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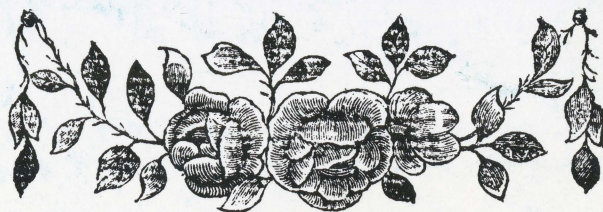
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# DOCUMENTARY EDITING

March 1998

Vol. 20, No. 1



## *CIRCULAR LETTER,*

OF THE

## HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SIR,

A SOCIETY has lately been instituted in this town, called the HISTORICAL SOCIETY; the professed design of which is, to collect, preserve and communicate, materials for a complete history of this country, and accounts of all valuable efforts of human ingenuity and industry, from the beginning of its settlement. In pursuance of this plan, they have already amassed a large quantity of books, pamphlets and manuscripts; and are still in search of more: A catalogue of which will be printed for the information of the public.

THEY have also given encouragement to the publication of a weekly paper, to be called THE AMERICAN APOLLO; in which will be given the result of their inquiries, into the natural, political and ecclesiastical history of this country. A proposal for the printing of this paper is here inclosed to you; and it is requested that you would promote subscriptions for it; and contribute to its value and importance, by attention to the articles annexed. The Society  
beg

The Association for Documentary Editing

## Documentary Editing

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*Cover:* This Circular Letter, 1791, announces the plans of the Massachusetts Historical Society to publish documents and solicits donations for that purpose. The MHS is the recipient of the 1997 Butterfield Award. Photo courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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# Genotypes, Phenotypes, and Complex Human Behavior Including Scholarly Editing

HERMAN J. SAATKAMP, JR.

For quite some time I have been puzzled by the role of genetics in explaining both human characteristics and behavior. This curiosity led to several odd occupations for a philosopher/editor. With a biochemist, I team-teach an honors course in genetics, and recently I became a faculty member and administrator in a college of medicine as well as a professor of pediatrics in a hospital-clinic research institution. These are not positions usually open to editors or philosophers, and one might wonder how they came about.

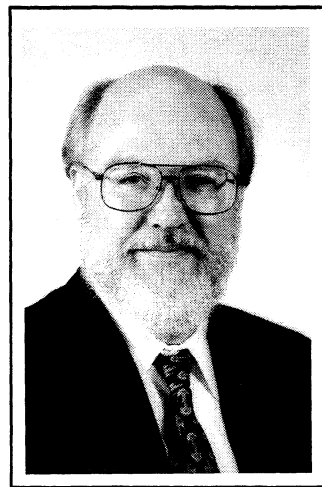
Intellectually, George Santayana's naturalism is the springboard for my interest. Although he maintains that all human behavior may be explained adequately through the sciences, Santayana is not a reductive naturalist. Aesthetic and imaginative qualities make life worthwhile, and these always will be missing from any consistent scientific account of our behavior. Our lives are determined by heritable traits, environment, and culture, but this is no reason for despair or drab resignation. Santayana's point is that knowledge of the determinant structures of human life should lead us to cherish the creative, artistic, and spiritual side of human life. His is a festive outlook that accepts the determinant status of all life.

In some ways, approaches to scholarly editing parallel Santayana's perspective. In preparing editions (historical, literary, scientific, and philosophical), we attempt to account for each determinant aspect of the edition, basing editorial decisions on the best available evidence and clear argument. As in explanations of human conduct, we can never do so with satisfying completeness

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HERMAN J. SAATKAMP JR. delivered this address at the annual banquet of the Association for Documentary Editing in Boston on 17 October 1997. He is the general editor of *The Works of George Santayana*, Professor and Head of the Department of Humanities in Medicine, and Professor of Philosophy at Texas A&M University.

even if the task is theoretically possible. At least two reasons account for this incompleteness. First, the uncertainty of all human knowledge, particularly in complex structures, makes it difficult to claim definitive results. And second, aesthetic qualities are rarely, if ever, captured in empirical explanations.



ADE President Herman J. Saatkamp, Jr.

Imagine we could find a text in which every decision we make would be adequately justified. Even then, the delight of our work as editors would be missing. The values of the editions, of the authors and editors, and of our scholarship would not be parts of even complete explanations of our texts. They may be seen

as outgrowths of the process or as basic structures guiding our efforts, but either way, the delight of editorial discoveries, of resolving puzzles and problems, of collaborative efforts and sudden understandings, are missing in any theoretically complete genetic text, just as they are missing in any complete genetic explanation of human behavior.

Expanding on the parallels between human genetics and genetic texts, in this article I turn first to the simple notion that genotype determines phenotype and explore possible parallels in scholarly editing. Then I address complex human behaviors, including editing, and their possible genetic explanations. Throughout I make two immoderate claims: (1) editing is the basis of all life and

(2) even if we could give a full explanation of scholarly editing, we would miss much of the delight of what we do. Finally, I turn to celebrate the work of the Santayana Edition and members of the Association for Documentary Editing.

### **Editing: the Basis of Life**

For members of the ADE, editing is the basis of our professional life, but it is more. It is the basis of all life. Although genetics is a relatively new science, particularly to the medical school curriculum, one may assume that most educated persons are now familiar with the double helix of DNA and with the notion of cell replication. In cell replication, an essential feature of human life, we find a molecular editor that is responsible for reproducing a daughter duplicate of a mother cell. If this replication is not done with considerable accuracy, then life will not continue. Hence as the mother cell splits its double helix, a molecular editor makes certain that each strand is joined with a complementary strand of DNA that replicates the mother cell. The geneticists refer to DNA polymerase as the *molecular editor*; a less scientific but more accurate description is that of a *biological scholarly editor*.

A molecule of DNA polymerase edits the duplication of every cell, assuring accuracy and making critical corrections when mistakes are made. This is an enormous task. There are about 60 trillion cells in the human body. A normal human cell contains between 50,000 and 100,000 genes made of 3 billion nucleotide pairs, and it takes about seven hours to make a copy of one human cell. It is equivalent to reading a thousand five-hundred-page books in which each letter represents one nucleotide in a cell.<sup>1</sup> DNA replication makes a mistake in about 1 out of every 10,000 nucleotides added to build a new strand of the double helix. The proofreading ability of DNA polymerase reduces the actual error rate to 1 in 10 million. But even such a high accuracy rate would not assure the continuance of life. Finally, repair genes cut the error rate to 1 in a billion nucleotides. Not bad for any scholarly editor. Furthermore, it is important to emphasize the DNA polymerase molecule does not appear to function in any rote, mechanical fashion, but rather makes critical judgments about the editing process as replication proceeds.

Using some imagination, one may think of this cellular editorial process as similar to genetic textual theory. Genetic editions are defined as “textual editions that try to offer the reader access to more than one level of textual creation within a single page.”<sup>2</sup> Whether the approach is that of copy-text, synoptic, synthetic, collabora-

tive, or some other editorial process, the basic idea is to provide the genetic evolution of the text in question. In cell replication, the original DNA structure of the cell may be thought of as the copy-text. DNA polymerase and repair genes work to assure an accurate replication of the cell, but intervening factors cause changes in the nucleotides’ arrangement. When this happens, either our little molecular editor removes errors, inserting the proper complementary nucleotide, or it appears to make “decisions” about the process when evidence seems lacking—not unlike a gifted scholarly editor. This process of one cell becoming two is modeled in textual scholarship by the copy-text theory. In the creation of new life, when two cells become one, the process is much more like synthetic editions, or, more sexually suggestive, collaborative editions.

Genetic editions enable us and others to understand how texts evolved through their past and to their present forms. The goal of the Human Genome Project is similar: an effort to understand how humans developed their present characteristics. Within fifteen years the Human Genome Project (HGP) will be complete, accomplishing a full mapping and sequencing of the human genome that will inform and enhance our understanding of human nature and behavior. Unlike the HGP, there is little hope of completing genetic texts of all published works, let alone the main ones. The impossibility of this task is due to the complexity of each text and the great dissimilarities of texts. The human genome represents the commonality of each human where our DNA structure is greatly similar and where the differences are determinable. Furthermore, society places far greater emphasis on determining the human genome than on genetic texts because of the obvious benefits (and dangers) of such knowledge to present and future generations. Although the objects of research are different, geneticists and textual scholars share a common task: carefully laying out, describing, and analyzing heritable traits. As a result, there is much in common between the research methods of these two seemingly disparate disciplines, and this article will adumbrate some of these commonalities.

### **Simplicity: Genotype Causes Phenotype**

If one had full knowledge of the evolution of a text and if that process were clear and straightforward, the editorial process would be simple. One might well present an original text which should be replicated in each evolutionary stage, unless there were authorial revisions. This linear methodology parallels both cell replication and the

copy-text theory. If the holograph has gone through changes that are clearly defined, the critical edition text may be seen as the best available replication of a work as intended by the author. However, with complex texts involving many social radiations of influence, it is more difficult to understand the process, let alone produce a genetic text that accurately describes the full evolution of the text.

Much the same is true with the role of genetics in explaining human behavior. Some of our characteristics are expressions of single genes: hitchhiker's thumb, widow's peak, attached or unattached earlobes, and dimples are examples. If you have the genotype, you will have the phenotype regardless of your culture and environment—unless you do something drastic like amputate your thumb or earlobes. With more complex human behavior, the circumstances are more difficult, although there are some powerful genetic explanations of some complex human behavior, just as there are rich copy-text explanations of complex texts. In textual scholarship, there are many complex editions that have used copy-text theory, including literary and historical texts modeled after the Greg-Bowers-Tanselle approach, as well as several philosophical editions (James and Santayana).

Huntington's disease is a good example of a complex behavior explained by a genetic abnormality. An overlong CAG repeat near the tip of chromosome 4 will inevitably lead to Huntington's disease, an autosomal dominant neurodegenerative disorder with symptoms of worsening gait, uncontrollable movement, cognitive decline, and personality changes leading to insanity. Normally there are 10–29 repeats, but those with HD have more than 40, and recent research suggests that the number of repeats correlates with the time of onset and the length of the disease. At present, if you have the high number of repeats, you will have HD. Genotype causes phenotype. The disease usually appears when the individual is between thirty and fifty years of age, and death normally occurs within ten to fifteen years after the onset of the disease. If an individual has the CAG codon re-

peats, then regardless of the person's environment, family, or culture, that individual appears destined to a very difficult ending of life. No doubt this accounts for the high rate of suicide among people with HD. And we do not have any means of editing out the repeats or altering their effect, as yet.<sup>3</sup>

### Complexity: Social and Environmental Influences

Although there are examples of complex human behavior that are adequately explained through genetics, there are others that make one doubt the fullness of genetic explanations. Is it likely we would ever discover the genetic base for becoming a scholarly editor, accepting an office in ADE, or winning the Texas lottery? These complex human behaviors seem too rooted and shaped by environment and culture to be explained by any simple model of genotype causing phenotype. Indeed, perhaps the great majority of human behaviors lie beyond any full genetic explanation even if all human actions have a genetic base.

As textual scholars, we should be among the first to recognize that a simple reductive approach to complex

behaviors, including editing, is likely to fail. Most of us have appointments in universities or research institutions, and if one looked at the history of those institutions it is unlikely one could project their current status based on their condition at the turn of the last century. Texas A&M University, for example, is now ranked fifth in externally funded support among the major research institutions, fourth in endowment, and first in full-time undergraduate enrollment, but one hardly could have predicted this from the small, all-male, military institution of the first half of this century. Individuals are much the same. Santayana was born in 1863 in Madrid, and he spent the first nine years of his life in a small, parochial Spanish village, Ávila. From this rather modest and narrow background, it would not have been possible to predict that he would appear on the cover of *Time* (3 February 1936) or that his novel and autobiography both would be best-selling



George Santayana in 1889, the year he completed his studies at Harvard. Photography collection, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

books in the United States. As textual scholars, we also know the rise and fall of “definitive editions.” In this classic example of attempting to reduce all editorial procedures to a copy-text format, we found that the social radiations affecting many texts had great import in determining the final state of our texts.

The parallel between producing genetic texts and the HGP, I hope, is clear. Single-gene explanations of human behavior function much like the copy-text theory of textual scholarship, and the task of the editor in replicating the authorial text is much like that of the DNA polymerase in replicating a cell. However, some complex texts and complex behaviors may be difficult to reduce to simple explanations when social and environmental influences are clear determinants in their present status. Hence, even when the HGP is complete, there will be much left to do. Complex behaviors (Tourette syndrome, sexuality, novelty seeking, neuroticism, religiosity, fear, etc.) will need to be correlated with their genetic bases, and the extent of genetic influence will have to be calculated beyond the mere linkage studies now available—much like the efforts to indicate the wide-ranging social impacts on historical, literary, philosophical, and scientific texts. This is not to deny the great importance of the new genetics for human society. Medical practice will be reshaped as we map, sequence, and correlate our genome with defects and diseases. Parenting will involve more responsibility for the selection of children’s traits, as it already does for *in vitro* fertilization, and in the future these options will be considerably greater than they are now. Forensic science will move forward in developing more readily available “genetic fingerprints” for each individual that have wide-ranging military, industrial, and legal uses. And social institutions, including education, may receive considerable benefit by simply knowing more about the determinant structures of our lives and education, thereby being able to structure learning and its environment in a more productive manner.

A negative side of genetics and textual scholarship is the effort to provide favored approaches that exclude, without justification, other perspectives. In textual theory, one could view the early CEEA approach as a part of this negative side, while appraising the current open-textured view of the MLA Committee on Scholarly Editions as representing a perspective more open to evidence. In genetics this exclusionary role has a far more devastating history and should not be dismissed. The Nazi regime is not so far past nor so far removed to merit dismissal. Beginning with economic accountability, borrowed largely from the United States, Nazi Ger-

many produced and published a cost-accounting approach for maintaining “genetically defective” individuals in their society. These costs were projected as being borne on the shoulders of the productive and genetically normal citizens. We know, or should know, the horrors of the Holocaust, Germany’s misconstrual of genetic information that supported one culture over all others. We may not be as familiar with the American efforts in the same direction: sterilizations of “mentally defective” individuals at the turn of the last century, severe limits on immigrants from regions and continents considered less genetically desirable, and state fairs giving prizes for the best genetically endowed men and women (all Caucasian, of course). With the Holocaust as our backdrop, we should recognize that greater knowledge of the human genome increases our responsibility for heritable traits of future generations. We will be able to eliminate or ameliorate many heritable diseases, but we should be mindful of Santayana’s account of a fanatic: a person who redoubles his efforts having lost sight of his goal.

Are there lessons for textual scholarship to be drawn from the tragic history of eugenics? Obviously, textual tyranny, even in its worst forms, does not have the same horror or human devastation as genetic tyranny. But one can ask in a softer manner what are the results of textual tyranny where evidence is ruled out simply because it does not fit a favored editorial theory. Division, hostility, conflicts among colleagues, and loss of scholarship and funding seem to result. Partisan heat over false distinctions leads to flawed judgments and textual products. As a result, we as an association need to keep our aim on attaining textual projects of the highest quality and work together to increase the current level of scholarship, support, and intellectual advancement. This is not a simple task. Many determinant features impede our working together: decreasing government and university support for editorial projects coupled with the increased difficulties of maintaining and supporting professional staffs. However, unless we continue to work in a concerted fashion, we will experience fewer funds and less cohesion, and, perhaps more significantly, we will miss the delight of cooperative endeavors.

### **Santayana’s Festive Naturalism**

The enchantment of cooperative endeavors is illustrated by work on the many editions represented in ADE, each rooted in the values of each project. The Santayana Edition is grounded in Santayana’s philosophical contributions.<sup>4</sup> Focusing on our fated predicament while delight-

ing in life is one of Santayana's overlooked perspectives. Indeed, many of his outlooks were far ahead of his time: he was a nonreductive naturalist before naturalism grew popular; he appreciated multiple perfections before multiculturalism became an issue; and he naturalized Platonism, updated Aristotle, fought off idealisms, and provided a brilliant and sensitive account of the spiritual life without being a religious believer.

Accepting one's fated predicament (genetic, cultural, environmental) leads to a form of disinterestedness that is imaginative and speculative. Santayana often refers to this perspective as that of a traveler on holiday. The traveler enjoys cultures without being bound by them, delights in the festivities but does not believe in the local myths. In short, one understands and sympathizes with one's heritage, and that of others, while recognizing that heritable traits are best viewed imaginatively. Science can work at ferreting out the causal accounts of living, but you and I may delight in life if our heritage and environment permit.

*Spirit* is Santayana's term for consciousness or awareness that is generated when the physical elements of the world unknowingly attain harmony. Spirit is "precisely the voice of order in nature, the music, as full of light as of motion, of joy as of peace, that comes with an even partial and momentary perfection in some vital rhythm." Such harmony is temporary, and the disorganized natural forces permit spirit to arise "only spasmodically, to suffer and to fail. For just as the birth of spirit is joyous, because some nascent harmony evokes it, so the rending or smothering of that harmony, if not sudden, imposes useless struggles and suffering."<sup>5</sup> The insecure equilibrium of the natural world must be recognized and accepted before one can celebrate the birth of reason and spirit in the natural world. Such a celebration leads to the delight of imagination and artistry, and to the acceptance of the insecure circumstances of one's liberation. The instability of the physical world makes the celebration all the more significant, makes one's mental remove from fate all the more vital and rich.

The renewed interest in Santayana is perhaps understandable given our *fin de siècle* mood. Even his most often quoted epigram calls attention to the need for understanding our history: those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it. Reexamination of one's heritage and of one's prospects for the future are traditional marks of significant cultural turning points, and one small reason for hope in our future is that more scholars are turning to an examination of Santayana's thought. Santayana's clear sense of being European pro-

vides a unique appraisal of American character and thought, one that now we are forced to face with the growth and development of a united Europe. His concern about American youthfulness and energy not being wise enough to carry future generations forward into the complexity of relationships with other cultures is a concern that is now inescapable. His Hispanic heritage, coupled with his feeling of being an outsider in America, captures much of the apprehension and concern that is unavoidable as we begin to find our *milieu* becoming factionalized and fragmented. And his sense of the complexity and joy of life are clearly features that we can learn from as we move forward into the next millennium. There is much to learn from a study of Santayana.

One of the lessons of Santayana is to celebrate when you can, and this presidential address is one such occasion. The principal joy of my professional career is the Santayana Edition and its diligent and caring staff: Kris Frost, associate editor; Brenda Bridges, assistant editor; Donna Hanna-Calvert, former associate editor; many research assistants, librarians, archivists, and countless more associated with publishing houses, academic departments, and other groups. This past year has been an intense year for ADE because of the intrigue of federal funding and of NHPRC policy. Throughout it all, I have enjoyed the support and energy of the ADE council: Cullom Davis, Chuck Hobson, Sharon Stevens, Phil Chase, Tom Mason, Judith James, Beverly Palmer, and Diana Hadley. The work of Charlene Bickford, chair of the Federal Policy Committee, has been outstanding along with that of Leslie Rowland. Sixty-seven people served on ADE committees. And, of course, I tip my hat to Celeste Walker, who chaired the Local Arrangements Committee that made this such a successful meeting.

## Notes

Being a philosopher, I am delighted to leave ADE with a conundrum. This address was delivered with the assistance of a computer presentation which cannot be a part of the published format of *Documentary Editing*. As a result, one may ask which was my presidential address: the one I gave in Boston or the published form? This puzzle is a part of every address given orally since much is omitted in any published form: inflection, gestures, guttural sounds, laughter, smiles, frowns, etc. The computer format only highlights these omissions because what is projected from the computer is largely material that could appear in published formats, but would cause the text to be considerably longer and to have a considerably different appearance and design.

*Continued on page 26*



# 1997 ADE Meeting Resolutions

## RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS

*Whereas*, when the National Historical Publications and Records Commission voted in November 1996 to make major changes in its strategic plan that would have endangered the future of more than 40 historical editions currently supported by the Commission's grants program, the Representative of the Organization of American Historians (OAH) on the Commission, Professor William Chafe, opposed these changes.

*Whereas* the Council of the OAH then acted quickly and decisively by passing a resolution protesting the changes and requesting a reconsideration.

*Whereas* the Presidents of the OAH during 1997, Professors Linda Kerber and George Fredrickson, provided active leadership in educating the historical profession and the wider public about the potential impact of the NHPRC changes and stirring the OAH membership to act.

*Whereas* the Executive Director of the OAH, Arnita Jones, supported the effort to publicize the issue and worked actively with the OAH Council and others to plan strategy and disseminated the OAH position.

*Whereas* the pressure from the OAH and other organizations caused the NHPRC to set in motion a process to review its November actions.

*Whereas* the OAH supplied excellent, well-thought-out re-

sponses to the questions posed in the review process and encouraged other historical organizations to do the same.

*Whereas* the leadership of the OAH worked to collect the funds to publish and helped gather over 100 signatures of prominent historians for an open letter, supporting increased funding for the National Endowment for the Humanities and the NHPRC to assist documentary editions. This open letter was sent to the President of the United States and the members of the United States Congress and published on "Humanities on the Hill Day" in the *Washington Times*.

*Whereas* the OAH's representative on the NHPRC pushed for both the restoration of editions to a top priority of the Commission and the importance of *all* the ongoing editions to the historical community at the Commission meeting that reconsidered the strategic plan.

*Whereas*, the compromise reached at the NHPRC's June meeting, while it falls short of making the kind of commitment to the ongoing and future editions desired by the historical organizations, represents a major achievement, given the radical changes that had been voted for in November 1996.

*Therefore, be it RESOLVED* by the members of the Association for Documentary Editing (ADE) at their annual business meeting that the ADE expresses its sincere and heartfelt gratitude to the members of the OAH and their leaders for their steadfast and eloquent support of historical editions.

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## RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

*Whereas*, when the National Historical Publications and Records Commission voted in November 1996 to make major changes in its strategic plan that would have endangered the future of more than 40 historical editions currently supported by the Commission's grants program, the Representative of the American Historical Association (AHA) on the Commission, Professor Constance B. Schultz, opposed these changes.

*Whereas* the Council and membership of the AHA then acted quickly and decisively by passing a resolution protesting the changes and requesting a reconsideration.

*Whereas* the President of the AHA during 1997, Professor Joyce Appleby, and the Vice President for Research, Professor Stanley N. Katz, provided active leadership in educating the historical profession and the wider public about the potential impact of the NHPRC changes and stirring the AHA membership to act.

*Whereas* the pressure from the AHA and other organizations caused the NHPRC to set in motion a process to review its November actions.

*Whereas* the AHA supplied excellent, well-thought-out responses to the questions posed in the review process and encouraged other historical organizations to do the same.

*Whereas* the leadership of the AHA worked to collect the funds to publish and helped gather over 100 signatures of prominent historians for an open letter, supporting increased funding for the National Endowment for the Humanities and the NHPRC to assist documentary editions. This open letter was sent to the President of the United States and the members of the United States Congress and published on "Humanities on the Hill Day" in the *Washington Times*.

*Whereas* the AHA's representative on the NHPRC pushed for both the restoration of editions to a top priority of the Commission and the importance of *all* the ongoing editions to the historical community at the Commission meeting that reconsidered the strategic plan.

*Whereas*, the compromise reached at the NHPRC's June meeting, while it falls short of making the kind of commitment to the ongoing and future editions desired by the historical organizations, represents a major achievement, given the radical changes that had been voted for in November 1996.

*Therefore, be it RESOLVED* by the members of the Association for Documentary Editing (ADE) at their annual business meeting that the ADE expresses its sincere and heartfelt gratitude to the members of the AHA and their leaders for their steadfast and eloquent support of historical editions.

## RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO SUPPORTERS OF NHPRC RECONSIDERATION

*Resolved*, that Members of the Association for Documentary Editing, assembled in their annual business meeting, thank their representative to the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, their colleagues of the association's federal policy committee, and the countless historians and historical associations, whose hard work, persistence, and strong collaboration with editors made it possible to gain reconsideration of the commission's 1996 strategic plan, and, in June, to restore some documentary editions to the top priority for grants.

Further, the members vote to put the association on record as urging their representatives, allies, and friends to seek full restoration of documentary editions into the plans and priorities of the commission. Without such restoration, the commission jeopardizes its own significant achievement, a program to ensure the availability of documentary editions exploring not only the founding era but also the full span of American history and the diversity of the American historical experience.

By full restoration is meant, first, placing within the newest strategic plan, an explicit commitment to the thirty-six editions initiated and endorsed by the commission.

Second, full restoration means that the commission accept its responsibility to support to completion those editorial projects that it has initiated or endorsed, provided those projects meet professional standards of progress, excellence, and fiscal responsibility.

Third, full restoration means that all documentary editing, that is, the historical publications named in the commission's title, be given the highest priority in awarding grants, without drawing arbitrary lines about the privileges of any specific editions.

Finally, full restoration means that the commission resume its program of identifying new sources of national significance that merit editorial attention and supporting new projects.

Recognizing that these goals define long-term objectives, that they will require the same degree of hard work, persistence, and strong collaboration exhibited by the editorial and historical communities in 1997, the members resolve to mobilize to achieve these ends, direct the association's resources to the task, and call on the historical community for their assistance.

—More resolutions on page 24—

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### Lyman H. Butterfield Award

*The 1997 Lyman H. Butterfield Award was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society at the annual meeting of the Association. It was accepted by Louis L. Tucker. Ann Gordon made the presentation on behalf of the Association:*

The Association for Documentary Editing awards the Lyman H. Butterfield prize to the Massachusetts Historical Society in recognition of its achievements in documentary editing. Since 1792 the Society has published historical documents in order to preserve and circulate them for the benefit of researchers. As well, it has cooperated with editors who published manuscripts found within its research collections. This two-hundred-year commitment to multiply the copies of useful sources spans several revolutions in the technology of publication. Its first published sources appeared in newspaper inserts, to be later assembled and bound. Books followed, in series that have survived the typographical changes from printer's tray to page-making software. As if responding to a cry for faster multiplication and circulation of the sources, in the twentieth century the Society seized upon the photostat during World War I and microphotography after World War II.

The Society has well earned a reputation as a great publisher of American historical sources. Volume is an insufficient but necessary measure of its achievement. There have been eighty-eight volumes of the *Collections*

*of the Massachusetts Historical Society* since 1792. Edited documents have also appeared in the 108 volumes of the newer series of *Proceedings*. While the series continued, the Society published 430 titles in its *Photostat Americana* from 1915 to 1943 and, since adopting microfilm for the publication of manuscripts, it has produced 1,600 reels, including the precedent-setting microfilm of its Adams Family Papers, completed in 1959. Books continue to appear. In 1990 the Society completed its edition in sixty-five volumes of the *Journals of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1715–1779*, and the ambitious plan, launched in 1954, to edit the *Adams Papers* has resulted in thirty-six volumes to date. More editions are under way.

The Society has built other legacies as well for modern documentary editing. Here legendary editors have worked and redefined the field by their practice. To name two whose works mark turning points in the field, Worthington Chauncey Ford served as Editor from 1909 to 1929, and Lyman Butterfield came here in 1954 to edit the Adams Papers. It was Butterfield who said of Ford, "He knew what to do with a freshly discovered paper . . . if it threw light on a dark place in the past: Get it into print!" Butterfield set a more deliberate pace that called for greater historical and textual scholarship in documentary publication.

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# Margaret Fuller's Silences

ROBERT N. HUDSPETH

Silences are editors' bad luck: someone before us loses the evidence; our subject outsmarts us and refuses to say what we want most to hear from her; we ask questions she never even thought to answer. Let me make up some biographical conclusions from my reading of Margaret Fuller's letters: first, she had no interest in radical abolitionism or even in more moderate antislavery efforts in New England. Second, she almost never read and cared nothing for Charles Dickens, the most popular writer of his time. Third, she never rode the horse trolleys in New York City during her twenty-month stay there; and finally, she was a brave sexual rebel, for she never married Giovanni Angelo Ossoli, though they had a child and she introduced him as her husband.<sup>1</sup>

I must confess that none of her biographers make these claims, though they have read the same letters that I read. What I am doing is reading her silences. I am attributing substance to silence (which, by the way, I must note is a clever game played among our colleagues who embrace postmodern speculation). Because Fuller never once mentions William Lloyd Garrison by name I am fancifully assuming she ignored him; because she has only one mention of a Dickens novel and because she is silent about his triumphant visit to Boston in 1842, I leap to the conclusion that he meant nothing to her. In the same way, she never mentions public transportation in any city, nor does she describe her wedding to Ossoli. (It is only this last silence that has in fact drawn biographers into an endless speculation.)

These conclusions are admittedly fanciful, but the silences we find in editions of letters are far from make-believe. The very random nature of how we get our evidence lies at the heart of our problem. For us to edit letters someone must save them for a long time. The more people saving and the more careful their handling of fragile bits of paper, the better for us ever-acquisitive editors. But there is more than just this first, accidental silence

caused by the inevitable loss of letters over time. I had to contend with a second sort of silence, that inflicted on Fuller's letters by my editorial predecessors. Third, there are the natural silences caused by Fuller because she had no reason to speak of facts of no interest to her recipients. She does not tell us about those horse trolleys because it never occurred to her that any of her correspondents would want to know about them. The things she and they took for granted vanish into silence, even though we now would like to know more of the mundane details.

Fourth, there are intentional silences, the times when Fuller deliberately fell quiet. We can see this quite markedly during the last five years of her life when twice she had romantic entanglements that she kept out of her general correspondence. She was adept at walling off parts of her life from individuals whom she loved and deeply cared for. She was so good at it that she may have successfully kept us at bay, too. Finally, there are the silences that probably do represent the way her mind worked, that we can read legitimately as silences that speak loudly. Let me pose five questions that can help us explore these silences.

## 1. Who are the unnamed ghosts living between the pages?

One day Charles Mann, the manuscript librarian at Penn State, called me to say he had just bought a Fuller letter written to William Channing Russel. I had two immediate reactions: I was delighted to get yet another letter, and I was completely taken aback. Who in the world was William Channing Russel? Well, no one knew. There was no mention of him in my database; none of the biographies mentioned him. He simply had not existed. There was no such man before Charlie bought the letter. Once it emerged, there Russel was, and once I began to call him back to life he wasn't all that obscure—he became provost and then acting president of Cornell later in his life. The oddity here was that Fuller had never mentioned him in any of the other surviving letters. I can name many people whom Fuller knew and to whom she undoubtedly wrote, but I'm intrigued by the ghosts: who are the other William Channing Russels out there whose very existence is unknown to us?

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## 2. How was it that Margaret Fuller was silenced?

Fuller was served badly by her friends who were her first editors. In 1852 James Freeman Clarke, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and William Henry Channing published a two-volume *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, which was the conventional nineteenth-century life-and-letters memorial.<sup>2</sup> Close friends all, the three men owned dozens of letters from Fuller to them; they had access to hundreds more; they had journals and diaries. No one since has ever had such an array immediately before them. The story of the cuttings and pastings, the evasions and distortions, the muffling of her voice and the dumbing down of her mind has often been told in varying tones of exasperation, but let me rehearse some of it again: they omitted names of individuals; they suppressed such events in her life as her romantic attachment to a New York businessman; they altered her sentences and omitted what was unseemly to make her religious opinions more conventional; they mixed journal and letter fragments to make documents of their own; they published passages completely out of context so that what Fuller was saying had no relevance to the specific occasion, the time in her life, or the person receiving the letter. Some of the evidence survives in mutilated manuscripts, so I had to contend with letters with whole paragraphs buried under swatches of bright purple ink, visible signs of intentional post-mortem silences. These passages are now restored, but the destroyed manuscripts are gone forever.<sup>3</sup>

Of course these three men were just being responsible friends; their practice mirrored what commonly happened in life-and-letters volumes. That era had one notion of truth and evidence; we have another. To them, some silences were to be desired by the claims of friendship, morality, taste, and judgment. Looking back we find the unhappy fact that fear, self-interest, and narrow-mindedness were also motives.

## 3. What did Fuller have for dinner?

Who would think that everyday life would become interesting? Just as we have raised our consciousness of the private life, we have grown enthusiastic about how daily life was lived. Of course Fuller did not repeat menus to her friends in her letters (except for one comment about Italian salads that were abundant, cheap, and fresh).<sup>4</sup> Nor did she describe the sanitary conditions of urban life or public transportation or the details of her business transactions. But why do we get so few descriptions of many interesting people? Why don't we have descriptions of Sarah Alden Bradford Ripley, Fuller's friend and her intellectual equal? Why not more of Sophia Willard Dana

Ripley, another close friend, who helped her husband, George, found Brook Farm? Why don't we have better Fuller portraits of Hawthorne and Thoreau, of Poe, of Theodore Parker? One answer might be that her most frequent correspondents knew these men and women, so Fuller had no occasion to write of them. Did Fuller lack an appropriate audience? It's hard to think so, for her correspondents were people of discriminating taste.

## 4. Letters as tabloids: just what was Fuller's sex life?

In the spring of 1845 Fuller became infatuated with a German-born businessman in New York City, one James Nathan. We would call it an "affair," but that has too strong a sexual connotation. But we can tell she was infatuated with him, for the fifty or so letters from her to him are among the longest and most intense that survive among all her letters. Yet, during this six-month span she never once mentions him in the other letters that have survived. We have after-the-fact evidence that her mother knew of Nathan, and Horace Greeley and his wife knew (probably because Fuller was working for Greeley and had lived in their home). But Fuller successfully walled off her passion from everyone else, including her closest women friends.

Then, from 1847 to 1849, she did it again: as far as we can tell, with one exception, she told no correspondent about her interest in, affair with, and marriage to Giovanni Angelo Ossoli. It is certain that, when she told her mother of her marriage and of her child, the family had no idea of Ossoli's existence. Her friends were equally in the dark. Even more than had she with Nathan, Fuller hid Ossoli by cultivating a rigorous silence.

## 5. Where was Fuller when Dickens came to town?

On the morning of 22 January 1842, Charles Dickens arrived in Boston harbor to begin a triumphant and energetic tour of the United States. Since they thought themselves the center of culture, the Boston elite embraced Dickens with an enthusiasm that was as noisy as it was heartfelt. They dined him, lionized him, and they all but grew giddy at his presence. The most famous novelist of their day came and went, but if you are relying on the *Letters of Margaret Fuller*, you would never know it. I must quickly say again, however, that the record is skimpy. We have no letters at all from the specific days Dickens was in Boston, and only one letter in the immediate aftermath, and it is a fragment. Fuller may well have commented at length to someone in letters that have not survived. But there are no subsequent references either. In fact, Dickens

crops up only one time in the 1,111 surviving letters: when she was abroad, she used an image from *The Old Curiosity Shop* to describe herself.<sup>5</sup> That's it. One allusion. Bulwer and Scott weave in and out of her letters, but not Dickens. It is very hard to avoid the conclusion that he did not speak to her literary imagination, that, despite his almost universal appeal, she was indifferent to his art.

An even more stark silence began before Dickens came and then continued through his American tour. In October 1841 Thomas Wilson Dorr began an overt rebellion against the state government of Rhode Island, which had never written a modern constitution. For a time the state had two legislatures and two governors: one loyal to the old charter and one to the new but contested government. The affair culminated in an attack Dorr led in May 1842 against the state militia and in his subsequent arrest.

Now this silence interests me because Fuller had taught and lived in Providence from June 1837 to January 1839, so she had a variety of friends and correspondents in Rhode Island. She could hardly have been indifferent to the Dorr rebellion, yet all we have is one sanitized fragment from the *Memoirs*.<sup>6</sup> Because we do have this one source, we might suspect that the editorial trio censored her political views, and they may well have done just that, but again we have no subsequent comment about Dorr or the political sequence.

But when we review her letters we find little political commentary before she went to Europe, and the subsequent intense, wide-ranging and perceptive commentary she wrote publicly and privately from Italy makes us wonder. *Was* she so politically indifferent before 1848? Her father had been an anti-Federalist congressman from Middlesex County, so political talk was part of her life when she was young. And yet there is a deafening silence about such events as the imposition of the gag rule to silence John Q. Adams in the House, or of the murder of Elijah Lovejoy in Illinois by a pro-slave mob. The forced removal of the Cherokees from Georgia to the Southwest goes unremarked, and, save for one comment, and that one strangely oblique, there is no reaction to the day when William Lloyd Garrison was almost lynched in Boston.

That silence bears some scrutiny. In late summer 1835 prominent Bostonians began a campaign against Garrison and the radical abolitionists. They held a rally at Faneuil Hall in August and passed resolutions denouncing abolition. On 21 October a mob disrupted a meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, captured Garrison, and would have hanged him had not the sheriff finally rescued him. The only comment Fuller makes was in a December letter to her brother Eugene, who was a pri-

vate tutor to a family in Virginia. Margaret asks what his employer thinks of it all. She offers no comment of her own, just curiosity at the Southern reaction.<sup>7</sup>

Her one overt comment on the question of slavery and abolition came in December 1840, when she replied to a query from Maria Weston Chapman, Garrison's counterpart in the women's abolition movement. While Fuller begins "the Abolition cause commands my respect as do all efforts to relieve and raise suffering human nature," she goes on to admit that "my own path leads a different course and often leaves me quite ignorant what you are doing." The whole letter is devoted to the question of antislavery, but this is the single instance that we have when the topic called Fuller out.<sup>8</sup>

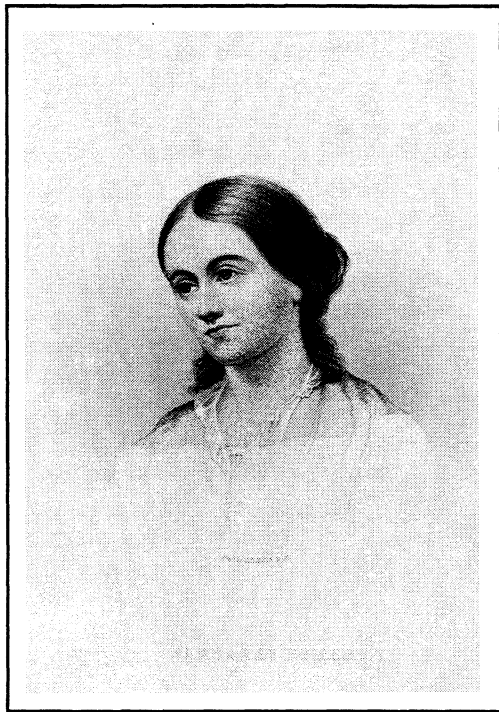
There are, of course, contingencies that cause silences, including some of the ones I describe. When she wrote to her brother about the Boston riot, she was still grieving for her father, who had died a scant two months earlier. Similarly, when Dickens was in town, Emerson's son, Waldo, died, and that death weighed heavily on Fuller's spirit for weeks. Time, circumstance, and chance all deepen silences, so that only the wary ascribe meaning to them.

Letters are mutually reciprocal acts: it takes a writer and a recipient; we editors are eavesdroppers. We must keep in mind that our point of view comes long after the fact. What is "interesting" or "meaningful" to us was not necessarily so in 1840. The questions we ask are conditioned by a world far different from theirs. Our attitudes toward black slaves, toward women, toward the Irish workers, and toward economic distribution are not theirs.

Of course the very notion of "silence" implies a value judgment. We notice a silence only because we do not hear something we expect, something to which we attach a value. That which is of no value to us does not even occur to us to miss. We all too often assume that our editorial subject shares our sense of worth. Fuller's letters, however, make us see Boston as she saw it in 1840; we are at the mercy of what she thought important enough to put into a letter; she reminds us that her act of seeing and recording had its own logic. When we read letters from the past we read answers that were written a century before we ask the question. Little wonder that Fuller's answers and my questions sometimes do not mesh.

In saying this, though, I cannot resist my own list of silences about which she and I share an interest. How did she learn of Goethe's death and what was her reaction? What did Fuller earn for her magazine articles in the *American Monthly Magazine*? Did she read Keats, and if so, what did she think? She once said she was writing a series

of tales based on Hebrew Scripture. What were they? When did she first read Emerson's *Nature* and what did she think of it? To whom did she offer her now-lost history of the Italian revolutions and how did she describe it in that letter? These questions are of a piece; they concern her intellectual and professional life, which is why I find her fascinating. No doubt another reader will have a different list.



Sarah Margaret Fuller. Engraved by Henry Bryan Hall, Jr. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

So what are we editors to do in the face of silence? Well, a few things look obvious enough: first, in the case of letters, publish the whole record. The first, and I have always thought most important, decision I made was to publish every Fuller letter I could find. Given the predations of the *Memoirs* and the breadth of her interests, she seemed to me to be fairly presented only in the entire body of her letters. I now have some regrets that I was not able to edit and publish the correspondence, both sides of the conversations, but it was enough of a stretch for Cornell to do six volumes, let alone nine or ten. So the economics we face bear on the silence. The less the market will bear, the greater the silence. It may be that electronic publishing will actually help us, for in that way we can edit and publish as complete a record as physically remains to us, even with authors whose corpus is daunting.

Second, we need to be as thorough as humanly pos-

sible to ransack the letters, the diaries, and journals not only of our subject but of her friends, for we may find a correspondent writing to yet a third party, "I received today a letter from Margaret in which she said. . . ." Even secondhand summary ends the silences.

In a small way our annotations can be a corrective. Fuller was fond of quoting without attribution or of paraphrasing the books she read. An annotation identifying an aphorism or idea helps restore the presence of the original writer and clarifies Fuller's relationship to him or her. If I pass it by, I allow the reader to infer that the idea is original with Fuller, or I let the connection with Fuller remain obscure. Our annotations create contexts that themselves help defeat the historical silence. I aimed to have Fuller take a more defined place within her social and intellectual world.

Beyond that we begin to show our helplessness. I think we ought in introductions to acknowledge the fragmentary nature of the record, to give overt examples of what is not there, so that readers are reminded to read the record with some reservation. I do not have to solve the biographical puzzles Fuller's silences create, but I need to help biographers understand what they are looking at in the edition.

I find that I must conclude that the very nature of our material defeats us: letters are a form of autobiography, and that literary genre is notorious for what it fails to tell us. Writing of one's self is as much a process of leaving out as of putting in, and letters no less than autobiographies demonstrate the truism.

## Notes

1. My comments are based on *The Letters of Margaret Fuller*, ed. Robert N. Hudspeth, 6 vols. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983-1994).
2. *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 2 vols. (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1852).
3. For discussions of the damage done by the *Memoirs*, see *The Letters of Margaret Fuller*, 1:59-65, and Bell Gale Chevigny, "To the Edges of Ideology: Margaret Fuller's Centrifugal Evolution," *American Quarterly* 38 (1986): 173-201.
4. To Richard F. Fuller, 16 August 1848, *Letters*, 5:104.
5. "I often think of Dicken's marchioness playing whist in the kitchen. So I play whist every where" (*Letters*, 5:210). "Marchioness" is a title Dick Swiveller gives to his "small servant."
6. "I came into the very midst of the fuss, and, tedious as it was at the time, I am glad to have seen it. I shall in future be able to believe real what I have read with a dim disbelief of such times and tendencies" (*Letters*, 3:72-74).
7. *Letters*, 1:240.
8. *Letters*, 2:197.

## In Memoriam

Lillian B. Miller  
1923–1997

Lillian B. Miller, editor of the Peale Family Papers and Historian of American Culture at the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, died of a cerebral hemorrhage on 27 November 1997. She was seventy-four years old. Miller became a member of the Association for Documentary Editing when it was in its infant stage, once telling me of an early meeting in which a few would-be editors sat in a small room and listened to Julian Boyd expound on documentary editions. When Miller organized and began her editorship of the *Peale Papers* in the mid-1970s there were very few editing projects in American cultural history. She was concerned that America's documentary history be expanded to include art and culture. In that regard the volumes of the Peale Family Papers will be a proper legacy.

Miller received her A.B., magna cum laude, at Radcliffe College in 1943, and her A.M. (1948) and Ph.D. (1962) at Columbia University in American history. Her dissertation, *Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790–1860*, was published by the University of Chicago Press in 1966 and soon became the standard monograph tracing the history and development of art institutions in America. She taught at the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, George Washington University, and the University of Maryland.

As Miller's dissertation topic indicates, her major focus and interest had always been on the "encouragement" and dissemination of knowledge and culture in the United States. She was actively involved in professional organizations that promoted the study of American history and culture and served on many of their councils and boards, including the Commonwealth Center for the Study of American Culture in Williamsburg, Virginia; *American Studies*; *The American Quarterly*; the American Council of Learned Societies; the Institute of Early American History and Culture; the American Studies Association; and the American Antiquarian Society.

Miller was Historian of the National Portrait Gallery from 1971 to 1974 and, working with a Smithsonian group of curators and historians, was responsible for organizing the Portrait Gallery's two exhibitions celebrating the bicentennial of the American Revolution: *In the Minds and Hearts of the People* and *The Dye Is Now Cast*. After leaving the historian's position she continued organizing exhibitions, which were accompanied by substantial catalogues: (with Edgar P. Richardson and Brooke Hindle) *Charles Willson Peale and His World* (1982); *Portraits from the American Academy of Arts and Letters* (1987); *In Pursuit of Fame: Rembrandt Peale (1778–1860)* (1992); and a traveling exhibition, *The Peale Family: Creation of a Legacy 1770–1870*.

In 1974, Miller organized the Peale Family Papers project, which under her editorship has published in microfiche *The Collected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*, and in letterpress four of seven projected volumes of *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*. Once again, her attraction to Peale was not only as an artist, but—as Miller first encountered Peale in her *Patrons and Patriotism*—a promoter of the arts and a disseminator of culture and knowledge. Peale's prominent role in the establishment of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and his influential museum of natural history and art, made him, according to Miller, a pivotal figure in our nation's history; even, as she liked to think of him, a cultural "founding father."

Miller also published and lectured extensively. She contributed chapters to significant works on American art and culture, such as *1776*, edited by John Browning and Richard Morton; *Seventeenth-Century New England*, edited by David Hall and David Grayson Allen; and *Insight and Inspiration*, edited by Irma B. Jaffe. Her articles were published in *New York History*, *Journal of American History*, *American Art Journal*, and the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Miller estimated that she had written over one hundred and twenty book reviews, and presented over one hundred and fifty slide-illustrated lectures to public and academic audiences on "subjects relating to American art and cultural history." This list does not pretend to be an exhaustive bibliography of her publications and offices, but it is meant to convey her immense curiosity and her indefatigable energy. At the time of her death she was engaged in many projects, among which were volume 5 of the Peale Family Papers, Charles Willson Peale's autobiography; and a work of great importance to her, *The Hereditary Tradition: Artistic Taste and Collections in the United States, 1860–1920*, a projected second volume of her *Patrons and Patriotism*. Her scholarly presence will be missed.

—Sidney Hart

# John Adams: On Paper and in Person

GREGG L. LINT

In 1774 John Adams was a thirty-nine-year-old Massachusetts lawyer of modest means, middling height, and portly physique, who was ambitious, argumentative, over-earnest, direct to the point of rudeness, and intolerant of fools. How did this man, seemingly unsympathetic and ordinary when compared to George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin, become by 1776 Congress's most influential member? Why was he named president of the Board of War and appointed to the committees that drafted the Treaty Plan of 1776 and the Declaration of Independence? Why was he then chosen to serve as a diplomat in Europe and later elected vice president and president of the United States? What was it about John Adams that inspired confidence and led people to place the fate of the new nation in his hands? These questions have never been adequately answered by John Adams's many biographers, largely because Adams emerged as a major historical figure through his interaction with other people, the most thorough record of which is his own correspondence. But Adams's character cannot be determined solely by reference to his papers and may, in fact, be unknowable. For editors and biographers there are really two men to be considered, both of them named John Adams.

The first John Adams, whom I know far better than the second, is the product of his writings: the thousands of letters, the published pamphlets and newspaper pieces, the diary, and other documents that he produced and preserved, at least in part, so that someone might later write an accurate account of the momentous times in which he lived. But this John Adams is a paper person, the product of his own writings and what others wrote about him. He is the creature of the available documentation, and this is all that we shall ever know unless the *séance* becomes an accepted tool of documentary editing.

By most measures John Adams tells us a great deal about his life, public and private, and seemingly leaves few gaps in the historical record. His papers show a man of

intellect, perhaps the most learned American lawyer of his time. It was he who set down the ideological foundations for the American Revolution and, with the possible exception of James Madison, gave more thought to the nature of government than any other American. He was a committed revolutionary and from the beginning, unlike many of his Massachusetts friends, a strong nationalist. He was a voracious reader whose varied taste ran from Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe* to Jean Dumont's *Corps universel diplomatique*. He was an activist diplomat, an unflinching, fervent advocate for the vital interests of the United States and probably more conversant than any other American with the history and practice of European diplomacy.

His papers also reveal a private man in contrast to the public, although the two can never be wholly separated. His letters to Abigail, beginning with their courtship, show an enduring and loving relationship that was valued by both for the qualities that each brought to it. The letters reveal a man aware of his vanity and sensitivity to criticism, with doubts as to his own motives and outlook. They show him amused at teaching Samuel Adams to ride a horse, concerned over the education of his sons, alarmed over the courtship of his daughter, fonder of Paris than Amsterdam, and at sea over the mechanics of procuring a house in Amsterdam. Even Adams's handwriting is expressive and often indicative of his mood.

Then there are his opinions on virtually every person or event that passed before him that, wisely or unwisely, he committed to paper. John Dickinson was the "piddling Genius."<sup>1</sup> Joseph Galloway was notable because "A meaner, falser, heart, never circulated Blood."<sup>2</sup> The Comte de Vergennes wrote "Snarling," and "Growling" letters.<sup>3</sup> Depending on Adams's mood, Benjamin Franklin was "your excellency," the "so-called philosopher," or the "old conjurer." The Dutch were "Idolaters at the Shrine of Mammon" and, possibly because so many of them lived there, Amsterdam was the "Capital of the Reign of Mammon."<sup>4</sup> The American Revolution was the "greatest . . . that ever took Place among Men," for it was "*the Peoples War*."<sup>5</sup> Britain prosecuted the war with America because "To Tyrants, Tyranny is always very dear."<sup>6</sup> This makes John Adams very quotable and seemingly more accessible

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than many of the founding fathers, since he exhibits the full range of human emotions. It should be kept in mind, however, that an apt description or a well-turned phrase does not necessarily equal full disclosure.

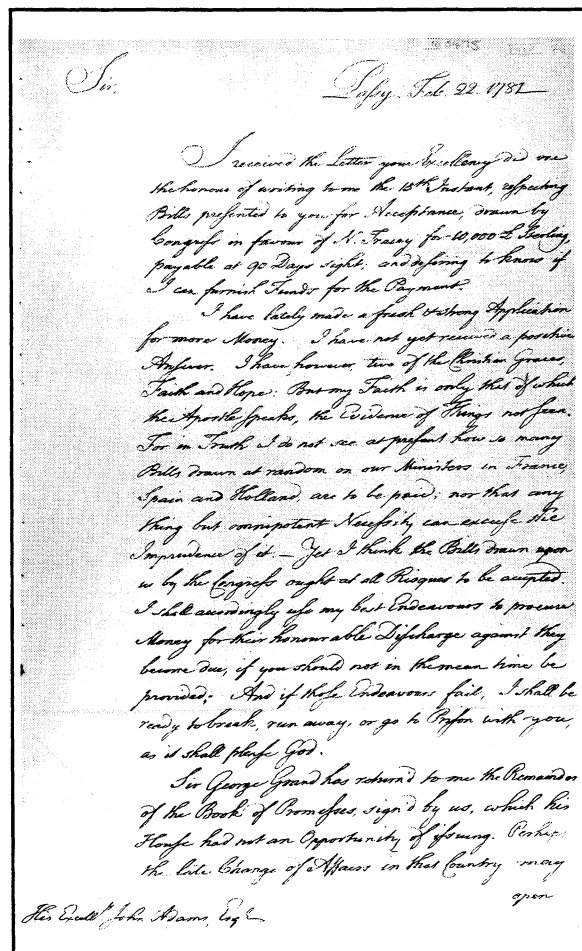
The second John Adams is the man that I would like to know better, but can never know completely. He is a man of the eighteenth century, a time when the laws of nature were evident to any right-thinking individual, the law of nations was slowly developing into international law, and mankind was steadily leaving behind the barbarism of the past. He is the one who walked the streets of Boston and Braintree, courted and married Abigail Smith, crossed the Atlantic on a leaky French frigate, and breathed the air of Paris, Amsterdam, and London. This John Adams lived a real life in a real world that with its wars and revolutions must have seemed to be moving at breakneck speed. It was a world where he heard, observed, read, and understood far more than he could ever put down on paper. But I can know only an approximation of that life, for I have only his papers. I will never hear John Adams's voice or be able to interview him about his life, the people he knew, or the events he witnessed and participated in. He will never be able to explain inconsistencies or fill in gaps, real or imagined.

All editors face this duality, but too often the life depicted in the papers becomes more real than the life actually lived by the person who produced the papers. This is particularly true in the case of John Adams, where the amount of material left behind makes it possible to document his life almost day to day, and his papers sometimes constitute virtually the only account of a significant event, such as the First Continental Congress. Editors must keep all of this in mind and keep always in mind the life beyond the papers, for if they do not, the resulting documentary edition will fail to capture the world in which the documents were written and that determines the content.

Turning to the years 1780 and 1781 with this in mind, it is worth considering several questions about the papers of John Adams. What does Adams tell us about his life? What does he consciously or unconsciously leave out? How does the nature of the documentary record limit our ability to know John Adams? Finally, what should we know and take into account, irrespective of the documentary record, about the life of John Adams?

It is sometimes difficult to believe that John Adams left anything unsaid or any question unanswered. Indeed, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington can seem inarticulate and uninformative when compared to Adams. He called 1780—and 1781 was not a banner year either—the “most anxious and mortifying

year” of his life because little that he attempted turned out to his satisfaction.<sup>7</sup> This was not, however, for lack of effort. In 1780 John Adams sent or received almost one thousand letters, a large number, but about average for Adams in the early 1780s. In 1781 this number dropped to about six hundred, but only because he was sick for three months. He supplemented all of this with his diary and multiple autobiographies to correct or improve the record. The sheer mass of these papers can

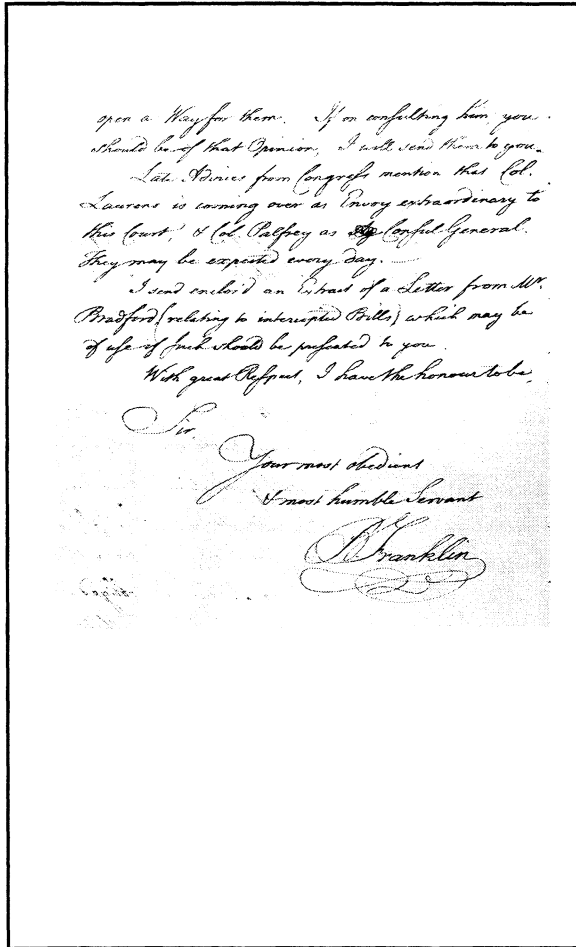


sometimes be overwhelming, but the editor is rewarded with letters that are rarely dull and are often marked by passion and candor.

The amount of documentation John Adams left behind looms large in any discussion or examination of his life and can lead to the illusion that we know far more about him than we do. But did John Adams tell us everything that we need or want to know in 1780 or any other year? The answer is, of course, a resounding no. No one ever does, and the reason they do not is the nature of the written word, particularly with regard to

correspondence. Letters are written for specific purposes: to inform, to request information, to ask a favor, or for a host of other reasons. The letters of John Adams are no different. They are generally clear and understandable at the first reading, but they are intended for Adams's contemporaries and assume that his readers are intelligent and need not be informed of what they already know. Adams's letters are definitely not stream-of-consciousness accounts intended to provide the twentieth-century reader

eters were far wider than some others'. Benjamin Franklin's papers, for example, reflect very clearly Adams's observation that Franklin "hates to offend, and seldom gives any Opinion until forced."<sup>8</sup> Moreover, letters are assumed to be private and thus, while they inform and explain, they also serve as outlets for doubt, euphoria, anger, frustration, and despair. The problems inherent in assuming that what is written on paper actually occurred in real life are evident from the following encounter:



**Benjamin Franklin to John Adams, 22 February 1781. The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.**

with a slice of eighteenth-century life.

It follows, then, that correspondence is not the moral equivalent of speech. People write in letters what they would never say in conversation and say in conversation what they would never put down on paper. This was as true of John Adams as anyone else, although his param-

John Adams enters the drawing room at Passy and angrily confronts his aged, gout-ridden colleague, declaring, "Franklin, you old conjurer, your French is terrible and you are no more a philosopher than I am. This is the last time that you are going to double-cross me and sell out America to that worm Vergennes."

Franklin pulls himself painfully to his feet and in an equally angry voice declares, "Adams, you may be honest, but you are absolutely out of your mind and I am not going to take any more of your Francophobic nonsense."

The two men then come to blows, until separated by their trusty secretaries John Thaxter and William Temple Franklin.

This confrontation is based on passages from the letters of both men, but it never, in whole or in part, took place because it would have been unseemly for Adams, twenty-nine years younger than Franklin, to have spoken that way to his elder. If he had done so the two men could never have communicated, much less worked together again. But such comments, appearing in letters, have proved irresistible to historians and have served to define a relationship wherein the spectacular triumphs over the substantive. Little room is left to explain their apparent harmony during their joint residence at Passy or the dinner in 1784 where Adams and Franklin chatted happily at the head of the table with Madame Helvetius and Abigail Adams called Franklin the "good Doctor."<sup>9</sup>

If by its very nature correspondence conspires to prevent us from knowing everything, what then did John Adams, himself, consciously or unconsciously choose to leave out? His most glaring omission results from the failure to provide virtually any description of his environment. One will look in vain for detailed descriptions of Passy, Paris, Auteuil, Amsterdam, Leyden, or London, all places where he lived for considerable periods. John Adams resided at the Hotel de Valois on the Rue de Richelieu in Paris for six months in 1780 and returned there in later years, but all that we know about it from his

letters is the address. We only find out what the accommodations were like from passages in John Quincy Adams's diary written in 1815.<sup>10</sup> The accounts of his travels, whether in his diary or his letters, are usually brief passages noting that he started at one point and arrived at another. If it were not for John Quincy Adams's diary we would know far less than we do about the voyage to Europe in 1779, the trip through Spain to Paris, or the journey from Paris to Amsterdam in the summer of 1780.<sup>11</sup> This contrast between the papers of John and John Quincy Adams shows a generational difference in what was seen as important enough to record, but it also shows very clearly some of the limitations that the papers of John Adams impose on our ability to know fully the world in which he lived.

John Adams's reticence extends beyond his physical environment to those who peopled it. Whom did John Adams talk to and how did he spend his time when not working? It may be understandable, although regrettable, that he did not record his conversations with servants or others who were outside the realm of his official duties, but what of those with Benjamin Franklin or Francis Dana? Adams and Franklin lived together at Passy for almost a year and collaborated closely as two of the three American commissioners. They knew each other very, very well and yet virtually nothing is known, from the writings of either man, of how they worked together or what they talked about during their daily encounters. What did they say to each other at breakfast, lunch, or dinner? What was the nature of their discussions about Arthur Lee, a man both found impossible to work with? What did they have to say about the progress of the war, Great Britain, the prospects for peace, or a host of other matters that must have concerned both men? Were their discussions of the French alliance and the course of Franco-American relations heated and adversarial or simple conversations?

Of equal significance is Adams's reticence with regard to the thought process by which he came to make his decisions and pursue the policies proceeding therefrom. Little controversy has resulted from this for the period prior to the opening of his diplomatic career. Certainly few would describe Adams's *Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law*, Novanglus essays, *Thoughts on Government*, or the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 as ill considered, or his defense of the British soldiers at the Boston Massacre trial or support for American independence as a member of the Continental Congress as impulsive. And yet, with no more information upon which to base such judgments, historians have characterized John Adams's ac-

tions as a diplomat as impulsive, ill considered, and even paranoid. In the spring and early summer of 1780, for example, John Adams launched a peace offensive in the London newspapers and, at virtually the same time, entered into a series of confrontations with the Comte de Vergennes over the revaluation of American currency and the nature and sufficiency of French aid. There can be little doubt that the two efforts were connected in Adams's mind, but there is no written evidence that such was the case. Did he really think that peace was possible in 1780? Was he then prepared to sign a separate peace and abandon the Franco-American Alliance? Adams was equally silent about his efforts in the Netherlands. Which Amsterdam bankers did John Adams approach for advice and a loan in 1780, and what was the nature of his negotiations with the firm of Jean de Neufville and Son for a loan in 1781? Did Adams really believe in 1780 and 1781 that he could single-handedly persuade the Dutch to recognize the United States and sign a Dutch-American commercial treaty? Whom did he consult in that regard and also with reference to his memorial to the States General of 19 April 1781?

Editors must accept the fact that the documents are not going to tell them everything they want to know. Documents that do not exist cannot be edited or explained. This does not mean, however, that common sense can be abandoned for the illusion that something not recorded never happened or was unknown to the author of the papers in question. This trap for the unwary was sprung at a recent conference on John Adams. A commentator noted that the principal issue in European diplomacy in the early 1780s was Russian expansionism. He declared that since neither John Adams nor Benjamin Franklin mentioned the dangers of Russian expansionism in their writings they were ill-informed amateur diplomats. The commentator's facts were correct: I have found no mention by Adams of Russian expansionism, and I assume that Franklin's papers are also silent on the subject. But their silence proves only that neither man wrote anything down about a subject thought important by a commentator in the late twentieth century. It also assumes that Adams and Franklin talked to no one on their visits to Versailles, read no newspapers, or had any other sources of information.

This episode points out the too frequent assumption that the papers of a person represent a closed universe and that the real world in which John Adams and his contemporaries lived can be ignored. John Adams read every British, Dutch, and French newspaper that he could get his hands on and often recorded their reports on the

progress of the war or other events relating to his mission. But he did not record other things of which he must have read, such as the duel fought by the Earl of Shelburne and William Fullerton in 1780, the Donellan murder case of 1781, the events at the British, French, and Dutch courts, and a whole host of other things that were going on around him. Neither does he say anything about how he spent his days. What was involved in traveling between Amsterdam and Leyden or Leyden and The Hague? What was the Arms of Amsterdam or the Parliament of England (the inn where he stayed at The Hague) like? What did he eat and how often did he eat out in company? What was said at the gathering of “a chosen few of honest Americans” at the “Golden Lyon” at Leyden to which Adams invited François Adriaan van der Kemp on 17 April 1781?<sup>12</sup>

There also are some things that, although not stated or appearing in any written source, should be obvious or are made significant by their omission. A substantive conflict did exist between John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, but might a great deal of it be laid to the desperation of these two men deeply committed to the success of the American Revolution? An American defeat meant absolute catastrophe for them. John Adams would most likely never have returned to Massachusetts and Franklin would have died in Paris rather than his beloved Philadelphia. The stakes involved in their respective missions were so astronomical that it is no wonder that two such strong-willed men would believe their chosen paths to the promised land to be correct and that each would believe the other was misguided when the two paths diverged. With this in mind, it should be noted that nowhere in the papers of John Adams is there a single passage expressing doubt about the ultimate victory of the United States in its war with Britain, and my less exhaustive examination of Franklin’s papers shows much the same. Here the absence of information tells us as much about the two men as a thousand letters.

What are the implications of all this for the documentary editor and those who would use the documents? Editors are by definition more limited than biographers because they must deal with what is before them, what has been left them by their subject. But documents do not necessarily speak for themselves, and editors have an obligation to place the documents within the context of the life of a real human being. With annotation the editor can fill in gaps and indicate what is not there, but which should be considered by those using the documents. Biographers should go further and seek to depict a real person functioning in a real world. Keep in mind that a

biography of John Adams in his own words is not the equivalent of *cinema vérité*, for he left so much of that real world out. Biographers, like editors, must consult the documents and use common sense and ask whether the person they are dealing with is acting the part of a real person or is only a creature of the documents, a paper person of great breadth, but no depth.

## Notes

1. To James Warren, 24 July, *Papers of John Adams*, ed. Robert J. Taylor, Gregg L. Lint and others (Cambridge, 1977- ), 3:89–92. Hereafter referred to as JA, *Papers*.
2. To Edmund Jenings, 18 July 1780, JA, *Papers*, 10:8–11.
3. These comments formed part of an index entry in John Adams’s Letterbook No. 11, for which see JA, *Papers*, 9:xii–xiii, 454.
4. To James Warren, 9 Dec. 1780; to William Temple Franklin, 7 Dec. 1780; JA, *Papers*, 10:404–406, 398.
5. To Thomas Digges, 13 May 1780; to Hendrik Calkoen, No. 6, 10 Oct. 1780; JA, *Papers*, 9:307–309; 10:216–220.
6. To Edmund Jenings, 23 Oct. 1780, JA, *Papers*, 10:300–301.
7. To the president of Congress, 31 Dec. 1780, JA, *Papers*, 10:465–466.
8. To Samuel Adams, 7 Dec. 1778, JA, *Papers*, 7:255–259.
9. Abigail Adams to Lucy Cranch, 5 Sept. 1784, *Adams Family Correspondence*, ed. L. H. Butterfield and others (Cambridge, 1963- ), 5: 436–439.
10. John Quincy Adams, Diary, 5 and 12 Feb. 1815, quoted in JA, *Papers*, 9:xi.
11. *Diary of John Quincy Adams*, ed. David Grayson Allen, Robert J. Taylor and others (Cambridge, 1981- ), 1:1–52.
12. To Francis Adriaan van der Kemp, 17 April 1781, Pennsylvania Historical Society, John Adams Papers.

## Call for Reviewers

*Documentary Editing* is creating a list of people interested in reviewing editions for the journal. To be placed on the list, please send a letter that includes the periods and subjects in which you are interested. If there are specific editions you would like to review, that information will also be helpful. Please write to Beth Luey, Editor, *Documentary Editing*, History Department, Arizona State University, P.O. Box 872501, Tempe, AZ 85287-2501.

# What About That Twenty-Year Gap?

CAROLYN DE SWARTE GIFFORD

At the end of 1991, when I finished transcribing the journal of Frances E. Willard, nineteenth-century women's rights and temperance reformer and longtime president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, I heaved a great sigh of relief. I had been laboring since the fall of 1986 to transcribe her fifty journal volumes and had produced more than twenty-five hundred single-spaced typed pages. As I contemplated this stack of paper, all I could think was: "Thank goodness she didn't write any more journal volumes—or I'd go blind trying to make out her illegible squiggles and my neck would be permanently locked into the position I had to assume to read them."

I plunged into the next phase of my work—the task of selecting and annotating entries for the one-volume selected edition I had been funded to produce—thinking only of the shape of the volume, the grand themes of the journal, the difficult decisions of what to include and what to leave out (since the edition would present less than one-tenth of the total journal material), and the annotation process. I buried myself in preparing the edition and obsessing about the kinds of questions and problems that documentary editors must obsess about: How were my research assistant and I going to track down the sources of all those obscure literary allusions that Willard had paraphrased or simply misquoted? How would I identify all those biblical references that she so liberally sprinkled through her writing? Where would I go to find information on all those people she mentioned, most of them not famous and thus not easily tracked down? How would I pull together all the editorial decisions that I had made while readying the selected edition into a concise,

clear, and coherent "Editorial Method" section for the volume? And so on and so on.

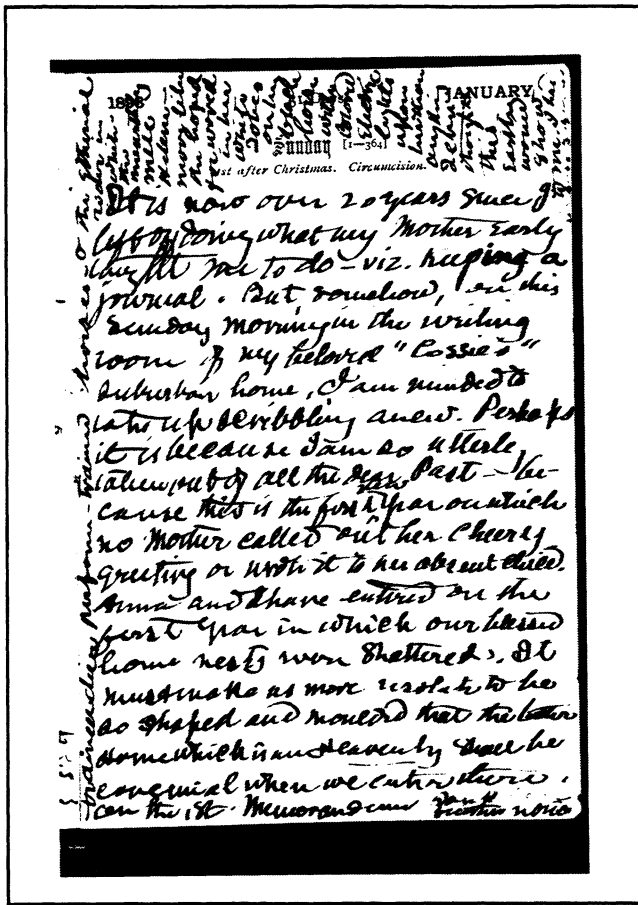
Only after I had had a chance to step away from the work—when the edition had been published, and I began to contemplate writing a biographical study of Willard—did I realize that I faced a very serious problem. In the title of this article I have given the problem a catchy name and posed what may seem to be a flippant question: "What about that twenty-year gap?" But, believe me, I do not mean it to be flippant. As I have pondered this question, I have come more and more to understand just how serious the gap is and what it will mean for me as I attempt to write a biographical study of Willard over the next several years.

What is the twenty-year gap? There are no journal volumes from fall 1870 until January 1893. After filling more than forty volumes—nearly five thousand pages—detailing her life from her fifteenth through her thirty-first years, Willard suddenly stopped keeping a journal. On her thirty-first birthday, 28 September 1870, she wrote: "[M]y Journal has this day been shaken hands with in a long adieu, and I here record my purpose to write no more wishy-washy pages of personal reminiscence." Then, just as suddenly, on New Year's Day 1893 she took up her journal again. "It is now over 20 years since I left off doing what my Mother early taught me to do—viz. keeping a journal," she wrote. "But somehow, on this Sunday morning . . . I am minded to take up scribbling anew."

Almost her entire public life occurred in that twenty-some-year gap. This was the period when she developed her ideology of women's empowerment, carried on the day-to-day struggle of building the WCTU into an effective political organization, and forged strong alliances with other reform movements and their leaders. It was the time when she moved from obscurity into the national spotlight, becoming, finally, an internationally famed personality. The problem is not that there are no records for this time period; there are, in fact, voluminous records documenting the development of the organization Willard shaped and her leadership in it. There are weekly issues of the *Union Signal*, the official newspaper of the National WCTU, proceedings of its annual conventions, correspondence, pamphlets produced by the Woman's Temper-

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Willard's first journal entry after the "twenty-year gap," 1 January 1893. Courtesy of the Frances E. Willard Memorial Library, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union Headquarters, Evanston, Illinois.

ance Publishing Association, eighty-some scrapbooks painstakingly kept by Willard's mother and members of the WCTU staff from the mid-1870s until her death in 1898, copies of her speeches and published writings, and more. Rather, the problem is that there is, apparently, no other source like the journal that Willard kept early in her life, with its rich and candid self-disclosure and rigorous self-examination.

The "gap" as "problem" did not exist before Willard's journal was rediscovered in 1982, and I set out, a few years later, to transcribe it and publish the selected edition. Although scholars knew that Willard had written a journal—she inserted selections from it into her autobiography and one could get some sense of what the journal was like—they were fairly certain that the journal volumes had been destroyed by Willard's personal secretary. They might have wished that this were not so, but it seemed, alas, to

be the case. Nevertheless, work on Willard continued, using what materials were available. The two scholarly biographies of Willard—Mary Earhart's published in 1944 and Ruth Bordin's in 1986—became the authoritative interpretations of her life, along with her autobiography, *Glimpses of Fifty Years* (1889). These were the works readers consulted to gain an understanding of Willard. Neither biographer was able to make full use of the journal in her interpretation. Earhart apparently did not see the actual journal volumes, only the sections that appeared in Willard's autobiography, and Bordin had nearly completed her manuscript before forty-nine journal volumes were discovered in a cupboard at the National WCTU headquarters. She did read them and quote from them but, for whatever reasons, chose not to incorporate much of the new knowledge that could be gained from the journal into her biography.

Once the selected edition of Willard's journal was published in 1995, the journal material became available as it had not really been before. And thus the "gap" became a problem. After one finishes reading the selected edition with its revelatory outpouring of thoughts, emotions, beliefs, doubts, tensions, sorrows, and joys, and realizes that there is no journal for the next twenty-two crucial years of Willard's life, the letdown is potentially devastating. Reading her journal—indeed reading any journal or diary like this one—sets up enormous expectations in readers that the intimate relationship with a subject they experience in such reading will continue. This brings in its wake a huge disappointment when, as in this case, a reader realizes that the Willard she or he can know as a mature woman is, for the most part, a public figure, consciously shaping a persona for an audience.

It is not that Willard became a less genuine person in her mature years, or that the reader somehow can no longer know the "real" Willard. Rather, the Willard they can know through available sources was a more "careful" woman, one who was highly aware of herself as a public figure, a shaper of opinion, a representative of several hundred thousand women with a reform agenda. She became, as undoubtedly every public figure does to some extent, someone who crafted her speeches and writings, who managed her interviews and public appearances, who presented herself as an indefatigable optimist. Nowhere—not even in her autobiography, except in rare instances—can the reader find the Willard of the journal who agonizes over moral decisions; who feels, at some dark moments, that God has abandoned her; who struggles through her father's and sister's lingering deaths and falters under the crushing weight of their loss; who

despairs over her passionate, “inappropriate” love for her best friend, soon to be her sister-in-law. For the reader who has accompanied Willard along her way to mature adulthood and known every nuance of what she herself refers to as her “inner life,” it can seem as though such intimacy has been abruptly withdrawn. One cannot help but experience regrettably a “pulling back,” a distancing created between reader and subject. Or between biographer and subject. I certainly felt, and continue to feel, just this sense of distance.

I see this disappointment and the consequent realization of the seriousness of the gap in Willard’s journal-keeping as I talk to friends and colleagues who have by now read the selected edition. One friend, whose interest is in the history of American women’s faith development and devotional practice and who had heard me speak of my intention to work on a biographical study of Willard, wondered how her faith and devotional life changed and developed over time. Did she remain “relentlessly Methodist,” a phrase I had used to describe the faith community of Willard’s early adulthood, and, if so, did that stance mean something very different toward the end of her life than it had during her twenties? Did her spirituality deepen over time or did it remain steady, unwavering?

My friend found very persuasive my insistence that one cannot understand Willard as a reformer and activist without understanding the Christian faith that was at her core. (It is her previous biographers’ inability to take her faith seriously and give it the treatment it merits that makes me find their portraits of her finally inadequate and pushes me to attempt a biographical study.) “I think,” my friend wrote, “[this contention] can only be strengthened by fuller attention to later religious influences and reflections as well.” But, she concluded, “I realize you’re hampered by the fact that she didn’t keep a journal for many years, so that may prevent you from doing much

on her faith development.” There is that gap again. I am afraid that what my friend has suggested could be true, that I may not be able to recreate for Willard’s adulthood the vivid picture of her faith and how that faith orders and guides her life that is revealed to readers in her journal. Or, at least, that I will have to look to other sources and find other ways to describe her personal faith, her devotional practice, and her religious community during her WCTU years.

The section of the selected journal edition that readers and reviewers alike have seemed to find most riveting is that in which Willard struggles to understand herself as a sexual being and come to terms with her sexual identity. In describing the entries she wrote during 1861 and 1862, reviewers have resorted to phrases like “bodice-ripper” and “three-hanky weeper” in order to convey their emotional power. When I was transcribing these passages I felt as though I were truly riding an emotional roller coaster.

At twenty-one, Willard had become engaged to a young man preparing for the Methodist ministry. Under considerable social pressure to marry, Willard believed she was in love. And she was, but not with her fiancé, Charles Fowler; instead, she was in love with her best friend, Mary Bannister, her brother’s fiancée. Willard agonized over this terrible situation on page after page, determined to “write out her heart” (a paraphrase of Willard’s own intent in her entries and the phrase from which the title of the selected edition came [7 October 1861]), confiding to her journal the confusion and desperation that threatened to overwhelm her. As she searched for the most honorable way through what she understood as the deepest ethical dilemma she had ever faced, she tested her alternatives on the journal’s pages. Should she marry Charles Fowler, submitting to society’s expectations for her and “strangling”—a word she herself chose (29 March 1862)—her passionate love for Bannister? Or should she end the engage-



Frances Willard in 1894, on the grounds of the estate of Lady Isabel Somerset, outside London. Courtesy of the Frances E. Willard Memorial Library, National Woman’s Christian Temperance Union Headquarters, Evanston, Illinois.

ment and risk being single throughout her life? She did, in fact, break off her engagement, with some trepidation but with great relief.

Yet what of her love for women, so troubling and frightening to her at this point in her life? She acknowledged in her journal that it was “her nature” to love women more deeply than men (20 October 1861, 31 March 1862). But she believed that her nature was, somehow, “abnormal” (4 September 1861). The immediate family tragedy of her sister’s death brought a temporary halt to her concerns about her sexuality. But later in her journal, she returned to pondering her love for women. She was still torn between her recognition that marriage was the acceptable state for a woman— “the best gift earth has for us” (31 March 1862)—and that the single life, the life to which she had resigned herself, was only second-best. She was just beginning to imagine a satisfying, fulfilling life with another woman, or within a woman-centered family, as an alternative to marriage. This was, ultimately, the choice she made, the milieu in which she lived her adult years. But as far as I can tell, after 1870 there are no sources like the journal in which one could trace her developing thoughts and feelings about her own sexuality, about how she came to understand and accept her “nature.”

There is a wealth of material to draw on in order to present her ideas about a redefinition of womanhood, one in which women would be self-defining, independent, autonomous, and her vision of a new relationship of equality between women and men that would be the basis for a changed understanding of marriage. But how did her sexual preference inform the ideal of a new womanhood that she preached for two decades from the “national pulpit” her WCTU presidency provided her? Or did it? Is there a connection at all? I don’t yet have an answer to this question that satisfies me, although many readers have given me their instant interpretation of what the connection is. They confidently identify it as “sublimation” (a kind of Freudian term for Willard’s more colorful, emotion-laden description of the “strangling” of her love for Mary Bannister), a redirection of her passion for other women into the more acceptable passion for reform. Somehow such a causal connection seems to me too simplistic and too presentist, one that I will have to complicate.

Along with the themes of Willard’s religious faith and her sexual identity, the theme of her growing commitment to what she calls “the cause of woman” can be followed in the journal of her teens and young adulthood. I can certainly continue to trace that commitment since her

entire public life was an extended statement of that theme. Her intellectual position on women’s rights and her political activity as she led her organization to support a variety of women’s rights issues are amply documented. But will there be sources that reveal the process by which she arrived at her intellectual position, what she read, heard, discussed, and mulled over that would lead her to the stance at which she finally arrived, similar to what I could read in her journal? Will I be able to chart her day-to-day struggle, as she first persuaded and then marshaled her WCTU constituency in support of her women’s rights reform agenda, as I could her struggle to become a mature Christian through her journal entries? There are numerous records of both her successes and her failures as she pushed for reform, but will there be a source that will reveal how she felt about those gains and losses, one in which she “wrote out her heart” about this as she did earlier about her love of Mary Bannister and her inability to love Charles Fowler?

And what of her growing commitment to Christian socialism during the late 1880s and early 1890s? Will I be able to chart her shift from support of the Republican Party in her early career, through her espousal of the Prohibition Party in the mid-1880s, to her realization that the only tenable position for her as a committed Christian and reformer was a kind of evolutionary socialism? On what intellectual and religious journey did she travel to arrive at an ideal that was not popular with either the American mainstream or her WCTU constituency? Without journal volumes for the 1880s and early 1890s, how will I follow this journey? I just don’t know yet.

Of course I may be wallowing in an odd sort of nostalgia for what never was. (People keep asking me whether I think that I will discover journal volumes for the “gap years.” I don’t think so.) Or perhaps I am indulging in a hopeless longing for what never could be, wishing for the continuation of a kind of journal Willard never would have produced. If she had kept a journal from 1870 to 1893, it might very well have been utterly different from the journal she wrote from 1859 to 1870. After all, the volumes she wrote in her late teens, from 1855 through 1857, are nothing like those from her early twenties. The entries she wrote in the 1850s are brief and matter-of-fact; they are very different in content and tone from the pages of self-reflection that poured forth only a few years later as she developed her mature faith, shaped her character, and formed her opinions on many weighty subjects. Perhaps she really meant it when she announced that she would write no more wishy-washy pages of personal reminis-

*Continued on page 24*



# The ADE Annual Meeting Sessions

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, OCTOBER 1997

## Joys and Horrors of Editing Scientists and Scientific Philosophers

Chair: Nathan Houser

This panel, chaired by Nathan Houser of the Charles S. Peirce Edition, addressed three broad questions: What are some of the special problems and characteristics that distinguish editions of scientists from other editions? How has the growth of computing changed the editing practices in these projects? And what are the likely consequences of shrinking federal funding? Frederick Burkhardt, Albert Lewis, Robert Rosenberg, Mark Rothenberg, and Robert Schulmann each briefly described their editions (Charles Darwin Letters, Bertrand Russell, Thomas A. Edison, Joseph Henry, and Albert Einstein, respectively). After discussing the questions posed initially, they concluded that there are no inherent differences between editing documents of literary or historical figures and scientists, but that there are some additional difficulties. For example, editing scientific papers may require technical competence that editors may not have; inclusion of drawings, diagrams, and notebooks may create special design and typographical problems; authorship may be difficult to determine when scientists worked collaboratively in research groups. Both the computer revolution and funding cutbacks have affected scientific as well as historical and literary projects.

## Forum on Federal Spending

Chair: Herman Saatkamp

Herman Saatkamp introduced the panel by pointing out that this is a difficult time to acquire federal funding as well as institutional support and funding from other sources. Margot Backas described the organization of programs and the likely situation for funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities in the coming year and reviewed the awards given in the past year. In response to questions, she explained the role of the National Trust for the Humanities and the status of the American Legacy Editions. Kathryn Hammond Baker of the National Association of Government Archives and Records Administration stressed the importance of cooperation between archivists and editors to find nonfederal funds for joint projects and projects of mutual interest. Charlene Bickford reviewed the activities of ADE and its members in achieving reconsideration of the NHPRC November decisions on allocation of funds. Charles Cullen described the evolution of the November plan and its revision. He noted the increase in the NHPRC budget from \$5 to \$5.4 million and the congressional directive to focus on editions over electronic records. He then described current NHPRC activities, including the search for a

new executive director and the exploration of common interests between the editorial and the archives and records communities. Roger Bruns, acting director of the NHPRC, was introduced and said that the Commission will be doing more publicity and fundraising.

## What Documentary Editions Can Tell Us and What They Cannot

Chair: Beverly Wilson Palmer

At the 1996 New Orleans meeting Gregg Lint suggested this panel's topic, one familiar to most documentary editors. For example, in the panel, "The Joys and Horrors of Editing: Scientists and Scientific Philosophers," Robert Schulmann, editor of the Albert Einstein Papers, stated that there is no evidence about Einstein's purported collaboration with his wife; that is, no documents tell us whether she assisted him with his revolutionary work, and no documents indicate that she did not. Documentary editors regularly encounter such situations, where the documents that could answer key questions about a person's life or career are missing, or maybe never even existed. As Carolyn De Swarte Gifford stated, "We don't always have perfect sources." In the case of John Adams, Gregg Lint warns that we may confuse the "paper person, the product of his own writings and what others wrote about him" with the real John Adams. Three editors explored this problem in the session. Each of these editors made concrete and compelling statements about the difficulty in getting to know the real person, the one who wrote the journal, the letters, or the speeches. From this session, we were given new words: "gaps" and "silences" help us explain our difficulties in bringing a subject to life. Two of the panelists concluded that we editors can use annotation to fill in the gaps or create a context for the missing links in our subject's life. Yet we must at the same time be careful about the leaps we take in our eagerness to create that context. For some situations, where no documents exist, one simply cannot risk a hypothetical interpretation. As Robert Hudspeth advises, we editors need in our introductions to call readers' attention to "the fragmentary nature of the record."

*Note: The three papers from this panel appear in this issue.*

## Editors on the Web

Chair: Esther Katz

This session explored the use of the World Wide Web as a method of outreach for documentary editing projects. With "So You Think You Need a Website: Designing World Wide Web Access to Documentary Editing Projects," Cathy Moran Hajo argued that websites need careful planning, and that editors

need to determine their audiences and goals before launching a webpage. She also gave an overview of the different features existing documentary editing sites provide. Frank E. Grizzard, Jr.'s World Wide Web-based presentation, "Come on In, the Door's Open: The Who, Where and Whys of Visitors to Our Websites," explored the subjects contained in its title by exhibiting the statistical and anecdotal material taken from the websites of the Association for Documentary Editing and the Papers of George Washington editorial project. Sally Thomas's "Using Web Pages to Reach K-12 and High School Audiences," which was read by Candace Falk, challenged documentary editors to offer high-quality web-based curricular tools that will both educate K-12 students and inform the public about the value of documentary editing. Carol DeBoer Langworthy then offered some insightful comments drawn from her experience with the Women Writers Project, and questions followed.

### **Curating and Editing Ernest Hemingway**

Chair: J. A. Leo Lemay

In "Publishing Ernest Hemingway's 'A Lack of Passion': True Adventures of a Documentary Editor," Susan Beegel told of her numerous perilous adventures as a result of publishing a new Hemingway story, together with advice on how to deal with publicists intent on turning an artful story into a notorious confession by the author. James Edward Nagel, who surveyed the history of the Hemingway manuscripts, commented on the numerous revisions present in most of the manuscripts, and explained the forces underlying the refusal of the Hemingway heirs to allow their publication. Stephen Plotkin, archivist of the Hemingway Collection at the Kennedy Library, discussed the various challenges facing archivists and manuscript librarians in dealing with scholars, collectors, and trustees, using the Hemingway manuscripts as an example.

### **Are Religious Records Different? Types, Transcriptions, Translations**

Chair: Maureen Ursenbach Beecher

The projects described in this panel present unusual difficulties, but not necessarily because they are based on religious records. Robert Cain, of the Colonial Records of North Carolina, described the dearth of material from the colonial era but noted that religious records have been preserved better than secular material, because of the existence of missionary letters. Although the attitudes exhibited in these letters may differ because of their religious origins, the editorial problems are the same. Patricia Holland described the work of *Afro-American Religion: A Documentary History*. Her sources are not much different from those you would find in secular studies of the period: they all share problems of having to translate documents from Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin; deciding how to treat oral history materials; and determining ways to include artifacts. J. Barton Starr, of the Papers of Robert Morrison, described a project that includes both religious and business material. Rowena

McClinton, who is editing the Moravian Springplace Diaries, described a project in which she must deal with missionary and Native American materials, and the attitudes of these groups toward one another. Charles Nolan's project, *The Community Journal of Sister Mary Bernard Deggs*, presents unique problems. The document is a history of a religious community, but the problems arise from the unusual characteristics of the historian, who was semiliterate, a native French speaker writing in English, and in extremely bad health. The unique point of view of the writer and her eloquence, Nolan said, make the effort to surmount these problems worthwhile.

### **The Epistemology of the Electronic Text**

Chair: Julia Flanders

The three papers delivered at this conference session offered two specific and opposed perspectives on the role of images in electronic text resources, together with a more general discussion of the epistemological issues involved in the way we imagine the relationship between images and text. John Lavagnino's presentation critiqued the role played by a "lingering strain of positivism that afflicts both humanities computing and text editing," and the various arguments for including images that develop therefrom: that digital images are necessary to provide accurate documentary information about the source text, that they are capable of doing so, that good scholarship relies on such evidence being available. Carol Barash's paper, in response, offered arguments for providing images that centered on the pedagogical importance of situating the electronic text in a material cultural context, thus giving it historical specificity as a circulating object of consumption. The third paper, by Julia Flanders, attempted to provide a framework within which to understand more distinctly the arguments on each side, by understanding them as emerging from different models for thinking about how electronic editions present information, and by considering these models historically in light of the long debate about the relationship between images and text.

The session thus dramatized a central debate in the growing world of electronic editing, one which all too easily degenerates into the oversimplification of "pro-image" versus "anti-image." As this session sought to show, definite practical considerations such as funding and logistics frequently dictate the necessity of including or excluding images in electronic editions. However, the question of how *ideally* the electronic edition should be constituted needs to be addressed apart from these considerations. The theoretical issues that are most pressing here include questions of how an electronic edition gains its authority, how it positions itself in relation to source documents, and how it constructs the relationship between the editor and the reader. These questions, although they may in many cases be overridden by practical issues of file size or cost, are methodologically fundamental to any well-considered electronic edition, and without addressing them we can never have a sound basis for our use of images in the electronic edition.

### A Resolution in Memory of George C. Rogers, Jr., 1922–1997

*Whereas*, George C. Rogers, Jr., made a significant contribution to the understanding of the American past and to the craft of documentary editing in his distinguished career as editor of *The Papers of Henry Laurens*;

*And Whereas* George C. Rogers, Jr., trained a generation of men and women who followed in his footsteps to become editors of documentary editions as well as scholars of the American past;

*And Whereas* George C. Rogers, Jr., brought to the editing community a lively intellectual curiosity and a wry sense of humor which contributed greatly to its camaraderie and well-being;

*And Whereas* George C. Rogers, Jr.'s accomplishments as a historian of South Carolina and the nation were manifest in his many award-winning publications, including *The History of Georgetown County* and *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys*;

*And Whereas* George C. Rogers, Jr., was a man whose sense of public duty, whose personal integrity, and whose kindness and helpfulness to others endeared him to those who knew him;

*Now, Therefore Be It Resolved* that the Association for Documentary Editing extend the deepest sympathy and condolences of its members to the family of George C. Rogers, Jr.

*And Be It Further Resolved* that the President of the Association transmit copies of this resolution to the family of George C. Rogers, Jr., and that it be published in *Documentary Editing*, the journal of the Association.

### A Resolution in Memory of John Niven, 1921–1997

*Whereas*, John Niven was an incisive interpreter of major American figures through his scholarly biographies of Gideon Welles, Israel Putnam, Martin Van Buren, John C. Calhoun, and Salmon P. Chase;

*And Whereas* John Niven has contributed to the documentary editing profession through his editorship of the five volumes of *The Salmon P. Chase Papers*;

*And Whereas* John Niven served with distinction for twenty-nine years as professor of American history and chair of the Graduate Faculty of History at the Claremont Graduate School;

*Now, Therefore Be It Resolved* that the Association for Documentary Editing extend its condolences to the family of John Niven by transmitting a copy of this resolution to them;

*And Be It Further Resolved* that the Association for Documentary Editing record this resolution in the minutes of its business meeting.

### Butterfield Award *Continued from page 7*

In the Society's deep roots and rich experience, documentary editors can glimpse a usable past and future. With supreme self-confidence, early members of this Society announced to the public that, if it became necessary "to discontinue the publication of their Collections, it will be not for want of materials or exertion on their part, but for want of sufficient encouragement on the part of the public; and it will give them extreme pain to record this as one of the characteristics of the American people, that they are backward to encourage the publication of materials for the history of their own country." Two centuries later, the Association for Documentary Editing honors the vision, constancy, productivity, and quality of documentary publishing at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

### The Jo Ann Boydston Essay Prize

The 1997 Jo Ann Boydston Essay Prize, given biennially for the best review or review essay dealing with scholarly editing of works or documents, was awarded to Dale Kramer for "The Composer as Copy-Text," a review of George Eliot's *Ramola*, edited by Andrew Brown. The review appeared in volume 9 of *Text*.

### Twenty-Year Gap *Continued from page 21*

cence, that the time for such self-indulgent reflectiveness should be over. It was time, she seemed to imply, that she get on with her life, that she act on her commitment to women's rights, not merely contemplate it.

However I tackle the "gap problem"—whether I try to "fill it" or "bridge it" or whatever—I guess that I can take some comfort in the fact that this seems to be a problem that is not peculiar to Willard and me. Several people whom I told about the subject of this article have responded that they must deal with just this kind of issue. We do not always have perfect sources; indeed, there may never be enough or good enough sources to satisfy our desire to know everything about our biographical subject. After doing the best we can with what we have, then, we will simply have to trust our readers' imaginations to help bridge the gaps.

# Minutes of the ADE Annual Business Meeting

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, 16 OCTOBER 1997

President Herman J. Saatkamp, Jr., called the meeting to order at 4:00 P.M.

The minutes of the 1996 annual business meeting, as published in the March 1997 *Documentary Editing*, were approved.

## Secretary's Report

Sharon Ritenour Stevens reported the results of the 1997 election, in which 73 ballots were cast: President-elect, Leslie S. Rowland; Secretary, Susan H. Perdue; Treasurer, William M. Ferraro; Director of Publications, Thomas A. Mason; Councilor-at-large, Ann D. Gordon. The Nominating Committee consists of Elizabeth H. Witherell (chair), Frank G. Burke, Ellen R. Cohn, Esther Katz, and C. James Taylor.

Current membership stands at 499, compared to 513 in September 1996, which includes 51 subscriptions. During 1997 the ADE gained 35 new members and had 3 reinstated, while it lost 50 members through death, resignation, or nonpayment of dues. A breakdown of membership categories includes 20 Patrons, 38 Sustaining, 14 Students, and 24 Retirees. There were 47 contributors, and of those 24 requested the premium *Only in Books: Writers, Readers, & Bibliophiles on Their Passion*, compiled by J. Kevin Graffagnino.

Sharon reported that Frank Grizzard maintains the ADE's home page at the University of Virginia; which is accessed at <http://etext.virginia.edu/ade>. An ADE membership application is available on the home page, as well as in the 1998 membership directory. We continue to offer Beth Luey's *Editing Documents and Texts: An Annotated Bibliography* as a premium to new ADE members. The updated microfiche for *Documentary Editing* (1979–1996) is available to members for \$10.

## Treasurer's Report

Philander D. Chase distributed the financial report for Fiscal Year 1996–97 (1 September to 31 August). The report showed total cash assets of \$44,440 (\$7,394 in checking, \$10,421 in regular savings, and \$26,625 in a certificate of deposit). Because of the early date (September) of the 1996 New Orleans convention, much of the income for that meeting came in before the beginning of the fiscal year on 1 September 1996, while most of the expenses of the meeting were paid after that date. This circumstance produced a high surplus for FY 1995–96 (\$13,679) and a deficit of \$124 for FY 1996–97. As of 31 August 1997, the Julian P. Boyd Award Fund had a balance of \$15,073, and the Jo Ann Boydston Award Fund had a balance of \$5,400. The treasurer's report was approved.

## Committee Reports

1. Program Committee. Cullom Davis reported that the Boston meeting features an Electronic Editions Showcase, a series of 15-minute presentations preceding and following the conference sessions. Leslie Rowland, in charge of the program for next year's meeting in St. Louis, requested that members submit suggestions and proposals to her for the 1998 program as well as ideas to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the founding of ADE.

2. Meetings Committee. Gary Moulton announced that next year the ADE meeting will be held 8–10 October 1998 at the Marriott Pavilion in St. Louis, Missouri. The 1999 meeting will be held in Charlottesville, Virginia, on 7–9 October at the Omni Hotel. The committee is looking for a location in the West for the year 2000, perhaps at Austin, Texas.

3. Publications Committee. Mary A. Y. Gallagher reported on behalf of Director of Publications Thomas A. Mason, chair of the committee. Beth Luey, director of the Scholarly Publishing Program in the History Department at Arizona State University, was chosen to succeed C. James Taylor as editor of *Documentary Editing*, effective with the March 1998 issue. An advisory committee, chaired by John P. Kaminski, recommended that the ADE endorse the book *Editing Historical Documents: A Handbook of Practice*, edited by Michael E. Stevens and Steven B. Burg, which AltaMira Press recently published. The ADE Council concurred, and the book is available from the ADE at a twenty percent discount to its members. An advisory committee chaired by Linda Johanson is pleased to report that the revised edition of *A Guide to Documentary Editing* by Mary-Jo Kline is completed and will be published by Johns Hopkins University Press by January 1998. The ADE will also sell this book to its members at a twenty percent discount.

4. Federal Policy Committee. Charlene Bickford brought before the ADE membership resolutions of thanks to the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians for their steadfast support of historical editions when the National Historical Publications and Records Commission voted in November 1996 to make major changes in its strategic plan that would have endangered historical editions supported by the commission's grants program. The resolutions were passed by the membership.

At this point Candace Falk thanked Charlene Bickford and others for making contact with the historical organizations. Appreciation was expressed for Terry Collins's work to set up e-mail which speeded communication. Ann D. Gordon then

read a resolution of thanks to the ADE's representative to the NHPRC, colleagues of the Federal Policy Committee, and the countless historians and historical organizations, whose persistence made it possible to gain reconsideration of the commission's 1996 strategic plan. The resolution further urged the ADE's representatives and allies to seek full restoration of documentary editions into the plans and priorities of the commission. By full restoration is meant a program to ensure the availability of documentary editions exploring not only the founding era but the full span of American history and the diversity of the American historical experience.

The resolution passed. Constance B. Schulz urged the ADE to talk to historical organizations about the crucial importance of documentary editions and to carry our message to the scholarly organizations.

### New Business

Herman Saatkamp reported that the historical and documentary editing communities mourned the recent loss of two professional documentary editors. David Chesnutt read a resolution in memory of George C. Rogers, Jr., who had a distinguished career as editor of *The Papers of Henry Laurens*. The resolution was accepted.

Beverly Wilson Palmer will prepare a resolution in memory of John Niven, who served as editor of the *Salmon P. Chase Papers* project.

There being no further business, President Saatkamp adjourned the meeting at 4:45 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,  
Sharon Ritenour Stevens, Secretary

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### Presidential Address

*Continued from page 5*

1. Boyce Rensberger, *Life Itself: Exploring the Realm of the Living Cell* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 127.
2. For a full discussion of genetic editions, see chapter 6 of the new *A Guide to Documentary Editing* by Mary-Jo Kline, 2d ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).
3. Twin studies also provide evidence that many of our behavior traits seem genetically based.
4. George Santayana, one of the major writers of the twentieth century, was born in Madrid, Spain, on 16 December 1863. Philosopher, poet, best-selling novelist, critic of culture and literature, he had wide-ranging interests and abilities that make him one of the great men of letters of our time. In 1872 he came to Boston, Massachusetts, to live with his mother; his father returned to Spain. To learn English, he attended an American kindergarten (Miss Welchman's on Chestnut Street) and a year later entered the Brimmer School (the public primary school). From 1874 to 1882 he was a student in the Boston Latin School, and from 1882 to 1889 he completed his B.A. and Ph.D. at Harvard University. His undergraduate concentration on philosophy, classics, and English literature, with a minor but sustaining influence of the natural sciences, advanced his important and

novel blending of naturalism and idealism in all of his writings. From 1889 to 1912 he was a faculty member at Harvard University, building with William James and Josiah Royce one of the great eras in the Department of Philosophy. Among his students were poets (Conrad Aiken, T. S. Eliot, Robert Frost, Wallace Stevens), journalists and writers (Walter Lippmann, Max Eastman, Van Wyck Brooks), professors (Samuel Eliot Morison, Harry Austryn Wolfson), a Supreme Court Justice (Felix Frankfurter), numerous diplomats (including his friend Bronson Cutting), and a university president (James B. Conant). At the age of forty-eight, Santayana retired from Harvard to become a full-time writer, publishing twenty-seven books and numerous articles during his lifetime. Finding England and Europe more conducive to writing and to living, he departed from the United States on 23 January 1912, never to return. During World War I he resided primarily at Oxford and Cambridge. Thereafter, his locales revolved around Paris, the Riviera, Florence, Cortina d'Ampezzo, and Rome. He appeared on the front of *Time* magazine on 3 February 1936 in conjunction with the publication of his best-selling novel, *The Last Puritan*, and his autobiography, *Persons and Places*, was a Book-of-the-Month Club selection in 1944-45. Unsuccessful in his efforts to leave Rome before World War II, on 14 October 1941, he entered the Clinica della Piccola Compagna di Maria, a clinic run by an order of Catholic nuns, where he died on 26 September 1952. He is buried in the "Panteon de la Obra Pia espanola" in Rome's Campo Verano Cemetery.

5. George Santayana, *The Birth of Reason and Other Essays*, ed. Daniel Cory with a new Introduction by Herman J. Saatkamp, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 53.

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## In Memoriam

Hanna M. Bercovitch

Hanna M. Bercovitch died of lung cancer on October 20, 1997. She was the founding editor of the Library of America and later served as its editor-in-chief. She began attending ADE meetings about 1987 and until last year came annually to our gatherings. Bercovitch edited my *Benjamin Franklin: Writings* for the Library of America in 1987. She was extraordinarily painstaking, even though she, in "correcting" the only supposed mistake in the text of Franklin's *Autobiography*, actually introduced the error because she used a photocopy of the manuscript that did not show a faint line present in the holograph. But it was typical of her thoroughness that despite reprinting a text sealed by the Center for Editions of American Authors, she nevertheless checked it. She enjoyed all aspects of editing: on the one hand, she was especially proud of restoring Richard Wright's original text of *Native Son*, and on the other, she delighted in compiling the biographies of the little-known authors who wrote pieces for and against the Constitution. "Fundamental and original research," she called the latter. She became an authority on each author she edited, and I truly believe that in the last few years, she knew more about numerous American authors of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than I. She was always enthusiastic and full of information about the author she was editing. She was intellectual, stimulating, and fun. I enjoyed her company, and like many others, will miss her.

—J. A. Leo Lemay

# Recent Editions

COMPILED BY KEVIN J. HAYES

"Recent Editions" attempts to provide an up-to-date, annotated bibliography of all scholarly editions of documents in the fields of English and American history, literature, and culture, starting with those published in 1992. The bibliography is generally restricted to works edited from manuscript, but other noteworthy books received may be listed. Review copies of recent editions should be sent to Kevin J. Hayes, English Department, University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, Oklahoma 73034-0184.

CANADA, DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE. *Documents on Canadian External Relations, Volume 20: 1954*. Ed. Greg Donaghy and Ted Kelly. Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1997. lii & 1916 pp. Documents included concern Canada's contribution to the Colombo Plan; efforts to further the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT); diplomatic relations with Indochina; position on the Korean Conflict; efforts concerning the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), especially defense planning, disarmament policy, and mutual aid policy; participation in the United Nations; and relationship to the United States, especially concerning defense and energy policy.

CHURCHILL, WINSTON, and EMERY REVES. *Winston Churchill and Emery Reves: Correspondence, 1937-1964*. Ed. Martin Gilbert. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997. xviii & 397 pp. The correspondence begins in 1937, the year Reves became Churchill's literary agent. With Reves's help, Churchill's writings were disseminated much more widely than they had been, especially across the United States. Besides providing information about Churchill's literary efforts, these letters supply much additional detail concerning his political career.

DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA: *Personal Accounts of British Emigrants to North America during the Revolutionary Era*. Ed. Barbara DeWolfe. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. xxii & 228 pp. This collection includes a variety of documents from emigrants who arrived from 1760 to 1775—letters, published and unpublished accounts—subdivided into geographical subsections: Nova Scotia, Middle Colonies, Chesapeake, North Carolina, and South Carolina and Georgia.

DODGE, RICHARD IRVING. *The Powder River Expedition Journals of Colonel Richard Irving Dodge*. Ed. Wayne R. Kime. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. xiv & 206 pp. Dodge's journals contain much personal information, yet they also form the fullest firsthand account of General George Crook's 1876 Powder River Expedition against the Sioux and Cheyenne.

FAULKNER, WILLIAM. *Mosquitoes: A Facsimile and Transcription of the University of Virginia Holograph Manuscript*. Ed. Thomas L. McHaney and David L. Vander Meulen. Charlottesville: The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia and the University of Virginia Library, 1997. xx & 99 pp. Though generally recognized as Faulkner's weakest novel, the *Mosquitoes* nevertheless represents an important step in Faulkner's growth as an author. This beautifully printed edition with photofacsimile and transcription on facing pages supplements the multivolume facsimile edition published a decade ago by Garland and provides a peek into Faulkner's early compositional process.

FRANKLIN, BUCK COLBERT. *My Life and an Era: The Autobiography of Buck Colbert Franklin*. Ed. John Hope Franklin and John Whittington Franklin. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997. xxx & 288 pp. Franklin, an African American born and raised in Indian Territory, rose to prominence as a Tulsa attorney. His autobiographical account poignantly describes the complex race relations in early Oklahoma between Native American, African American, and the newcomer, the white settler. Franklin devotes several pages to the 1921 Tulsa race riot.

H.D. (HILDA DOLITTLE) and NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON. *The Letters of H. D. and Norman Holmes Pearson*. Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1997. xiv & 311 pp. This selected edition contains 186 of the more than 1000 surviving letters between H.D. and Pearson, her friend and agent. The correspondence begins in 1937 and continues through 1961, the year of H.D.'s death. Topics discussed include book collecting, literature, personal relationships, poetry writing, and political events, among many others.

OLSON, CHARLES. *Collected Prose*. Ed. Donald Allen and Benjamin Friedlander. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. xvi & 472 pp. The volume begins with Olson's most important prose work, *Call Me Ishmael*. The remaining works include essays, book reviews, and notes treating a wide variety of notable literary figures including Robert Creeley (who introduces the volume), Fyodor

Dostoevsky, D. H. Lawrence, Ezra Pound, Captain John Smith, and William Carlos Williams.

REID, DAVID SETTLE. *The Papers of David Settle Reid, Volume 2: 1853–1913*. Ed. Lindley S. Butler and Lang Baradell. Raleigh, NC: Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1997. xxvi & 408 pp. The papers included here concern Reid's second term as governor of North Carolina and his subsequent role as U.S. senator prior to the Civil War. He died in 1882. The last document, a 1913 letter, marks his wife's death.

SLADEN, JOSEPH ALTON. *Making Peace with Cochise: The 1872 Journal of Captain Joseph Alton Sladen*. Ed. Edwin R. Sweeney. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. xxiv & 179 pp. Sladen, aide-de-camp to Brigadier General Oliver Otis Howard, accompanied him into the Arizona mountains where they sought Cochise. Sladen's depiction of the great Native American leader is often touching and insightful.

UNITED STATES, DEPARTMENT OF STATE. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963, Volume XXII/XXIV: Northeast Asia, Laos, Microfiche Supplement*. Ed. Edward C. Keefer, David W. Mabon, and Harriet Dashiell Schwar. Washington: Department of State, 1997. Documents included concern U.S. policy toward China, the U.S. relationship with the Nationalist government on Taiwan, ambassadorial talks in Warsaw between the United States and the People's Republic of China, the military overthrow of the Korean government in May 1961, and U.S.-Japanese political, economic, and military relations.

WAKEFIELD, SARAH F. *Six Weeks in the Sioux Tepees: A Narrative of Indian Captivity*. Ed. June Namias. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. xii & 173 pp. This narrative, first published in Minnesota in 1864 and now freshly edited and annotated with a sensitive and thorough introduction, makes a good contribution to the history of American captivity literature.

### Meet Us in St. Louis!

The 1998 ADE annual meeting will mark the twentieth anniversary of the association's founding. Plan to join the celebration in St. Louis, 8–10 October 1998. Proposals for papers and panels may still be considered, especially those reflecting upon the history of the ADE or of scholarly editing during the past twenty years, or addressing the future of editing and editors. Send ideas or proposals immediately to Leslie Rowland, Department of History, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742; e-mail, LR20@umail.umd.edu.

### —Request for Nominations— Distinguished Service Award

From time to time, the ADE Council recognizes outstanding contributions to the field of documentary editing and to the Association by conferring the Distinguished Service Award on one or more of its members. In 1997, many members performed distinguished services for the Association and for the field of documentary editing. Please send your nominations for the Distinguished Service Award to Diana Hadley, Documentary Relations of the Southwest, Arizona State Museum, Tucson, AZ 85721 by 15 July 1998. Nominations should include a paragraph describing the member's contribution to documentary editing during 1997.

### South Carolina Department of Archives and History Moves

The South Carolina Department of Archives and History will close to the public on 19 April 1998 to move to 8301 Parklane Road in Columbia. The collection will reopen at the new location on 5 May. Anyone planning a research visit to the archives this spring should call ahead to verify operating hours and document availability. The phone number is 803-734-8596.

# ADE Treasurer's Report

FISCAL YEAR 1996-97

<b>Income</b>	<u>1995-96 actual</u>	<u>1996-97 budget</u>	<u>1996-97 actual</u>
Dues & contributions	\$12,814	\$13,000	\$11,430
Convention	16,830	2,200	4,551
<i>Doc. Editing</i> subscriptions	1,364	1,300	1,144
Membership lists & disks	10	200	330
Interest	925	1,300	1,306
Totals	<u>\$31,943</u>	<u>\$ 18,000</u>	<u>\$ 18,761</u>

<b>Expenses</b>	<u>1995-96 actual</u>	<u>1996-97 budget</u>	<u>1996-97 actual</u>
Convention	\$ 9,501	\$ 7,000	\$ 7,553
<i>Documentary Editing</i>	5,647	6,000	5,774
Membership directory	899	900	899
Federal Policy Committee	0	750	452
National Coordinating Committee	750	1,000	1,000
National Humanities Alliance	750	1,000	1,000
Student intern	0	0	754
Butterfield Prize	250	500	500
Office supplies & postage	460	750	294
Premium books	0	0	310
Miscellaneous expenses	7	100	349
Totals	<u>\$18,264</u>	<u>\$ 18,000</u>	<u>\$18,885</u>

On 31 August 1997 the ADE had \$7,394 in checking, \$10,421 in savings, and \$26,625 in a certificate of deposit, a total of \$44,440. This is a decrease of \$124 in cash assets. The ADE's fiscal year runs from 1 September to 31 August.

## ***Guide to Documentary Editing* Revision Project**

Below are the income and expenses for the project from its beginning on 1 April 1995 to 31 August 1997. The current checking account balance for the *Guide* project is \$4,840.

<b>Income</b>	
NHPRC grant funds received	\$31,430
ADE contribution	<u>3,500</u>
Total income	\$34,930

<b>Expenses</b>	
Author's fees	\$21,600
Project director	4,000
Advisory committee meetings	3,244
OCR scanning and photocopying	558
Postage, telephone, and supplies	<u>688</u>
Total expenses	\$ 30,090

## **Julian P. Boyd Award Fund**

Balance on 9/1/96	\$14,118
Paid out 1996-97	0
Contributions 1996-97	365
Interest acquired 1996-97	<u>590</u>
Balance as of 8/31/97	\$15,073

## **Jo Ann Boydston Award Fund**

Balance on 9/1/96	\$ 5,151
Paid out 1996-97	0
Contributions 1996-97	30
Interest acquired 1996-97	<u>219</u>
Balance as of 8/31/97	\$ 5,400