

University of Nebraska - Lincoln

DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

---

Documentary Editing: Journal of the Association  
for Documentary Editing (1979-2011)


Documentary Editing, Association for

---

6-1998

## Documentary Editing, Volume 20, Number 2, June 1998.

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/docedit>

 Part of the [Digital Humanities Commons](#), [Other Arts and Humanities Commons](#), [Reading and Language Commons](#), and the [Technical and Professional Writing Commons](#)

---

"Documentary Editing, Volume 20, Number 2, June 1998." (1998). *Documentary Editing: Journal of the Association for Documentary Editing (1979-2011)*. 552.

<http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/docedit/552>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Documentary Editing, Association for at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in Documentary Editing: Journal of the Association for Documentary Editing (1979-2011) by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

# DOCUMENTARY EDITING

June 1998

Vol. 20, No. 2

Springplace, 1815.

This is a copy  
of the original  
manuscript

Januar.

Q-1<sup>te</sup> in unserm ersten Versuchung, welche mit sechsen Eng- und  
Ameisen des So dem Landmanus, d. des 100<sup>ten</sup> Offizier, g-f-ung. Auf  
wenn Gebet in Lichten in diesem Lande, d. auch. O-ge-fer mit d. alle  
Cin-ge-ten des Pallen, in diesem Namen O-ge-fer d. ad-ge-fer für die in  
einigen O-ge-fer, den Namen, so-ge-fer, nach. Landman Europa, von in  
f-ung, mit-ge-fer so-ge-fer, g-f-ung, Lichten - das die O-ge-fer  
d. ge-fer, d. 100. welche O-ge-fer, mit-ge-fer, d. O-ge-fer, g-f-ung.  
Zunächst lesen wir unser O-ge-fer: Landman des für O-ge-fer  
mit-ge-fer l. ge-fer, O-ge-fer, Lichten, von auf-ge-fer mit-ge-fer  
d-ge-fer, auf-ge-fer, O-ge-fer, Lichten, mit-ge-fer, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten.  
d-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, von. In unserm fünften Versuchung l-  
ge-fer, in diesem sechsten, mit-ge-fer, O-ge-fer, d. In unserm  
sechsten Versuchung l-ge-fer, d. O-ge-fer, d. ge-fer, d. ge-fer, d. ge-fer.

Q-2<sup>te</sup> auf-ge-fer, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, auf-ge-fer, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten,  
Lichten, in O-ge-fer, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, O-ge-fer,  
von d. O-ge-fer, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten.

Q-3<sup>te</sup> auf-ge-fer, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer,  
Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten,  
Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten.

Q-4<sup>te</sup> auf-ge-fer, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer,  
Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten,  
Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten.

Q-5<sup>te</sup> auf-ge-fer, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer,  
Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten,  
Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten.

Q-6<sup>te</sup> auf-ge-fer, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer,  
Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten,  
Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten.

Q-7<sup>te</sup> auf-ge-fer, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer,  
Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten,  
Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten.

I am sorry it was so with me, as to prevent my coming over to Spring-  
place to have joined you all in the noble Adventure - by your kind  
our dear Sarah's last Breeding, on Sunday, 17th, after my being so offered in her  
the Devotion of Spirit, and which were heard. This was the first time, since  
My dear, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten, d. O-ge-fer, Lichten.

## Documentary Editing

*Documentary Editing* is published quarterly (in March, June, September, and December) by the Association for Documentary Editing and is provided free to all members. Membership categories are: Annual \$25, Sustaining \$40, Patron \$70, Student \$15, and Retired \$15. Institutional subscription rates are: Annual \$25, 2 years \$48, and 3 years \$70. Single copies (including back issues, most of which are available) are \$3 for members and \$5 for nonmembers. A microfiche set covering volumes 1–18 (1979–1996) may be purchased from the ADE secretary for \$10 by members and \$25 by nonmembers. The Association for Documentary Editing accepts no responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by contributors. Deadlines for submission of material for publication in *Documentary Editing* are: 15 January for the March issue, 15 April for the June issue, 15 July for the September issue, and 15 October for the December issue.

Correspondence on editorial matters and orders for back issues should be addressed to the editor: Beth Luey, Department of History, P.O. Box 872501, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287-2501. Copies of new editions for review and/or inclusion in the *Documentary Editing* bibliography should be sent to the bibliography editor: Kevin J. Hayes, Department of English, University of Central Oklahoma, 100 North University Drive, Edmond, OK 73034-0184. Inquiries about membership in the Association for Documentary Editing, address corrections, and orders for microfiche sets should be sent to the secretary: Susan H. Perdue, Papers of John Marshall, P.O. Box 8781, Williamsburg, VA 23187. Permission to reprint articles may be obtained at no cost by written request to the director of publications: Thomas A. Mason, Indiana Historical Society, 315 W. Ohio St., Indianapolis, IN 46202-3299.

©1998 The Association for Documentary Editing  
All rights reserved.  
ISSN 0196-7134

Member of the Conference of Historical Journals.  
Third-class postage paid at Tempe, AZ.

Printed on acid-free paper by Metagraphix, Phoenix, Arizona.

*Cover:* The first page of Anna Rosina Kliest Gambold's Springplace Diary for 1915. Courtesy of Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina

June 1998                      Contents                      Vol. 20, No. 2

<i>On Editing Hemingway Badly or Not at All: Cautionary Reflections</i> Susan F. Beegel.....	29
<i>The Ernest Hemingway Collection at the John F. Kennedy Library</i> Stephen Plotkin.....	35
In Memoriam, Arthur Stanley Link .....	39
<i>Transcribing and Translating Early Nineteenth-Century Moravian Missionary Diaries</i> Rowena McClinton .....	42
<i>A Northerner Transformed</i> A Review James H. Cook.....	47
<i>Are Religious Records Different?</i> Robert J. Cain.....	51
Recent Editions Compiled by Kevin J. Hayes .....	54

The ADE homepage may be accessed at  
<http://etext.virginia.edu/ade>

### Editorial Staff

Sponsor    Department of History  
Arizona State University

Editor    Beth Luey

Assistant Editors    Molly A. Schnepf  
Karie L. Kirkpatrick

Bibliography Editor    Kevin J. Hayes

Publications Committee: Thomas A. Mason (chair),  
Patricia Brady, Mary A. Y. Gallagher, Edward W. Hanson,  
Christian J. W. Kloesel, Beth Luey, Stacy Pratt McDermott,  
and Douglas E. Wilson

# On Editing Hemingway Badly or Not at All: Cautionary Reflections

SUSAN F. BEEGEL

The archivally correct cardboard boxes of the Hemingway Collection pulse with energy. Hemingway's estate included at his death nearly twenty thousand pages of holograph, typescript, carbon, and proof.<sup>1</sup> Those pages make up more than eight hundred manuscripts of published and unpublished work, and vividly show the composition process of twentieth-century American literature's most influential prose stylist.<sup>2</sup> They represent as well one of the last and finest opportunities to study the composition process itself, now that the delete key has arrived to send all false starts, alternative endings, errors, and omissions into the ether, and to cloak the writer's additions and emendations as original decisions rather than hard-won improvements.

The Hemingway manuscripts are full of delectable problems to delight the heart of any documentary editor or textual scholar. We have manuscripts of *The Sun Also Rises* with introductory chapters deleted in galleys and the names of actual individuals left in, so that you can read about Hemingway's first wife Hadley Richardson and matador Niño de la Palma if you like. There are the famous alternative endings of *A Farewell to Arms*—between thirty-two and forty-one, depending on how you count—grouped by Bernard Oldsey into “The *Nada* Ending, The Fitzgerald Ending, The Religious Ending, The Live-Baby Ending, The Morning-After Ending, The Funeral Ending, the original *Scribner's* [magazine] Ending, and *The* Ending.”<sup>3</sup> There are lengthy and beautiful portions of writing left out of Hemingway's canonical short stories that illuminate portions of the published work with plot expansions (such as the “Three Shots” segment of “Indian Camp”) and metafiction (including “On Writing,” the deleted conclusion of “Big Two-Hearted River”). There are manuscripts with editorial suggestions by F. Scott Fitzgerald (“Delete”

and “Do Yourself”) and manuscripts with authorial retorts by Hemingway (“Kiss My Ass”).

Since 1980, when the Kennedy Library's Hemingway Room opened for research, thousands of additional pages and dozens of items of memorabilia have been added by the donations of Hemingway family members, friends, and collectors as well as by the purchases of an active Friends group. Here you can find not only treasures such as the manuscripts of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* or *A Moveable Feast*, but also items such as Hemingway's first spelling test (the words included *forest, dark, owl, Indian, and Nokomis*—he got a perfect score) and his first short story, written at age eleven, about harpooning a porpoise from the bowsprit of a ship bound for Sydney, Australia. The collection is rich in other materials as well: bullfight tickets, hunting licenses, passports, war medals, and newspapers with stories he would rework into fiction. There are over ten thousand still photographs and slides of Hemingway, illustrating his life from childhood to old age, and with it the American twentieth century. And there are thousands of letters to and from Hemingway—letters erotic, gossipy, scatological, and literary.

The Hemingway Collection also resonates with the energy of the fine scholars and archivists who have worked on organizing and understanding these papers. I think of Philip Young and Charles W. Mann and their work creating an inventory of the manuscripts for Mary Hemingway, Ernest's widow and literary executrix. I think of Jo August, first curator of the collection, and her work developing the huge catalog, and of all the work her successors—Joan O'Connor, Megan Desnoyers, and Stephen Plotkin—have done to keep that catalog first-rate as accessions stream in. It is impossible to visit the Hemingway Collection without thinking of ground-breaking Hemingway biographies by Carlos Baker, Peter Griffin, Bernice Kert, Kenneth Lynn, James Mellow, and Michael Reynolds, or of superb textual studies such as Frederic Svoboda's *Hemingway and The Sun Also Rises*, Michael Reynolds's *Hemingway's First War: The Making of A Farewell to Arms*, and Paul Smith's *A Reader's Guide to the Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway*.

---

SUSAN F. BEEGEL is the author of Hemingway's *Craft of Omission: Four Manuscript Examples* and the editor of *The Hemingway Review*, a joint publication of the University of Idaho Press and the Ernest Hemingway Foundation. This paper was presented at the 1997 meeting of the Association for Documentary Editing.

## The Grim Prospects for Scholarly Editions

Conditions for editing Hemingway's work may seem ideal. Yet despite the comprehensiveness, importance, organization, and availability of the primary materials, and despite the immense work already done on supporting resources, we are not likely to have a definitive, scholarly edition of Hemingway's complete work before the final decades of the next century. The largest obstacle confronting such an edition is a carefully guarded publishing monopoly. Charles Scribner's Sons has always had exclusive rights to publish Hemingway's work, and has never voluntarily relinquished any portion of those rights either to a university press or to an academic trade venture such as Library of America or Norton Critical Editions. Once a family firm, the venerable Charles Scribner's Sons now belongs to Simon and Schuster, itself a small subsidiary of the media conglomerate Viacom, specializing in motion picture production, cable and network TV, and other forms of broadcasting.<sup>4</sup> Viacom is unlikely to experience a change of heart any time soon.

Since Hemingway's death in 1961, Scribner has created eight financially successful books from materials in the Hemingway Collection: *A Moveable Feast*; *The Fifth Column and Four Short Stories of the Spanish Civil War*; *Islands in the Stream*; *The Nick Adams Stories*; *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters, 1917–1961*; *The Dangerous Summer*; *The Garden of Eden*; and *The Complete Short Stories*. All are commercially edited, and all, with the exception of Carlos Baker's *Selected Letters*, are full of problems. To give just two examples: *The Dangerous Summer*, edited by Michael Pietsch, at 45,000 words represents less than half of Hemingway's original 108,746-word manuscript, a work the author once insisted was "'Proustian in its cumulative effect.'"<sup>5</sup> The so-called *Complete Short Stories* by no means contains every short story Hemingway ever wrote, either published or unpublished, and it does contain a number of fragments from unfinished novels. Each of the posthumously published books presents similar difficulties, and each constitutes a unique opportunity for a scholarly edition.

Even now, with the 1999 centennial of Hemingway's birth rapidly approaching, there is more posthumous publication to come: an entire book about his 1950s safari to Africa, a group of short stories about World War II, and a collection of letters far more comprehensive than the excellent start given us by Carlos Baker in 1981. Hemingway liked to refer to his unpublished manuscripts, which he kept in a bank vault, as his "life insurance policy,"<sup>6</sup> and it is certainly remarkable that, more than thirty-five years after his death, Hemingway continues to publish vigorously from beyond the grave.

Because of the substantial commercial value of Hemingway's work—canonical, posthumous, and still unpublished—the Hemingway estate and Scribner not only continue to maintain exclusive rights, but have placed other obstacles in the way of scholarship. For would-be editors and textual scholars, one of the most formidable is a ban on photocopying manuscripts related to published works. Research using these papers involves transcription by hand and the need to be physically present at the library to double-check such transcriptions. Those who clear this first hurdle find that permission to quote unpublished material is difficult to obtain and, when granted, can involve fees well beyond the reach of academic budgets. A young colleague recently paid \$6,000 in permissions fees (a sum representing 20 percent of his annual salary) to publish a study of *The Garden of Eden* manuscripts with a university press.

Given Scribner's apparent lack of commitment to complete and accurate texts, the bottom line is that we have no definitive editions of the canonical works, but many riddled with typos like the untagged line of dialogue in "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place" that has generated more than twenty articles since 1959.<sup>7</sup> And we have no variorum editions of posthumously published works such as the short story "Summer People," also containing a marvelous mistake. Nick says "You've got to get dressed, slut" twice after making love to a girl whose nickname is actually "Stut," an error of transcription that has generated some splendid misreadings bashing Hemingway for sexism.<sup>8</sup> Far more important, however, are the hundreds of pages of original material excluded from posthumously published books such as *A Moveable Feast* and *Islands in the Stream*.

Sadly for Hemingway studies, the long road to public domain—a necessity for a scholarly edition under current circumstances—seems to be growing longer rather than coming to an end. In March 1998, the House of Representatives passed legislation extending copyright for an additional twenty years. Formerly, under the 1976 Copyright Act, work entered the public domain either seventy-five years after the date of first publication, or fifty years after the author's death, whichever came first. For instance, copyright on Hemingway's first novel, *The Sun Also Rises* (1926), would have expired in 2001, and the Hemingway corpus as a whole would have entered the public domain after 2011. If this new legislation (called the Bono bill for its late sponsor, Congressman Sonny Bono) passes the Senate, those dates will become 2021 and 2031 respectively. The Bono bill does not protect the rights of artists, nor does it fulfill "the primary purpose of copyright as

stated explicitly by the framers of the U.S. Constitution . . . to promote the public welfare by the advancement of knowledge.”<sup>9</sup> Rather, the bill is designed to bring U.S. copyright law into line with that of the European Economic Community. This will enhance our trade balance by providing an additional twenty years’ protection for a multibillion-dollar American export industry in film and music, not coincidentally the principal financial products of media conglomerates such as Viacom, Disney, and Time-Warner who also own American publishing houses. With so much money at stake, there is little hope that the Senate will quash the Bono bill, which spells bad news for twentieth-century American literary scholarship in general, and Hemingway studies in particular. “I Got You, Babe,” indeed.

### The Lessons of Our Textual Vietnam

Hemingway studies will not be able to claim a definitive scholarly edition for years to come. We can, however, point to an event that is to documentary editing what Vietnam is to American military policy: Tom Jenks’s commercial edition of Hemingway’s unfinished novel, *The Garden of Eden*. *Eden* is a late, dark, tender, and deeply troubled experimental work dealing with sexuality and creativity. Its unveiling has completely revolutionized the way we think about Hemingway. Jenks reduced an original manuscript of some 2,400 pages, which we might charitably call 1,200 pages if we exclude multiple versions of various scenes,<sup>10</sup> to 247 printed pages. Cutting *Eden* was an editorial necessity, given that the work was destined for trade publication. But along the way Jenks eliminated an entire plot involving two writer-artist characters named Nick and Barbara Sheldon, and events you might think were central to any novel’s plot—such as a plane crash and a central character’s suicide.

Jenks went further. He put his red pencil into the living tissue of Hemingway’s prose, silently altering, deleting, adding, and even rewriting sentences and paragraphs. He put one character’s speeches into the mouth of another. He even gave the novel a new ending. And his changes seem to have an agenda. They make Hemingway’s male protagonist David Bourne more brutal and less sensitive, and his insane female protagonist Catherine Bourne more destructive and less wise. Jenks is a bold editor who can—and does—remove a woman’s breasts with the slash of his pen in the midst of a Hemingway love scene.<sup>11</sup> His changes reinforce stereotyped images of Hemingway rather than embrace the author’s genuine complexity. And Jenks went further still. He stepped from behind the mask of editorial anonymity to claim credit for “his” work and

his improvement of Hemingway, as if *Eden* were Jenks’s novel (as in fact it is, in its current corrupt form). His punishment was to be pilloried by Barbara Probst Solomon in a cover story for *The New Republic* that called his work a “travesty,”<sup>12</sup> and to face an outraged Hemingway Society at MLA.

Editing *Eden*. The red pencil in the place of creation. What a metaphor for arrogance. Clear-cut, subdivide, re-landscape, develop, and market. The disastrous Jenks edition reminds us that scholarly editing should be more about conservation and stewardship than about appropriation and exploitation of original creation—an ideal perhaps unattainable without public domain, now to be withheld from works published in the United States for almost a century. The failure of Jenks’s enormous cuts and strange rejoinings of materials reminds us that Barry Commoner’s first principle of ecology—everything is connected to everything else—also applies to well-crafted literature, and we violate that law at our peril. The *Eden* story also raises one of the most important questions in documentary editing: who will edit the editor? Who else has the knowledge of the text to call back a documentary editor out of control and to correct his or her work? We have a national aversion to doing things “by committee,” but partnerships or teams of co-editors may help ensure more responsible editing.

### Editing Hemingway’s “A Lack of Passion”: A Personal *Fracaso*

As our textual Vietnam, *The Garden of Eden* has at least infected everyone interested in scholarly editions of Hemingway’s work with a profoundly healthy “Never again” attitude. Which brings me to my own experience editing an unpublished Hemingway work, and a different kind of *fracaso*: that’s what the Spanish call a bullfight that ends with the matador being chased from the ring pursued by a crowd flinging dead cats and empty wine bottles.

For a few brief years after Mary Hemingway’s death in 1986, the estate agreed to permit photocopying of manuscripts and took a more liberal attitude toward scholars. Permission to publish textual work in learned journals was occasionally forthcoming, and I was pleased to receive a go-ahead to publish in *The Hemingway Review* an unfinished short story called “A Lack of Passion,” and even more pleased when editor Charles Oliver gave me *carte blanche* to edit the story in whatever manner I thought would be best, regardless of space or expense.

“A Lack of Passion,” in many ways like *The Garden of Eden*, is a short story about sexuality and creativity. The protagonist, Gavira, is a highly gifted but cowardly teen-

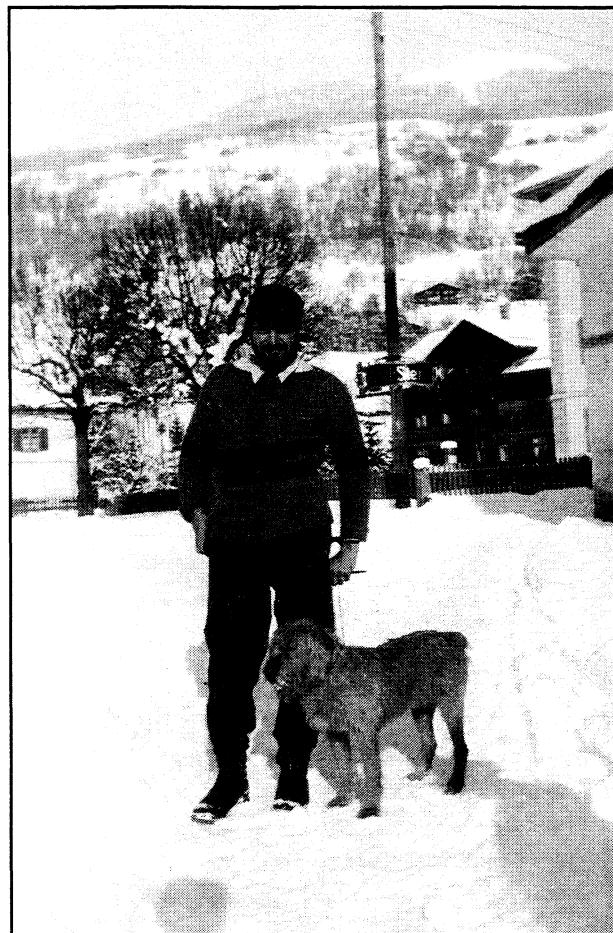
aged bullfighter based on the historic matador Chicuelo, a sort of child prodigy manipulated by his uncle-manager. In a state of total apathy—the boy does not care whether his bulls are taken out of the ring alive—Gavira performs disastrously in the arena, not only betraying his talent, but more seriously failing in his duty to protect the men in his cuadrilla. Gavira is unable to kill his bull, and his uncle has a member of the cuadrilla stab the animal clandestinely, a form of cheating in bullfighting. The boy is subsequently pursued by an angry crowd and briefly arrested. Gavira is also an emerging homosexual, but is apathetic about that as well. Depending on which version you read, the story either concludes with his embarrassing failed attempt to sodomize a hotel chambermaid, or with his waiting in a train berth for the arrival of his middle-aged banderillero Salas, whose catamite he is about to become.

Obviously not a *Saturday Day Evening Post* sort of story, “A Lack of Passion” was conceived by Hemingway in the winter of 1924–25 as a companion piece to the now canonical short story “The Undeclared,” about the aging matador Manuel Garcia who, despite his lack of talent, has great courage and is willing to die to fulfill his pledge to kill the bull. Hemingway was not yet a commercially successful author, although *In Our Time* was making the rounds of New York publishers, and he had just received rejections from George Doran and Alfred Knopf. He was still writing for the little magazines of Paris, whose editors would have accepted such sexually explicit and experimental material without a qualm. And so “A Lack of Passion” marks a turning point in Hemingway’s career. He quit work on the story when Horace Liveright’s New York firm accepted *In Our Time* and introduced him to the realities of trade publication—requiring Hemingway to drop the far less sexually explicit “Up in Michigan” and to edit censorable passages from “Mr. and Mrs. Elliot.”

Although the young author who smuggled James Joyce’s *Ulysses* through U.S. Customs surely knew in his heart that “A Lack of Passion” was unpublishable in 1920s America, Hemingway abandoned this experimental short story only with reluctance.<sup>13</sup> In 1926, after publishing *The Torrents of Spring* and *The Sun Also Rises*, Hemingway returned to “A Lack of Passion” when Paul Rosenfeld asked him to contribute a story to *The American Caravan*. The story would not come right, and he set it aside again until 1927, when he was collecting stories for *Men Without Women*. Again, “A Lack of Passion” was, in Hemingway’s own words, “not good enough,” and he put the short story away permanently, but not without saving the manuscripts.<sup>14</sup>

Editing the story was a great deal of fun for me.

Dating the three different drafts using letters, bullfighting newspapers, scribbled memoranda on notebook jackets, and Hemingway’s published remarks on the story in *Death in the Afternoon* was particularly challenging. With Charles Oliver’s blessing, I was able to present a clean short story based on my best judgment about where Hemingway was



Ernest Hemingway in Schruns, Austria, in the winter of 1925. Photo no. 74 7284N in the John F. Kennedy Library.

headed when he abandoned “A Lack of Passion.”<sup>15</sup> Better still, I was able to publish complete transcriptions of all the “Lack of Passion” manuscripts, showing additions and deletions exactly as Hemingway had composed them.<sup>16</sup> And I was even given space for an article discussing my decisions.<sup>17</sup>

This experience has always struck me as ideal. Readers could have both an edition *and* the raw materials of an edition, as well as a discussion of choices made and roads not taken. Then, we did all of this in the unwieldy medium of print. Now, CD-ROM would be an ideal venue for this

kind of project, permitting interactive editions where readers could readily construct their versions from facsimiles rather than transcriptions. Nevertheless, this is not the kind of editing venture likely to be welcomed by the general public or supported by publishers owned by Viacom.

We published "A Lack of Passion" in the Spring 1990 issue of *The Hemingway Review*, I congratulated myself on a job well done, and that's when the trouble began. Ohio Northern University, the journal's publisher, sent out a press release about both "A Lack of Passion" and another Hemingway story edited by another scholar in the same issue. To complicate matters further, the other scholar's university also launched a press release about his work. The monster of Hemingway's celebrity kicked in, and suddenly there was a story on the wire services and in *The New York Times*. The telephone began ringing off the hook with calls from Japan, China, Canada, and Italy, as well as from around the United States, and I was totally unprepared.

The first problem was that both university public relations offices and the press want manuscripts of unpublished work to be *discovered* with a capital "D," preferably in an attic trunk. The media thrive on stories like that of the man who bought a first edition of Poe's *Tamerlane* for a few dollars at a used book barn. It was no use to tell reporters that Hemingway mentioned "A Lack of Passion" in *Death in the Afternoon*, that it is catalogued in Young and Mann's inventory and the Library's collection, and that other scholars had looked at the manuscripts and briefly discussed them in print. You cannot tell an enterprising reporter that you "discovered" an unpublished Hemingway short story under "L" in the card catalog. Incredible distortions and fabrications arose around this issue, and because all such bogus discovery stories are insulting to well-managed archives like the Kennedy Library's Hemingway Collection, they were especially distressing.

The second problem was the story's sexual content—also grist to the mill of the popular press. A Hemingway story about a queer bullfighter! Unfortunately, all of this coincided with the recent publication of Kenneth Lynn's Hemingway biography, which notoriously postulates that Hemingway's mother confused his sexual identity by dressing him in girl's clothes when he was a baby. Many of the reporters wanted to make "A Lack of Passion" proof that Hemingway himself was a latent homosexual. I dealt with Japan's version of *Esquire* magazine and a racy Italian weekly. Then the Paul Harvey radio show ran a story about "A Lack of Passion" and Hemingway's homosexuality without consulting me, and I was ambushed by

several telephone calls from cranks who had gotten my number from the program. This kind of publicity was embarrassing not only to me personally, but to the Hemingway estate—to the author's sons who had generously allowed us to publish. I began to understand why Hemingway never finished "A Lack of Passion."

My colleague Donald Junkins had similar problems with the story he edited, "Philip Haines Was a Writer," published in the same issue of *The Hemingway Review*. He had to have *discovered* it, and the story was, unfortunately, biographically linked to Hemingway's painful divorce from his first wife, Hadley Richardson, and his marriage to Pauline Pfeiffer, the mothers of his sons.

The worst problem of all was caused by a reporter from *The Boston Globe* hoping to break out of the gardening section and onto the front page. She knew that the essence of a good newspaper story is conflict, and she also knew how to create conflict where none existed. Here's how it works. The reporter tells you that a colleague she refuses to name has said something terrible and untrue about you. The reporter will have extracted the statement from your colleague by a process of negative denial: the reporter says "I understand such-and-so's edition is shot full of errors" and the interviewee says "Oh, really?" or something equally noncommittal. Then the reporter puts her own words in your colleague's mouth because he or she didn't deny them, and repeats them to you. You then say something ill advised about your colleague. The reporter telephones your colleague and repeats the nasty thing you said. Your colleague responds. The reporter calls you back. And so you find yourself in the middle of a rampaging public battle that did not exist before a reporter went looking for a story.

Training in hostile cross-examination helped me to recognize and avoid this trap, but others involved in the story were not so lucky and found to their dismay that the reporter was playing the game with the Hemingway estate, already offended by the media treatment of both short stories. Given the general lunacy of the American media, having the glare of your subject's fame shine on you, even for Andy Warhol's statutory fifteen minutes, can be very disconcerting and even professionally devastating if you are not prepared.

Here are some lessons learned the hard way: Never allow an institution to issue a press release about your work without your consent to the language. If you publish with other people, coordinate your story in advance of publicity. Prepare a fact sheet of one page about your work that you can hand or fax to reporters so that they have your exact language in front of them. Reporters have to write



fast and on deadline, so they will use brief, accessible accounts. Never, ever affirm or fail to deny anything a reporter says to you that you do not want to see issuing from your mouth as a direct quotation. Say “Absolutely not” or something else equally unequivocal. Phrase your answer in your own words. Never respond to alleged remarks from a colleague a reporter refuses to name. Never respond to alleged remarks from a colleague a reporter *does* name. In fact, call that colleague, and develop a united front against your common enemy. Most of all, be boring.

### The Medium Is the Message

My experience editing “A Lack of Passion” should not surprise anyone. We have always known that the American media are more interested in miraculous discoveries, sexual scandals, and controversy than in literary content, historic worth, and the quiet work of scholarship. What is frightening is that media conglomerates—with the familiar values of Hollywood, cable TV, talk radio, tabloid newspapers, and the late, third-rate rock star Sonny Bono—have silently taken control of American publishing while we were in the library collating manuscripts. Charles Scribner’s Sons, Macmillan, and Simon and Schuster are no longer the names of publishing houses, but labels for Viacom entertainment products.

When the Senate ratifies copyright legislation already passed by Congress, as it surely will do to protect entertainment exports worth tens of billions annually to the American economy, media conglomerates will control virtually all intellectual property published in this country for at least a century after its first appearance. We have relinquished without a struggle our right to conduct editorial scholarship on work published in our own time, and with it the public’s right to choose from among multiple editions of contemporary classics.

Our various debacles with the Hemingway papers may therefore serve as a warning for all would-be editors of especially valuable twentieth-century American literary properties. Despite a comprehensive and superbly organized collection of manuscripts already much studied by archivists, biographers, textual scholars, documentary editors, and critics, Hemingway is being edited either badly for quick profit, or not at all, because of a publishing monopoly reluctant to share with the nonprofit sector. Our attempt to publish scholarly editions of two short stories in *The Hemingway Review* turned into a media nightmare, a profoundly unsatisfactory experience both for scholars and for copyright owners. Many of us who have devoted our careers to studying Hemingway have little

hope of putting our experience to work crafting carefully edited and fully annotated editions. Unless we can find ways to interest large corporations in cooperating with scholarly publishing ventures, learn to manipulate publicity to our own ends, and begin to understand literature’s lowly new position as one medium among many in a global marketplace, the work of editing Hemingway will belong to the next generation.

### Notes

1. Philip Young and Charles W. Mann, *The Hemingway Manuscripts: An Inventory* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1969), vii–viii.
2. Jo August, comp., *Ernest Hemingway: Catalog of the Manuscripts, Correspondence, and Other Materials in the John F. Kennedy Library*. 2 vols. (Boston: G. K. Hall Library Catalogs, 1981).
3. Bernard Oldsey, “The Sense of an Ending in *A Farewell to Arms*,” in *Modern Critical Interpretations: Ernest Hemingway’s A Farewell to Arms*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House, 1987), 79.
4. According to Morningstar’s America On-Line site, Viacom has plans to sell some of Simon and Schuster’s publishing operations in 1998.
5. William Kennedy, “The Last Olé,” Review of *The Dangerous Summer*, *The New York Times Book Review*, 9 June 1985, 1, 32.
6. Young and Mann, x.
7. Paul Smith, *A Reader’s Guide to the Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1989), 280–288.
8. *The Nick Adams Stories* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1972), 228.
9. L. Ray Patterson and Stanley W. Lindberg, *The Nature of Copyright: A Manual of Users’ Rights* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 2.
10. Personal communication from Stephen Plotkin, Curator, The Hemingway Collection, John F. Kennedy Library, Boston.
11. I am indebted to Terry Tempest Williams for pointing this striking deletion out to me.
12. Barbara Probst Solomon, “Where’s Papa?” *The New Republic*, 9 March 1987, 30–34.
13. Kenneth S. Lynn, *Hemingway* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 155.
14. Ernest Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1932), 273.
15. Hemingway, “A Lack of Passion,” *The Hemingway Review* 9, 2 (Spring 1990): 57–68.
16. Hemingway, “The ‘Lack of Passion’ Papers,” *The Hemingway Review* 9, 2 (Spring 1990): 69–93.
17. Susan F. Beegel, “A ‘Lack of Passion’: Its Background, Sources, and Composition History,” *The Hemingway Review* 9, 2 (Spring 1990): 50–56. See also my critical study, “Ernest Hemingway’s ‘A Lack of Passion,’” *Hemingway: Essays of Reassessment*, ed. Frank Scaffella (New York: Oxford, 1991), 62–78.

# The Ernest Hemingway Collection at the John F. Kennedy Library

STEPHEN PLOTKIN

For the ADE meeting last October, I was asked to comment on the Hemingway Collection from the perspective of an archivist and a curator. The trouble is, the Hemingway Collection is, at this point, thoroughly uninteresting—archivally speaking. Basic concepts of archival theory such as provenance or original order, *respect du fonds*, apply either trivially (we know *precisely* where these papers came from) or not at all (these papers never had an original order).<sup>1</sup> In terms of archival practice, the Hemingway Collection at one time posed a genuine challenge, simply because it did lack any order. The first curator, Jo August Hills, confronted that problem; devised a coherent, flexible cataloging system; and turned a shapeless mass of material into a model of accessibility. Any cataloging I do is merely an application of her excellent system. Moreover, the great archival problems of the end of the century—the proliferation of records and the preservation of electronic data—simply do not apply. Although he was a great packrat, there is, after all, an end to Hemingway's papers. As for electronic recordkeeping, suffice it to say that Hemingway was barely around for the transistor radio.

Since the collection seems to be such a dead end for a strictly archival essay, I will tell you a story instead: a story about why these papers came to be here. I am sure the question has occurred to all of you. What is the connection between Ernest Hemingway and John F. Kennedy? The short answer is “not much.” But there is a longer answer.

To begin with, Ernest Hemingway always recognized the value of his papers. Fairly early in his career, Hemingway's letters had begun to enter the autograph marketplace, and Hemingway himself was known to lend or give his manuscripts to people as a mark of appreciation. Although he understood the value of his papers, Hemingway did very little toward providing for their disposition after his death. According to his fourth wife,

Mary, Hemingway talked about wanting to make his papers accessible, and the two of them had even visited the New York Public Library, but decided against depositing the papers there.

When Hemingway killed himself in 1961, the papers were distributed in at least four different places—Cuba, Ketchum (Idaho), Key West, and New York—and Mary had only a general idea of Ernest's intentions. First the papers needed to be collected, an especially difficult proposition for the material at the Hemingways' house in Cuba, called the Finca Vigia. There was a need for haste; after Hemingway's death, the Cuban government had announced its intention of turning the Finca Vigia into a museum and had privately given Mary *carte blanche* to remove what she wanted, although this license would last for only a short time. But the Bay of Pigs was still fresh in everybody's mind and relations between Cuba and the United States were at an all-time low.

In this situation, the real difficulty was with the U.S. government. The Cuba embargo had recently been established, and like a child with a brand new toy, the government was exercising it vigorously. The government was especially unlikely to make an exception for Mary, who was proposing to remove highly visible cultural and artistic work—not just Hemingway's manuscripts, but several valuable paintings from his Paris days. In fact, the papers probably would have remained in Cuba to this day except that Mary and Ernest had a friend in common with the Kennedys, a man named William Walton. A trusted informal advisor to the president and especially Mrs. Kennedy, Walton contacted the president, who arranged a visa through the office of the U.S. Attorney General—not incidentally, of course, his brother. Next Mary needed to ensure that she would be able to leave Cuba with the material that she wanted. It is one thing to have the permission of the central government. It is quite another to tell the local *alcalde* that you are removing the priceless effects of a revered local resident. This ongoing struggle with the local Cuban authorities was resolved only by the appearance of Castro himself, who visited Mary and put his imprimatur on the removal.

Free to act, Mary spent a feverish month collecting an immense amount of material, which she packed into

---

STEPHEN PLOTKIN is the curator of the Ernest Hemingway Collection at the John F. Kennedy Library. He holds an M.A. in English from Brown University. This paper was presented at the 1997 meeting of the Association for Documentary Editing.

trunks and shopping bags and shipped from Havana to Tampa on a tuna boat. Some material she overlooked. It remains in Cuba to this day, along with the house, its furnishings, and Ernest's library. A great deal she burned. According to Mary, she destroyed only some junk mail and twenty years of back issues of magazines. But we have only her word for this, and even if she was being candid, in her haste Mary could not have been nearly so careful as we would have liked. In any case, Mary tells that she and her assistant kept a bonfire going for three days.

Mary took the Cuba papers and the much smaller caches from Key West and Ketchum back to New York, where she stored everything in a bank vault and at her apartment. There the papers remained for several years while Mary fielded bids for the papers from research libraries all over the United States. (I have long since lost count of the places that made offers for the papers.) During this time, Walton remained in the background, quietly but firmly insisting that Mary owed the papers to Kennedy and ought to give them to his library. This insistence redoubled after the president's assassination, until Mary finally acquiesced, impulsively and characteristically making the offer to one of Mrs. Kennedy's aides at a cocktail party. Mary then promptly disappeared on a Bimini vacation, leaving the Kennedy family frantically scouring the country for her just so they could accept. Over the next few years both parties firmed up their commitment, and by the early 1970s the papers began to be transferred to the custodianship of the Kennedy Library. In the meantime, architect I. M. Pei was planning the final destination of the Hemingway papers, the Hemingway Room, as part of his designs for the Kennedy Library building. The Library was opened in 1979; the Hemingway room was opened in 1980.

### Why the Kennedy Library?

This is the factual account. For the sake of conciseness, it leaves out many details, such as the insecurity that led Mary to waffle about finalizing her decision, the hardball lobbying by which certain world-class institutions tried to get the papers instead, and the grumbling and carping in the archival community against the Kennedy Library for accepting extraneous collections—sour grapes, to be sure, but not untrue for all that. Most elusive, however, is a clear *reason* for these papers to be here. Why did William Walton believe so strongly that the papers should be placed at the Kennedy Library? Why did the Kennedy family accept this donation with such alacrity? In the search for a reason, let me start by interrupting myself to ask *you* a question: What do you think of when you think of Ernest

Hemingway?

Leaving this question to simmer on some back burner of your mind, I will begin with a couple of quotations from people who *were* giving reasons for the presence of these papers in this library. The first is by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., writing to Mary Hemingway in his capacity as a member of the Kennedy Library committee: "I cannot imagine anything that would make one central purpose of the Library more immediately clear—that is, that it should become in the words of the basic memorandum . . . 'a center for the study of mid-century America, its basic problem . . . its conception of itself and of its destiny.'" Later he says:

I really do feel that the Kennedy Library would be an ideal depository. It is not only that President Kennedy cared so much about the arts and did so much to increase national recognition for artistic achievement; or that he so very much admired your husband and his work. I think that, in addition, President Kennedy and Ernest Hemingway shared so many ideals of truth and courage and commitment. I have often thought that the President was the perfect embodiment of Ernest Hemingway's definition of courage as "grace under pressure."<sup>2</sup>

My other quote is from renowned archivist Herman Kahn, writing to Schlesinger to counsel him on the propriety of accepting literary papers: "In the case of Presidential Libraries it has been my feeling that the correspondence and manuscripts of authors should be acquired only if they are persons who have had an obvious, important, and direct effect on the era associated with the name of a President, or scholars whose work has illuminated the history of the President's period." But Kahn goes on to say:

This, of course, raises the question of the Hemingway papers, but they must serve as the exception which proves the rule. When an item or a collection is of an order of magnitude whose importance dwarfs all others in its field, it requires no justification except the fact of its own existence and importance. Let us say, for instance, that the museum of the Library was offered a Corot or a Turner which had no connection in any way with John F. Kennedy, but was simply a fine painting. I would think that such a gift would be refused. On the other hand, should the Library be offered a da Vinci or a Rembrandt, I would think

that it would be accepted simply because it would not fall into any of the ordinary categories of relevance in the canons of collecting. This, it seems to me, is the justification that must be used in explaining acceptance of the Hemingway papers but refusing the papers of lesser figures who, as far as we can now judge, are of serious but transient importance.<sup>3</sup>

I do not think that it does either Kennedy or Hemingway an injustice to say that what both Schlesinger and Kahn are discussing is a question of image. We can see this easily in Schlesinger's sweeping use of words like *truth* and *courage*, but even Kahn's judicious considerations are strained by a certain fuzziness about his comparisons. He compares Hemingway's mass of papers to finished, single works by a painter. And the painters in question are da Vinci and Rembrandt. Does Hemingway possess the artistic stature in western literature that Rembrandt and da Vinci possess in western art? Yet, Hemingway does loom for us in some way as large as da Vinci and Rembrandt, even if the basis for this eminence is not strictly artistic. And this is what I mean by image. Another good word to

keep in mind is *aura*.

Let me expand a little on this idea about image and the images of the two men; after all, it seems cynical to talk about the prominence of a president and an American literary writer in terms of image. Let me ask you to think about the Hemingway word association that we played earlier. Hemingway has been called the "he-man of American Literature"; it was a public image that he cultivated assiduously and strenuously, and it has been remarkably influential. Even those who concern themselves professionally with Hemingway—critics, academics, biographers—have trouble rendering Hemingway in any other way, despite the manifest distortions and tall tales from which this "he-man" conception was built. Nor should this be surprising, given that Hemingway himself ultimately lost control of the image and the various fictions that went into making it.

The contrast between the fate of Kennedy's image and that of Hemingway's is instructive. The importance of public image to Kennedy's career and legacy is widely known, but it is known precisely because Kennedy's image has always been open to challenge, debate, and debunking. Largely this is true because of the nature of the fields that the two men occupied.

Politics guarantees that every claim you make will be publicly scrutinized by professionally skeptical adversaries. Still, the "Kennedy mystique" was and is an extraordinarily effective thing.

Granted the significance of public image in the careers and posthumous reputations of these two men, what is the effect, in terms of image, of having the Hemingway papers at the Kennedy Library? The effect on Hemingway's image and reputation is fairly easy to gauge. As a unique collection among the presidential libraries, Hemingway's papers are spotlighted in a way that they never would be if they were in any other kind of library. More importantly, placed in a major historical-political institution, these papers gain by association some relation to the so-called real world. Instead of the honorable inconsequentiality that we generally bestow on art, Hemingway, through his papers, at-



Mary Hemingway (front) with Betty and Toby Bruce, Key West friends of Ernest Hemingway, going through papers stored in the back of Sloppy Joe's Bar in Key West. This is the only known extant photograph of Mary's efforts to gather and preserve her husband's papers after his death. Photograph copyright Don Pinder. Used by permission.

tains something of the magnitude of a historical event. At any rate, this was Mary Hemingway's intention: she admitted that she had sought out a place where Hemingway's papers would have both prominence and singularity.

The impact on the image of Kennedy, the dominant partner in this interchange, is harder to judge. One result, as Arthur Schlesinger's letter makes clear, is to associate President Kennedy with the powerful conception of masculinity and manliness that Hemingway built up through his fiction and his persona. On another level, just as Hemingway gains consequence by being identified with the "reality" of politics and history, so Kennedy gains a kind of Olympian aura by this connection with the ahistorical "higher realm" of art and literature.

But I will let Kennedy himself have the last word on the matter of image and the relationship to Hemingway. When Kennedy was writing *Profiles in Courage*, he was casting about for a tag line, a succinct definition of his central theme. One of his aides rather sententiously trotted out the famous definition of courage attributed to Hemingway, "grace under pressure," which Schlesinger quotes in his letter to Mary. Kennedy thought about this for a moment and then said to the aide, "You know, that leaves me really cold." And yet he used the line; it figures front and center in the book.<sup>4</sup>

For both men, these effects point to what could be called the moral of the situation. There is a strong tendency to think of archival institutions, especially the presidential libraries, as monuments built to hold a finished history: essentially vaults for discrete periods of the past. The Kennedy Library and Museum tends to enforce this impression by looking like a monument. But such pure commemoration is hardly ever true of an archival institution. The efforts to house archives inevitably take part in the history they purport to preserve. What the incongruity of the presence of the Hemingway collection at the Kennedy Library makes clear is that archival institutions, and even the archives they contain, make statements that continue and add to the very history they are supposed to comprise. What we see when we look at this *or any other* archival collection is the place where politics and epistemology coincide, where the question "how do we know?" simultaneously engenders answers in terms of interests and values as well as those of evidence and justification.

The introduction of a political dimension to archives is easy to accept for the Hemingway Collection, with its relatively high profile, its odd placement, and its tale of direct interventions by prominent political figures. But the highly unusual Hemingway Collection is, in a sense, absolutely typical. In fact, perhaps this has come around to

being an archival essay after all, for the question at hand is how do we archivists justify what we keep, which is indeed a central archival question. Within archives a number of answers are advanced, for example, the practical answers out of records management or cooperative documentation, or the idealistic answer from historical responsibility. In turn, these answers are usually based on certain founding metaphors that describe records in terms of nature and organicity. But the question I am getting at digs below even these answers. It was put to me in its starkest form a few years ago by one of the participants in the ADE conference, Julia Flanders: In a world of limitations, how do we justify expending our precious resources on these things we save? Whose interests are served? Who benefits?

There may be no simple answers to these questions: beware the person with simple answers. But for any of us in the business of preserving textual materials, I think there is a great deal of good to be gained from remembering to ask and trying to answer them. Such questions bring us up against that modern cliché, "knowledge is power," which for archives translates into the chiasmus "knowledge organizes power and power organizes knowledge." Archives and manuscript repositories are the result of political situations. In turn, they serve to sustain, to justify, *to remember* that organization of power.

At this point, it is reasonable to ask me what I make of the situation I have described. Do I just say "it's all politics" and go my merry way? Well, no. I don't think it *is* "all politics"; those pesky questions of truth and value simply will not go away. I think that Hemingway was a superb, if uneven, writer who has had an enormous impact on our culture. But recognizing a political dimension, a political understanding, of this collection and of archives in general has encouraged me to utilize the collection in ways that cut athwart its usual, traditional uses. For example, I have expended much energy in developing ways to make the collection a teaching tool. I envision the Hemingway Collection as a major composition workshop for Boston-area high school students and beginning college students. If this sounds less than radical, it is. The conservative tendencies of an institution are a matter of inertia rather than nefarious purpose. Change and difference can happen merely by the decision to rethink time and resources.

I would like to end by drawing from this essay a general conclusion for the practicing archivist, and perhaps others in the field of textual preservation. The current slogan for the National Archives and Records Adminis-

*Continued on page 46*

# In Memoriam

ARTHUR STANLEY LINK, 1920–1998

Arthur Stanley Link, Director and Editor of the Papers of Woodrow Wilson Emeritus and George Henry Davis '08 Professor of American History Emeritus at Princeton University, died on March 26 at the Bermuda Village Health Center in Advance, North Carolina. The cause of death was lung cancer; he was seventy-seven years old. Link was one of the founders and the first president of the Association for Documentary Editing, 1979–80, and remained an enthusiastic supporter and adviser to subsequent officers of the ADE as well as to editors of the many projects which have developed under its aegis over the years.

Arthur was born in New Market, Virginia, not many miles from Staunton, the birthplace of Woodrow Wilson. His father, although he received little formal schooling, was a man of strong drive, inquisitive mind and personality, determined to make his own way. Befriended as a youth by a Lutheran minister, he worked his way through the Lutheran seminary, became ordained, and served in churches in both Virginias and in North Carolina. He believed in hard work, honesty, the basic worth and goodness of people, and acted out his faith in the ministry. Arthur's mother, Helen Elizabeth Link, possessed an equally dynamic intellect with a special interest in music and literature. Arthur inherited their dynamism, a broad and imaginative intellect, and the love of art and music.

Emulating his father's drive, he worked his way through the University of North Carolina, performing with brilliance, and was graduated Phi Beta Kappa. The university was an important formative experience, for Chapel Hill was a dynamic center in the late 1930s—a fulcrum of ideas—intellectual, political, social—an extraordinary collection of extraordinary historians, among them Professors Howard K. Beale, Chester M. Destler, and Fletcher M. Green. Arthur made his own contribution to this vibrant milieu not only as an unusual undergraduate, but also as a graduate student with a capacious intellect and highly organized work habits—so dynamic that they were frequently commented on by fellow students and teachers.

Chapel Hill offered Arthur another great benefit that would have major impact on his life and career thereafter. He met and fell in love with Margaret McDowell Douglas; together they formed a lifelong partnership that in many

ways made his success possible. As one of their sons, Professor William A. Link, has said, “She softened his rough edges, channeled his unlimited drive and ambition, translated his own energy into compassion, and focused his generosity on human problems.”

His first interest in Woodrow Wilson was kindled by the lectures of Professor Destler. His doctoral thesis on the Democratic campaign of 1910–12 was under the direction of Professor Green. He received his doctorate in history in 1945.

Link taught at North Carolina State in 1944–45 but, as he has written, was engaged primarily for the next three years in creating from the foundation of his dissertation the first volume of a multivolume study of Woodrow Wilson and his times. In the process he spent a very profitable nine months as a visiting student in a seminar of Professor Henry Steele Commager at Columbia University. Link later said that he had learned a great deal from the experience about the writing of history. Commager read his first volume in manuscript and contributed many helpful comments.

Meanwhile, Arthur was appointed instructor in history by Princeton University in 1945 and assistant professor the following year. He received two research grants from the Julius Rosenwald Fund which were crucial in the completion of his first volume, *Wilson, the Road to the White House*, in 1947.

He was lured to Northwestern University as associate professor in 1949, becoming full professor in 1954. Link spent eleven happy and productive years at Northwestern, and it was there that I first met him, when I was a graduate student. Little did we realize then that we would in a few years become colleagues in an editorial enterprise that would extend throughout our active careers.

I told the story of the founding of the Papers of Woodrow Wilson in my Association address on 3 November 1989. Arthur was prevailed upon by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation in New York to accept directorship of the new project in February 1958. The Foundation was fortunate to receive generous invitations from Northwestern and Princeton Universities to co-sponsor the project by providing housing and services. The Publication Committee and the editors on 18 September 1959 accepted the offer of Princeton University. The editors received ap-

pointments in the History Department—Arthur accepted full teaching responsibilities. The Links moved to Princeton in 1959, and when the full project arrived in town, it was provided with handsome facilities in Firestone Library.

A staff was appointed without delay to begin the selection and cataloguing of the vast number of Wilson papers in the Library of Congress and the National Archives as well as in such manuscript repositories as Yale University, the University of Virginia, and University of North Carolina. In fact, our searches never ceased either in this country or abroad. Arthur made an extensive search for materials in London, Paris, and several locations in Germany in 1976, and Dr. Ann Gordon made a special visit to the London Foreign Office in 1978. During the collection phase in Washington, Arthur visited us regularly, overseeing our work and many times joining in the search.

When the project moved to the campus of Princeton University in the fall of 1963, the documents, photocopies, were housed in nineteen five-drawer legal-size files. Arranged chronologically, the documents, according to my estimate at the time, amounted to very close to four hundred thousand items. They were arranged chronologically and were accompanied by descriptive control cards filed in name, source, and chronological series.

The actual assembling of volumes began almost immediately. Arthur lost no time in beginning the process of working through a drawer of documents, selecting items to be typed, identifying stray materials, setting up headnotes, and turning them over to our typist. In the beginning, we sat side by side reading and selecting documents for typing. After the first few volumes, as the work expanded, Arthur was able to use research assistants and other members of the staff. When the typescript was completed it was read carefully, and footnotes were set up and assigned. We had a number of excellent research associates over the years, but the one who stands out is Dr. John E. Little, who worked tirelessly, with the project for over thirty years.

Many times the nature of the document required an

editorial note. Most were written by the editor, many by myself. All were discussed in detail by the editorial staff. The editor set the pace, led the way, made key decisions; in the best editorial sense, it was teamwork. It was Arthur's dynamic leadership and his contributions which ensured the project a remarkable completion in sixty-nine volumes over thirty-three years. But in the largest sense the *Papers* will be successful according to the impact they have on future scholarship. Professor Dewey W. Grantham, in a review of the first fifty-nine volumes contributed to a vol-



The staff of the Wilson Papers in October 1982. From left to right: front row, Margaret Link, Phyllis Marchand, David W. Hirst, Arthur S. Link, Marie Trapani, Elizabeth Jackson; back row, John Little, Manfred Boemeke, Fredrick Aandahl.

ume in Link's honor published in 1991, wrote that the volumes have become "the indispensable starting place for any serious investigation of Wilson and his administration." "We are not likely," he continues, "to see again anything like *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, certainly not involving a twentieth century president. The concept is simply too audacious, the scope too large, the cost in financial support, time, and professional dedication too great. But if only a single such project can be completed for a twentieth century American, Woodrow Wilson may well be the best possible choice."

The project would constitute a full-time career for

most scholars—I write with personal acknowledgment—but for Arthur Link it was only one of several. Indeed, he would have been rated a distinguished, productive scholar had he never taken on the Wilson project.

He early received Bancroft prizes for the second and third volumes of his two-volume biography of Wilson; he was a Guggenheim Fellow, a Rockefeller Fellow, and a member of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton in 1949 and again in 1954–55.

Following the publication of his biography, taking Wilson to the brink of war, Link never slowed his literary and historical activity, completing nearly thirty books and countless articles. He was editor of several major volumes of essays and documents. He was awarded ten honorary degrees, including one from the University of North Carolina and another from Northwestern University. In 1966, he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society and in 1972 of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He served as a member of the National Historical Publications Commission in 1968–72. He received, in 1979, the Pitcher Award of the New Jersey Historical Commission for notable contributions to the history of New Jersey and in 1981 the Julian P. Boyd Award from the Association for Documentary Editing for distinguished contributions to the knowledge of American history and culture.

Link lectured widely in the United States, delivering in 1956 the Albert Shaw Lectures in Diplomatic History at The Johns Hopkins University; in 1962, the Mars Lectures in Christianity and Education at Northwestern University; and in 1977, the Commonwealth Fund Lecture at the University of London. He lectured at the University of Bristol, the University of Birmingham, and the University of Belfast in the British Isles. He lectured on the Continent at the Universities of Cologne, the Ruhr, Hamburg, Berlin, Freiburg; the University of Paris; the University of Copenhagen; the University of Warsaw; and the University of Cracow. On other continents, he lectured at the National University of Argentina and at Doshisha University in Kyoto.

He served as president of the Southern Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, and the American Historical Association as well as being the first president of the Association for Documentary Editing. He served as Fulbright Fortieth Anniversary Distinguished Lecturer in 1987 and for two years thereafter as president of the Board of Directors of the National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools.

Arthur Link was a devout Christian. He often expressed to me, during our working years together, that he

felt his coming to the Wilson Papers was the result of a divine call. And he sometimes expanded this to include his work as teacher and historian. He was a ruling elder at Nassau Presbyterian Church in Princeton, chairperson of many committees and participant in other church and Presbytery activities. He served on the Council on Theological Education of the United Presbyterian Church and on the Special Committee on Ordination and Ministry of the General Assembly, and as vice president of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America. For several years he was a member of the board of directors of *Presbyterian Life*, and he was editor of *The First Presbyterian Church* of Princeton published in 1967.

Early this year, Arthur sent to press his new volume on the history of cardiovascular treatment in the United States, a topic which grew out of our work on Wilson's illness. When he died, he was at work on a broader study of medicine in this country. Arthur's wife, Margaret McDowell Douglas, died in May 1996. Arthur always acknowledged her contributions to all his writing as well as to the Wilson Project as editorial assistant. Through the years she made a great contribution as proofreader and stylist. Toward the end of the project, we spent many hours together proofing and rearranging the massive number of entries that went to make up every cumulative index volume from the twelve preceding volumes. She was a significant presence at every stage of our work. My wife, Barbara, and I grieved at her unexpected passing, but the loss struck deeply into Arthur's heart; they had hardly begun to enjoy retirement together.

Arthur is survived by four children—William A. Link, of Greensboro, N.C.; A. Stanley Link, Jr., of Winston-Salem, N.C.; James Douglas Link, of Flemington, N.J.; and Margaret Link Weil, of Chapel Hill, N.C.—and four grandchildren.

And so, Farewell, old friends. I think of Ben Jonson's words at a similar time in his life: "For what is life, if measured by the space, not by the act?"

—David W. Hirst



# Transcribing and Translating Early Nineteenth-Century Moravian Missionary Diaries

ROWENA MCCLINTON

This paper illuminates the importance of the Moravian Archives as a major repository for the study of Cherokee culture, missionary contributions to the understanding of Native history, the editorial approaches taken to render the best textual treatment of the documents, and the overall significance of the documents as they relate to Cherokee culture.

## The Diaries

Located at the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the diaries of missionaries to the Cherokees are significant untapped sources for Native American history. Written in German Script, an archaic writing convention that few scholars can decipher, the Springplace Diaries (1801–1833) describe early nineteenth-century Moravian interaction with the Cherokees. Located in the Cherokee Nation for almost thirty-three years, the Springplace Mission had reason to boast of its longevity: they enjoyed the longest sojourn of any Christian group before Cherokee removal in 1838–1839. During this span, Cherokees faced land cessions, removals to the West, the Creek War (1813–1814), nativistic movements, the Ghost Dance Movement (1811–1813) and White Path's rebellion (1827–1828), and the restructuring of Cherokee government from a traditional to a republican one.

The missionary diaries divulge Cherokees' reactions to increasing white encroachment and their forging of pragmatic adaptations to their traditional way of life. Additionally, the manuscripts contain considerable information about African bondsmen because Cherokee neighbors were slaveholders and frequently allowed their bondspople to attend Moravian services. The chronicling of the encounters among these disparate groups parallels government records of the time, but the accounts

differ because Moravians encountered Cherokee life on a personal basis. Because of the historical significance of these descriptions during this vital era, the Moravian Archives provide an excellent case study for understanding the dynamics of cultural contact, an issue of national concern and relevance.

Moravians, or the Unity of the Brethren, are a Pietist German-speaking group from Central Europe who came to British North America to evangelize Native Americans. They settled in Savannah, Georgia, in 1735, and in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1741. From Bethlehem these pacifists carried the Christian gospel to the "heathen," the "untutored sons of the forest."<sup>1</sup> In 1753, the Brethren founded Wachovia, present-day Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and the surrounding area. Salem Brethren made exploratory forays into Cherokee territory to evaluate the possibility of establishing a Moravian mission, but wars in continental North America during the latter half of the eighteenth century postponed their efforts to found a spiritual outpost. Almost fifty years later, in 1801, the Brethren built Springplace Mission, a site in present-day northwestern Georgia.

The most important missionaries during this period were John and Anna Rosina Gambold, highly disciplined and regimented individuals who ministered to the Cherokees from 1805 to 1821. Their diaries form the core of this essay. Careful observers of Cherokee tradition, the Gambolds recorded their frontier experiences several times a week in these diaries, and their accounts provide details of their own spiritual odyssey as well as their ministry to the Cherokees.

Since the Moravians sent the Gambolds from Salem to Springplace, the Salem Springplace Diary, 1805 through 1821, has been designated the "parent document."<sup>2</sup> Transcriptions (as nearly literal as possible) were made of the complete diaries. The original orthography was retained on the advice of scholars in the fields of German language and religion. These researchers are interested in the language of early nineteenth-century immigrant Germans and in the antiquated forms of Pietistic language. The translations were based on these transcriptions.

German dialect expressions that do not translate

---

ROWENA MCCLINTON is an assistant professor of history at Middle Tennessee State University, in Murfreesboro, and editor of a two-volume edition of the diaries of John and Anna Rosina Gambold, to be published by the University of Nebraska Press. This paper was presented at the 1997 meeting of the Association for Documentary Editing.

smoothly into English are not preserved in the translations. Rather, to execute the proper translation, the intent of the author is followed as closely as possible but with meticulous attention to idiomatic English. Brackets are not used. German punctuation and capitalization are not followed in the translation. In the translation, dates are underlined as in the original.

In annotating, identification of all the people who come into the mission is attempted but without undue research. Since the spellings of Cherokee and English family and place names vary, the initial appearance of a proper name is footnoted and given all the spellings that have been found in these materials and others. After the name surfaces initially, spellings are standardized in the translation. For various spellings of the same place name, the reader can refer to the complete transcription of the diaries.

Moravians coined certain terms. For example, *Singstunde*, or *hymn-sermon*, is a ritual idiosyncratic to Moravian worship services. Its meaning is explained in a footnote, and the Moravian term is retained and italicized when it appears in the diary translation.

The main problem with the translations is maintaining the cultural context for the German word *Neger* or *Negro* in English. The missionaries' use of *Neger* harbored the full sense of humanity. The founder of the Renewed Moravian Church, Saxon Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, in exhorting his followers to go among the forgotten peoples of the world, demanded that they not look upon other cultures with contempt. This usage negates references to Africans as chattel. Additionally, this term employed by the missionaries had not achieved the negative implications that other European cultures inculcated into their worldview to justify regarding slaves as mere property.

Early nineteenth-century Moravians considered all "heathens" (in this case Africans and Cherokees) in a cultural rather than a racial context. Hence, the edition applies the words early nineteenth-century Moravian missionaries used when referring to *Neger* (Negro) and *Indianer* (Indian). Moravians applied the term *Heiden* (heathen) to denote nonbeliever but without the negative preconceptions; this expression also refers to foreigners.

### The Significance of the Diaries

The Gambold diaries reveal that the mission had a two-fold purpose: teaching Cherokee children English and Christianizing the Cherokees. In order for Cherokee youth to receive the full benefit of the mission's educational goal, Cherokees wanted their youth to room and board at

Springplace. Over the years, eighty-five children lived and studied with the Gambolds. In the intimacy of the mission, the Gambolds learned from the children and their families and gained remarkable insight into the private as well as the public affairs of the Cherokees. Furthermore, Springplace was a popular stop for travelers. Thus, direct and extended contact with Cherokee people of all ages and positions occurred almost daily. Few, if any, non-Cherokees knew them as well as the Gambolds.

Among Cherokee families who welcomed the Moravians were two brothers, David Ouati (Watie) and The Ridge, later known as Major Ridge. They believed that the best way for Cherokees to preserve their independent homeland was to create an educated elite of Cherokee youth. Through schooling in English and training in the ways of American society, Cherokee children would mature to assume leadership roles and guide the efforts of the Cherokee Nation to resist the continual encroachment on their lands and resources.

David Ouati's two sons, Buck and Stand, and Major Ridge's son John, along with dozens of other young men and women, studied at Springplace.<sup>3</sup> Buck Ouati, who later changed his name to Elias Boudinot, became editor of the Nation's bilingual newspaper, *Cherokee Phoenix*. John Ridge became a political leader and frequently represented Cherokee interests in Washington. In the 1830s, Boudinot and Ridge, along with their families and others, formed a movement in support of removal to the West. Although most Cherokees opposed their stance, they believed that escape from the East, with its constant contact with aggressive Americans, was the only way to preserve the Cherokee Nation intact.

Moravian records convey how these families and others struggled to accommodate new ideas and reshape their culture in order to survive and prosper in a world becoming less tolerant of diversity. Naturally, the missionaries viewed mission education as significant in the lives of Cherokee people. This education played a primary role in developing Cherokee adaptability and flexibility, important to a society confronting momentous change.

Even though the missionaries attracted a number of Cherokee youth to Springplace (the most they housed at one time was thirteen), they noticed less interest in matters of Christianity. However, they were particularly interested in converting prominent Cherokees since these presumably would lead other Cherokees to Christianity. Few Cherokees converted, but the high profile of the Cherokees who did convert influenced not only the history of the Cherokee Nation but the lives of the missionaries as well. On 13 August 1810,<sup>4</sup> the missionaries witnessed the

“first fruit” of their labors, the conversion of Margaret Ann Vann Crutchfield (née Scott), the widow of Moravian patron and Cherokee leader James Vann.<sup>5</sup> Charles Hicks, the uncle of Margaret Ann or Peggy Vann Crutchfield, attended her baptismal rites. Later he himself expressed an interest in becoming a Moravian. Hicks was baptized 16 April 1813 with the baptismal name Charles Renuus.<sup>6</sup> A bilingual businessman, Hicks was also an interpreter for federal agents and missionaries, and he promoted education, commerce, and acculturation in general.<sup>7</sup> Many of the Cherokee students either had family ties with Hicks and Crutchfield or knew them through National Council meetings and other ways.

Likewise, the religious expression of these two cultures differed dramatically. The Cherokees adhered to a strict classification structure which produced an elaborate ritual and ceremonial system. The Cherokees valued order and believed things should stay in their place; therefore, they attached special meanings to anomalies because these occurred along the interstices of their categorical system. Substances which belonged inside the body but were expelled received particular attention; thus breath, blood, and saliva possessed mystical properties which healed or induced death.<sup>8</sup>

These records reveal that Cherokee visitors to Springplace received a spiritual education whether they attended services or not. In the missionaries’ homes, as well as in the church, hung paintings of the crucified Christ with blood flowing from the stab wound. Often, Moravian missionaries called upon one of their pupils to tell visiting parents and other Cherokees about the suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ. The Cherokees politely listened to these stories but showed little genuine interest.<sup>9</sup>

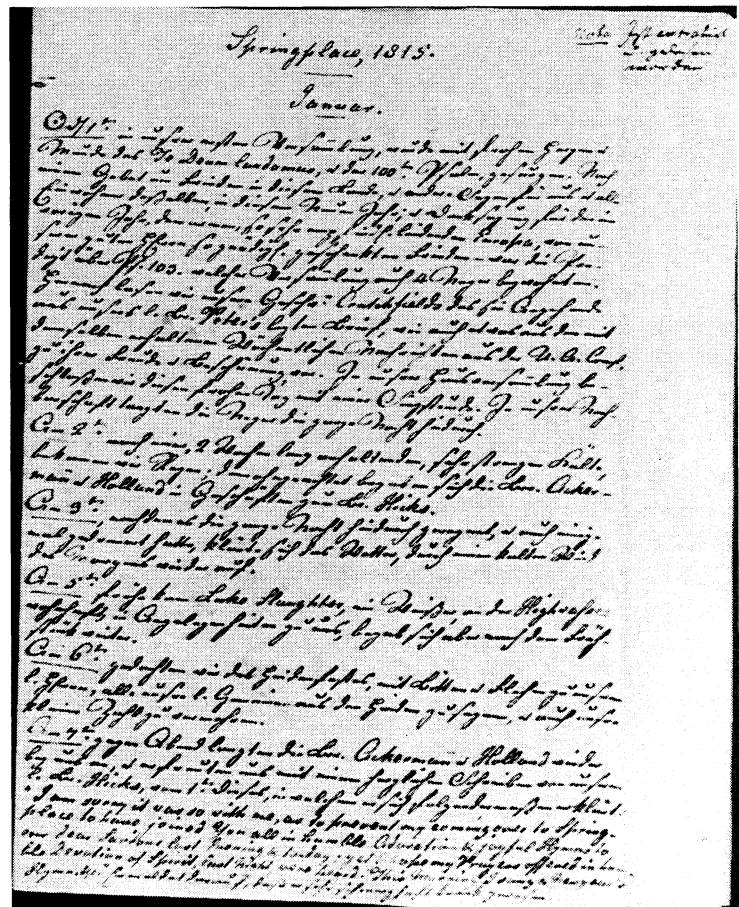
These paintings of the Crucifixion represented not just the death of a person, but the death of God, which evoked a sense of blasphemy for the Cherokees. The missionaries heard that when The Little Broom looked at a painting of Christ, he laughed. The Moravians lamented the fact that the centerpiece of Christianity, the Crucifixion, created little awe among the Cherokees.<sup>10</sup> The Moravians also consumed the body and blood of their God, which to the Cherokees was taboo. The Cherokees placed blood and flesh in opposite categories, and they considered animals who ate even flesh as abominations.<sup>11</sup> Christianity probably seemed so incomprehensible to many Cherokees that they remained uncertain whether religion and western medicine applied to them.<sup>12</sup>

Moravians were obsessed with holding Christian

services without interference from the Cherokee traditional ceremonies that took place frequently in the neighborhood of Springplace and brought Moravians into contact with Cherokee customs. When the Moravians heard that the Cherokee ball play, “little brother to war,” would take place in a field nearby, they went to Hicks to persuade his countrymen to find another place. Ball play took place anyway, and the missionaries’ records provide a detailed description of the scene.<sup>13</sup>

Cherokees from all corners of the Nation came to Springplace on their way to hold ball plays nearby. A traditional contest with ritual importance, the ball play was also a boisterous event accompanied by gambling and, in the nineteenth century, drinking. The “heathenish” noises caused by the ball play threatened to interfere with the Moravian desire for reverent services free of disturbances. The Cherokees also held all-night dances in the vicinity of Springplace, and they invited African bondsmen from the

Two pages from the Springplace Diary for 1815. The page on the left is in the hand of Anna Rosina Kliet Gambold, in German script; the page on the right is in the hand of a copyist. Photos courtesy of Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.



Vann estate and sometimes even children from the mission school to join them in their preparation for "little brother to war." Dances began soon after dark and continued until dawn of the contest day.<sup>14</sup>

To the missionaries' dismay, Springplace figured in some of the more overtly religious practices associated with the ball play. The Cherokees encroached on their premises to use the nearby spring-branch of the Connesauga River for purification rites before and after the ball play. Furthermore, ball players sought spiritual and physical strength from juice extracted from the roots of wild crabapple trees that grew on the site.<sup>15</sup>

Missionaries had other objections. Players stripped nearly naked, and indeed so did some in the audience. As was the custom during the competition, Cherokees made bets and gambled their garments for the side they thought would win.<sup>16</sup> Unclothed Cherokees who walked home from ball plays along the lane which led to the Federal Road horrified the missionaries, who opposed not only the Cherokees' nakedness but young and old of both sexes walking side by side.<sup>17</sup>

Additionally, these records divulge the effect natural phenomena had on Cherokee worldviews. They visited

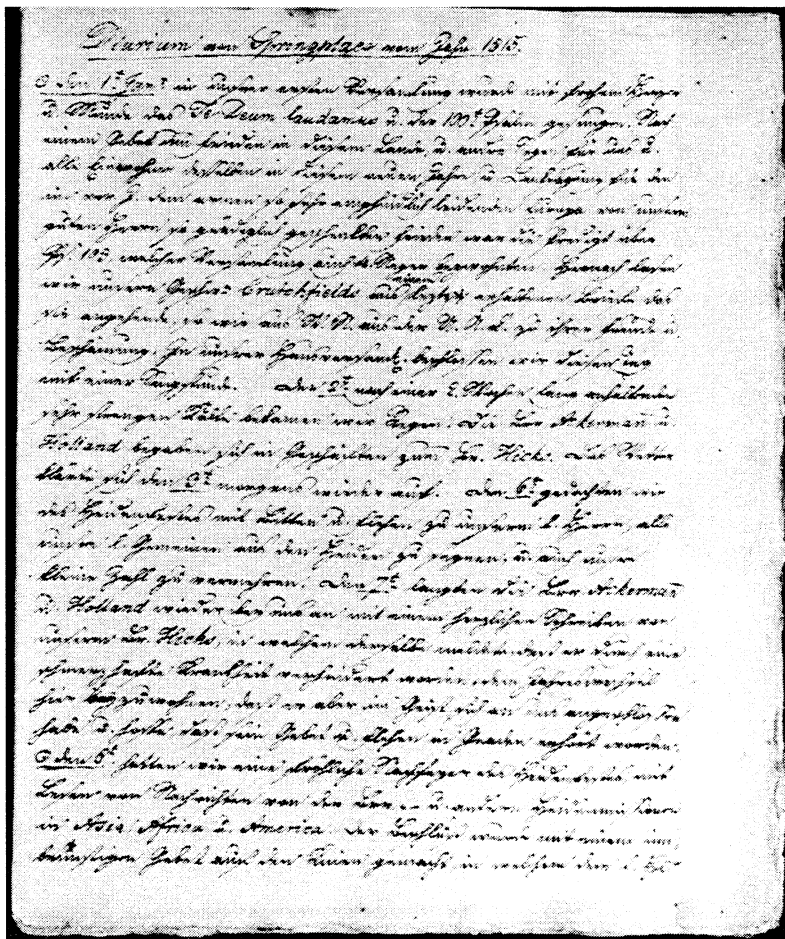
the mission in hopes of obtaining a further understanding of natural disasters. Many Cherokees discerned natural disasters as signs that they should revert to their ancestral beliefs. Beginning in 1811, a series of earthquakes alarmed the Cherokees. Chief Bead Eye, his brother, the Trunk, a neighbor of the missionaries, and a few other Indians came into Springplace and told the missionaries that the earth was old and that it would crumble very soon. Some Cherokees thought a snake had moved under their houses, and others believed conjurers had caused the earthquakes. The missionaries, relying on their own spiritual explanation, ascribed the trembles to God, who caused them to punish sinners.<sup>18</sup>

In response to catastrophes, a prophet named Charley had a vision from the Great Spirit. The Great Spirit told him that the Cherokees should abandon the ways of the whites and return to the traditional culture of their ancestors: their dances, the hunt, and the like. The Ghost Dance Movement, as this revitalization effort has been called, lasted from 1811 to 1813 and brought about a feeling of nationalism and nativism.<sup>19</sup>

Other Cherokees viewed natural disasters as a way to warn fellow Cherokees. Taking charge of a Council meeting in 1812, where missionary John Gambold was present, Sour Mush scolded known horse thieves whom he claimed were some of the same people who feared the earth caving in. Sour Mush said, "As the earth moved sometimes a short time ago, you were in great anxiety and feared you would sink down into it, but when you go among the white people to break down their stables and steal their horses, you are not afraid, and there is much greater danger, for if they should catch you in such an act, they would surely shoot you down, and then you would surely be sunk into the earth."<sup>20</sup>

While Cherokees sought pragmatic solutions to natural catastrophes, the records disclose that they turned to the missionaries for advice. As frontier encroachment went unabated, the Cherokees accepted Moravian missionaries on a prolonged basis because they provided the tools necessary to preserve the Cherokee national domain.

These Moravian missionary records convey a society under enormous strain. Moravian records expose how Cherokee families struggled to accommodate new ideas and reshape their culture in order to survive and prosper in a world becoming less tolerant of diversity. Naturally, the missionaries viewed mission education as significant in the lives of Cherokee people. Likewise, many parents realized that their children's world would



differ dramatically from their own, and they viewed western education as essential to the preservation of their national domain. This education played a primary role in developing Cherokee adaptability and flexibility, important to a society confronting momentous change.

## Notes

1. Levin Theodore Reichel, *The Early History of the United Brethren (Unitas Fratrum) Commonly Called Moravians in North America A.D. 1734–1744* (Nazareth, Pa.: Moravian Historical Society, 1888), 216.
2. Moravians edited and extracted material from original diaries sent to Salem for worldwide circulation. The Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pa., and Herrnhut, Germany, have extracts of these diaries.
3. For a definitive study of the Ridge family, see Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: The Story of the Ridge Family and of the Decimation of a People* (New York: Macmillan, 1970).
4. John and Anna Rosina Gambold, Springplace Diary, Personal Recordings from the Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, N.C., Box 408. Hereafter cited as MAS.
5. Edmund Schwarze, *History of Moravian Missions Among the Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (Bethlehem, PA: Times Publishing Company, 1923), 105, 106, 118.
6. Moravians gave their Indian converts names of famous Christians or saints. Margaret was a martyr during the Diocletian persecutions; Charles was the anglicized version of Charlemagne, first emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The Moravians added Renatus, or Rebirth, for his middle name which was the name of Zinzendorf's son, Christian Renatus. Jacob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1933), 167.
- Hicks was born at Thamaaty on the Hiwassee River, the son of a white trader and a Cherokee woman. Schwarze, *History of Moravian Missions*, 180.
7. Gary Moulton, *John Ross: Cherokee Chief* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), 31; Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy*, 49, 50.
8. Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976; reprint, 1992), 121–125.
9. *Berichte* (Reports) from the Springplace Mission, Gambold, 12 October 1815, MAS.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 147, 148, 318, 324.
12. William G. McLoughlin, "The First Man Was Red"—Cherokee Responses to the Debate Over Indian Origins, 1760–1860," *American Indian Quarterly* 14 (June 1989): 245.
13. Gambold, Springplace Diary, 18 June 1815, MAS.
14. James Mooney, "The Cherokee Ball Play," *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 7 (Spring 1982): 14.
15. *Ibid.*, 14, 20.
16. *Ibid.*, 23.
17. *Berichte*, 18 June 1815, MAS.
18. Springplace Diary, 16 and 17 December 1811, MAS, Box 193. For researchers who go to the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, N.C., see Ms. Julie Weber's translations of 1811. A similar translation is found in William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and*

*Missionaries: 1789–1839* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 94, 95.

19. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 113–116. The Cherokee Ghost Dance (1811–1813) was not as "James Mooney thought, . . . urging a rejection of acculturation. It was an assertion of Cherokee nationalism and a profound expression of their desire for cultural autonomy—their desire to be left alone to manage their own affairs in their own way." *Ibid.*, 82.

20. *Ibid.*, 98.

---

"Hemingway Collection" continued from page 38

tration is "Ready Access to Essential Information." It is a good slogan, as slogans go, but about the only part of it that does not require criticism, evaluation, and radical elucidation is the word *to*. We need to read our practices with skepticism, if not outright suspicion. If we cannot avoid unintended consequences, we should at least strive against unwanted ones.

## Notes

1. The Hemingway Collection is not an archival collection but a manuscript collection, archives always being the records of institutions. (In fact, the Kennedy Library itself is not properly an archives, but a manuscript repository, since 90 percent of the material it contains are personal papers of individuals—certain Kennedy family members, participants in Kennedy's administration, and important Kennedy appointees.)
2. Arthur Schlesinger to Mary Hemingway, 11 March 1964. Ernest Hemingway Collection Donor File, "Hem. Coll. coming to JFK Lib.—and early admin history."
3. Herman Kahn to Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., 24 November 1964. Ernest Hemingway Collection Donor File, "Hem. Coll. coming to JFK Lib.—and early admin history."
4. Unfortunately, I have lost the source of this anecdote. This essay began as a talk that I gave to a visiting adult education group several years ago. At that time, I neglected to note the source. I believe I read this anecdote in a review article, but I have not been able to track that article down. I would be grateful for help in this matter.

### Falk Wins Guggenheim Fellowship

Candace Falk, editor of the Emma Goldman Papers, has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1998–99. The Fellowship was awarded on the basis of Falk's work as a documentary editor, acknowledging the collaborative nature of that work, and as a biographer. The award will permit Falk to work part-time on the Goldman Papers and to write *Looking Back at a Forward Thinker: Reflective Essays on Emma Goldman at the Close of the Century*.

In recognition of the fellowship and the project's work, the Berkeley City Council declared 14 May 1998 Emma Goldman Papers Project Day.

## A Northerner Transformed

JAMES H. COOK

*The Fire of Liberty in Their Hearts: The Diary of Jacob E. Yoder of the Freedmen's Bureau School, Lynchburg, Virginia, 1866-1870.* Samuel L. Horst, ed. Richmond: The Library of Virginia, 1996. 192 pp. \$24.95

It is hard to believe that ten years have passed since the publication of Eric Foner's magnum opus, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*. It seems like only yesterday that the historical profession first encountered what is now considered the definitive history of the postbellum era in the United States. The main reason for this temporal illusion, of course, is that scholars have offered little or no revision of the main story Foner offered in 1988. Indeed, the book seems destined to go the route of C. Vann Woodward's monumental work, *Origins of the New South*, which survived unscathed for over a quarter of a century before bowing to revisionism. Even now, in many seminar rooms across the country, Woodward's arguments are still considered credible. Foner's thesis has so far proven no less durable. Both men initiated paradigm shifts so compelling that even their detractors were forced to frame critiques within the authors' original parameters. Books like these are not easily overturned or ignored.

In Woodward's case, the task of challenging his main contention (that in the post-Reconstruction South, political power devolved not back to the old planter class, but to the former, antebellum merchant class) proved to be a somewhat facile exercise for scholars like Sheldon Hackney, Jonathan Weiner, and J. Morgan Kousser. They simply delved deeper into the primary materials, combing sources that Woodward had found either unavailable or unappealing. The challenges facing aspiring revisionists of Foner, however, are far more formidable. Not only did Foner masterfully synthesize over fifty years of scholarship (borrowing his main thesis from the eminent African American scholar W. E. B. DuBois, no less), he also blitzed

readers with an arsenal of fresh primary materials. If revisionists have any hope of improving upon Foner's efforts, they necessarily lie in uncovering new sources rather than reworking old ones. Barring that, they somehow will have to effect another paradigm shift.<sup>1</sup>

It is within this historiographical context that the Library of Virginia has published the diary of Jacob E. Yoder, a white teacher at the Freedmen's Bureau school in Lynchburg, Virginia. Yoder was born into a Mennonite family living in the farm country outside Philadelphia in 1838. He was first educated at Mennonite church schools and then trained as a teacher at Pennsylvania's first normal school, located at Millersville. While at the latter institution, he fell under the influence of the school's principal, James P. Wickersham, who later became a nationally recognized figure in education. Apparently it was Wickersham who impelled Yoder first into brief service with the Union Army, and then into the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association (PFRA), which was sending teachers into the South. After serving one year at the Freedmen's Bureau school at Lynchburg (1865), Yoder returned to Pennsylvania in hopes of obtaining employment there. Unable to find a job, desperate, and broke, he opened his own school at Boyertown, but the venture soon failed. In the fall of 1868, he returned to Lynchburg, this time as the PFRA superintendent for the region. He served in this capacity until the demise of Virginia's Freedmen's Bureau schools in 1871. Unlike many of his contemporaries, however, Yoder did not return to the North, but remained in Lynchburg for the rest of his life. Rather craftily, he transformed his position as an overseer of Bureau schools into that of principal of Lynchburg's (black) public schools.

Readers who turn to Yoder's diary in hopes of being treated to dramatic new insights into postbellum politics, race relations, operations of the Freedmen's Bureau, and other major traditional Reconstruction themes will most likely be disappointed. It is a far more sparing and subtle document than one might imagine from the title. Many of the entries, particularly those from the later period, are surprisingly brief. At times, the abbreviated comments resemble those drawn from an almanac more than those

---

JAMES H. COOK is presently completing his doctoral degree in history at West Virginia University. His dissertation deals with the domestic life of Frederick Douglass and his children. He was an editorial assistant on the Frederick Douglass Papers from 1994 to 1996.

found in a diary or journal. The original text, located in the archival collection of the Library of Virginia, is fragmented, with individual segments covering the years 1861–1864, 1866–1867, and 1869–1870. The editor's exclusion of the wartime entries, which recorded Yoder's experiences as a student at Millersville, suggests that Horst considered the main function of the diary to be a window through which to view Reconstruction in Virginia. Considering the infrequency, limited scope, and unsurprising nature of Yoder's comments touching upon the larger themes of Reconstruction and race relations, this was a curious choice.

In some ways, Yoder was an unusual individual and, as such, he makes an unlikely historical subject. Born into the Mennonite faith, he ultimately rejected that sect's idealization of the pastoral life and its eschewal of political and social reform. Though he attended church regularly, and occasionally voiced an affinity for Methodism, his denominational identity forever remained nebulous. As a reformer, Yoder's actions were decidedly lukewarm, if not tentative. After serving a year in Lynchburg, he returned to Pennsylvania clearly for pecuniary reasons: he sought a higher-paying teaching job. Though offered a position at Pottstown, he rejected it out of hand because he considered the salary "most objectionable" (81). When his private school venture at Boyertown began to fail in the spring of 1867, he admitted to himself that he "had no inclination to do constant manual labor and no aptitude for shrewd business" (127). After a year of struggle, during which he neglected writing in his diary, he returned to Lynchburg, this time commanding a higher salary as superintendent of twenty-four Bureau schools in six counties. Had his fortune improved at any single point in 1866–67, it is unlikely that Jacob Yoder would ever again have crossed the Mason-Dixon line. As a teacher of freed men and women, Yoder very clearly was motivated at least as much by practical, fiscal considerations as by any reform impulse. In this sense, he ill fits the image of the passionate, evangelical northerner determined at all costs to elevate the condition of ex-slaves.

Despite Yoder's unusual background and training, his ruminations on Reconstruction, Radical Republicans, ex-Confederates, and African Americans make him quite a conventional figure. Like many northern white Bureau teachers, Yoder openly avowed legal and constitutional equality between the races, but privately expressed his belief that blacks were socially and intellectually inferior to whites. His attitudes toward his African American neighbors and pupils ranged from childlike curiosity to blatant condescension. "My attention has been again

called to the mode of worship of the colored people," he wrote during his first year of residence. "All of them are quite unanimous in their noisy worship. If no expression is given to their feelings by dancing or vocal expression they think their worship is not acceptable" (39). Despite such apparent quizzical interest in black culture, Yoder ultimately found blacks to be lacking in "native capacity." One passage suggests that he even held the nineteenth-century pseudoscientific notion that African Americans possessed "thicker skulls" which were a "hinderance in their acquiring knowledge" (9). In contrast to some of the views expressed within his diary, Yoder's attitudes toward blacks remained largely unchanged. "I see again how irresponsible the Colored People are," he wrote simply in late 1869, without offering any elaboration or explanation (140).

Like many northern reformers, Yoder misunderstood and therefore denigrated freedmen's and freedwomen's notions and desires concerning personal liberty and freedom. "They delight in doing any thing, that, in antebellum days they were disallowed, and the white people, allowed, to do," he wrote in May 1866. "So some will *now* learn just for the sake of doing it" [Yoder's emphasis]. Yoder was annoyed when ex-slaves indulged "some things in excess" that when practiced in moderation "are good." When he asked a young black man why he and others had "imprudently prolonged" a prayer service one night, he bristled at the reply. "Before Gen Lee's surrender, they were not allowed to hold meetings of this sort; so while they have an opportunity they will embrace it" (8). If expressed in the "proper" manner, black expressions of personal liberty drew Yoder's praise. When the faculty and students of the Lynchburg Bureau schools staged a one-year anniversary parade through the city streets, Yoder burst with admiration. "I can not at all express my feelings at the sight of the procession," he gushed. "So short time ago a people pressed down by a proud aristocracy now rejoices in their freedom. . . . They naturally love freedom. Many of them have a more proper appreciation of the boon of liberty than tens of thousands of Pennsylvanians have" (32–33). Based upon other entries, however, it is clear that Yoder took far more pleasure in the hostility that such public expressions generated within the local white population than he did in any notion of African American self-pride.

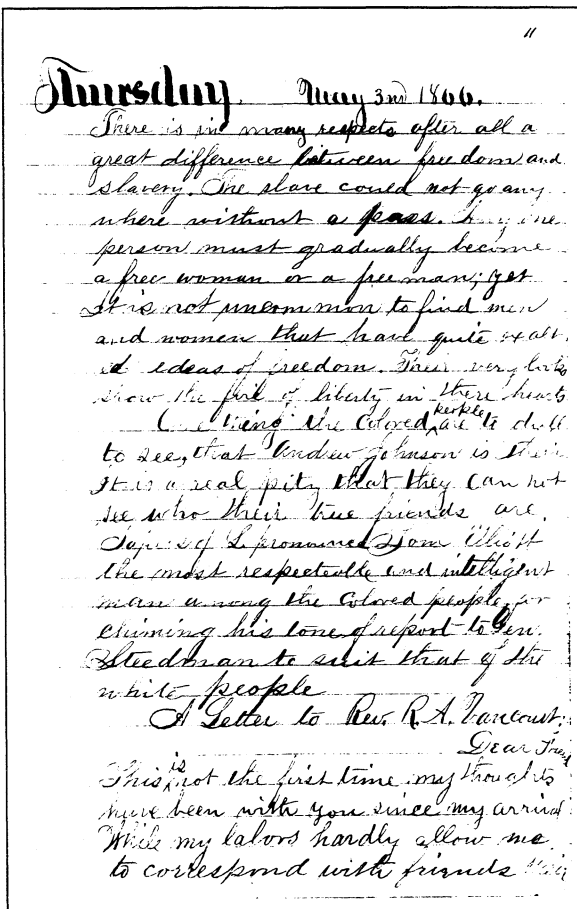
Yoder at times doubted that black Americans possessed the traits requisite for claiming and exercising personal freedom. Two weeks after the anniversary procession, Yoder complained that they "must learn a great many things before they are what the country wants them to be. They are not reliable enough. They lack independence and

energy. They would eagerly grasp for the blessings that freedom gives; but the responsibilities which freedom brings are a different question with many of them. . . . Nothing is more obvious in governmental economy than that they must be governed. . . . Who will be a freeman must be a governor in the empire of reason" (47). "Any one person must gradually become a free woman or a free man," he wrote disapprovingly, "yet it is not uncommon to find men and women that have quite exalted ideas of freedom. Their very looks show the fire of liberty in their hearts" (7). When placed in this context, the passage that serves as the edition's title takes on a far less heroic and far more troubling connotation. Yoder's views were never that simple, of course, and such provocative entries must be considered alongside ambivalent ones, such as his entry on the Fourth of July in 1866: "Now [the late slaves of the Southern States] have only to fulfill one condition in this national contract. . . . It is simply this: they must

govern themselves: for if they do not, somebody else will. I have, however, no doubt but they will do this" (55).

None of these points is particularly salient to the reader familiar with the secondary literature of the Reconstruction era. Indeed, Foner's grand narrative contains sufficient discussion on each and every one of them.<sup>2</sup> Yet this edition has been introduced, organized, annotated, and indexed primarily to facilitate the study of these traditional themes. A possible reason for this disparity may lie in the fact that Samuel Horst began the editorial process over fifteen years ago when the main value of the diary seemed firmly tied to Yoder's pronouncements on race relations and Reconstruction. The fact is that, Foner aside, the diary's contents in this area were gleaned almost immediately upon its publication by scholar Steven Tripp, whose wartime and Reconstruction study of Lynchburg came out earlier this year. Employing the original text rather than the published edition, Tripp by no means exhausted the diary's offerings. But he surely has picked it clean of its more obvious function as a record of postbellum politics and race relations in Lynchburg. Now that Tripp's study is available, it seems doubtful that the published edition has much more to offer researchers interested in traditional themes. Definite voids in the field still exist. Richard Lowe's comprehensive and insightful examination of Reconstruction politics in Virginia, published in 1991, filled but one. William T. Alderson's 1952 dissertation has for too long served as the only history of military rule in the state. No one has yet attempted a statewide study of the Bureau along the lines of those produced on Louisiana and South Carolina. When traditional projects such as these are mounted, however, their authors probably will merely lift the passages cited by Tripp, rather than bother with Yoder's original text or published edition. What remains in the diary, then, that is valuable to researchers?<sup>3</sup>

The most compelling aspects of Yoder's record are also its most subtle elements. A particularly fascinating theme involves the process by which Yoder became acculturated to the South. Judging by his first entry, on 28 April 1866, Yoder initially carried with him a strong distrust, if not outright hatred, of Lynchburg's white population, which he considered to be composed mainly of unreconstructed rebels. Yet one may discern through the years signs of a weakening resolve to resist things southern. "Was for the first time inspired with a holy feeling—in a confederate Church," he wrote on 20 May 1866 (21). "The better portion of this community seems not to be unfavorably disposed towards the colored schools but even seem to secretly delight in them," he wrote one month later. "There are many people in this town that would be



Yoder's diary entry dated 3 May 1866. Courtesy of The Library of Virginia.



friendly to us if nobody would find it out" (37). "I met Maj. Robert C. Saunders," he wrote of a former Confederate officer in late 1869. "This is a Virginia Gentleman. He is wealthy, intelligent and a planter" (152). One of the most intriguing facts about Yoder was that he was a Mennonite from Pennsylvania who became permanently transplanted in the South. The diary contains myriad clues as to precisely how this occurred.

A related theme pertains to Yoder's religious or spiritual life. Though raised in the Mennonite sect, Yoder bounced among Protestant churches with apparent ease throughout his life. It is clear that his wanderings were most likely a form of sociability, or even professional diplomacy once he obtained his position at Lynchburg, but it is equally apparent that Yoder harbored deep, intense religious convictions. The vast majority of his comments in this area hint at a simple motif: self-castigation. Indeed, Yoder comes off as a man wracked daily by guilt and self-doubt. Though a number of entries make vague reference to carnal temptations, the main source of his spiritual unrest was an addiction to tobacco, an ironic twist of fate considering that Lynchburg was one of the South's largest distribution centers for the "sot weed." The scenario of Yoder on the one hand waging a losing battle with vice astride a mountain of tobacco, while on the other hand upbraiding his black charges for want of discipline and self-restraint, certainly presents several promising avenues of exploration in the realm of psychosocial history. Of equal interest was his affinity for Methodism and the question of what, if any, effect this might have had upon his personal, professional, and political identities.

The organization of the edition does not lend itself readily to the examination of these complex, subtle themes. Researchers attempting to trace Yoder's transition from northern Mennonite to southern educator and administrator certainly will wish to view the early, wartime portions of the diary which contain Yoder's student notes taken at Millersville in early 1864. While such materials might have seemed extraneous to the general reader interested only in extracting data relating to the major themes of Reconstruction, they would have proven useful to scholars attempting to delineate Yoder's intellectual and moral development. An even more dramatic, perhaps radical, approach to the edition would have been to include selected correspondence in support of the diary. In fashioning his introduction, Horst utilized a fair amount of correspondence to and from Yoder, much of which is located in the records of the Freedmen's Bureau at the National Archives, while some letters appear to be in private hands. Such a task would certainly have added years

to the editorial process; still, the inclusion of such material would have helped to transcend a framework of traditional, well-trodden Reconstruction themes.

While by no means inadequate, the annotation may present certain challenges to the serious researcher. Most likely as an austerity measure, the editor (or publisher) has decided that "when an identification could not be made through available sources, the reference was left unfootnoted." While this certainly makes sense from a fiscal standpoint (and is gaining currency within the profession), it never fails to annoy readers seeking to expand their research of the documentary record. Editors might believe that it is obvious to readers which terms and names the editors attempted (but were unable) to identify and which ones they simply deemed unworthy of annotation. This is never the case. Whenever this method is employed, one is always left wondering whether or not all potential avenues of identification have been exhausted. It is with only the best intentions that the following example is provided. In his 28 May 1866 entry, Yoder noted that "At three o'clock the news reached us that there had been a riot in Gordonsville last night and to day. But this evenings train from that place knows nothing of it" (27). Though the passage was annotated, the editor simply identified the location of Gordonsville, in Orange County. Are we to assume that an identification of the Gordonsville riots could not be made through available sources? Or should we assume that no such riots took place? Or should we assume that the editor simply believed the event to be unworthy of identification? While such a dilemma might seem piddling to some, others will find it nettlesome. It also effectively precludes reviewers from adequately gauging the selectivity of annotation. This complaint aside, the annotation, whenever provided, is clear, concise, and informative.

While obvious care was taken in the indexing of proper names, the classification and cross-referencing of subject headings lack a certain rigor. Some common headings of interest to researchers (such as Violence, Racial Discrimination, Republican Party, Democratic Party, Temperance, and Elections) are nowhere to be found. Others (like Methodism, Alcohol, Tobacco, and Religion) are presented as subheadings under Yoder's proper name but do not exist in their own right as subject headings. Readers will most likely find themselves studying the index before being able to utilize it properly. The apparatus, as a whole, is simply and cleanly presented, with emendations placed within footnotes. The overall editorial style is more

*Continued on page 53*

# Are Religious Records Different?

ROBERT J. CAIN

Are religious records different?" It depends. The answer must take into account such basic historical considerations as time, place, circumstances, and personalities. This much, at least, is common to "religious" and "secular" records.

## Colonial North Carolina

In 1701 the Church of England was established by statute as the faith thereafter to receive public support, which it did down to the North Carolina constitution of 1776, which disestablished Anglicanism in the new state. North Carolina in 1701 was by virtually any yardstick a pretty backward place. Although permanent settlement had begun in its northeastern region above Albemarle Sound almost fifty years before, the white population had reached only around five thousand, and virtually all of that was scattered throughout the same northeastern area. The dispersal of the population meant that no town, or even village, had come into being. There were no academies of learning; no churches or chapels; no Anglican priests except for the recently arrived Daniel Brett, whose scandalous behavior would soon lead to his departure into apparent oblivion.

If North Carolina was known for anything in particular in the wider world, it was as a haven for absconding debtors. Outside judgments on the colony were harsh, even from churchmen. The secretary of the great English missionary society founded in 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, spoke shortly after the turn of the century of "this sad Country" of North Carolina, where there was "hardly any face of Religion, no Ministers, no Churches, no Towns, nor anything but a vast scatter'd flock without Shepherds and running wild in the desert."<sup>1</sup> At about the same time a bishop of London thought that there ought to be a substantial supplement to the salary offered prospective missionaries to North Carolina, "for," he wrote, "they must live among Barbarians."<sup>2</sup> No more charitable was the opinion of the Reverend John Blair, a missionary spending a

few months in the colony in 1704, who considered that he had been sent to "the most Barbarous place in the Continent."<sup>3</sup> Reverend John Urmston in the third decade of the century characterized North Carolinians as "an InGratefull people" who constituted "the dreggs and Gleanings of all other English Colonies."<sup>4</sup>

My point in dredging up all these extravagant and ungenerous comments about my native state is to highlight the undoubted fact that North Carolina for much of its existence as a colony, from 1663 to 1776, did not enjoy an ideal environment for the preservation of records. Indian wars, rebellions and other civil strife, fires, hurricanes, and especially the absence of a central repository resulted in the almost total loss of decades of our history. For example, we have no surviving legislative journals before 1715, and only a dozen or so extant statutes before 1715, of the several thousand that must have been passed before that year. No journals of the governor's advisory council before 1712 are known to exist; similarly, there are huge gaps in our court records. Only a tiny fraction of the newspapers printed in the colony during the colonial era survives—a total of fifty-three issues, although weekly publication of *The North-Carolina Gazette* began in 1751. Only one body of personal correspondence of a North Carolinian for the entire period down to almost midcentury survives, and we have no surviving corpus of governors' papers before midcentury. The lords proprietors of Carolina, the putative rulers of North Carolina until the colony was royalized in 1729, maintained in London folio entry books of correspondence and minutes of meetings of the proprietors—material of the first importance. But of the six entry books, no more than a few dozen pages relate directly to the northern part of their lordships' province of Carolina; the remainder are concerned with the affairs of the southern part, centered on Charleston. All of these circumstances taken together, therefore, endow the records relating to the missionary activities of the Church of England in North Carolina with an importance far beyond what they would have were we in North Carolina blessed with a more nearly complete corpus of colonial records.

## Anglican Missionary Activity

All Anglican missionary activity in North Carolina (with several minor exceptions) was undertaken by the Society

---

ROBERT J. CAIN is editor of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* [second series], the next three volumes of which will be devoted to the Church of England in North Carolina, 1699–1776. This paper was presented at the 1997 meeting of the Association for Documentary Editing

for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the SPG. The archives of the SPG have been wonderfully well preserved over the almost three centuries since its foundation, most of that time at the society's headquarters in London, and latterly at Rhodes House Library at Oxford University. The records for the colonial period in America consist most notably of several series of correspondence, minute books, and printed annual reports. There are gaps in the correspondence, perhaps accounted for by a fire at the SPG at the end of the last century, but I would estimate that fully 90 percent of missionary letters of relevance to our project survive. And those not surviving in their entirety are often abstracted in the minutes of the society's monthly meetings.

So, in response to the query, are religious records different, I can affirm that one very important way in which the ones I have been working with for some years are "different" consists in the mere fact of their existence, when quite a lot of the historical record otherwise would be either blank or very much thinner than it is.

Concerning the content of these religious records, it would be safe to say that, considered as a body, there is relatively little in these missionary letters that is really "different" in kind from what one would expect from secular correspondence of the period. (There are a few exceptions to this generalization, and I shall discuss them in a moment.) There is, for example, much concern with mundane matters such as pay and conditions, in other words, salary and perquisites such as libraries, glebes, parsonages, income from performing marriage ceremonies, and the like. The letters comment on the political situation, which from time to time was highly tumultuous. There is also quite a lot of backbiting and bickering among the missionaries, as well as much railing against non-Anglican Christians (Quakers especially, but also Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and others), in contrast to a period in England of religious quiescence, and of toleration of non-Anglican protestantism.

Rarely, however, does the correspondence or other records relating to Anglicanism in colonial North Carolina reflect much if anything of the more spiritual side of the missionary enterprise—and certainly this would in the normal course of things be considered a key, indeed necessary, ingredient in any attempt to identify the "differentness" of religious records. Undoubtedly the harshness of life in the sort of social, material, and even climatic environment clerics shared with other North Carolinians would tend to dull, if not stifle, any inclination toward metaphysical reflection.

Occasionally, however, glimmers of a sense of the

numinous on the part of Anglican clergy *do* shine forth. One of the most hardworking and uncomplaining of the missionaries to North Carolina was Clement Hall, who served the northern parts of the colony from 1743 to 1759. In 1753 Hall published a slim volume of religious aphorisms and prayers, the latter composed by him, and while not constituting a literary landmark, the book nevertheless does give evidence of genuine piety. A manuscript account of a brief itineration by a Moravian minister who was also in Anglican orders survives in the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem. It too displays a religious ardor encountered very seldom in the usual run of the records of Anglicanism in North Carolina. Only two sermons by North Carolina ministers are known to exist, both of which were printed. One of them (1768) was directed to the regulator insurgents, advising them not to risk destruction of the colony, and their own damnation, by rebelling against legitimate authority. The other was preached before a gathering of Freemasons and was little more than a panegyric in praise of that organization. Neither sermon rises to anything that I would consider a "spiritual" plane.

Minutes of vestry meetings are religious records, and are "different" in that they are concerned with several aspects of colonial life not dealt with by secular records of the time. The most important of these is poor relief. Following practice in England, vestries were given the statutory responsibility to furnish assistance to indigents—providing room and board, nursing care, medical treatment, and burial, as the vestry thought necessary. These transactions are recorded in the vestry minutes and are uniquely valuable for social history. It is a great pity that only one good run of minutes of North Carolina vestries exists for the entire colonial period, with only scraps from three others, out of a total of *thirty-six* parishes at the end of the colonial period.

Another area of difference between religious and secular records well worth mentioning—an area in which some of the missionary correspondence stands distinctively apart from any surviving secular records or manuscripts of the colonial era in North Carolina—is in attitudes displayed toward slaves, attitudes that manifest much more of the ideal of Christian charity than is evident in most of their correspondence. (And this despite the fact that a number of the missionaries, perhaps even most of them, were themselves slave owners.) I stress that this generous attitude is true of some, but certainly not all, of the clerics; the Reverend John Urmston, serving the Albemarle region from 1709 to 1721, complained often and loudly about being so poorly paid that he could not

afford to buy as many slaves as he felt he needed; one whom he *did* own he referred to once as a “dumb senseless Animall.”<sup>5</sup> More usual among the missionaries sent to North Carolina was a sincere desire to baptize and instruct slaves. One wrote in 1713 that he had baptized upwards of forty slaves, and in their periodic statistical report to London of their activity, most took pride in being able to report the number of slaves having been baptized. This worthy enterprise was, however, often frustrated by planters’ refusal to allow their slaves to be either instructed or received into the church, in the mistaken belief that baptism conferred freedom.

Finally, to address the question of whether or not the editing of “my” religious records necessitated any innovations in my established procedures of selection, transcription, and annotation, or in other ways: not really. Certainly there was much more in the way of translation (mostly from Latin) than I had encountered in previous volumes, and an unusually large amount of bibliographical research had to be undertaken on the hundreds of ecclesiastical titles mentioned in the text. Another point of difference was that for the first time I had to determine the authenticity of signatures on a petition submitted on his behalf by a clergyman of dubious character. The signatures were beyond question forgeries—a circumstance I had never before encountered in any of the many secular documents I had previously edited. If religious records *are* indeed different, I trust it is not often in such ways as this.

## Notes

1. John Chamberlayne to Archbishop of Tuam, 25 September 1707. American Papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Vol. 8, Lambeth Palace Library, Rhodes House Library, Oxford University.
2. Bishop of London to Secretary of the SPG, 20 December 1706. SPG Papers, Vol. 3, Ser. A.
3. Reverend John Blair to Committee of the SPG, 20 November 1704. SPG Papers, Vol. 2, Ser. A.
4. Reverend John Urmston to Secretary of the SPG, 21 July 1721. SPG Papers, Vol. 15, Ser. A.
5. Reverend John Urmston to Secretary of the SPG, 29 September 1718. SPG Papers, Vol. 13, Ser. A.

*Review continued from page 50*

active than passive. Horst removes many scratch overs, while supplying missing letters as well as correct spellings only when it does not interfere with meaning or context. None of these choices seems too intrusive; they in fact render the text more comprehensible and, therefore, more accessible.

Despite the concerns raised here, Samuel Horst’s decision to offer an edition of Jacob E. Yoder’s diary was sound and will most likely be lauded by scholars. Yoder’s unique background and training, as well as the circumstances surrounding his entry into the ranks of the Pennsylvania Freedmen’s Relief Association and the Freedmen’s Bureau, render his diary worth more than a passing glance. His views on race relations and Reconstruction, in general, have already found their way into the secondary literature and only reinforce the arguments made by scholars like Eric Foner. The main use for Horst’s edition will be to provide deeper insights into the process by which northerners like Yoder came to transform the South and were, in turn, transformed.

## Notes

1. For an evaluation of various revisionist challenges to Woodward’s thesis in *Origins of the New South*, see Sheldon Hackney, “Origins of the New South in Retrospect,” *Journal of Southern History* 38 (1972): 191–216. For Woodward’s personal response to the revisionists, see C. Vann Woodward, *Thinking Back: The Perils of Writing History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 63–78.
2. On African American notions and desires regarding freedom, and on white responses, see Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 77–123; Leon Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), 221–291.
3. For Tripp’s use of the original diary, see Steven Elliot Tripp, *Yankee Town, Southern City: Race and Class Relations in Civil War Lynchburg* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 22, 169–170, 181–182, 184–185, 210, 303n, 306n, 310–311n. See also Richard Lowe, *Republicans and Reconstruction in Virginia, 1856–1870* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991); Howard A. White, *The Freedman’s Bureau in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970); and Martin Abbott, *The Freedmen’s Bureau in South Carolina 1865–1872* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967).

# 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.

AUDEN, W. H. *Prose and Travel Books in Prose and Verse*, Volume 1: 1926–1938. Ed. Edward Mendelson. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. xl & 836 pp. This collection includes Auden's early prefaces, introductions, reviews, and personal essays as well as two co-written travel narratives: *Letters from Iceland*, which Auden wrote with Louis MacNeice, and *Journey to a War*, which he wrote with Christopher Isherwood.

BRAINERD, WESLEY. *Bridge Building in Wartime: Colonel Wesley Brainerd's Memoir of the 50<sup>th</sup> New York Volunteer Engineers*. Ed. Ed Malles. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997. xxii & 415 pp. Brainerd's account finely depicts the life of an army engineer during the Civil War and contains important information on Chancellorsville, Fredericksburg, and the Wilderness, among other battles.

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO. *The Selected Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Ed. Joel Myerson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. viii & 469 pp. This well-chosen, lightly annotated edition of Emerson's letters makes his life and thought accessible for a general readership. Many of the early letters are addressed to family members. The numerous letters to Mary Moody Emerson reaffirm her importance to Emerson's intellectual development. Other notable recipients include Louis Agassiz, Bronson Alcott, George Bancroft, Thomas Carlyle, Evert Duyckinck, Margaret Fuller, Rufus Griswold, Oliver Wendell Holmes, William Dean Howells, Henry James, Sr., Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, Harriet Martineau, Henry Thoreau, and Walt Whitman.

JAMES, WILLIAM. *The Correspondence of William James*, Volume 6: 1885–1889. Ed. Ignas K. Skrupskelis, Elizabeth M. Berkeley, and Wilma Bradbeer. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998. liv & 746 pp. These letters treat such topics as psychological research and hypnotism, provide much detail concerning James's teaching career and private life, and contain much information about his writings, especially *The Principles of Psychology*.

JOHNSON, ANDREW. *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, Volume 14: *April–August 1868*. Ed. Paul H. Bergeron, Patricia J. Cable, Glenna R. Schroeder-Lein, Marion O. Smith, Lisa L. Williams, and Richard M. Zuczek. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997. xxxii & 590 pp. The main thrust of this volume is Johnson's acquittal from impeachment charges, but the documents included also address other aspects of Johnson's relationship with Congress and provide much information about the election of 1868.

KIMBER, EDWARD. *Itinerant Observations in America*. Ed. Kevin J. Hayes. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998. 137 pp. First published sporadically during the mid-1740s in the *London Magazine*, Kimber's narrative provides a vivid account of life in colonial America. His descriptions of the natural landscape are filled with poetic imagery while his descriptions of the towns, buildings, and fortifications are realistic and original. For many places he visited, especially coastal Georgia, Kimber's narrative provides unique evidence concerning their contemporary appearance. The narrative, as well as the accompanying poems written during his American sojourn, shows how the people, events, and environment of colonial America could supply the matter from which literature could be fashioned.

MATSUSHITA, IWAO, AND HANAYE MATSUSHITA. *Imprisoned Apart: The World War II Correspondence of an Issei Couple*. Ed. Louis Fiset. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997. xvi & 299 pp. This Japanese couple first emigrated to the United States in 1919 but were separated immediately after Pearl Harbor and interned for the remainder of the war. This volume contains touching correspondence.

TAFT, ROBERT A. *The Papers of Robert A. Taft*, Volume 1: 1889–1939. Ed. Clarence E. Wunderlin, Jr., Frank L. Byrne, Bette J. Sawicki, and Anita M. Weber. Kent: Kent State University Press, 1997. xlvi & 620 pp. These papers tell much about the Great Depression, the Republican

Party leadership, and Taft's Senate campaign. In addition, Taft's letters detail his civic activities as well as his private and social life.

UNITED STATES, DEPARTMENT OF STATE. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963*, Volumes VII, VIII, IX: *Arms Control; National Security Policy; Foreign Economic Policy, Microfiche Supplement*. Ed. Evans Gerakas, David W. Mabon, David S. Patterson, William F. Sanford, Jr., and Carolyn B. Yee. Washington: Department of State, 1997. Documents included concern the Kennedy administration's restructuring of national security bureaucracy; Kennedy's policy on counterinsurgency and paramilitary operations; the Kennedy administration's efforts to formulate policy on tactical nuclear weapons; general foreign economic policy, financial and monetary policy; and foreign assistance, international investment, and economic defense.

UNITED STATES, DEPARTMENT OF STATE. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968*, Volume IX: *International Development and Economic Defense Policy; Commodities*. Ed. David S. Patterson, Evan Duncan, and Carolyn B. Yee. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1997. xxxiv & 898 pp. Documents included concern the foreign assistance policy under the Johnson administration, international investment and development, economic defense, and commodities and strategic materials.

VOEGELIN, ERIC. *The Collected Works of Eric Voegelin*, Volume 2: *Race and State*. Trans. Ruth Hein. Ed. Klaus Vondung. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997. xxii & 233 pp. First published in 1933, the year Hitler came to power and five years before Voegelin fled his native Austria for the United States, *Race and State* embodies a broad-minded theoretical approach which challenged the prevailing Nazi stereotypes of the day.

WORDSWORTH, WILLIAM. *Early Poems and Fragments, 1785–1797*. Ed. Carol Landon and Jared Curtis. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997. xxiv & 891 pp. Before Wordsworth and Coleridge published their groundbreaking *Lyrical Ballads* in 1798, Wordsworth's poetry was much more traditional and conservative. The poetry in this collection, some published here for the first time, reveals Wordsworth's debt to the literary traditions he would soon challenge.

### Bibliography Editor Needed

*Documentary Editing* seeks a bibliography editor to begin work with volume 21. The appointment will begin in October 1998. The bibliography editor is responsible for preparing "Recent Editions." Activities include receiving books, occasionally soliciting volumes that are not sent, selecting volumes for listing, and writing summaries. Participation in decisions about which volumes should receive full reviews and about who should write these reviews would be welcome. To apply, please send a letter and a current c.v. to Beth Luey, Editor, *Documentary Editing*, History Department, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287-2501. For further information, please write to Beth Luey at this address, e-mail at [aabel@asuvm.inre.asu.edu](mailto:aabel@asuvm.inre.asu.edu), or call at 602-965-5775.

### —Job Announcement—

#### Editor, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Princeton University

The Editor has final editorial responsibility for the Papers of Thomas Jefferson, now entering the years between Jefferson's term as Secretary of State and his term as Vice President. The editor manages the Jefferson Papers' staff, and has responsibility for budgeting, grant applications, and fund raising. Required: extensive experience in documentary editing, demonstrated skills in both textual editing and editorial management, proficiency in computer technology, and scholarly command of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century American history. Preferred: Ph.D. in history with a specialty in the early republic, previous management of a documentary editorial project. Salary commensurate with experience. AA/EOE. Send dossier and three letters to Professor John Murrin, Search Committee Chair, Princeton University, Department of History, 129 Dickinson Hall, Princeton, NJ 08544-1017.

**Deadline: July 1, 1998**

# Special Offer

The Association for Documentary Editing makes available as a special offer at a 20 percent discount to its members two books of major importance to the field:

Mary-Jo Kline, *A Guide to Documentary Editing*, 2d ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). Prepared for ADE. Linda Johanson, Project Director. Pp. xix, 300. Paper \$25.95 list, **\$20.75 for ADE members.**

First published in 1987 and widely acclaimed, *A Guide to Documentary Editing* is available in a completely revised edition. Drawing on the experience of dozens of editorial projects, the author details every step of the editing process as now practiced in the electronic information age—planning a project, organizing materials, evaluating and transcribing texts, applying textual and editorial conventions, and preparing the edition for the publisher. The author makes cautious predictions about future forms of electronic documentary publications. In addition, Kline brings up to date the *Guide's* survey of literature. Editors of such historical and literary documents as correspondence, journals, diaries, financial records, professional papers, and unpublished manuscripts will find this book an indispensable companion.

MARY-JO KLINE is Curator, Special Collections, at the John Hay Library, Brown University, and coeditor of *The Political Correspondence and Public Papers of Aaron Burr*, 2 vols (1983) and *The Book of Abigail and John: Selected Letters of the Adams Family, 1762–1784* (1975).

Michael E. Stevens and Steven B. Burg, *Editing Historical Documents: A Handbook of Practice* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1997). Published in cooperation with the AASLH, ADE, and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Pp. 264. Cloth \$49.00 list, **\$39.00 for ADE members.** Paper \$24.95 list, **\$20.00 for ADE members.**

“Historical Editors have long wanted a reliable handbook that would provide easy access to the innumerable issues and practices that they daily deal with in their profession. *Editing Historical Documents* provides a wonderfully diverse collection of examples of current practice with full citations to the sources used as examples.”—John P. Kaminski, University of Wisconsin–Madison

“I wish that I had such a handbook twenty years ago. Now that it is published, we shall all wonder how we got along without it.”—Jeffrey J. Crow, North Carolina Division of Archives and History

MICHAEL STEVENS is State Historian at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the former Director of Publications at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. STEVEN B. BURG holds degrees from Colgate University and the University of Wisconsin–Madison, where he is a doctoral candidate in United States history. He currently is an editor at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Send order with a check made out to the ADE to:

Susan Holbrook Perdue  
Papers of John Marshall  
P.O. Box 8781  
Williamsburg, Virginia 23187-8781

Send copies to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

*A Guide to Documentary Editing*, \_\_\_\_\_ copies @ \$20.75 each:.....\$ \_\_\_\_\_.

*Editing Historical Documents*, \_\_\_\_\_ copies cloth @ \$ 39.00 each:.....\$ \_\_\_\_\_.

\_\_\_\_\_ copies paper @ \$20.00 each:.....\$ \_\_\_\_\_.

Postage and handling @ 3.00 for the first book and .50 per additional book:.....\$ \_\_\_\_\_.

TOTAL.....\$ \_\_\_\_\_.

## Association for Documentary Editing Council

- Cullom Davis, president; Lincoln Legal Papers, Old State Capital, Springfield, IL 62701-1507
- Leslie S. Rowland, president-elect; Freedmen and Southern Society Project, Department of History, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742
- Herman J. Saatkamp, Jr., past president; Santayana Edition, Department of Philosophy, Texas A & M University, College Station, TX 77843-4237
- Susan H. Perdue, secretary; Papers of John Marshall, P. O. Box 8781, Williamsburg, VA 23188
- William M. Ferraro, treasurer; Ulysses S. Grant Association, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901
- Thomas A. Mason, director of publications; Indiana Historical Society, 315 W. Ohio St., Indianapolis, IN 46202-3299
- Ann D. Gordon, at-large councilor; Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903
- Beverly Wilson Palmer, at-large councilor; Thaddeus Stevens Correspondence, Pomona College, Claremont, CA 91711
- Diana W. Hadley, at-large councilor; Documentary Relations of the Southwest, Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721

## ADE Committees 1997–1998

**Boydston Prize:** Peter Shillingsburg, chair; W. W. Abbot; George Geckle

**Butterfield Award:** Ann D. Gordon, chair; John P. Kaminski; Mary A. Y. Gallagher; Joel Myerson; Herman J. Saatkamp, Jr.

**Constitution and Bylaws:** Carolyn Holmes, chair; Douglas E. Clanin; Thomas A. Mason; Wesley T. Mott; Christopher A. Schnell

**Education and Information:** Candace Falk, chair; Sargent Bush, Jr.; Kathleen Dorman; Esther Katz; Joseph R. McElrath, Jr.

**Federal Policy:** Charlene Bickford, chair; Theresa Collins; Charles Cullen; John Kaminski; Leslie Rowland; Herman J. Saatkamp, Jr.; Jack D. Warren; Elizabeth Hall Witherell

**Finance:** William M. Ferraro, chair; John Catanzariti; Philander D. Chase; Dennis Conrad; Linda Johanson

**Local Arrangements:** Susan Drause, chair; Harriet Simon; Gary Moulton

**Meetings:** Gary Moulton, chair; Elizabeth Berkeley; Larry A. Hickman; Beverly Wilson Palmer

**Membership:** John Kaminski, chair; Judith Giblin James; Richard Leffler; John A. Lupton; Michael E. Stevens; Sharon Ritenour Stevens

**Nominating:** Elizabeth Hall Witherell, chair; Frank G. Burke; Ellen R. Cohn; Esther Katz; C. James Taylor

**Program:** Leslie Rowland, chair; Beth Luey; Michael E. Stevens; Sharon Ritenour Stevens; Richard Leffler

**Publications:** Thomas A. Mason, chair; Patricia Brady; Mary A. Y. Gallagher; Edward E. Hanson; Christian J. W. Kloesel; Stacy Pratt McDermott; Beth Luey; Douglas E. Wilson

**Technology:** Frank E. Grizzard, Jr., chair; Martha L. Benner; Theresa Collins; Carol DeBoer-Langworthy; Cathy Moran Hajo; Leigh D. Johnsen; Herman J. Saatkamp, Jr.