weber, 1916–1941.*** Edited by Hildi Froese Tiessen and Paul Tiessen. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2006. 320 pp. ISBN: 080236074 [cloth] $70.00. ISBN: 0802084591 [paper] $34.95. This carefully annotated text reveals the intense friendship between Montgomery and Ephraim Weber. The pair corresponded for almost thirty years and their highly intellectual interchanges delved into a variety of subject matter, from pacificism to literary modernism. A detailed introduction and photographs complement the text.

http://www.utppublishing.com

NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY. ***The Collected Speeches of Sagoyewatha, or Red Jacket.*** Edited by Granville Ganter. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2006. 296 pp. $39.95. ISBN: 0815630964. This is the first comprehensive collection of Sagoyewatha's speeches. This Native American diplomat, also called Red Jacket, was known for his oratorical abilities and the book encompasses speeches from throughout his career (1790–1830). An introduction and a biographical glossary complement the text. The editor also incorporates detailed essays that provide a historical context for the Sagoyewatha's speeches.

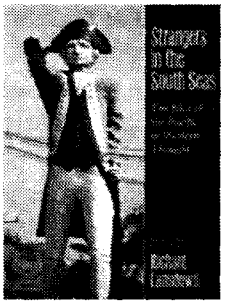
http://www.syracuseuniversitypress.syr.edu

NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY. ***Keewaydinoquay, Stories from My Youth.*** Edited by Lee Boisvert. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006. 184 pp. $45.00 [cloth] ISBN: 0472099205. $18.95 [paper] ISBN: 0472069209. This edition documents, the childhood of Keewaydinoquay Peschel, a Michigan woman with both Native American and European roots growing up in the early twentieth century.

http://www.press.umich.edu

NINETEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE. ***Clotel,*** **or** ***The President's Daughter: A Narrative of Slave Life in the United States.*** William Wells Brown. Edited by Christopher Mulvey. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005. Digital Edition. ISBN: 9780813925684. *Clotel* was the first African-American novel and was written by a slave. The author published multiple editions of this novel. This digital edition unifies all the various editions. The editor provides introductory essays and comprehensive annotations.

http://www.upress.virginia.edu



PACIFIC HISTORY. ***Strangers in the South Seas: The Idea of the Pacific in Western Thought.*** Edited by Richard Lansdown. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006. 496 pp. $24.00 [paper] ISBN: 0824830427. $55.00 [cloth] ISBN 0824829026. This volume involves writings from a variety of explorers both famous and relatively obscure from 1521 to the 1980s. These documents illustrate the connection between the South Seas and the Western world. The editors furnish detailed annotations and numerous illustrations.

http://www.uhpress.hawaii.edu

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM. ***Othello.*** Edited by Michael Neill. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2006. 400 pp. $95.00. ISBN: 0198129203. The text of this volume has been freshly edited with reference to the 1622 Quarto, the 1623 Folio, and the 1632 Second Quarto. Appendices include a discussion of dating problems, a description of the music used in the play and a full translation of the novella upon which the play was based.

http://www.oup.com

TAFT, ROBERT A. ***The Papers of Robert A. Taft, Volume 4, 1949–1953.*** Edited by Clarence E. Wunderlin Jr. Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2006. 544 pp. $65.00. ISBN 0873388518. This final volume of *The Papers of Robert A. Taft* details Taft's post-World War II career as well as his congressional experience, concluding with his death in 1953.

http://dept.kent.edu/upress

TROTTER, CATHARINE. ***Catharine Trotter's*** **The Adventures of a Young Lady** ***and other works.*** Edited by Anne Kelley. London, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2006. 280 pp. ISBN: 0754609677. This comprehensive edition includes all of British poet Catharine Trotter's works printed prior to 1701, including a novella, two plays, and many poems. The introduction to the volume produces a detailed bibliographic sketch of the seventeeth century author and illuminates the historical context of her works. This book sheds light on Trotter and her literary circle as well as the lives of British women in the seventeenth century.

http://www.ashgate.com

WARREN, ROBERT PENN. ***Selected Letters of Robert Penn Warren, Volume Three: Triumph and Transition, 1943–1952.*** Edited by Randy Hendricks and James A. Perkins. Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 2006. 472 pp. $49.95. ISBN: 0807130850. Volume III follows Warren's life from his experiences at the University of Minnesota through his affiliation with the Library of Congress. The text also illuminates the creative process of writing his award-winning novel *All the King's Men.* The editors provide annotations and an introduction by William Bedford Clark.

http://www.lsu.edu/lsupress

WORLD WAR II. ***The Cunningham Papers Volume II: The Triumph of Allied Sea Power 1942–1946.*** Edited by Michael Simpson. London, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2006. $165.00. 472 pp. ISBN: 0754655989. This text was published in conjunction with the Navy Records Society Publications. Admiral Sir Andrew Cunningham headed the British Admiralty Delegation during World War II and attempted to broker a closer relationship with the United States. His personal correspondence and some official documents are contained in this volume, as well his diary from the spring of 1944 to 1946. The editor includes a preface, a comprehensive chronology of the life and career of the admiral, and several maps.

http://www.ashgate.com