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Winter 2005

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List of Purchases Made by Meriwether Lewis in Preparation for the Expedition to the West, ca. 1803
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# Documentary Editing

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### A Time to Reach Out

#### Dennis M. Conrad

here is a Chinese curse that goes: "May you live in interesting times." Well, this organization and documentary editing in general seem always to live in "interesting times," and this year has proved no exception. Through the course of it, I noticed I had lost some weight. One day, while admiring my new Adonis-like physique, it occurred to me that most documentary editors are on the thinnish side. (Now Records people, on the other hand. . . . ) I wondered how it was that editors, who all of you must admit, are as desk-bound a group as can be found, achieved such remarkable weight control. Then I came across the latest pronouncement of the Surgeon General about Americans and fitness. It seems they have discovered that some of the activities that editors specialize in consume significant calories. Stretching a dollar-something all editors do very, very well-burns approximately 75 calories per hour; swallowing your pride, 50; and when done for funders and university deans it jumps to 100; pushing your luck burns 250; making mountains out of molehills, especially in grant proposals, 500; running around in circles-a favorite activity of editors-burns 350 calories per hour, and bending over backwards to meet the unrealistic expectations of others, nets a burn of 175 calories. So cheer up fellow editors-our funding may remain forever "soft," but our abs will be rock hard.

I use this anecdote as an introduction because I am about to recommend another editorial aerobic exercise–juggling your overcrowded schedule to add yet another responsibility. But I hope that I can demonstrate to you that the effort is worth the cost many times over. I will introduce it by harkening back to an earlier Presidential address. John Kaminski in his fine and thoughtful Presidential address delivered in 1989 and reprinted in the Twenty-fifth anniversary issue of *Documentary Editing*, advocated the need for editors to disseminate through other publications the knowledge they had accumulated preparing their documentary editions. John was prescient in anticipating that the work of editors would be valuable and well-received when presented in a less daunting format than documentary editions, but unfortunately it was not editors—save a few who function well without sleep—who "cashed in."

In a recent review, historian Pauline Maier wrote: "Why are books on the American Revolution so popular? Some have suggested that Americans now worried about the state of the nation like to read about a time when 'we had it right.' The truth may be simpler: The easy availability of modern, comprehensive editions of the papers of the Founding Fathers has allowed good writers without extensive historical training to write intelligent, readable books for broad audiences. Historians with strong storytelling skills also depend on modern editions of the founding fathers' papers."

As an exercise in making the audience feel good about itself, I will quote another small portion of Maier's review. She went on to write, "The people who know the subject best—the scholars' scholars of our time—are the editors who spend day after day and year after year copying and arranging those documents, adding introductions to explain their contexts and notes to identify obscure references." I should add that Maier then proceeded to laud General George Washington: A Military Life, a biography produced by one of our own, Ed Lengel. And yes, I expect a free copy of the book for this commercial endorsement.

As Maier indicates, a veritable cottage industry has developed composed of journalists and historians who are mining our editions and turning out very popular and, for them, very lucrative biographies. It became a mantra of mine as we talked with congressional staffers during this year's National Historical Publications and Record Commission (NHPRC) funding crisis. No, documentary editions do not sell huge numbers of volumes, but yes, they are hugely popular. We in documentary editing can mimic a well-known television advertising slogan: we do not make the products that you know, but we do make the products that you know much, much better—and we make them possible.

To again reference the language of commerce, I think we have lost out on the high-end market; I am here to advocate that we do not similarly concede the "mass" market. Specifically, I am asking that the members of ADE make a conscious and concerted effort to reach out to teachers and students in middle school and high school to make sure they are exposed to the wonderful work that editors do.

I know that what we produce would be well received if delivered in a format that is accessible to students and teachers. I taught high school once long ago and am married to someone who has taught at both the high school and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Maier, Pauline. "The Founding Revisited" Washington Post Book World, 28 August 2005.

middle school levels for over thirty years and we have both seen how exposure to primary source materials, especially in this day of textbook-driven pedagogy, can make history fun, exciting, and accessible for students. I will relate one anecdote that I assure you is the rule and not the exception. My wife requires a research paper of her tenth-grade European history students. She gives the students a list of characters and asks them to choose one and to study his or her life and career to answer the question: did that person change the course of history or were they merely the product of historical forces beyond their control? Last year, one of her students chose Jeanne d'Arc as her research topic and, typically, began looking into the relevant secondary sources the subject. The student was totally unexcited and uninspired and her level of commitment to the project and her attitude and conduct in class reflected her boredom, that is until she happened across a series of letters written by a contemporary of Jeanne's, translated into English and transcribed by a scholar and posted on the internet. Suddenly, Jeanne d'Arc became a real person to this student; she could connect with her on a human level. The result was that this student went from failing in the exercise to doing good and sophisticated historical analysis-the critical thinking skills educators tout as so necessary for today's students-thanks to her exposure to primary documentary material.

That was the "micro" approach; now the "macro" approach to prove the importance of editors becoming involved in providing resources for pre-college students. First, the most popular single textbook in American history courses at the college level is *Discovering the American Past*, a problems series textbook that combines primary source materials with historical analysis and open-ended discussion questions. The publishers have also designed a textbook using a similar format for European and World History courses.

Second, the growing importance and dominance of Advanced Placement courses in high schools. My youngest child is in his last year of high school so I have had the privilege of visiting a number of college campuses recently. Without exception, the admissions' officers in their presentations informed the potential applicants that the single most important factor in determining whether they were admitted to such and such a school was the quality of their high school record, and particularly the number of honors and AP courses they had taken and how they had performed in those courses and on the Advanced Placement examination.

Given this, the number of students taking AP courses—which has grown dramatically in the last few years—will continue to grow at an extraordinary

rate. As most of you know, the centerpiece of the Advanced Placement test is the DBQ or document based question, which asks students to analyze original documents and posit an answer to a question based on that analysis. Our "product" therefore has become the centerpiece of most high-level high school history courses.

The other feature of many such honors courses is the traditional research paper. Because students can easily obtain already-written research papers on the web, teachers are looking for ways to teach the skills of researching and analyzing a topic without having to spend their time using spyware to insure that the paper they were handed is the student's own work. Again, with some tailoring, our projects can be the means for teachers to achieve both of these goals.

Now, having hopefully convinced you that there is a need and a market for documentary materials in the pre-college classroom, I turn to why it is in your enlightened self-interest to get involved. First, it furthers the goal that every editor shares of having as many people as possible learn more about the historical personalities and topics that our documentary editions illuminate. Second, it helps to create an educated and sophisticated audience for our work. Third, it resonates with funders, both in the halls of Congress and in the boardrooms of foundations. During the briefings given to the participants in Humanities Advocacy Day, I was struck at the emphasis speakers, especially those from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), gave to the connection between their programs and pre-college education. The NEH speakers spent almost all of their allotted time in the briefing session discussing and marketing the "We the People" initiative in those terms. That impression was only strengthened when I visited the offices of six different members of Congress. In each there was a visible heightening of interest when someone in the advocacy group launched into a discussion of how increased funding for the NEH or the NHPRC advanced the cause of education in the humanities among high school students.

Additional evidence for this concern among lawmakers for improved history education is that in this tight fiscal environment, two initiatives to improve history education have been funded and one of these, the Teaching American History initiative—which has the support of the current administration—contains an "Our Documents" program. Given this interest in Congress, it behooves the documentary editing community to get involved in producing materials for the pre-college education market. Rest assured, in this tight fiscal environment, other less competent groups will step in to attempt it, if we do not.

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The problem is that it takes time to work with teachers and education specialists, to design the best and most useable materials for middle and high school students, to produce those materials, to track their use and effectiveness, and finally to revise the product to address shortcomings or to add to it so that it remains fresh and useable. While funding agencies tout how important their programs and products are in addressing the nation's educational needs, there is a perception among editors that the agencies are reluctant to have editing projects take time away from producing letter-press, microfilm, or electronic editions to produce ancillary materials dedicated to the education market. The feeling among several editors with whom I have spoken is that the agencies agree it is vital work yet expect projects and editors, if they engage in that work, to do it on their own time.

The time is ripe to rethink this issue.

The NHPRC and NEH should make clear policy statements on this matter. If they believe their own rhetoric, then they should allow projects to set aside time during each funding cycle to create and promote "educational" materials. Moreover, those agencies should actively help projects create such materials. In particular, they could facilitate interaction between educators, editors, and librarians by sponsoring conferences and workshops involving those groups so editors could learn how best to tailor their materials and teachers and librarians could be exposed to the breadth and depth of what materials are and could be available.

Finally, the NEH and NHPRC ought to, I believe, look to create a central clearing house for such an effort akin to the steps NHPRC has taken to create such a clearing house for producing editions in an electronic environment. In fact, I consider this education component to be the first step toward creating "mass" electronic editions. Just producing electronic editions means that only the very few will understand how best to make use of them. To introduce the current generation of students to documents, educate them in their use, including fostering the critical thinking skills that dealing with primary document materials promotes, is to create a significant body of long-term, sophisticated users.

The ADE, too, should get involved. First let me acknowledge that some ADE projects have already created first-rate materials for middle and high-school age students so that editors thinking of doing so would not be moving into uncharted waters. These projects are listed at the ADE website under the heading "Classroom Projects." I suggest you go there and click on the offerings listed and check out what kinds of things are being done.

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I particularly want to mention the Freedman and Southern Society Project and the Emma Goldman Papers, both of which have created short book-length abridgements of their larger works centered on a theme. In the case of the Freedman Project it was the African-American experience, to quote the subtitle, in "Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War." In the case of the Goldman Papers it centered on the question of Free Speech and First Amendment Rights. In the latter case, Candace Falk and her staff worked closely with teachers and curriculum developers to make it classroom friendly. Both projects then followed publication of their books to create imaginative websites that have garnered excellent reviews and good responses from teachers and students. I commend both of them to you as models. But I think the ADE can do more and do it in a collaborative fashion.

Some years ago Mary Gallagher proposed a project in which several ADE projects would contribute documents on a specific topic that would be grouped and published for classroom use. I thought it was a good idea then, and now, with the possibility of using the web as a delivery system, I think it is an even better idea. I know there are some individual projects, such as the Constitutional Sources Project, that are exploring the possibility of such an approach now but I think with the wide array of projects associated with the ADE, we have a remarkable opportunity to create interesting and compelling treatments of broad topics, such as Freedom, Dissent, Revolution, to name a few, or treatments for periods and topics such as Nineteenth Century Reform, Native Americans, the Spanish Experience in the present-day U.S. West, or Transcendentalism and Nature-again, to name just a few possibilities. These compilations could, with skillful promotion, become the centerpiece for high school American history and literature classes. Teachers are looking for original materials to engage their students and make the textbook come alive; we could provide those materials.

Now is the time to embark on such a project and turn our projects into "teaching opportunities." One element of the new proposed partnership arrangement between the ADE and the New York Historical Society is the creation of a unit on documentary editing for high school students who serve as interns for the New-York Historical Society. ADE has begun to work closely with Richard Gilder whose Gilder-Lehrman Foundation is the sponsor of History Now, American History Online, a website designed to make history, and particularly history focused on primary documentary materials, more accessible for the pre-college teacher and student. ADE has also begun

to develop a closer relationship with National History Day, which has been identified in the new American History and Civics Education Act as a model for history instruction and had its programs singled out for funding by government grants.

The stars are rightly aligned. It is the time for we editors to become a force in developing instructional materials based on the incredibly rich resources we work with every day so that fifteen years hence another ADE President is not before you discussing the cottage industry of curriculum planners and textbook authors who have mined our documentary editions to create a wave of hugely popular middle school and high-school educational materials.

So emulating another "Education President," I saddle you with an unfunded mandate, I create an assessment criterion that I expect all of you to successfully pass or face dire consequences, and I pledge to you. . . . no editor shall be left behind. Thank you.

# Archivists and Scholarly Editing

Elizabeth H. Dow

In July 1995, I joined the faculty in the Special Collections Department of Bailey/Howe Library at the University of Vermont (UVM). I was expected to put the descriptions of their holdings online. I knew the little collections were easy (MARC records in the university's online catalog would do), but what about the longer inventories—some as long as 300 pages? That problem had me flummoxed. However, at the Society of American Archivists meeting in August of 1995, I saw Daniel Pitti demonstrate Encoded Archival Description (EAD), an SGML (now XML) protocol for publishing archival inventories on the web. I knew I had found the answer.

Over the course of the next two years, Hope Greenberg, the Humanities Computing Specialist at the Academic Computing Center, and I brought the DynaText suite of SGML publication software to campus. A programmer I knew volunteered to develop some utilities to make the markup go reasonably quickly, and we developed an EAD shop. Among others, we put online the inventory to our collection of the papers of George Perkins Marsh.

Marsh (1801–1882) was a nineteenth century polymath who wrote on, among other things, the habits of the camel, the history of the English language, and the negative impact humanity has had on nature.<sup>2</sup> He heavily influenced the architecture of the Vermont State Capitol during its rebuilding in 1857, heavily influenced the character of the Smithsonian Institute at its inception in 1847, and stills holds the record as the ambassador of longest tenure in one position with twenty-one years as the U.S. ambassador to Italy. He spoke more than twenty languages. The Marsh Collection was probably UVM's most renowned collection internationally.

lwww.loc.gov/ead

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>George Perkins Marsh. The Camel: His Organization, Habits, and Uses. Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1856; The Origin and History of the English Language, and of the Early Literature It Embodies. New York: Charles C. Scribner, 1862; Man and Nature; or Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action. New York: Charles Scribner, 1864. See, David Lowenthal, George Perkins Marsh: Prophet of Conservation. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000, for more on Marsh.

With our EAD work running smoothly, Connell Gallagher, then Director of Research Collections and my supervisor, suggested we digitize a selection of the Marsh papers for publication on the Web. "Sure," I said. "We could use EAD on the inventory and the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), an SGML (now XML) protocol for humanities documents,<sup>3</sup> on the letters and create a hyperlink between the two." Doesn't that sound like a good idea?

We received some money from the Woodstock Foundation. (Marsh's boyhood home in Woodstock, Vt. had passed from his family to the Frederick Billings family, which married the Rockefeller family, which set up a foundation to fund projects in and about Woodstock.)<sup>5</sup> We hired Ellen Mazur Thomson who, as a volunteer, had been reading and selecting Marsh letters for us to publish, and we settled in to start.

I shudder to think what would have happened if Harry Orth hadn't retired from the UVM English Department about then. Ralph H. Orth had spent a distinguished career as an Emerson editor and understood documentary editing backwards and forwards; I had never heard of documentary editing. Harry had indicated to Connie, a friend of many years, that he was looking for an interesting project to keep him occupied. Connie asked if he would help us get started.

For the next three years, Harry treated the Marsh project as a half-time job—at no pay. He set up a workflow system; he oversaw the transcription and reading process; he taught us to research (who knew that nineteenth century travel guides to Italy list the barbers in Livorno?). Harry saved us from ourselves.

With Harry focused on the editorial process, I focused on the technology. Just at the point I was struggling to get my head around TEI, I received an invitation to an NHPRC-funded workshop David Chesnutt was offering on the Model Editions Partnership (MEP).<sup>6</sup> The MEP project extended TEI specifically for historical letters; it was just what we needed. On the last morning of that workshop, the attendees gathered to put what we had learned into a context. By then I understood fully that I had stumbled into an erudite world, and my ignorance of it showed all over the place. At some point in that group conversation I mentioned that we had this old guy named

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>www.tei-c.org

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>bailey.uvm.edu/specialcollections/gpmorc.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Lawrence and Mary Rockefeller eventually donated the property to the federal government. The National Park Service opened it as the Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park in 1998. www.nps.gov/mabi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>mep.cla.sc.edu

Harry Orth helping us, and the unflappable David Chesnutt flapped. "YOU have Harry Orth working with you?" With that I understood how fortunate I was to have fallen into Harry's good hands.

Documentary editing is a mature discipline which relatively few librarians and archivists, and even fewer library and archives educators, know about. But they should. We all know that the holdings in historical repositories stand more-or-less alone. But as the published and electronic holdings of one library come to look more and more like the holdings of another, it is the unique materials in a libraries' archives and special collections that distinguish it from all the others. Increasingly the librarians and archivists in charge of those institutions face pressures to digitize their unique holdings and post them, and their finding aids, to the web. I can attest from personal experience that as they embark on that work, most have no idea of the Gordian knots they will confront until they appear in the middle of a project– knots the documentary editing community has already untied.

While most digital libraries and electronically published archival collections of primary documents will never become full-blown documentary editions, they should all arrive on the Web through a process that assures at least clean and accurate transcriptions of the text following consistent, well-articulated policies about spelling, punctuation, missing or illegible language, etc. Further, most historical documents need some application of the indexer's art to assure that vague, colloquial, or archaic language does not keep them from researchers' awareness.

I teach two classes at LSU in which I make these points to my students. In Archives 101, I argue that archivists should know at least the basics of documentary editing because posting historical documents on the Web can happen in many ways. While all ways require a commitment of resources on the part of the creating institution, not all ways create a product that provides equal benefit to the researcher—be that researcher an elementary school child or a seasoned academic. Not all create a product that interacts easily with other scholarly material on the Web. Not all create a product that will withstand migration across the generations of hardware and software platforms that lie ahead of us. Therefore, if an institution makes the commitment to put its holdings on the Web, doesn't it make sense to post them in a way that will support researchers, that will interact well with other materials, that will migrate safely?

To get students into the process, I use a single event published in each of the three editions of Mary Boykin Chesnut's diary. I find the students surprised at the differences in the text. They get genuinely engaged in a discussion of what constitutes an honest treatment of a document and an honest presentation of history. During the last segment of class, we review the ADE's "Guidelines for Electronic Documentary Editions." As an assignment, I require them to critique three web collections of at least twenty-four documents, using those guidelines. The lesson takes one class period followed by a 5–7 page paper.

In another class, Electronic Description of Archival Materials, we cover EAD, the MEP extension of TEI, and MARC—the technical protocols they need to use to create technically robust and intellectually rich digital collections. Not all students in that class have taken Archives 101, and so I spend a class on documentary editing there as well. I repeat much of the rationale I give in Archives 101, but for our case studies, we use the letters they must actually mark up. Again, the single session opens a lot of eyes and raises a lot of questions. Then we dive into the technology.

I do not expect to create full-blown documentary editors; I do expect to produce archivists and librarians who will recognize when they have started to wander into the realm of documentary editing and will look for help. They might not have a Harry Orth show up and rescue them.

As documentary editors have come to appreciate the value of authority files and other library standardization practices that make interoperability possible, so the library and archives worlds need to appreciate that documentary editors have solved problems they're just beginning to grapple with. I encourage you to introduce yourselves to those worlds through presentations at Society of American Archivists meeting and digital library meetings. You have spent decades refining this wheel. Don't leave the librarians and archivists to reinvent it alone; their wheels may not roll as well as yours do.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Mary Boykin Chesnut. A Diary from Dixie, as Written by Mary Boykin Chesnut, Wife of James Chesnut, Jr., United States Senator from South Carolina, 1959–1861, and Afterward an Aide to Jefferson Davis and a Brigadier-General in the Confederate Army, edited by Isabella D. Martin and Myra Lockett Avary. New York: D. Appleton, 1905; Diary from Dixie, edited by Ben Ames Williams. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949; Mary Chesnut's Civil War, edited by C. Vann Woodard. New Haven: Yale University, 1981.

 $<sup>^{8}</sup> etext.lib.virginia.edu/ade/committees/electronic\_minimum\_standards.html\\$ 

# The Promises and Pitfalls of Reminiscences as Historical Documents: A Case in Point

Daniel W. Stowell

Armstrong, on trial for his life in a murder case in 1858? His cocounsel and a prosecution attorney remembered that it was Lincoln's eloquent closing argument that recounted how the accused's parents had been kind to Lincoln when he was a young man, alone and without friends. Another co-counsel was certain that Lincoln's carefully worded jury instructions paved the way for Armstrong's acquittal. The judge recalled that it was a doctor's expert testimony that a blow to the back of the victim's head by someone other than Armstrong was the cause of death. Two jurors recollected that Lincoln's use of an almanac to discredit the key prosecution witness's testimony was the deciding factor. The deputy sheriff insisted that Lincoln had used an almanac from 1853 (altered to read 1857), and that this fraud was the critical piece of evidence. All of these contradictions—and more—appear in a series of reminiscences prepared as soon as seven years and as late as seventy years after the case of *People v. Armstrong*.

One of the many challenges historical documentary editors face is selecting from among thousands of documents those that best represent a larger corpus of documentary evidence. Certain types of documents complicate this process even further. Reminiscences by participants in or observers of specific historical events are among these complicated source materials. Often recorded years or decades after the events they describe, these reminiscences can be colored by nostalgia, influenced by other people's accounts of the same event, and refracted through their later attitudes toward the participants. Reminiscences are frequently distorted by the sheer passage of time, clouded by poor memories, and imperfectly recorded by interviewers.

Despite their flaws, reminiscences often offer windows into aspects of the past that lie outside the more official documentary record. The slave narra-

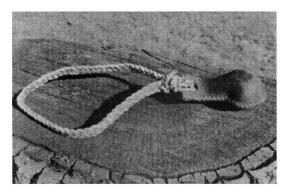
tives collected by the Works Progress Administration in the 1930s, for example, provided a different perspective on American slavery from the vantage point of enslaved African Americans that had been lacking in the records of antebellum plantations and in slaveowners' personal and family papers.<sup>1</sup>

How then should a documentary editor of Lincoln sources approach reminiscent material? This question became central for the editors of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln when we confronted the case of People v. Armstrong. The general contours of the case are evident from the surviving court documents, but a large set of reminiscent material fills in many details of the circumstances of the alleged murder and of the trial. Near some whiskey wagons at the outskirts of a Methodist camp meeting in Mason County, Illinois, on the night of 29 August 1857, both James H. Norris and William Duff Armstrong got into fights with James Preston Metzker. Allegedly, one man hit Metzker with a stick of wood, and the other hit him with a slungshot, a homemade weapon for close combat consisting of a lead ball wrapped in leather and attached to a flexible strap. After these altercations, Metzker slept through the night near the campground. The following morning, he clambered onto his horse, left the camp meeting, and went to a nearby friend's house. He died two days later. The Mason County sheriff arrested Norris and Armstrong, and the state's attorney indicted both men for the murder of Metzker. When the Mason County Circuit Court convened in November 1857, Norris went to trial. A jury found him guilty of the lesser charge of manslaughter and sentenced him to eight years of hard labor in the Illinois State Penitentiary. Armstrong successfully appealed for a change of venue to nearby Cass County.2

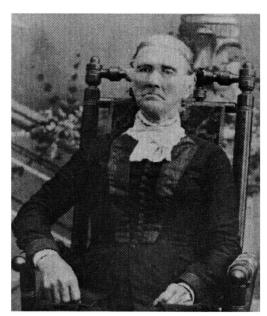
In the meantime, Hannah Armstrong, Duff Armstrong's mother, appealed to Abraham Lincoln to represent her son. Hannah Armstrong and her husband Jack Armstrong had befriended Lincoln when he was a rather directionless young man in New Salem, Illinois, in the 1830s. When the case came up in the Cass County Circuit Court later in November 1857, Lincoln and other attorneys unsuccessfully argued for bail for Armstrong. The court

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 41 vols. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972–79).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Indictment, November 1857; Affidavit for Change of Venue, 5 November 1857, both in case file, Cass County Circuit Court, Cass County Courthouse, Virginia, IL; Judgment, 5 November 1857, Circuit Court Record B, 272–73, Mason County Circuit Court, Mason County Courthouse, Havana, IL.



Reproduction of a slungshot, the weapon Armstrong allegedly used against Metzker. Courtesy of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln



Hannah Armstrong (1811–90).

Courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential
Library and Museum
Springfield, Illinois

continued Armstrong's case until the spring of 1858 to await the transfer of the records in the case from Mason County, and Armstrong remained in jail. $^3$ 

Armstrong's case came to trial on 7 May 1858, in the Cass County Circuit Court in Beardstown, Illinois. Lincoln joined William Walker and Caleb J. Dilworth in representing Armstrong. State's attorney Hugh Fullerton, assisted by J. Henry Shaw, presented the case for the state, which included the testimony of Charles Allen. Allen testified that, aided by the light of the moon high in the sky, he saw both Norris and Armstrong strike Metzker. Lincoln examined witnesses for the defense, including Dr. Charles Parker, a physician, who testified that the blow Norris delivered to the back of Metzker's head could also have caused the injury to the front of his skull. Nelson Watkins testified that the slungshot that Armstrong allegedly used was his and had been in his possession throughout the night. Lincoln also cross-examined some of the prosecution's witnesses, including Charles Allen. To discredit Allen's testimony, Lincoln entered an almanac into evidence that demonstrated that at the time of the alleged fight between Armstrong and Metzker, the moon had been low in the sky and within one hour of setting. Lincoln concluded his defense of Armstrong with an impassioned plea for his innocence and a stirring tribute to his parents who had aided a young Lincoln twenty-five years earlier. The jury quickly returned a verdict of "Not Guilty," and Armstrong was free. Lincoln charged no fee for his legal services and told Hannah Armstrong that he was happy to help in partial repayment for the kindness he had received from the Armstrongs when he lived in New Salem. Critics soon charged Lincoln with either altering the almanac or introducing an almanac of a different year to gain the acquittal, and the charge seems to have surfaced both in Lincoln's 1858 contest against Stephen A. Douglas for a seat in the United States Senate, and in his 1860 presidential campaign.

For biographers, the drama of a trial where a man's life was at stake was irresistible. Lincoln's personal relationship with the family of the accused, the dramatic nature of the testimony, and the withering cross-examination using scientific evidence all contributed to give the trial importance in Lincoln biography far beyond the individual fate of Duff Armstrong. From

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Order, 19 November 1857, Circuit Court Record C, 153; Order, 21 November 1857, Circuit Court Record C, 159, both in Cass County Circuit Court, Cass County Courthouse.



Cass County Courthouse in Beardstown, Illinois, where the trial of Duff Armstrong took place in May 1858. Courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Springfield, Illinois

shortly after Lincoln's death, biographers wanted to know more about this life-and-death courtroom drama, and they sought out the memories of anyone who had been present.<sup>4</sup>

Reminiscences have played a prominent role in the historical study of Lincoln for at least two reasons. First, this tendency to rely on such sources stems in part from the sheer volume of reminiscences about Lincoln. As the savior of the Union and the great emancipator, Lincoln became the touchstone of the war for many Americans, and people described their interactions with and observations of him in published and unpublished memoirs. Second, the enhanced role of reminiscences in retelling the life of Lincoln stemmed from the actions of his third law partner, William H. Herndon. As early as the summer of 1865, Herndon began collecting stories, anecdotes, and memories from many of Lincoln's Illinois friends and neighbors.<sup>5</sup> He wrote letters to and interviewed those who had known Lincoln and assembled their responses and his notes in preparation for writing a biography. Herndon eventually sold many of his notes to fellow Illinois attorney, Ward Hill Lamon, who in 1872, with the writing assistance of Chauncey Black, produced The Life of Abraham Lincoln from His Birth to His Inauguration as President. Herndon later published his own biography in 1889 entitled Herndon's Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life. Most of the reminiscent material Herndon collected is now in the Herndon-Weik Collection at the Library of Congress. Every substantial biography of Lincoln since these early biographies by his contemporaries and friends has made extensive use of Herndon's and other reminiscent material.<sup>6</sup>

Thirty years after Herndon collected the memories of those who knew Lincoln, journalist and later muckraker Ida M. Tarbell wrote a series of biographical essays about Lincoln for *McClure's Magazine*.<sup>7</sup> For assistance with source material, she turned to J. McCan Davis, a newspaper reporter and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Edward Eggleston even made a version of the trial the dramatic climax of his novel, *The Graysons: A Story of Illinois*, in 1887. Fifty years later, director John Ford and writer Lamar Trotti took even greater liberties with the story as the central focus of their 1939 motion picture *Young Mr. Lincoln*, starring Henry Fonda in the title role.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants: Letters, Interviews, and Statements about Abraham Lincoln* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Ward Hill Lamon, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln from His Birth to His Inaguration as President* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1872); William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life*, 3 vols. (Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Company, 1889). <sup>7</sup>*McClure's Magazine* published Tarbell's articles on Abraham Lincoln's life to 1858 between November 1895 and November 1896. A second series of articles, chronicling Lincoln's life from 1858 to 1865, appeared from December 1898 to September 1899.

attorney who lived in Springfield, Illinois. Davis solicited letters from some people who had known Lincoln, and he interviewed others. Davis transcribed these letters and reminiscences on a typewriter, occasionally adding his own thoughts, and mailed the typescripts to Tarbell. Those typescripts have survived in the Ida M. Tarbell Collection at Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania.

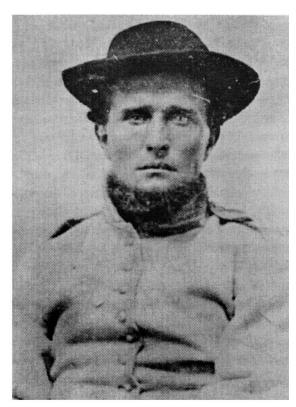
Throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, an ever-dwindling number of people who knew Lincoln continued to offer their memories of the martyred president to curious newspaper reporters, historians, and family members. Through these successive waves of reminiscences, the case of *People v. Armstrong* remained a perennial source of interest, and it is perhaps the most written-about case from the thousands in Lincoln's law practice. Of course, scholarly and popular historians have challenged and questioned the details of individual reminiscences, and the perceived reliability of these sources as a group has risen and fallen among Lincoln scholars at different times over the past century and a quarter. Nevertheless, no major biographer or scholar has dismissed them entirely.

#### Case Selection

The editorial staff of the Lincoln Legal Papers (now Series I of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln) began work on a selective edition of Abraham Lincoln's law practice even before the publication of *The Law Practice of Abraham Lincoln: Complete Documentary Edition* in February 2000.<sup>8</sup> In December of 1999, the editors began the complex process of choosing some fifty cases out of a pool of 5,173 in the comprehensive electronic edition that would fairly represent the nature, breadth, and importance of Lincoln's quarter-century legal career. Statistical representativeness was never the primary objective of this process; if it were, more than two-thirds of the selective edition would have been filled with a variety of debt collection cases. Lincoln and his partners represented clients in more than 3,050 cases involving the collection of debts, from bankruptcy and foreclosure of mortgage to collecting overdue promissory notes and store debts.

After several months of intensive study and extensive debate, the six editors involved chose forty-nine cases, supplemented by six topical or chronological chapters, as those that best captured Lincoln's most interesting,

<sup>8</sup>Martha L. Benner and Cullom Davis et al., eds., *The Law Practice of Abraham Lincoln: Complete Documentary Edition*, 3 DVD-ROMs (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000).



William Duff Armstrong (1833–99) Courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum Springfield, Illinois

important, or representative cases. The case of *People v. Armstrong* was controversial from the beginning, in part because there were two or three other murder trials that would have made excellent choices as well. Furthermore, Lincoln and his partners were involved in fewer than three hundred criminal cases, only 5.6 percent of their total caseload. Lincoln was a defense attorney in only twenty-six murder trials, so it was difficult to justify including even one murder trial, much less more than one, when we were trying to demonstrate the breadth of subject matter in Lincoln's cases.

The 1859 murder case of *People v. Harrison* had its own uniquely interesting features. Most importantly, it was one of only three cases for which we had anything approaching a modern court transcript, complete with attorneys' questions and witnesses' answers. The other two cases with transcripts were highly publicized federal trials with large economic interests at stake. Newspapers in Chicago and other cities reported these trials extensively. *People v. Harrison*, in contrast, was a murder trial in a county circuit court, and we had a handwritten transcript of the proceedings. We could not pass up this window into the antebellum courtroom.

The 1853 case of *People v. Loe*, also a murder trial, was intriguing for other reasons. Lincoln authored five of the documents in the case, including valuable notes on the testimony that he wrote down while the trial was underway. The documentary evidence for this case was largely intact, and the story was compelling, complete with a conviction on the lesser charge of manslaughter and an appeal to the governor for a pardon that was endorsed by Lincoln.

Some of the project editors believed that both *People v. Harrison* and *People v. Loe* were better choices for inclusion in the selective book edition than was *People v. Armstrong*. Of course, it was impossible to justify even two, much less three, murder cases from a statistical standpoint. Murder cases constituted less than 1 percent of Lincoln's caseload. Furthermore, several generations of historians had researched and written about this case. What more could be said? Other editors believed that it would be a mistake to exclude what is arguably Lincoln's single most famous legal case from an authoritative, though highly selective, edition of his legal papers.

Ultimately, the editorial staff concluded that although the three murder cases were redundant in terms of the legal subject matter, they rested on three very different evidentiary bases–*People v. Loe* on the standard legal documents filed in most court cases, supplemented by Lincoln's notes about the testimony; *People v. Harrison* on a virtually unique handwritten verbatim tran-

script of the trial; and *People v. Armstrong* on a set of imperfect, incomplete, and contradictory reminiscences, written years or even decades later. We editors swallowed hard and made the controversial decision, at least in our corner of the universe, to include all three murder cases among the fortynine chosen for the selective edition. In the summer of 2002, I began work on the case of *People v. Armstrong*.

#### **Document Selection**

When I first selected documents from the case of People v. Armstrong, I was myself ambivalent about how to treat the many reminiscences in the surviving documentation about this case. The official case file was not short on documents. The Law Practice of Abraham Lincoln: Complete Documentary Edition includes sixty-eight documents from the court files, five short contemporary newspaper articles, and eight handwritten reminiscences from the case of People v. Armstrong. However, several of the documents included in the Complete Documentary Edition were from the separate but related trial of James H. Norris, William Duff Armstrong's co-defendant in the indictment, in the Mason County Circuit Court. Apparently, the Mason County Circuit Court clerk sent the entire file, including the record of Norris's trial, to the Cass County Circuit Court when Armstrong's lawyers successfully appealed for a change of venue, and the records of both Norris's and Armstrong's trials have been intertwined ever since. Of the sixty-eight court documents, eleven are routine subpoenas for witnesses, and another twenty-two are witness affidavits, stating simply that a particular witness appeared in court to testify. They neither declare whether the potential witness did testify nor offer any information about what the witness said.

When I distributed a proposed list of documents to my colleagues, there was general agreement among the editorial staff about which documents from the case file to transcribe. The indictment, a motion to quash the indictment, the affidavit for a change of venue, both the state's attorney's instructions to the jury and Lincoln's instructions to the jury (the only document in his handwriting), and the final order providing the jury verdict were all natural choices and went through uncontested.

The editors were more divided about the inclusion of an 1859 letter from James H. Norris to Lincoln. More than one year after Lincoln won Armstrong's acquittal, Norris wrote to Lincoln to ask his assistance in obtaining a new trial.<sup>9</sup> There is no evidence that Lincoln aided Norris or even

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>James H. Norris to Abraham Lincoln, 21 August 1859, Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

replied to his letter. Some editors found this letter to be beyond the scope of the Armstrong case story, but most believed that it was an important addition to the case that tied up the Norris subplot. That decision would have implications later when we discussed which reminiscences to include.

Consensus broke down completely when we began to discuss the inclusion of reminiscences. Some editors found them unreliable as a class. Written down from seven to more than three score and ten years later, they were all shaped and perhaps warped by Lincoln's subsequent election to the presidency and political martyrdom. Many individuals wanted to emphasize their relationship to Lincoln during his lifetime, and that motive could distort, consciously or unconsciously, the memories of reminiscers. Some editors were concerned that the sheer volume of reminiscences would overwhelm the court documents and obscure the nature of the case. Others found the contradictions among the reminiscences too egregious and some of the literary excesses both painful to read and worthless as historical source material. The other editors and I discussed the options at length and finally decided that I should cast a wider net for reminiscences before deciding which ones to include.

We also asked ourselves what would be lost in this case, if we included no reminiscences. The answer was more than we initially thought. Without the reminiscences, there would be no mention of the almanac Lincoln used to discredit the prosecution's main witness or how he used it. That the jury took only one ballot and a short time to acquit and that Lincoln had made an emotional appeal on Armstrong's behalf based on his admiration for the accused man's parents would be lost. Gone too would be details of the evening fight at the camp meeting, Hannah Armstrong's appeal for Lincoln's help, and Lincoln's refusal of payment from her for obtaining the acquittal.

After additional research, I was able to identify two dozen reminiscences, the reminiscer's relationship to the case, and the date of the reminiscence. The reminiscences fell into three distinct time periods.

#### First Round of Reminiscences (1865–1866):

William Walker to William H. Herndon	defendant attorney	3 June 1865
J. Henry Shaw to William H. Herndon	prosecuting attorney	22 August 1866
William Walker to William H. Herndon	defendant attorney	27 August 1866
J. Henry Shaw to William H. Herndon	prosecuting attorney	5 September 1866
William Walker to William H. Herndon	defendant attorney	8 September 1866
William Walker to William H. Herndon	defendant attorney	15 September 1866
Herndon's Notes of Interview with	mother of defendant	c. 1866
Hannah Armstrong		
Herndon's Notes of Interview with	judge	c. 1866
James Harriott		

#### Second Round of Reminiscences (1896-1897):

John Husted to J. McCan Davis	deputy sheriff	12 May 1896
John T. Brady to J. McCan Davis	juror	12 May 1896
Reminiscence of Milton Logan to	juror	12 May 1896
S. G.Goldthwaite		
William Walker to J. McCan Davis	defendant attorney	15 May 1896
Caleb J. Dilworth to J. McCan Davis	defendant attorney	18 May 1896
John T. Brady to J. McCan Davis	juror	23 May 1896
(extract)		
Caleb J. Dilworth to J. McCan Davis	defendant attorney	5 June 1896
Davis's Notes of Interview with	witness	1896
William A. Douglas		
Davis's Notes of Interview with	sheriff	1896
James A. Dick (synopsis)		
Reminiscence of William Armstrong to	defendant	1896
J. McCan Davis	•	
Abram Bergen to the Kansas	attorney	1897
State Bar Association		

#### Third Round of Reminiscences (1909-1930):

Reminiscence of John T. Brady to juror 1909

James N. Gridley

Reminiscence of John Armstrong brother of defendant 1912

Reminiscence of Asbury P. Armstrong brother of defendant 30 November 1914

to Randall Plunkett

Reminiscence of William H. Weaver audience 12 February 1927

Reminiscence of Eliza Armstrong sister of defendant 1930

Smith

Faced with at least two dozen reminiscences by sixteen different individuals, the editors had to develop criteria for including some reminiscences and excluding others. The most fundamental question was whether we should present (1) only a representative sample of reminiscences, or (2) only those we thought to be reliable, or (3) nearly all of the reminiscences unless they were too fragmentary or repetitive to justify using limited space in print to include them.

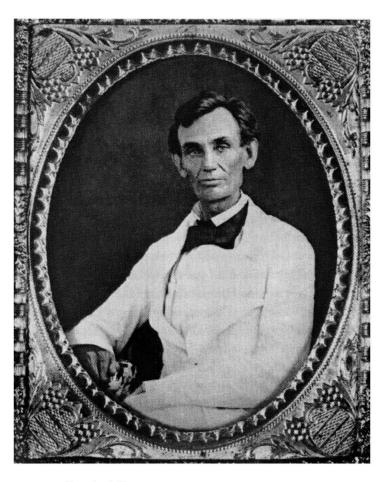
After much discussion and some dissent, we decided to include as many reminiscences as possible to provide readers with as full a documentary record as possible within the limitations imposed by a print edition. In this manner, the case presentation of *People v. Armstrong* could be authoritative, giving voice to competing and contradictory memories of the events, without trying to be definitive. Once we had decided to be reasonably inclusive, there remained the task of developing criteria by which to exclude some reminiscences, especially those with marginal or no value. Our first criterion was to exclude the reminiscences of anyone not actually present at the trial. This test excluded only the reminiscence of Eliza Armstrong Smith, Duff Armstrong's sister, and John Armstrong, Duff Armstrong's brother, both of whom had been at home during the trial and learned of it only from other family members. Next, we decided to leave out the rest of the third round of reminiscences as being too far removed in time to be of much value. John Brady's 1909 reminiscence to James N. Gridley appeared as fragments in the latter's 1910 article on the trial and largely repeated Brady's reminiscence to J. McCan Davis thirteen years earlier. The reminiscence by Asbury Armstrong in the second decade of the twentieth century largely retells the family lore about the relationship between Lincoln and his parents. William H. Weaver's reminiscence in 1927 took place nearly seventy years after the trial, and we have no contemporary confirmation that he even attended the trial.

Perhaps more controversial was the decision to exclude a brief extract from a letter by John T. Brady from 23 May 1896 and another short letter by Caleb J. Dilworth on 5 June 1896. The two-paragraph extract from Brady's letter declared that the trial lasted for five days, but we know from contemporary sources, confirmed by other reminiscences, that the entire trial occurred on a single day. The one-paragraph letter from Dilworth was a follow-up to his more substantial letter of 18 May 1896, and simply dismissed the theory that Lincoln had used a forged almanac to discredit the key prosecution witness.

The most controversial exclusion was that of Abram Bergen's reminiscence in the form of a speech before the Kansas State Bar Association in 1897. In fact, this reminiscence passed initial document selection. At the next review stage, where we examined all of the transcriptions and the case editor's plan for annotation, some of my colleagues objected to Bergen's flowery language in praising Lincoln. For example, Bergen deplored allegations that Lincoln had won Duff Armstrong's acquittal by fraud. "It is contrary to nature, impossible, absurd," Bergen said. "As well say that the sun ceased to radiate heat or light. It would have stamped as the rashest fool one whom even his detractors always pronounced most prudent and most cautious. Such an act would have made Mr. Lincoln so ashamed of himself that never again would he have taken any pleasure in recognizing himself as a man, much less as a lawyer." 10 The majority were willing to overlook Bergen's literary excesses to consider the reminiscence in the context of the final draft. Although Bergen was not an attorney in the case, contemporary sources substantiated his claim to have been in the court during that term.

In the review of the final draft, three editors objected strongly to including Bergen's reminiscence, noting that the excessive length of the reminiscence "detracts from rather than adds to the story" and that his reminiscence was largely "verbose apologetics" aimed at protecting Lincoln's integrity. Not all historians agreed with this assessment. In 1928, historian and Senator Albert J. Beveridge wrote, "That now celebrated trial has been minutely

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Abram Bergen, "Abraham Lincoln as a Lawyer," *American Bar Association Journal* 12 (June 1926): 390-94.



Portrait of Abraham Lincoln taken in Beardstown on 7 May 1858, the day he won Duff Armstrong's acquittal. Courtesy of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, Springfield, Illinois

described by several persons who took part in it or were present and their accounts do not vary greatly in the main features. Perhaps Mr. Bergen's narrative is the most trustworthy since it was the first trial he attended after his admission to the bar." However, in response to the objections of several of my colleagues, we removed Bergen's reminiscence from the final draft of the case presentation chapter.

In conducting research to annotate the 1859 letter from James H. Norris to Lincoln, I discovered a document that did not fit neatly into any category. In February 1863, Norris wrote directly to the governor seeking a pardon for the remainder of his sentence. Five months later, William Walker, the attorney who had represented both Norris and Armstrong, wrote to the governor and offered a detailed explanation of how the testimony of the principal witness against both men (Charles Allen) had been discredited in Armstrong's trial. This letter, with interesting detail about both the incident and the subsequent trials, is a sort of early reminiscence about the trial. Written only five years after the trial by one of the key participants, it offers the earliest remembered account of the trial. More importantly, it was written before Lincoln's assassination colored all memories of him. After discussing this document and its merits, the editorial staff decided to include it in the case presentation chapter as a bridge between the court documents and the reminiscences collected by biographers after Lincoln's death.

#### Annotation

How much to annotate a particular document is one of a documentary editor's most persistent quandaries. Which individuals, organizations, places, and events mentioned in the document need to be identified and to what extent? How should one treat literary and historical references? What basic knowledge should the editor expect the reader to bring to the documents? In addition to these questions we must ask of all documents, reminiscent materials present additional challenges. Should the editor indicate when a reminiscer's memory is demonstrably wrong, based on documents from the time of the events described? For example, if the informant got a date wrong, should the editor provide the proper date in a note?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Albert J. Beveridge, Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), 1:563.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>William Walker to Richard Yates, 10 July 1863, Pardon Papers for James H. Norris, "Executive Section, Executive Clemency Files," Record Series 103.096, Illinois State Archives, Springfield, IL.

What if a reminiscer got something right? At first glance, it seems unreasonable to annotate statements that he or she stated accurately. However, if the author of a reminiscence remembered some facts incorrectly, and the editor notes those statements while making no comment about those details that she or he got right, the reader may understandably assume that this person is an unreliable witness to the historical events described. On the other hand, noting every correct statement would overwhelm the document with annotation.

When multiple reminiscences about a single event exist, as in the case of *People v. Armstrong*, should the editor try to reconcile the varied and often conflicting memories by identifying those points about which the witnesses agree and those about which they disagree? Should the editor try to determine which reminiscers are accurate (or more accurate) and those who are less so?

After wrestling with these issues for some time, the editors of the Lincoln Legal Papers chose to annotate those statements that could be proven inaccurate by documents contemporary to the event. When a juror, for example, thought that the trial was in September, I reminded the reader in a note that the trial was in May of 1858. Occasionally, I also confirmed with such documents that a particular reminiscer "got it right" about a certain point. For example, J. Henry Shaw wrote to William H. Herndon about two cases in which he participated with Lincoln at the same terms of court as the Armstrong case. The details he recalled were, for the most part, accurate. In notes, I provided a brief summary of each of these cases, a divorce case in which Lincoln worked with Shaw and a chancery case in which Lincoln opposed Shaw. The accuracy of Shaw's memories on these points gives more credibility to his memories of the Armstrong trial.

More often, we could not determine who was right about certain aspects of the camp meeting fights or the trial of Duff Armstrong. For example, the sheriff later thought that the almanac Lincoln presented in evidence was a *Goudy's Almanac*, which was published in Springfield, Illinois. Two of the jurors later recalled that it had been a *Jayne's Almanac*, which was published in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Although I located copies of both almanacs and included what they predicted about the position of the moon on the night of 29 August 1857, I could not determine which memory, if either, was accurate. We did not cross-reference each deviation among those who wrote or gave oral testimony about these events. One of Lincoln's co-counsel thought the jury were "old gray-headed men," none of whom were less than

thirty-five years old; a witness remembered them as young men, with an average age of about twenty-three. <sup>13</sup> One juror recalled that they took less than an hour to reach their verdict; another juror remembered that they deliberated for five or six hours. Some believed that Lincoln had used a forged almanac; others were certain that he had not. One even believed that there had been two almanacs, and that Lincoln was guilty of no deceit. Some remembered that Lincoln's use of the almanac to discredit Allen assured Armstrong's acquittal. Others insisted that the medical evidence was conclusive, and still others found Lincoln's impassioned and eloquent closing speech the key to the outcome. As editors and historians, we can never resolve all of these contradictions with the documents available or with any others likely ever to be found.

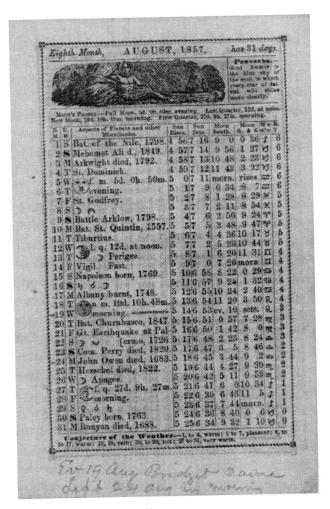
How, then, should a documentary editor approach such source material? The editorial staff of the Lincoln Legal Papers, when faced with two dozen competing reminiscences, chose to be as inclusive as reasonably possible, within the confines of a printed edition. We decided to present sixteen reminiscences by eleven different individuals involved in or present at the trial. We did not attempt to resolve their inconsistencies, but we did note where they were right or wrong about some fact that could be demonstrated by contemporary documentation.

Reminiscences often provide glimpses of historical figures unavailable in official institutional records or in correspondence. They are also frequently distorted by the passage of time between their composition and the events they describe. When there are several reminiscences about a single historical event, as there are for the case of *People v. Armstrong*, they can be inconsistent and even downright contradictory. Despite their flaws, these reminiscences enrich and enliven the historical record. The official legal record of the Armstrong case does not mention an almanac, much less the controversy that arose over it later. It does not provide even a hint about Lincoln's cross-examination of a key prosecution witness or his impassioned closing argument. It offers no summary of testimony, nor does it reveal that Hannah Armstrong asked Lincoln to represent her son.

While we did not and cannot answer every question that this case raises, including the fundamental one of whether Armstrong was guilty of murder, we as editors did see an opportunity in this case to present competing voices in a manner that should be instructive to scholars and students alike. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>The average age of ten jurors that I could locate in the census was twenty-eight. The only one who was over thirty-five years of age was the foreman, who was thirty-eight.

case of *People v. Armstrong* demonstrates the difficulty of using reminiscent material to reconstruct a narrative of an event in the past. Just as importantly, however, this case illustrates how our historical documentary record would be impoverished in many particulars without these reminiscences.



Page for August 1857 from Goudy's Springfield Farmers' Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1857 (Springfield, IL: Caleb Birchall, 1857), 11, showing moonset on the night of 29 August as 12:06 a.m. on Sunday, 30 August.

## A Woman's Voice From the Old Northwest: The Correspondence of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler

Kendra Clauser-Roemer

Remember the Distance that Divides Us: The Family Letters of Philadelphia Quaker Abolitionist and Michigan Pioneer Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, 1830-1842. Edited by Marcia J. Heringa Mason. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004.

Tom Philadelphia to Lenawee County, Michigan Territory, Remember the Distance that Divides Us offers the correspondence of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler (1807–1834), her family and friends. Remember the Distance is the first publication of Chandler's writing since Benjamin Lundy published her essays and poems in 1836 shortly after her death. An active abolitionist and author, Chandler wrote for the Genius of Universal Emancipation, an early antislavery newspaper edited by Benjamin Lundy. In 1830 Elizabeth, her brother Thomas, and her aunt, Ruth Evans, moved to Michigan territory. The letters begin 12 February 1830, as the three prepare to migrate west. They continue beyond Elizabeth's death in November 1834, ending with correspondence between Thomas and his Aunt Jane Howell.

"When I first met Elizabeth Margaret Chandler," writes editor Marcia J. Heringa Mason in her acknowledgments, "I knew immediately that others should meet her, too" (ix). Mason's enthusiasm for Chandler is obvious through her decision to produce a mostly comprehensive work, to use diplomatic transcription, and to include a detailed introduction. "The others" to whom Mason desires to introduce Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, are less clear. Mason's sparse explanation of the evolution and process of the edition, in addition to her choices in the front matter and appendices, appeal to different audiences. Justification for her decisions could provide insight into her intended audience.

The purpose of this volume is not detailed in the editor's notes. Mason became familiar with the collection as she prepared her dissertation of the life of Elizabeth Chandler. The Elizabeth Margaret Chandler Papers and Minnie C. Fay Papers, both located in the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan, comprise Mason's source texts. Other than excerpts included in her dissertation, no other author has previously published these letters. Mason excludes family letters written from 1793 to 1808, which are not pertinent to the story of the Chandlers in Michigan. Her other exclusions are letters between Elizabeth and Anna Coe along with a few other notes, which Mason finds "irrelevant." Such a vague justification immediately makes those excluded letters more intriguing. Because the edition includes 515 pages, prudent editorial selection is understandable. The remaining correspondence comprises not only Elizabeth's letters but also a large quantity from family and friends. Most of the letters assist in creating a complete picture of the lives of Elizabeth and her family. The letters are grouped thematically in chapters based on important events in the family. A chronological list of letters in the table of contents or as an appendix would have been a useful tool to readers.

Mason offers no rationale for the front matter and end matter. She states in the editor's note that her endnotes will "identify places, events, and unusual phrases," while names appear in a biographical directory. Using a biographical directory is helpful in family letters due to the large number of names mentioned. In addition to the directory (Appendix 1) and endnotes, Mason includes a forty-two page introduction, an epilogue, a bibliography, an index, and four additional appendices. The appendices include poems by and to Elizabeth Chandler (written previous to her relocation to Michigan), a recipe for honey tea cake (attributed to Chandler, but published in 1910), and an inventory of Minnie C. M. Fay's household effects dated 29 October 1935. Although the recipe, inventory, and poems are interesting within themselves, other than her poems, the inclusions seem superfluous.

Mason's process, working almost entirely on her own, is briefly sketched in her acknowledgments. Thanks to the generosity of friends and library/historical society staff, Mason finished this project without the assistance of a paid staff. She mentions transcribing and utilizing a scanned version of the manuscript to "reinvent it" (x) after a computer disaster. She does not mention any assistance with proofreading before the final version. Including those experiences could have provided useful tips for other independent editors.

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The editor's notes, including mostly a description of the apparatus, are less than a page and a half. The choices for editing the text are typical for documentary editions of early nineteenth-century writers. Spelling errors are maintained unless the editor was "convinced the writer would also have corrected" (xiii). These changes are made silently. Modern sentence and paragraph structure are imposed for readability. Brackets are used to indicate illegibility, as in "my fears were raising phantasms of evil {} our distant friends" (174), and to provide clarifying information to names, places, and abbreviations, as in "Amor {Chandler}" (79). These brackets are the only indication of any changes made to the text. The format of the letters is standardized, beginning with a heading that includes correspondents, location of author, and date. Closures and signatures in a uniform style complete each letter while postscripts appear afterward. Mason's editorial choices allow for better readability.

The introduction is curious. Introductions can be challenging for editions on lesser-known individuals. Elizabeth and her family are unfamiliar to many readers, so background on this family is necessary. The Chandlers and their friends were Quakers and abolitionists. Mason devotes a large portion of the introduction to not only presenting a biography of Elizabeth and her family, but also explanations of general topics such as Quakerism, antislavery issues, contemporary Philadelphia, and women's issues. The introduction provides details perhaps unfamiliar to a general audience, but the length of this historical background might deter many non-academic readers. The introduction is helpful, although information about particular family members is not always presented chronologically. For example, Mason begins the introduction with a synopsis of the history of the Elizabeth Chandler letters. She immediately moves to describe the life of Chandler's great-niece, Minnie Fay, who donated the letters to the University of Michigan. Minnie Fay's mother was also named Elizabeth Chandler, creating an initial sense of confusion. The introduction also includes much of the family history presented in the letters themselves. Perhaps a shorter introduction would permit the reader a base of information without anticipating the history found in the letters.

The use of endnotes in this edition is awkward. First, Mason's choice of endnotes could indicate the desire to appeal to a popular audience, since their absence within the text adds to a popular audience's sense of readability. However, since Elizabeth Margaret Chandler is a lesser-known figure, the audience for her letters is most likely to be an academic one. The edi-

tion's publication by University of Michigan Press reinforces that conclusion. For academics, the usefulness of the text can be increased when the resources provided in the notes are easily accessible, as with footnotes.

Second, a few additions to the notes and index could assist the reader. If quotations cannot be confirmed, a note stating that the source could not be found can help an interested reader avoid lengthy research. One example is when Elizabeth quotes "one of the Michigan papers," saying, "an industrious man who is able to purchase one of two lots of 80 acres may in five years acquire wealth" (5), but no mention of its location is given in the notes. Terms should be noted the first time they appear in the text, even if they are mentioned in a previous footnote. Jane Howell mentions "Drovers" on page 165, but no note is included. The index lists only pages 83 and 413n in the entry for "drovers." The word on page 83 is "drove," with a note on page 413. If a reader investigates the text from beginning to end, the definition of the word occurs before its use on page 165. However, if someone is perusing the book for information on drovers, their search will be limited. Mason's use of partial notes may be due to the length of the text itself. Unfortunately, less is not always more.

The letters themselves are all inclusive of the daily lives of Elizabeth and her family. Elizabeth describes their first house as "the snuggest log house in Michigan" (34) and continues by relating the location of every piece of furniture in their new abode. Beyond personal lifestyles, the letters provide important details about the challenges of life in the "West" versus life in Philadelphia. Important particulars such as the funeral of Richard Allen, bishop of the Philadelphia African Methodist Church (53), and the destruction of Philadelphia Hall during a Female Anti-Slavery Society meeting (318–19) demonstrate the connection of the family to the abolitionist movement. As is often the case with personal letters, the correspondents typically assume one another's attitudes toward contemporary issues, so discussion of topics such as the Chandlers' antislavery activity in Michigan is slim. In comparison, Elizabeth, Thomas, and Ruth describe storms, wild animals hunting their livestock, and exaggerated reports of "the hostile attitude of the Indians under Black Hawk" (120). Their experiences include more than the challenges of wilderness living. Elizabeth mentions quilting sessions and tea with neighbors, in addition to attending Quaker and antislavery meetings.

Marcia J. Heringa Mason's role as editor on *Remember the Distance that Divides Us* is impressive. Despite some small challenges with the introduction, endnotes, and index, the book is an interesting read and a useful tool to

students and scholars of the nineteenth century. Mason's choice to edit the writings of an antebellum woman, especially a woman in the frontier, is commendable. More editors need to follow her lead by exposing twenty-first century readers to the amazing voices of early nineteenth-century women, their families, and their friends.

# A New *Discovery* with Broad Appeal

#### Bethany Natali

The Lewis and Clark Journals: An American Epic of Discovery. Edited by Gary E. Moulton. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

ary Moulton writes, "few events in American history are more alive today" than the Lewis and Clark expedition (x). Two hundred years after Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, along with their crew, embarked upon a unique and uncertain journey into the American West, numerous popular and scholarly histories continue to interpret and reinterpret the journey's purpose, meaning, and ultimate impact. Moulton has been closely involved in creating an accurate account of that historical journey, first as an editor of the thirteen-volume work *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, and more recently as editor of its one-volume abridgement, *The Lewis and Clark Journals: An American Epic of Discovery*.

The abridged edition was published on the eve of the bicentennial anniversary of the voyage, a time when popular and scholarly interests were particularly strong. The condensed, single-volume work will appeal to a broader audience than the more detailed multivolume work. The scholarly multivolume edition builds and elaborates upon the 1904-1905 work of Reuben Gold Thwaites (*Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expeditions 1804-1806*) by incorporating new information, additional resources, and novel reinterpretations. The emergence of other histories of the Lewis and Clark expeditions, their diverse perspectives, and their widespread popularity revealed that interest was not limited to expedition scholars, but shared by many other audiences. In fact, such histories continue to attract audiences today, as evidenced by documentaries such as Ken Burns's recent account of *Lewis and Clark*, the Lewis and Clark National Bicentennial Exhibition, and similar continuing efforts by historical societies and other organizations to create accessible exhibitions for broadly defined audiences.

Moulton, observing that most one-volume accounts of the Lewis and Clark expedition relied upon increasingly outdated material, decided to create a one-volume edition based upon the scholarly edition. In the shorter work he sought to appeal to an audience broader in scope than expedition scholars and at the same time retain scholarly accuracy and integrity. In the abridged version, Moulton retains the majority of the editorial principles utilized in the thirteen-volume edition. Moulton declines to explain each of these editorial principles in detail in the shorter work; however, he refers interested readers to the second volume of the larger edition for more specific explanations regarding the editorial principles. Moulton does note editorial emendations unique to the abridged volume in the shorter work. For example, in a given day, Lewis' journal entries take priority over Clark's journal entries; in turn, Clark's journal entries take priority over other crew members' entries. As another example, when presented with multiple versions of a single author's entry, Moulton selected the entry he believed to be "superior in content or style" to take priority over the other entries (lvii).

Moulton also includes several unique features in the abridged version, such as a lengthy introductory section describing the expedition in general and the historical context in which the journey took place. The introduction includes Moulton's comments cautioning readers not to accept as true preconceived or generally understood conceptions of the expedition and its members. For example, while Lewis tends to be portrayed as "moody" and "intellectual" in comparison to Clark's portrayal as "pragmatic" and "less literate," Moulton cautions that "these contrasts may be valid and are somewhat borne out in the record, but can be overstated" (xv).

In addition to the introductory section, Moulton modifies the abridged volume to include only entries from the Lewis and Clark expedition between 14 May 1804 and 23 September 1806. The original thirteen-volume work includes entries beginning in August 1803 and concluding in September 1806. Also, Moulton chooses to include only one crew member's entry per day in the abridged volume, whereas the unabridged work includes all known entries from every crew member. The abridged edition also includes several aids to provide meaningful context to the journal entries and their content. The journal entries are organized chronologically, and textual or contextual notations appear in the wide left-hand margins of the work. Of particular interest to readers or researchers interested in specific aspects of the journey, an extensive thematic index contained is included in the work. Finally, a concluding section contextualizes the journey for the reader, describing what is known and also what is unknown regarding the lives of Lewis, Clark, and the other crew members after the expedition's conclusion.

The Lewis and Clark Journals: An American Epic of Discovery is a timely edi-

tion of a popular American expedition with potentially widespread appeal. Gary Moulton, employing his familiarity and knowledge of the expedition and the Lewis and Clark journal entries, created a condensed history that effectively incorporates both the broader context by way of introductory and concluding comments and a more detailed context for interested readers by including annotations and a comprehensive thematic index.

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### "A Perfect & Lawful Right"

Kathryn M. Wilmot

To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriett Gold & Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823–1839. Edited by Theresa Strouth Gaul. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

n 1825, the community of Cornwall, Connecticut was in an uproar over the impending marriage of Harriett Gold, the daughter of one of its leading citizens, to Elias Boudinot, member of the Cherokee Indian Nation and former student of the town's assimilation-focused Foreign Mission School. The second white woman in the community to establish a relationship with a Foreign Mission School student, Harriett's determination to marry Elias resulted in an exchange of heated correspondence among her family members. Theresa Strouth Gaul's book, To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriett Gold & Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839, affords a fascinating and personal glimpse into nineteenth-century attitudes toward intermarriage, the complexity of the assimilation movement, and the Cherokee removal policies. As Gaul states, the "letters in this volume restore richness and vitality to a family story played out on the larger stage of two nations' histories." In spite of the dissenting voices of Harriett's family-her brother Stephen burned her in effigy on the village green-Harriett and Elias married and subsequently relocated to the Cherokee Nation in Georgia. Their letters to family members back home offer insight into Harriett's adjustment to life among the Cherokee people, Elias's employment as editor of the *Cherokee* Phoenix and promoter of the removal Treaty of New Echota, and the couple's contented marriage.

Gaul thoroughly explains her editorial method for the edition, describing the location of the original source texts and their formats, other publications in which the letters have appeared, and proofreading and transcription techniques used, including the retention of "original spellings, punctuation, cap-

<sup>1</sup>Theresa Strouth Gaul, ed., To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriett Gold & Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 66.

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italization, abbreviations, and errors."<sup>2</sup> This method, in addition to the retention of superscripted and crossed out words, is consistent with Mary-Jo Kline's suggestion that "any edition of such sources should strive to preserve the communicative intention and/or effect of the original."<sup>3</sup> Gaul regularizes paragraphs, dashes, and underlining; adds letters to clarify certain words (e.g.: sh[e]; [h]ave); and adds [missing] or [illegible] if words are obscured by wax marks, tears and/or holes, or cannot be accurately interpreted. All of these methods improve the letters' readability and flow.

In regard to her selection process, Gaul only includes family correspondence that mentions the marriage of Elias and Harriett, a sound decision. She indicates there are fragments of letters not included, but doesn't offer an explanation for their exclusion. This sparks curiosity-how many fragmentary letters are there and why did Gaul deem them unworthy of inclusion? If Gaul did not want to interrupt the chronological nature of the full-text letters, perhaps an appendix of fragments would have been appropriate. In addition, Gaul states, "I have not recovered . . . any of the letters that passed between Elias and Harriett during their courtship," yet fails to mention in the introduction a 30 July 1825 letter from Harriett's sister, Catharine, to their sister Flora stating, "every letter that [Harriett] ever had from, Elias or Sarah, has been taken from Mr. Northrops, she has not seen them for more than 2 months, the one that has got them has had sufficient time to read them, & I think he ought to return them."4 Gaul should have included this in the introduction as a means of explaining the lack of extant letters between Harriett and Elias. Perhaps these letters were destroyed by the person who possessed them in 1825. In addition, Gaul does not explain why there are no letters between 1832 and 1836 in this edition. Are they not extant or did she decide not to include them? What happened during this period of time?

Gaul provides a lengthy introduction to the edition. The comprehensive nature of her research is apparent as she situates the letters within historical contexts such as "The Foreign Mission School," "Racial Attitudes in Connecticut," "Familial and Gender Negotiations," and the all-too-often ignored native viewpoint in "Cherokee Reactions to the Intermarriages." She provides background on the letter-writers, their relationship to the family, the conflicts among them, and the evolution of their attitudes toward the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., xii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Mary-Jo Kline, *A Guide to Documentary Editing*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Gaul, 3; Ibid., 112.

marriage. Most of Harriett's family came to accept the marriage, with the exception of her sister Abigail Gold Everest and Abigail's husband Cornelius. However, acceptance came only after harsh criticism, and letters such as the one from her brother-in-law Hermann Vaill stating, "I do say she had as well die, as become the cause of so much lasting evil as the marriage will occasion" must have been hard for Harriett to bear.<sup>5</sup> Yet, Harriet remained unshaken in her devotion to Elias, stating, "I feel as though I had wronged no one. I have done nothing but what I had a perfect & lawful right to do."6

Gaul's annotations are fairly systematic and scrupulous, identifying persons mentioned within the letters, items such as *Webster's Spelling Book*, and the origin of various scriptures and hymns. Gaul misses a few opportunities to clarify words. Herman Vaill's letter of 2 August 1825 uses the word "Xtian" numerous times and a note to the word "Christian" would be helpful. In addition, Flora Gold Vaill's 19 September 1825 letter to her husband states that Stephen "is as chirk as ever." An Oxford English Dictionary definition of chirk as "lively, cheerful, in good spirits" should have been included. Within the notes, Gaul incorporates textual decisions as well as directing the reader to further resources. One negative aspect of Gaul's annotation system lies in the fact that notes are located at the end of each chapter, rather than at the bottom of each page, thus inconveniencing the reader, especially when letters encompass four, five, or twelve pages.

On a positive note, the format of the letters pleases the eye. Author and recipient names are presented in all capital letters in the headnote, provenance details such as address and postal information on the envelope are included, and the location of marginal notes via the use of [LM] or [RM] is well-thought out. Copies of some of the original letters, maps, a genealogical chart, and photographs and miniatures of the family, the Mission School, Harriett's childhood home, and her gravesite, are well-chosen.

Gaul does not mention her intended audience, but from the content of the introduction, this edition clearly is not intended for the layperson. Sentences such as "in her study of antebellum benevolence, Susan Ryan explains that while sentimental identification relies on a perceived similarity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Ibid., 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Ibid., 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Ibid., 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Oxford English Dictionary Online, s.v. "chirk."

with the object of sympathy, benevolence conversely depends on 'distancing rhetorics'" are not conducive to attracting a popular audience. Perhaps more pertinent are Gaul's historical explanations of the importance of letters as a material form and genre, describing the evolution of letter-writing, the effect of postal rates, marginal insertions, and the like.

Unfortunately, Harriett and Elias's marriage lasted only a decade. Harriett's letters end in 1836 when she dies three months after giving birth to her sixth child. Elias includes a moving tribute to Harriett in his letter to her parents announcing her death. Fired as the editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* and viewed as a traitor by some of his people for advocating Cherokee removal from Georgia, Elias was murdered in 1839.

Overall, *To Marry an Indian* is a historically significant edition with sound editorial decisions and much to offer the scholarly reader. In addition to providing a greater understanding of historical issues of assimilation, Indian removal, and intermarriage, this edition reveals the personal dynamics of the Gold and Boudinot families. Throughout the correspondence, Harriett's conscious decision to reject conventional life and her satisfaction with that decision are evident.

### Notes

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

#### Experiences at the James Iredell Papers1

Donna Kelly

I would like to give you a little background on how I came to be in documentary editing. I've loved history ever since fifth grade. Then in the summer after eighth grade my father and I took a genealogy class. I decided to research my great-great-grandfather, who served as a captain in the Civil War. For the research I went to the State Archives. Once there, I was enamored with it all. On my sixteenth birthday all I wanted to do was to spend the day researching at the Archives in Raleigh. I declared that "I'm gonna work there some day." Sure enough, after getting my undergraduate degree at Wake Forest University and working at the Archives during the summer and on Saturdays, I was lucky enough to become a full time archivist in 1984. Shortly thereafter, I became a certified archivist. I then decided to obtain an MA in Public History at North Carolina State University. As part of that program I took a documentary editing class, taught by Jeff Crow. I decided then and there that that was really what I wanted to do. It was the perfect blend of research, writing, and working with original records. I graduated from the program in 1988 and tried three times to get a job with the Historical Publications Section, to no avail. Finally, in 1996, I was hired as the editor of the Iredell Papers. In 1998 I became a certified public manager, which essentially served as a death knell to my hands-on editing. In 2001 I was promoted to administrator of the section where we publish North Carolina history, just like university presses. I am in a unique situation in that I have the luxury of editing, being paid by the state to do what I love, and I also decide what Archives and History will publish, with help of course. I am extremely fortunate to be a history major and actually working in my chosen field.

Now on to my experience working with the Iredell Papers. It took me eight years to see it through press, and even then it required the help of a coeditor. It was published in 2003. I'll begin with a brief history of the project,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Donna Kelly presented this talk at the 2005 Annual ADE Meeting in Denver.

some of the sources I used in my research, and some of the fun and foibles of my research. I'll also point out some of the more intriguing tidbits.

On 23 January 1962 Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, executive director of the then National Historical Publications Commission, wrote a letter to Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History. In it he reported Felix Frankfurter's interest in seeing the papers of Justice James Iredell Sr. edited and published. Justice Frankfurter, of the U.S. Supreme Court, considered Iredell, who was the first North Carolinian to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court, one of the most brilliant minds of his time, and, in fact, of the nation's entire history.

During the next few months a number of scholars were approached about the advisability of a new edition of the Iredell Papers. The consensus was that such a project had great merit; the 1857 edition of the life and correspondence of James Iredell, edited by Griffith J. McRee, was incomplete and contained inaccuracies, and a multivolume series should be undertaken if and when funding could be obtained.

Iredell himself did an outstanding job of preserving his own papers. He would fold all of his letters to one-sixth the size of an 8 ½ x 11 sheet and then write on the outer "shuck" who the correspondent was and the date, so they were very well organized, making it much easier for later research. His family members preserved his papers and McRee had access to them while writing his two-volume work. He had hoped that the entire collection would be placed in the archives of the North Carolina Historical Society in Chapel Hill, but that did not happen. Once he returned the letters to Iredell's descendants in Raleigh, they held them until 1909, when R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the newly created North Carolina Historical Commission, persuaded the Charles E. Johnson family to turn over the largest part of the collection to the commission, which later became the State Archives. Fifty years later Duke University acquired the remainder of the collection, which is about a third the size of the Iredell holdings in Raleigh.

Plans for publishing the papers of James Iredell called for three volumes consisting of letters, political essays, and an assortment of other materials. The name of Dr. Don Higginbotham, then on the faculty of the Department of History at Louisiana State University and later at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, was proposed as editor. Arrangements were made with Dr. Higginbotham to edit the papers, with publication by what was then known as the Division of Archives and History. Volumes I (1767–1777) and II (1778–1783) subsequently were published in 1976. They contain virtually

every known letter written by Iredell or written to him through the year 1783. Unfortunately they are now out of print.

Twenty years elapsed before funding was available to continue the series. As I stated earlier, in 1996 a position for the editor of the Iredell Papers was advertised. I was fortunate enough to work on the project until 2001 when I was promoted to administrator of the section. I then turned the project over to the capable hands of Lang Baradell.

When I started editing I was enthusiastic and certain that I could transcribe all of the documents and publish them all in one volume, as the original plans called for. But once I got into the papers, I felt that there was simply too much information to put into one volume. I decided that the best approach would be to divide the work into two volumes, with a natural break occurring at 1789. I did complete the transcriptions for 1790–1799, so I hope I have made Lang's job a little easier. My name will also appear on the fourth volume, which will cover Iredell's Supreme Court years, even though Lang will have done most of the work.

Once I got used to reading Iredell's handwriting, which was a feat in and of itself, I began to feel like a member of his family. Reading his poignant words about his first child's death and his expressions of love for his wife Hannah in letter after letter gave me insight into a man who had true compassion and integrity. As an example of what a giving man he was, even though it was not convenient for him to do so, he continued to aid his distant cousin, Henry McCulloh, with his legal affairs, even going so far as to house his cousin's illegitimate son! I'll go into even more scandals later on. In addition, his letters revealed his shortcomings, such as misplacing files and being taken advantage of financially.

As I mentioned earlier, it was necessary to research Iredell's papers in three repositories—the North Carolina State Archives, Duke University, and UNC-Chapel Hill. In my opinion, both as a trained archivist and as an editor, it would have made much more sense to keep all of the papers together and it would have certainly made my job a lot easier. One example of the problems inherent in having the collection split is one undated letter located at Duke, printed in McRee, written by Iredell to, I believe, William R. Davie. In the box of miscellaneous papers at the State Archives, I found the outer "shuck" giving the date. The folds on the paper matched the folds on the Xerox copy that I had made at Duke, so I was able to date the letter.

In other instances I was able to date letters that were filed as undated, which always gave me a thrill. One in particular was a letter from William

Hooper simply dated May 1. I was able, by the context, to date it to 1784. Another letter from Penelope Dawson to Hannah Iredell was dated 17 October. Because it mentioned her pregnancy and the death of a Mrs. Pearson, the letter could be dated to 1784. Another letter from Iredell's brother, Arthur, was written 28 February. Again, it was filed in the undated correspondence, but by the context I was able to date it to 1785. A letter from William Hooper was printed in McRee. McRee dates it 1784 but it was filed with the 1786 letters at the State Archives. References to the birth of Iredell's second child, Annie, and to the wedding of Penny Dawson indicate that 1786 is the correct year. A letter from William R. Davie was undated but from the contents it was determined to be from November 1788.

I also used a perpetual calendar to help me identify dates when only the day of the week was given. A letter to Hannah was written from Edenhouse, Thursday morning. The endorsement cited January 1787. From the context it was apparent that Iredell was writing while traveling to Warrenton, so I deduced that it was written 25 January 1787.

Because of my training as an archivist, I knew that the county records contained a wealth of information. Therefore I searched them often for answers to many of my questions. For example, one particular letter involved a mercantile suit in Chowan County. I was able to find out a lot of information by going to the court minutes; the trial, appearance, and reference docket; and the civil action papers. Other records that I used included governors' papers, loyalist claims, district superior court records, and General Assembly session records.

Several letters dealt with specific legal issues. One involving slaves was found in the Orange County estate records. Apparently slaves were to be used to pay a debt, but according to the records, they had not been, so the injured party took the debtor to court and eventually received payment. Another example involved identifying a Mr. Bevan, a carpenter, mentioned in a 1784 letter to Iredell from William Hooper. There was no Bevan in the 1790 census. However, by searching the Chowan County records, I located an estate for George Beving, who died ca. 1790, before the census was taken.

Other little-known information came from records of the Works Progress Administration. In North Carolina, workers compiled an exhaustive listing of all the cemeteries in the state. It is located in a huge card catalog in the Search Room. I found birth and death dates for numerous individuals that I had a hard time identifying any other way.

Some "serious" academic historians often reject the work of genealogists.

In my twelve years of working in the State Archives I came to respect their work. Many records have been abstracted and privately published by what I would argue to be "serious" genealogists. These individuals painstakingly abstracted records that have proven to be extremely useful to my research on the Iredell Papers. Several examples include an abstract of an Edenton merchant ledger, the sales of confiscated loyalist property, wills, marriage records, numerous newspapers, and tax lists.

I absolutely hated to have to put "enclosures not found" or "\_\_\_\_\_\_ letter not found." It happened more often than I would have liked and it was like admitting defeat. For instance, one nagging puzzle concerns cemetery data. I could not verify the burial place of Margaret Pearson, mother of Nathaniel Dukinfield, one of Iredell's close friends. Since one of my duties, when I worked at the Archives, was to oversee the collection of cemetery data for the whole state, it was doubly frustrating.

Other things I could not find include the source of some of the quotations used by Iredell in a piece written for a newspaper in August 1787. One is "if e'er to wit a coxcomb makes pretence---mark the sure barrier between that and sense." The other is "let his only answer be his life." If anyone can tell me where either of these quotes came from, it would be great. Luckily Lang was able to find answers to most of my literary questions.

There were references that stumped me altogether and I still don't have the answers to them. Thomas Iredell wrote in November about a theft by a member of the General Assembly. No name was given. In an 11 November 1791 letter from James Iredell to his wife Hannah, a reference is made to an accident involving a fire, whereby Richard Dobbs Spaight was apparently injured. Where did it occur and how did it start? Newspapers would be a logical choice for more information about it but nothing could be found. In December of 1784 there was a wedding between a Mr. Howe and a Miss Granberry, but more details are needed since the marriage bonds did not reveal this information. Also, it is evident in the correspondence that Iredell's niece Nelly (Helen) Blair married Samuel Tredwell sometime between 15 March 1789 and 22 June 1790, but there is no surviving marriage bond in the official records to give an exact date.

Now on to some of the more interesting, humorous, poignant, and surprising things I ran across in my research. On 11 January 1784 Nathaniel Dukinfield, a friend of Iredell's, writes from England, describing his wife, "she is not at all handsome, but what you may call a devilish good one." You can use your imagination to interpret what he means! In one letter from

William (Billy) Blair, Iredell's nephew, he was shocked and appalled at the social customs in Yorktown, Virginia:

There are few or no people of any character in it & no genteel company. They all mix without any distinction of highest or lowest . . . it is not only at public entertainment that they mix but visit each other without any regard to character or family & the people are so very pushing that if you wish to entertain a select company it is out of your power . . . .

Other subjects were touched on as well. Most letters inquire about the health of all the family and friends and discuss the weather. Our own modern polite conversation is reminiscent of this practice.

Modes of travel at that time included canoes, stages, horses, carriages (referred to as "chairs"), vessels, ferries, boats, and brigs. If the weather was bad people could not travel; rain, wind, heat, and floods made the roads impassable. July began what was referred to as the "sickly season," and weather contributed to sicknesses like ague and fever, small pox, rheumatism, gout, toothaches, headaches, whooping cough, fits, inflammation of the bowels, colic, sore throats, flux, colds, delirium, inflamed eyes, and blisters. Remedies for these "complaints" included cinnabar fumigation for a sore throat, an emetic for ague and fever, "castor oyle" for inflammation of the bowels, and snake root for colds. Other more generic treatments included salts, bitters, tea and bark, and bleeding people, hopefully as a last resort!

Regarding family news, which was far and away the most common topic in his writing, in June of 1795 Iredell happily informed his cousin, H. E. McCulloh, that his wife Hannah was pregnant. However, in October he wrote of his son's death after only two days. He had been born 1 October and died 3 October. "The enjoyments of life are so fleeting & transitory, so continually dashed with disappointment and distress!" Several births, deaths, and marriages were reported, including his own daughter's birth (Annie) on 22 December 1785.

Politics, like today, was often a topic discussed and debated in correspondence. In a 1 May 1784 letter from Samuel Johnston, Iredell's brother-in-law and later governor of North Carolina, he discussed support for Tarborough as the capital and changing the time of holding elections and the General Assembly. Other letters discussed the political climate in England, as well as listing local election returns. Iredell's letters also recorded his philosophical thoughts on politics. In a letter to A. Nielson in which he wrote "no man is neither good or bad, merely for his opinions & that in political questions there is room for almost an infinite diversity of sentiment," Iredell

was defending his actions in supporting America during the Revolution.

Entertainment included playing cards, dancing at balls, going to reapings, visiting, and attending horse races. Jean Blair, Iredell's sister-in-law, said of reapings "they are frolicks that I am not fond of but I go to please Mrs. Johnston" (Samuel's wife).

Speaking of Jean Blair, she gave lots of motherly advice in her letters to her daughter Nelly. Jean Blair reminds me of my own mother in some ways. She admonished her daughter for making poor choices and for her idleness: "you cannot always be young either can you afford to spend your whole time in idleness . . ." "you would not have written to me had you not wanted something." In another light, which illustrates the sacrificial nature of a mother's love for her children, she said:

I sincerely wish you happy and had at any time much rather be unhappy myself than see you so, & so far am i from wishing to deprive you of any rational or agreeable amusement that i would work at any time while i ought to sleep to procure them for you . . .

Also found in the correspondence were lists on prices of certain goods & commodities. These included sugar, salt peter, coffee, tea, tallow, books, pens, paper, feathers, blankets, andirons, flat irons, cows, hogs, tobacco, snuff, port, needles, thread, material, caps, balloon hats, razors and cucumber seeds. Price comparisons were often made, so people were even bargain shoppers back in the 1700s. Food items mentioned in these letters included meal, beans, strawberries, oranges for marmalade, fish, lamb, turkey, chicken, milk, butter, and bacon.

Another subject covered in the letters is fashion. Jean Blair, writing to Nelly, told of a new fashion that appeared in church: "a Tiffany hat with broad lace quilled very thick around it. Hanging over the hat was Tiffany & lace & flowers & a little whalebone to keep it in shape." Other fashion items mentioned included combs, umbrellas, aprons, worsted and thread stockings, coats, cloaks, waistcoats, shifts, shoes, cuffs, pocket handkerchiefs, ruffle shirts, petticoats, and gowns. Many of these were made out of linen or flannel, from which the material had been dyed by hand.

Interesting expressions that I ran across included a reference to a "brute" and a "block head." When describing her loneliness Jean Blair stated "I have not seen the face of a mortal." The terms "mortified" and "electrified" were commonly used. Other anecdotes include a reference to using smoke to signal for a boat, the disbarring of a lawyer, ladies going into officers' tents at

all hours of the night, and a description of a Dr. Lennox as "a fulsome old beast."

There are a few scandals and soap operas involving Iredell's correspondents. In either 1787 or 1789, Fred Ramcke was accused of fathering his sister-in-law's child, although he denied it to Iredell. Nothing in the records has been found to prove or disprove the rumor. That has been one of the more frustrating examples of my research. Baron de Poellnitz had woman troubles of his own. His wife feigned a drowning and ran off with another man. Yet another man, Andrew Stoney, squandered money and then married the countess of Strathmore. She had several indiscreet relationships between her two marriages. They eventually divorced. When we were thinking of ways to market the book, we thought about using some of these scandals in our publicity. Something like "scintillating reading from the eighteenth century."

Another interesting exchange of letters occured in 1787 concerning Iredell's candidacy for the House of Commons. Those trying to defeat Stephen Cabarrus put Iredell's name forth without Iredell's knowledge. Supposedly a tavern was kept open for anyone willing to vote for Iredell. Cabarrus wrote Iredell very politely telling him that he never would have run for office if he had known Iredell was interested in seeking office, but that was only because of the way it was carried out, he did not believe it to be true. Cabarrus ended up defeating Iredell in the election.

I thoroughly enjoyed working on the papers of James Iredell and now that I push paper, I really miss it. I do keep my hand in it though. As I mentioned earlier, I'm in charge of deciding (with input from my staff and a very capable advisory editorial committee) what we publish. Therefore, if you know of someone working on a project that might be appropriate for us to publish, either as a documentary edition or as an article in the *North Carolina Historical Review*, please let me know.

### **Recent Editions**

Compiled by Heather C. Smathers

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

AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY. Race, Slavery, and Free Blacks Series II: Petitions to Southern Country Courts, 1775–1867. Edited by Loren Schweninger. Bethesda, MD: Lexis-Nexis, 2005. Reproduces a collection of approximately 15,000 petitions assembled by the Race and Slavery Petitions Project, University of North Carolina at Greensboro from state archives in Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia and Maryland, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Part D: North Carolina (1775-1867) and South Carolina (1784-1867).
25-reel Microfilm Edition.
Part E: Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas. Guide to the 26-reel Microfilm Edition.
Part F: Louisiana. 18-reel Microfilm Edition.

http://web.lexis-nexis.com



AMERICAN HISTORY. Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542. Edited by Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint. Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005. 760 pp. \$75.00. ISBN: 0870744968. This volume is the first annotated, dual-language edition of thirty-four original documents from the Coronado expedition.

This volume makes available accurate transcriptions and modern English translations of the documents, including seven never before published and seven others never before available in English. It includes a general introduction and explanatory notes at the beginning of each document.

http://www.tamu.edu/upress



ARN, EDWARD. Arn's War: Memoirs of a World War II Infantryman, 1940–1946. Edited by Jerome Mushkat. Akron, OH: University of Akron Press, 2005. 270 pp. \$32.95. ISBN: 193196825X [cloth]; \$19.95. ISBN: 1931968322 [paper]. This memoir of World War II, written by Edward C. Arn, an infantry captain who served in Company F, 2nd Battalion,

119th Infantry Regiment, 30th Infantry Division, presents a clear and honest account of combat from the viewpoint of a sensitive and acute "civilian in uniform." Edited and annotated by Jerome Mushkat, this memoir is an exceptional account of a man who came of age during the World War II generation.

http://www3.uakron.edu/uapress



Memoirs. Edited by Phillip Herring and Osías Stutman. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005. 416 pp. \$65.00. [cloth] ISBN 0299212300. \$24.95. [paper] ISBN 0299212343. This groundbreaking edition compiles many of the late

unpublished works of American writer Djuna Barnes. Multiple drafts of unpublished poetry and notes toward her memoirs are both included here for the first time. Her later poetry will enhance her reputation as a modernist as it shows her remarkable evolution from a competent young writer to a deeply intellectual poet in the metaphysical tradition. The memoirs provide a rare opportunity to experience the intense personality of this complex and fascinating poet.

http://www.wisc.edu

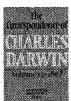
CANADIAN HISTORY. Missionaries Among Miners, Migrants, and Blackfoot: The Van Tighem Brothers' Diaries, Alberta 1876–1917. Edited By Mary Eggermont-Molenaar and Paul Callens. Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 2005. 326 pp. \$39.95. ISBN: 1552381897. This volume contains the diaries of the Van Tighem brothers—Leonard, who served as a priest from 1876 to 1917 in southern Alberta among miners and migrants, and Victor, who served for forty-three years as a lay brother among the Peigan and Blood Indians. The diaries offer a fascinating glimpse of life during Alberta's early settlement and play out against a backdrop of sometimes dramatic family and political affairs back in Belgium. The book contains valu-

able primary source material, most of which has been previously unpublished.

http://www.uofcpress.com

**CHAMBERLAIN, NEVILLE.** The Neville Chamberlain Diary Letters, Four Volume Set. Edited by Robert Self. London, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2005. 1992 pp. in four volumes. \$475.00. ISBN: 0754655849. Neville Chamberlain's diary letters to his sisters represent the most complete and illuminating 'insider' record of British politics between the wars yet to be published. All volumes are complete with introduction, appendices, and indices.

http://www.ashgate.com



Volume 15: 1867. Edited by Frederick Burkhardt, et al. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2005. \$130.00. ISBN: 052185931X. Volume fifteen contains correspondence between Darwin and his contacts and acquaintances on his research questionnaires about human expression and the

sexual differences between animals and birds. Also included are full textual notes, an introduction, and appendices.

http://www.cambridge.org

GRANT, GEORGE. Collected Works of George Grant: Volume 3 (1960–1969). Edited by Arthur Davis and Henry Roper. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2005. 770 pp. \$130.00. ISBN 0802039049. During his lifetime, Grant encouraged Canadians to think more deeply about matters of social justice and individual responsibility, writing on subjects as diverse as war, technology, abortion, and Canadian politics. Editors Arthur Davis and Henry Roper have gathered together Grant's work from the 1960s, when he was a professor at Hamilton, Ontario's McMaster University. As with the previous volumes in the Collected Works, the text is fully annotated and includes an introduction to the period it covers.

http://www.utppublishing.com

HEMINGWAY, ERNEST. Hemingway and the Mechanism of Fame: Statements, Public Letters, Introductions, Forewords, Prefaces, Blurbs, Reviews, and Endorsements. Edited by Matthew J. Bruccoli with Judith S. Baughman.

Aiken: University of South Carolina Press, 2005. 160 pp. \$24.95. ISBN 1570035997. A compendium of 103 public statements by Ernest Hemingway celebrating Ernest Hemingway, this volume assembles Hemingway's public writings about himself, all framed as documents of support for or criticism of other people and other products. Comprising fifty-four public statements and letters; twenty introductions, forewords, and prefaces; and twenty-nine book blurbs, reviews, and product endorsements, the collection chronicles the means by which Hemingway advanced his own standing through these literary and extraliterary writings.

http://www.sc.edu/uscpress



JOHNSON, LYNDON B. The Presidential Recordings Lyndon B. Johnson: "Let Us Continue," Volumes 1-3. Edited by Philip Zelikow, Ernest May, and Timothy Naftali. New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2005. 2560 pp. ISBN 0393060012. Lyndon B. Johnson secretly recorded 700 hours of telephone conversa-

tions as president. University of Virginia's Miller Center of Public Affairs begins a groundbreaking series that will ultimately include annotated transcripts of all of Johnson's White House conversations. This is a three-volume hardcover, slipcased with DVD.

http://www.wwnorton.com

**LAYARD, ALFRED.** Commanding Canadians: The Second World War Diaries of A. F. C. Layard. Edited by Michael Whitby. Vancouver, British Columbia: University of British Columbia Press, 2005. 400 pp. \$85.00. ISBN 0774811935. This remarkably full and honest diary outlines Layard's thoughts on his daily life and his naval career, including the strain and responsibility associated with command at sea in wartime. It is the first comprehensive Canadian personal account that covers the entire inshore anti-Uboat campaign in European waters during the Second World War.

http://www.ubcpress.ca



**LEWIS, NELLY CUSTIS.** Nelly Custis Lewis's Housekeeping Book. Edited by Patricia Brady Schmit. Aiken: University of South Carolina Press, 2005. 142 pp. \$18.95. ISBN: 0917860098. Nelly Custis Lewis's Housekeeping Book reconstructs 176 of Lewis's original recipes and provides a wealth of information on nineteenth-century techniques for housekeep-

ing, cooking, and medical practice. The volume is augmented by the editor's introduction and a glossary of terms.

http://www.sc.edu/uscpress

NINETEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE. Lives of Victorian Literary Figures Part IV: Henry James, Edith Wharton and Oscar Wilde by their Contemporaries, 3 Volume Set. Edited by Ralph Pite, et al. London, England: Pickering and Chatto, 2005. 1200 pp. \$460.00. ISBN: 1851968148. This collection brings together contemporary accounts of these significant literary figures. Each facsimile page is digitally cleaned and enhanced, significantly improving on the quality and legibility of the original. Full editorial apparatus includes a substantial general introduction, introductions to each volume, headnotes, endnotes and general index.

http://www.pickeringchatto.com

**MELVILLE, HERMAN.** Herman Melville's Typee: A Fluid Text Edition. Edited by John Bryant. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005. ISBN 0813925282. Editor John Bryant provides a chronological sequencing of Melville's writing process for the three layers of the working manuscript. The edition comes with transcription, digitized photographs of each layer, a clear reading text of the manuscript's final version, and the print version of the text as it appeared in the first English edition of the novel.

http://www.upress.virginia.edu

MITCHELL, CLARENCE. The Papers of Clarence Mitchell Jr. Edited by Denton L. Watson. Athens: University of Ohio Press, 2005. The first two volumes of a projected five-volume documentary edition of the papers of Clarence Mitchell Jr. illuminate the Fair Employment Practice Committee's work as a federal affirmative-action agency and the government's struggle to enforce the nation's antidiscrimination policy in industry, federal agencies, and labor unions. Mitchell's FEPC reports and memoranda chart the beginning of the modern civil rights movement.

Volume 1: 1942–1943: 364 pp. \$49.95. ISBN: 0821416030 Volume 2: 1944–1946: 536 pp. \$49.95. ISBN: 0821416049

http://www.ohiou.edu

NAVAL HISTORY. Naval Documents of the American Revolution, Volume 11: American Theater, January 1, 1778—March 31, 1778; European Theater, January 1, 1778—March 31, 1778. Edited by Michael J. Crawford, et al. Washington, D.C.: Naval Historical Center, 2005. Case bound, 1,365 pages, illustrations, and index. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office. GPO Stock No.: 008046002061. \$82.00. The Naval Documents of the American Revolution series brings together the basic documentation necessary for a comprehensive understanding of the maritime heritage of the United States and the role played by the war at sea in the nation's struggle for independence. Volume 11 treats the first three months of 1778, when Continental and state naval forces harassed shipping supporting the British occupation of Philadelphia, and France signed a treaty of alliance with the United States and prepared to dispatch a fleet to oppose the Royal Navy in American waters.

http://bookstore.gpo.gov

PAINE, ROBERT TREAT. The Papers of Robert Treat Paine: Volume 3, 1774–1777. Edited by Edward W. Hanson. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005. 500 pp. \$50.00. ISBN 0934909865. Volume three of this series traces the national phase of Robert Treat Paine's public career as well as the start of his state service in Massachusetts. The documents in this volume are important for the insights they provide into the workings of the Continental Congress. Paine devoted most of his efforts to munitions, and his correspondence provides an especially detailed account of the Continental Congress's efforts to supply the American army with cannon and gunpowder. Also included is his correspondence with his wife, revealing marital tensions.

http://www.upress.virginia.edu

**POETRY.** A New Anthology of Civil War Poetry. Edited by Faith Barrett and Christanne Miller. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005. 432 pp. \$24.95 [paper] ISBN 1558495096 \$80.00 [library cloth edition] ISBN 155849510X. This edition is divided into three parts of differing ranges and scopes of poetry. A timeline of major battles and events of the war is included and historical photographs or lithographs introduce each section of poems. The book also contains an introduction, a glossary of important names and terminology relevant to understanding the poems, and biographical sketches for all the poets whose work is included.

http://www.umass.edu/umpress

ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN. My Dear Mr. Stalin: The Complete Correspondence of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Joseph V. Stalin. Edited and with an Introduction and Notes by Susan Butler. Foreword by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005. 320 pp. \$30.00. ISBN: 0300108540. In the midst of the crises of the Second World War, Roosevelt and Stalin secretly exchanged three hundred letters, published together now for the first time. This collection, never before fully available in any language, is an invaluable primary source for understanding the relationship that developed between these two great world leaders during a time of supreme world crisis. The book traces the evolution of their unique relationship, revealing the statesmanship of the two men and their thinking about the grave events of their time. An informative introduction to the volume and generous annotations set the letters in context.

www.yalepress.yale.edu

**SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM.** The Enfolded Hamlets: Parallel Texts of <\(\mathreverrightarrow{F1}\) and [Q2] each with unique elements bracketed. Edited by Bernice W. Kliman. New York: AMS Press, 2004. 185 pp. + xvii. \$89.50 ISBN 0404623387. A further development of the editor's Enfolded Hamlet, this edition has on the verso side of a page the F1 text of Hamlet with material F1-only variants (in pointed brackets) followed by material Q2-only variants (in curly brackets). On the recto side of the page, the edition has the Q2 text with Q2-only variants in curly brackets preceding F1 variants in pointed brackets. Though only material variants are bracketed, immaterial variants (as defined by the editor) are clearly visible to all who require them. With facsimile pages of F1 and Q2 Hamlet, Preface, Introduction, and variant tables with notes.

#### STALIN, JOSEPH V. see FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT.



THOREAU, HENRY DAVID. Letters to a Spiritual Seeker.

Edited by Bradley P. Dean. New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2005. 192 pages. ISBN 0393327566. In 1848 a seeker named Harrison Blake, yearning for a spiritual life of his own, asked the then-fledgling writer Thoreau for guidance. The fifty letters that ensued, collected here for the first time in their own vol-

ume by Bradley P. Dean, are by turns earnest, oracular, witty, playful, practical—and deeply insightful and inspiring, as one would expect from America's best prose stylist and a great moral philosopher.

www.wwnorton.com

TURING, ALAN M. The Essential Turing: Seminal Writings in Computing, Logic, Philosophy, Artificial Intelligence, and Artificial Life plus The Secrets of Enigma. Edited by B. Jack Copeland. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2004. 622 pp. \$24.95. ISBN 0198250800. The papers in this book are the key works for understanding Turing's phenomenal contribution to deciphering EnIGma, the code used by the German armed forces to protect their radio communications, as well as his work after the war. The collection includes Turing's declassified wartime "Treatise on the Enigma"; letters from Turing to Churchill and to code breakers; lectures, papers, and broadcasts which opened up the concept of Artificial Intelligence and its implications; and the paper which formed the genesis of the investigation of Artificial Life. http://www.oup.com

ZANGWILL, ISRAEL. From the Ghetto to the Melting Pot: Israel Zangwill's Jewish Plays, Three Playscripts by Israel Zangwill. Edited by Edna Nahshon. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2005. \$34.95. ISBN 0814329551. Theater historian Edna Nahshon has discovered the original manuscript of two milestone texts, the unpublished Zangwill play, The King of Schnorrers, and the original version of The Melting Pot. The play, The Melting Pot, offered a grand vision of America as a dynamic process of ethnic and racial amalgamation.

http://wsupress.wayne.edu

# ADE 27th Annual Meeting

Denver, Colorado, 6-8 October 2005

#### **Annual Meeting Session Summaries**

Compiled by Editorial Staff

6 October 2005

**So...You Want to Be a Literary Documentary Editor?:** Chair: Joseph R. McElrath Jr., Florida State University; Joel Myerson, University of South Carolina, emeritus; Sandy Petrulionis, Penn State Altoona; Ronald A. Bosco, University at Albany, SUNY.

### Joel Myerson, "The Times They Are A-Changin': Literary Documentary Editing in an Electronic Post-Structuralist World"

The theme of this presentation focused on how changes in the way disciplines define themselves affect the work, and prospects for employment, at universities. In the case of English, the school of criticism that spawned and encouraged critical editions of a considerable variety of authors-well-known and undisputedly part of the canon as well as less-established other writers-determined the way critical edition projects were set up and worked and granted a place of respect for literary editors in departments of English. Critical editions were recognized because of their important contributions to scholarship, scholarship that manifests itself primarily in the publication of books and that has been supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). With academic fashion having turned to a new school of criticism that declared "the author is dead," English departments "killed" single-author dissertations and have shown disregard, if not contempt, of critical editions and the review of editions, in effect closing off the pipeline of literary documentary editors for want of regard for their "old-fashioned" scholarship and hence for lack of opportunities in the academy to teach and train the next generation of English professors.

### Sandy Petrulionis, "Established Practices, Fragmentary Texts, and Recovered Lives: One Decade as a Documentary Editor"

The riches that are revealed upon immersion with the critical editions of famous authors made up the topic of the presentation that reported on taking a fresh look at the anti-slavery movement in Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson's Concord. The focus was in particular on the role of women, Prudence Ward, a lodger in Thoreau's household, and, comparably for Emerson, Octavius Brooks, Annie Brown, and Mary Moody Emerson. Their influence on the famous authors can be traced in the women's scattered writings in letters, almanacs, and journals that make up a very uneven narrative across half a century. Publication of a select edition volume (the full text is available in different format) of those thematically-focused writings that are cross-referenced to the Emerson edition constitute a scholarly contribution that is supported by the editor's department.

### Ronald A. Bosco, "From Wigglesworth to Emerson to the Edge: Editing American Literary Documents in a Pre-And Post-Modern World"

The textual editing of early American writers may be a pursuit most suited to the love of the editor but, as in the case of Michael Wigglesworth, in English Studies the taste in sermons and elegies has changed and the significance of scholarship that is based on the edition of previously unpublished manuscripts is no longer valued. With such repositioning in English Studies the weight of editorial scholarship is diminished and, despite the impact of critical text editions on English and other disciplines, there is neither career path nor room for editors.

**Encounters and Re–Encounters: Spanish Colonial Editing Projects in the Southwest:** Chair: Diana Hadley, Arizona State Museum; Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, Documents of the Coronodo Expedition Project, 2000–2005; John L. Kessell, University of New Mexico, emeritus.

#### Diana Hadley, "Mining the Archives: Three Decades of Documentary Research and Collection at the Arizona State Museum"

This presentation served as a powerful reminder to scholars concerning the need to make all kinds of texts from all kinds of sources available in the original language and in translation in order to gain insight into a time and world far removed from the knowledge and experience of our own. The Southwest Mission Research Center as well as Documentary Relations in the Southwest (DRSW) are two such collections that illuminate the history of northern New Spain (1540s–1821). They are important pieces in a growing set of databases of texts that are available in various forms, that are in part searchable electronically, and that have been funded by the NEH and National Historic Preservation and Records Commission (NHPRC). Based on these documents–transcribed and in translation–print, CD, and web publications, allow for insights that include the Spanish explorers and settlers as well as the Native American inhabitants. For example, the focus on ethnohistory as evident in the *Native Peoples* magazine provides a much more complex picture of the times of contact and accommodation among Europeans and Americans, which can be complicating ethnic and tribal relations in today's Southwest.

# Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, "The Latest Word from 1540: Publication of Documents of the Coronado Expedition"

The presentation about the select, dual-language letterpress of the Coronado Expedition demonstrated the need to re-examine texts previously published and to include neglected or forgotten documents. In the case of the Coronado Expedition, 7 of the 34 documents had never been published; 14 had not been published in English; and the 15 remaining documents were transcribed error-free for the first time. As a result the romanticized and mythologized view of the expedition has to be revised substantially with significant impact on Spanish history and archeological pursuits in the Southwest of the North American continent.

# John L. Kessell, "Twenty Years with don Diego: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, Governor and Recolonizer of New Mexico, 1691–1704"

The Vargas project that resulted in the publication of a scholarly edition of the correspondence and journals of a mid-level colonial who played a key role in the Pueblo War in the Southwest, especially its third phase, the Spanish re-encounter after 1691, "happened" because of work of the United States National Park Service in the region. The publication is the work of a core group of editors who collected copies of don Diego de Vargas's writings; transcribed the manuscripts; and edited and annotated the documents.

Breakfast: Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Center of the American West.

Women's Papers Projects: Sex, Race and Documentary Editing: Beverly Wilson Palmer, Letters of Florence Kelley, Pomona College; Kate Culkin, Harriet Jacobs Papers, Pace University; Carolyn Howe, Abby Kelly Foster Papers, College of the Holy Cross.

The panel of the three projects that focus on the papers of women was organized to start out with a brief description of each of the women represented, followed by short characterizations of the respective projects that highlighted manners of collection, selection, and annotation of the three editions. Abby Kelly Foster was an abolitionist based in Worcester, MA, whose belief in gender and racial equality shaped her activism. She was a working mother engaged in fundraising, lecturing, and mentoring in the Anti-Slavery Society and also path-breaking for the women's rights movement. Harriet Jacobs escaped slavery in North Carolina in a very dramatic fashion. Her autobiography, Incidents on the Life of a Slave Girl, has become famous and her life as abolitionist, writer, teacher, boarding house manager, and caterer is becoming better known because of the Jacobs family papers, especially those of her brother, John, and her daughter Louisa. Florence Kelley studied in Zurich, Switzerland, became a socialist, translated some of the writings of Friedrich Engels, worked in Hull House in Chicago and as a factory inspector in Illinois, served as secretary of the National Consumers League, and was active in the peace movement. Given the differences among the women and their careers it is not surprising that the interest in their papers and the state of the documents that provide insights into their lives span a wide range-presenting the editors of those women's papers with challenging problems and offering their audiences, at the meeting and at large, an interesting array of solutions.

Small Places, Close to Home: Editing Works on Human Rights: Chair: Allida Black, George Washington University; Mary Jo Binker, George Washington University; Kent B. Germany, University of Virginia; Susan Englander, Stanford University.

# Mary Jo Binker, "Looking for Monsieur Nussbaum and Other Adventures in Annotation"

The report about the freedom of religion in Yugoslavia in 1948 can serve as a telling example of how careful research to provide meaningful annotation can lead to the development of new, interesting, and far-reaching question. Following Eleanor Roosevelt's recommendation to read carefully, American reaction to help the imprisoned archbishop Alojzije Stepinac reveals more broadly concerns for freedom of religion and expression–very much in keeping with the important focus on human rights.

# Kent B. Gemany, "LBJ's Quasi-War on Terrorism: Confronting the KKK from the Oval Office"

In light of the recent major hurricane that struck the Gulf Coast and flooded much of New Orleans, this presentation about the audio recordings from the LBJ White House not only showed that the tapes constitute a serious historical record but also that every day that was recorded when President Lyndon Baines Johnson was in office there was no time to think or contemplate the long-term vision. Whether it was the need to deal with the missing civil rights workers in 1964 or whether it was the demands to react to the devastating impact of Hurricane Betsy in 1965, cutting through local red tape without hesitation as well as without negative political impact in the long run provided two insightful examples.

# Susan Englander, "Missing Links: The Early Sermons of Martin Luther King Jr. and their Legacy"

Careful analyses of Martin Luther King Jr's extensive sermon files—extant in outline and also, more rarely, in full text—not only adds to the views that can be gleaned from his published sermons but also underscore the religious base for the social gospel tradition that is the underpinning for his message. The theme of social justice is often taken for granted with little understanding that from the very beginning of his ministry in Montgomery King believed and preached that the basis for the soul's salvation is the righting of social wrongs.

Guess Who's Coming to Learn about Editing?: A Panel Discussion on the Use of the Guide to Documentary Editing in the Classroom: Chair: Mary-Jo Kline, History Now; Katherine Scott Sturdevant, Pikes Peak Community College; Ann Hawkins, Texas Tech University; Elizabeth H. Dow, Louisiana State University; Beth Luey, Arizona State University.

The panel discussion showcased four different approaches to scholarly editing. Beth Luey reported on her experience in the classroom. She focused on the collaborative nature of teaching and learning and how, in a very structured setting of a program requirement, close attention to documents as evidence increases the students' ability to read, heightens their curiosity, and makes the past come to life. Katherine Scott Sturdevant characterized teaching as a subversive activity in that documentary editing for genealogists is a way to preserve diaries and letters that, in turn, opens the door to broader questions about and involvement in family and social history. Ann Hawkins used the example of marking a book as a way to engage readers with texts that can lead to a better understanding and appreciation of questions related to the history of the book and textual history more generally. Elizabeth Dow drew attention to the potential of text in the electronic, digitized environment familiar to librarians, bibliographers, and archivists and illustrated how select documents from the collections can be showcased on the web sites of repositories, provided that proper attention is given to accurate transcriptions and that relevant policy statements and indexes are included.

#### 8 October 2005

**Editions Relating to Native Americans:** Chair: Kathryn Braund, Auburn University; Jane Brown, Western Carolina University; Rowena McClinton, Moravian Mission to the Cherokees.

Documents that relate to Native Americans pose special challenges, not just in terms of language and cultural perspective, but also in regard to the difficulties that arise from trying to capture oral traditions in writing. These challenges are compounded if the material characteristics of paper and ink-basic to treaties—take on symbolic meanings that underscore the tension between the Creek Indians and United States citizens bent on moving westward. Kathryn Braund explored the role of George Stiggins in framing the history of the Creek Indians as they accommodated to a life that included regular

contact with white settlers and mixed-lineage neighbors at a time of extreme stress, that is, when the Indian removal policy under Andrew Jackson was articulated and enforced. Jane Brown focused on the same time but from a very different angle. She examined what the Butterick Papers, manuscript papers about the Cherokees, can reveal about this tribe through the person of John Howard Payne, a successful playwright who, after having spent years in Europe, encountered the Cherokees in 1835 and developed into a companion and advisor to Chief John Ross. Rowena McClinton presented yet another perspective on the Cherokees. She reported on her examination of the Springplace Mission Diary, an extensive account that allows insight into the life of Cherokees through the lens of German speech and writing and that underscores the complexities of relationships across barriers of language, religion, expectations, and experiences.

**The Fun and Foibles of Documentary Editing:** Donna Kelly, Papers of James Iredell; Candace Falk, Emma Goldman Papers; Amy Speckart, Papers of Thomas Jefferson.

The final session was composed of a panel of editors who offered very personal perspectives. Amy Spechart's account of her experience of Camp Edit resonated with quite a few members of the audience; linking her initial training with the real world of editing the Jefferson Papers made the story very much her own. Candace Falk reflected on more than two decades of editorial work that has contributed significantly to making Emma Goldman much better known, if not respected, today. The commitment to the Emma Goldman papers exacted a certain price, however, including unfavorable judgment of authority and its methods of enforcing its world view and order. Donna Kelly, too, spoke of her engagement with one person, Supreme Court Justice James Iredell, whose position, values, and conduct were very different from the anarchist Emma Goldman.

## ADE Member Awards

## Boydston Award Presented by Roger Bruns

At its annual meeting in Denver, the Association for Documentary Editing announced co-winners of the 2005 Boydston Award. Named after Jo Ann Boydston, editor of the multi-volume edition of the *Papers of John Dewey* and president of ADE in 1984–85, the prize honors the best essay or review published anywhere during the previous two years, the primary focus of which is the editing of a volume of works or documents.

The Association named as winners Professor Paul Eggert, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Australian Defense Force Academy, and Professor Tim William Machan, Marquette University.

The Boydston Committee said of Professor Eggert's work: "Paul Eggert's review of Greetham's *Theories of the Text*, though not a review of a scholarly edition, is nonetheless a critical text for anyone working in our discipline. Greetham's *Theories* may be the single most important synthesis and analysis of the modernist and post-modernist theoretical positions and their relevance to textual criticism, editing theory, and scholarly editing of our time. Eggert's penetrating review of Greetham's 'brilliant, restless, and endlessly curious' book is itself brilliant, restless, and endlessly curious. It demonstrates the capacity of a review to influence the future of our discipline by analyzing the ever-contingent 'textual condition'.

The Committee said of Professor Machan's work: "Machan's review of the Piers Plowman Electronic Archive offers not only a rigorous analysis of this particular electronic edition and its place in interpreting the relation between the historical William Langland's writings, the extant manuscripts, and the ontology of the poem, but, also, a powerful analysis of the 'central and thorny issues' embedded in the electronic medium itself. Machan's question, 'Do editors, hundreds of years after the fact and on the basis of their own time's critical taste, decide what literary works were and how they existed, or do such meanings emerge (to the extent that historical methods allow) from the context and manner in which they were transmitted and meant?' is a central question for our discipline—and one that will continue to inspire debate in the foreseeable future."

## Distinguished Service Award Presented by Dennis M. Conrad



Martha J. King receives her Distinguished Service Award from Dennis Conrad

The Association for Documentary Editing presents its Distinguished Service Award to a "young" editor who has compiled a record of service to the ADE that leaves even us "oldsters" shaking our heads in awe.

She began as a National Historical Publications and Records Commission fellow and a co-worker on the Henry Laurens Papers project recalls that she was a model for how that program should work. She finished "Camp Edit," joined the Laurens Papers, and immediately became a valued contributor.

The same could be said of her career in ADE. From the beginning she was an active and valued member of our editing community. In the interest of time, I will highlight just a few of the many services she has rendered this organization.

In 1996–97 she helped create, distribute, collect, and collate a survey of younger editors that gave ADE a better sense of the joys and frustrations experienced by our "junior" editors.

She then served as chair of the publications committee, leaving that position to take over as moderator for Sedit-L, the on-line forum of the editing community, which has become an invaluable tool in promoting the exchange of ideas and information on editing and for rallying the "troops" to rebuff the latest attempts by Washington bureaucrats and politicians to divert funds away from editing to yet another unneeded pork-barrel project.

At the same time, she took over as chair of the Travel Funds Committee, which allows young editors to attend these proceedings and in the process promotes and preserves ADE.

Finally, and maybe most importantly, she is a genuinely nice and kind person who brings to ADE meetings a caring, generous spirit and an infectious charm that considerably brightens our proceedings.

The ADE, therefore, is pleased to present its Distinguished Service Award to Martha J. King.

## South Carolina's Order of the Palmetto Presented by the Office of Governor Mark Sanford

David Chesnutt's remarks reprinted with permission from the South Carolina Department of Archives and History Web Site

Friends and Colleagues. . .

To paraphrase Abraham Lincoln's comments on major-generalships, awards like this "are not as plenty as blackberries." While I am deeply moved by the recognition accorded by the Order of the Palmetto, I am equally aware that many of you in this room, as well as many others, were partners in the achievements cited here this afternoon.

George C. Rogers Jr., and Philip Hamer laid the foundation for the Laurens Papers. Jim Taylor and Peggy Clark played pivotal roles in preparing the manuscripts and documents for publication—as did a number of Fellows and graduate students who worked with us over the years. In short, the completion of the editorial work on the Laurens Papers is really the culmination of the efforts of many. Today, we are in the final stages of preparing a cumulative index to those 16 volumes—a task led by Peggy Clark and Connie Schulz with the assistance of Tom Downey, Mary Inkrot, Mary Sherrer, Martha King, Betty Nuxoll, and Mary Gallagher as well as a number graduate students in the Public History program at USC. The index contains more than a quarter of a million page references and touches on every aspect of South Carolina history. Needless to say, the computer-assisted indexing system we created with the help of the college computer lab in the mid-1970s played an essential role in creating the index.

The USC History Department provided both facilities and financial support for the forty-odd year duration of the project—a tradition begun when Bob Ochs was chair and continued through a succession of chairs down to Pat Maney today. Given the ups and downs of our state budget, this is indeed remarkable. Moreover, the project benefited from the support of many of our colleagues in the department like Walter Edgar, Rob Weir, Ed Beardsley, Clyde Wilson, and others.

The USC Press has been equally important to our success—a commitment begun by Bob King and continued through a series of directors down to Curtis Clark today. Electronic manuscripts are commonplace today, but we got into the game in the 70s when most publishers were simply talking about the process personified by word processing systems which used 8-inch floppy disks. With funding from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, the Laurens Papers became the first documentary edition in the U.S. to adopt the new technology and to develop the precursors to today's electronic publishing systems. We could not have done it without the willingness of the Press to accommodate our experiments in electronic publishing. I should also mention that I was able to test some of those experiments with the help of Jimmy Kohn, a local printer, who has handled the printing of a journal I have edited since the early 1980s. Jimmy and his assistant Shelley Ivester are still handling the journal today, even though I'm now in Baton Rouge. I either FTP the journal or FedEx it to them on a CD.

Beyond the efficiencies in publishing, technology enabled us to create published texts which showed changes that Laurens and others made when they wrote letters or drafted documents. Within a decade most of the old-line projects like the Jefferson Papers and the Franklin Papers had adopted new textual policies. In short, Laurens became a sort of national model in the field of documentary editing.

The documentary editing community is small but it played an important role for the Laurens Papers over the years. The conferences and publications of the Association for Documentary Editing gave us a forum for the changes we were undertaking. Moreover, the ADE gave us the opportunity to sit down with editors from across the country who provided insights and feedback. The ADE's interdisciplinary nature meant that we had access not only to leading historians like Arthur Link, but to leading literary editors like Fredson Bowers. It's something of an irony, but the ADE led to one of my closest relationships with the English Department at USC–Joel Myerson. Joel in turn introduced me to many of his colleagues like Joe McElreth, Peter Shillingsburg, and Leo Lemay.

But back to South Carolina and the Laurens Papers. The Caroliniana Library and the Caroliniana Society provided us immeasurable assistance as we tried to sort out the hundreds South Carolinians mentioned in HL's correspndence—a tradition begun by Les Inabinet and continued through Allen Stokes—down to today by Herb Hartsook. Their staffs could not have been more helpful. The same is true for the South Carolina Historical Society

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whose line of directors included Mary Elizabeth Prior, Gene Waddell and David Moltke-Hansen down to Eric Emerson today. The Historical Society's own Laurens Collection became the nucleus for the letters and documents published in the Laurens Papers. Like USC, the Historical Society has been one of the major sponsors of the Laurens project.

In many ways Charles Lee, South Carolina's archivist in the 1970s is responsible for the creation of the State Historical Records Advisory Boarda board charged with preserving the records of South Carolina's heritage. Charles liked to style himself as a cultural politician and that he was. His was the genius that added the R in NHPRC. Initially organized as the National Historical Publications Commission in the 1930s, the commission was expanded in the mid-1970s to include the preservation of nationally significant historical records—hence the name change to the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. In an effort to help individual states come to grips with preservation issues, the NHPRC funded the establishment of advisory boards. These boards were charged with surveying the states' needs and developing a series of priorities for further funding.

Under the leadership of Charles Lee and his successors like Rodger Stroup and Roy Tryon, the South Carolina SHRAB has raised or endorsed projects that brought in \$1.25 million in support of preserving the state's important historical records. Serving on the board has been a rewarding and learning experience because of the diversity of its representation and the dedication of my fellow board members. The board's purview has ranged from the state archives itself down to the very critical issues facing cities and counties as they seek to preserve not only the records of historical importance but the everyday records which affect all our lives. Institutions like the Caroliniana Library and the South Carolina Historical Society have also benefited from the Board's support.

Preserving and publishing South Carolina's heritage have been wonderful aspects in my life. I could never have imagined in 1970 that I would spend my career reading other people's mail and preserving and publishing it. It's been a grand ride. Thank you.

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## **ADE Business Minutes**

Denver, Colorado

6 October 2005-8 October 2005

President Dennis Conrad called the meeting to order at 4:50 p.m. The meeting approved the minutes of the 2004 annual business meeting.

The president thanked this year's Local Arrangements Committee, in particular Catherine Kunce, the chair of the committee. Other members of the committee were Dale Connelly, Timothy Connelly, Kate Culkin, Carol DeBoer-Langworthy, Carol Faulkner, Frank E. Grizzard, David Hoth, Donna Kelly, Gary E. Moulton, and Martin Tuohy.

Conrad also thanked the many institutions who contributed to this year's meeting, especially the Colorado History Museum and the Denver Public Library, our hosts for the evening's opening reception. The Colorado Historical Society, the Center for the American West, the Program for Writing and Rhetoric, University of Colorado, Boulder, the University of Colorado Bookstore, the Sarah Helen Whitman Papers, Christie and Brown Publishing Company, and Argonaut Wine and Liquors were also thanked for their generous contributions.

The president next thanked the Program Committee: Roger A. Bruns (chair), Christopher Alhambra, Timothy Connelly, and John Kaminski.

Conrad asked those in attendance to recognize the members of the council who have completed their terms: Ronald A. Bosco, councilor-at-large, Anne Decker Cecere, secretary, and Larry Hickman, director of publications.

### Secretary's Report

Anne Decker Cecere, ADE secretary, announced the results of the 2005 election: Ronald A. Bosco, president-elect; John A. Lupton, treasurer; Christine S. Patrick, secretary; Richard Leffler, director of publications; Mary A. Y. Gallagher, councilor-at-large; and the 2005–2006 Nominating Committee consisting of Leslie S. Rowland (chair), Anne Decker Cecere, Barry Pateman, Mary Lamb Shelden, and Kenneth H. Williams. Seventy-three ballots were cast in the election.

ADE membership has dropped during the last year. The ADE currently has 422 members; the number of members reported at last year's meeting was 446. Since the 2004 annual meeting, 29 new members have joined ADE and 53 members have been dropped from the rolls.

### Treasurer's Report

John A. Lupton, ADE treasurer, reported that during the 2004–2005 fiscal year there was a decrease in the general budget of \$1,544. This was the third consecutive year of decreases. The full effect on the balance sheet of the new dues structure instituted at last year's annual meeting can not be assessed at this time because many renewed their memberships before the new dues structure was implemented. There has also been an increase in the number of members in arrears in paying their dues. ADE continues to receive donations from members in addition to their dues, and this money has helped to balance the budget in the last few years. Nearly all of ADE's income comes from membership dues and conference revenue. The meeting voted to approve the treasurer's report and the proposed budget for the 2005–2006 fiscal year.

## Committee Reports

Larry Hickman, ADE director of publications, reported on the Publication Committee's busy year. Susan H. Perdue has agreed to serve as co-PI, with Mary-Jo Kline, for the third edition of the *Guide to Documentary Editing*, and Roger A. Bruns has agreed to be the Project Director. A proposal for the *Guide*, prepared by Kline, with assistance from Perdue, Bruns, John A. Lupton, and Dennis Conrad, is now before NEH. As a result of a great deal of work by Kline, ADE now has an advance contract with the University of Virginia Press. The Press proposes issuing a print edition of the *Guide* as well as a web-based electronic edition. Mary-Jo Kline commented

that the *Guide's* web-based component will allow it to be revised and kept up-to-date. ADE should know in February whether they will receive funding for the *Guide*.

Hickman also reported that the scanning of *Documentary Editing* back issues is proceeding very well. In other news, David Spiech has been named the associate editor of *Documentary Editing*, and his appointment has been approved by the Council.

Marianne Wokeck, editor of *Documentary Editing*, announced that the journal is looking for volunteers to review documentary editions. Reviewers are also sought for articles submitted to the journal. By instituting a peer review process for submissions, the editors hope to benefit tenure-track academics.

Mary Hackett, chair of the Meetings Committee, announced that the 2007 ADE annual meeting will be held at the Richmond Marriott on Broad Street, in Richmond, Virginia, 15–18 November 2007.

C. James Taylor, speaking for the 2006 Local Arrangements Committee, invited everyone to attend next year's annual meeting in Quincy, Massachusetts, 20–22 October 2006. The conference will be held at the Boston Marriott Quincy, located about eight miles south of downtown Boston, and accessible by car or train.

Martha J. King, chair of the Travel Funds Committee, reported that the committee received sixteen applications for the five available travel grants. The recipients of this year's awards are: Jane Brown, Donna Kelly, John Kessell, Diana Dial Reynolds, and Johanna Resler. King also asked that project directors encourage their junior editors to apply for funds to attend next year's meeting.

Beth Luey, chair of the Education Committee, reported on the committee's work during the past year to involve ADE more closely with National History Day (NHD). The committee proposes to set up a system whereby editing projects will be notified of NHD's annual theme and deadlines. A NHD page will be added to the ADE website with comments on the theme, the usefulness of documents, and links to the websites of editing projects that have relevant material. A template will also be provided for projects to update their own sites as needed. Each year ADE will contribute an essay to the NHD booklet and an ADE-sponsored workshop/session has been arranged for the NHD conference. Luey praised the efforts of Melissa Bingmann, a new ADE member, who headed the NHD initiative for the committee.

Kate Culkin, chair of the Membership Committee, reported that the committee is working with a graphic designer to revise the ADE brochure. In an effort to boost membership in ADE, the committee plans to identify and recruit editors of recent publications. Culkin encouraged each member of an editing project to join ADE rather than rely on one membership for an entire office. Members are also asked to distribute the new ADE brochure at conferences they attend throughout the year.

Charlene Bickford, chair of the Federal Policy Committee, reviewed the struggle for appropriations over the past year. The ongoing fight to save the funding for the NHPRC's grants program consumed the time, talent, and energy of many ADE members. The fiscal situation for the coming year is even more precarious given the impending budget cuts resulting from Hurricane Katrina. In addition to the ongoing threats to the NHPRC, there is a proposal to zero out both the NEH and the NEA. Bickford urged everyone to stay tuned to SEDIT-L to keep apprised of what is happening, what we all can do to keep the agencies alive, and how we can influence policy at those agencies. Bickford also thanked everyone involved in Humanities Advocacy Day, and noted that ADE members participated at a higher level than virtually any other organization. President Conrad extended special thanks to Bickford for all her work on the Federal Policy Committee and stated that she deserved our gratitude many times over.

Cathy Moran Hajo, ADE webmaster, encouraged members to use the ADE website to publicize their project news and events. Hajo asked members to submit a project URL and image of their choice (book cover, portrait, etc.) to have their edition included on the "Featured Project" section of the ADE home page. She also encouraged the ADE committees to use the website to publicize their activities and make announcements. She welcomes suggestions for new content for the website and emphasized that the goal is to make the site bigger and better.

#### New Business

President Conrad opened the discussion regarding two proposals, one to amend the Association's By-Laws and another to amend its Constitution, that were previously distributed to the membership for consideration. If passed, Proposal 1 would amend the Association's By-Laws to allow the Association to reimburse its treasurer for travel expenses (travel, food, and lodging) incurred in the course of attending ADE's annual meeting. Approval of Proposal 2 would amend the Association's Constitution and

decrease the number of nominees for the office of councilor-at-large from its current number of two (2) to one (1).

Ronald A. Bosco, chairperson of the Constitution and By-Laws Committee, reported that the committee unanimously opposed both proposals. Bosco suggested that instead of altering the governing documents of the Association, a more prudent means of action would be to name a committee to study more largely the issues related to both proposals, such as the nominations and elections process and the duties of the officers, especially in light of the proposed partnership between ADE and the New York Historical Society.

The president summarized the arguments in favor of the proposed amendments as they were initially presented to the Council. Following discussion from the floor, the meeting voted on a motion to table Proposal 1. The motion passed with 48 voting in approval, 2 opposed, and 2 abstaining. A second motion was made to table Proposal 2. Said motion passed with 37 voting in approval, 3 opposed, and 5 abstaining.

President Conrad reviewed the events, previously outlined in his letter to the membership of 6 August 2005, that led to a proposal to ADE from the New York Historical Society (NYHS) to form a partnership with that organization with the goal of promoting documentary editing. Conrad emphasized that it was the NYHS who approached ADE with this initiative and that the partnership has not been finalized. Conrad introduced April Hunt, an administrative assistant that the NYHS has hired to work part-time for ADE and part-time for NYHS. Hunt will divide her time 40/60 between the two organizations and devote Thursdays and Fridays to working on ADE matters. ADE has sought and received assurances that each organization will retain its autonomy and independence; that the administrative assistant position will not be the financial responsibility of the ADE; and that the position will be funded for at least a three-year trial period. The council has appointed ADE's secretary to serve as the administrative assistant's immediate ADE supervisor. A motion was voted upon and approved that ADE continue to explore greater cooperation with NYHS, with the provison that a committee look into the ramifications of the partnership initiative and keep the membership informed.

All business being concluded, the meeting adjourned at 5:50 p.m.

# ADE Treasurer's Report

Fiscal Year, September 1, 2004-August 31, 2005

The finances of the Association for Documentary Editing remain sound. In the last fiscal year, there was a decrease in the general budget of \$1,544, giving us unrestricted assets totaling \$53,756. This is the third consecutive year of decreases, but a large increase from four years ago has continued to provide extra income for continually increasing operating expenses. It is still too early to tell how the dues increase will affect our income. A number of members renewed before the new dues structure took place, but it appears that a number of members did not renew at all. We continue to receive donations from members in addition to their memberships, and this money has helped to balance budgets in the last few years. Hopefully in the year or years to come, people will renew their memberships. As you will tell from the attached sheets, nearly all of our money comes from membership dues and conference income.

The finances of the Association for Documentary Editing are secure. Our checking and savings accounts are held in Bank One accounts in Springfield, Illinois. Three CDs totaling \$57,000 were opened when I assumed the treasurer's responsibilities. Two CDs hold the Boyd and Boydston money, and the third CD holds just over \$30,000. This \$30,000 reserve would basically cover the operating expenses for the Association for an entire year if there were no income. Neither the CDs nor the savings account are earning large interest rates, but an organization like ADE needs financial security and stability rather than income-generating accounts. I maintain the various accounts on Quicken, and those computer files are backed up daily.

#### ADE Treasurer's Report Fiscal Year, September 1, 2004-August 31, 2005

Income	200	3-2004 actual	2004-2005 budget	2004-2005 actual
Dues		\$ 10,700	\$ 12,500	\$10,750
Contributions		1,175	5,900	1.215
Conferences		15,820	15,000	13,825
Subscriptions		1,148	1.250	1,094
Book sales		62	150	113
Interest		955	750	208
Miscellaneous		182	200	0
Totals		<b>\$</b> 30,042	\$ 30,000	\$27,205
Expenses	200	3- <b>20</b> 04 actual	2003-2004 budget	2004-2005 actual
Conferences		\$ 13,226	\$ 15,000	\$ 10,324
Documentary Editing		9,844	9,500	8,976
Membership directory		940	1,000	855
Federal Policy Committe	e	0	0	0
National Coalition for Hi		1,500	1,5(X)	1,500
National Humanities Alli	ance			
Butterfield Award		2,050	2,030	2,250
Book purchases/postage		750	7.50	750
Website Committee		0	0	0
Travel grants		0	0	0
Office supplies/postage		2,120	2,500	2,328
Award plaques		955	760	952
Miscellaneous		139	150	193
Totals		.48	550	621
		\$ 31,572	\$ 30,000	\$ 28,749
Difference: (\$1,544)		( <b>\$1.5</b> 30)	(\$1,544)	
Assets (non-restricted)				
Date	Checking	Savings	CDs	Total
August 31, 2003	\$ 2,790	\$ 30,644	\$ 26,272	\$ 59,706
August 31, 2004	2,555	53,291	0	57,846
			and the second s	

Date	Checking	Savings	CDs	Total
August 31, 2003	\$ 2,790	\$ 30,644	\$ 26,272	\$ 59,706
August 31, 2004	2,555	53,291	0	57,846
August 31, 2005	3.684	19,491	30,581	53,756*

<sup>\*</sup>Includes \$275 held in reserve for restricted Boyd and Boydston funds

#### ADE Proposed Budget Fiscal Year, September 1, 2005—August 31, 2006

încome	
Dues	\$ 11,500
Contributions (current and residual)	3,630
Conferences	18,000
Documentary Editing subscriptions	1,200
Book sales	100
Interest	750
Miscellaneous	200
Total	\$ 37,100
Expenses	
Conferences	\$ 18,000
Documentary Editing	9,000
Membership directory	1,000
National Coalition for History	1,500
National Humanities Alliance	2,250
Butterfield Award	750
AA Travel	750
Travel grants	2,500
Office supplies/postage	750
Award plaques	100
Miscellaneous	
Total	\$ 37,100

#### ADE Boyd and Boydston accounts Fiscal Year, September 1, 2004–August 31, 2005

#### Julian P. Boyd Award Fund

Opening balance, September 1, 2004	\$ 19,839
Paid out, FY 2004-5	(1,000)
Contributions, FY 2004-5	190*
Interest, FY 2004-5	0**
Balance, August 31, 2005	\$ 19,029

The Boyd Fund has \$18,839 in a Bank One, Springfield, Illinois certificate of deposit. The CD was opened in December 2004, when the new treasurer assumed his responsibilities. The CD will mature in December 2005, when the contributions\* and interest\*\* will be reinvested.

#### Jo Ann Boydston Award Fund

Opening balance, September 1, 2004	\$ 6,379
Paid out, FY 2004-5	0
Contributions, FY 2004-5	85*
Interest, FY 2004-5	0**
Balance, August 31, 2005	\$ 6.664

The Boydston Fund has \$6,579 in a Bank One, Springfield, Illinois certificate of deposit. The CD was opened in December 2004, when the new treasurer assumed his responsibilities. The CD will mature in December 2005, when the contributions\* and interest\*\* will be reinvested.

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#### ADE Dues, Contributions, and Subscriptions Fiscal Year, September 1, 2004–August 31, 2005

Dues		Contributions (non	restricted)
Regular 1 @ \$15 2 @ \$30 each 42 @ \$25 each 154 @ \$35 each	\$ 6,313	General fund	\$1,215
Sustaining 13 @ \$40 each 12 @ \$70 each	1,360	Subscriptic	ons \$ 1,094
Patron 6 @ \$70 each 13 @ \$100 each	1,720		
Student 22 @ \$15 each	330		
Retired 27 @ \$15 each	405		
Overseas 2 @ \$40 each 3 @ \$50 each	230		
Canadian 3 @ \$50 each 1 @ \$5 (balance due)	183		
Institutional I © \$40	40		
Total	\$ 10,750		

#### ADE 2004 Conference Financial Report Indianapolis, Indiana Fiscal Year, September 1, 2004–August 31, 2005

Income		Expenses	
Registration (108 @ 60; 12 @ 85; 8 @ 30)	<b>\$ 7,74</b> 0.00	Radisson Hotel	<b>\$ 8,</b> 396.35
Breakfast (71 @ 20)	1,420.00	indiana Historical Bureau (Reception)	573.19
Banquet (103 @ 45; 1 @ 30)	4,665.00	Refunds	375.00
		Secretary Air fare and lodging Misc. (supplies)	409.02 570.17
TOTAL	<b>\$</b> 13, <b>8</b> 25.00	TOTAL	\$ 10,323.73
Balance (\$13,825.00 minus \$10,323.73)			<b>\$</b> 3,501.27

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## ADE Assets, August 31, 2005

#### Non-restricted

Checking account (Bank One, Springfield, Illinois)	\$ 3,684
Business Savings Account (Bank One, Springfield, Illinois)	19,491
Certificate of Deposit (Bank One, Springfield, Illinois)	30,581
Total non-restricted assets	<b>\$</b> .53,756
Restricted	
Boyd Fund (Certificate of Deposit, Bank One, Springfield, Illinois) Boydston Fund (Certificate of Deposit, Bank One, Springfield, Illinois)	\$ 18,839 6,579
Total restricted assets	\$ 25,418
TOTAL ASSETS	\$ 79,174

--John Lupton

## Linda A. Fisher

inda A. Fisher, MD, 58, former director of the Fairfax County Health Department, in Fairfax, VA died Monday, 23 January 2006 at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, MD of complications following a heart transplant. A resident of Annandale, VA for the past five years, she had resided in St. Louis from 1975 until 2000.

Originally from Westfield, NJ, Dr. Fisher received an undergraduate degree from Douglass College, the women's division of Rutgers University. She earned a medical degree from Harvard University, and a master of public health degree from the St. Louis University School of Public Health. From 1975 until 1978 she completed residency training at The Jewish Hospital of St. Louis, and then practiced general internal medicine for a dozen years in St. Louis, MO. She served as the Director of Ambulatory Care of St. Luke's Hospital in St. Louis from 1978 until 1984.

Board certified in two fields, internal medicine and preventive medicine, Dr. Fisher was the Chief Physician of the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department from 1978 until 1988. From 1984 until 2000 she was the Chief Medical Officer of St. Louis County. The highly visible spokeswoman for the department, she communicated with the print and electronic media about public health issues. The first woman physician to serve on the Missouri Board of Registration for the Healing Arts, she received the KMOX-Suburban Journals Woman of Achievement Award in 1995, and the Community Service Award given by the American Medical Women's Association in 1992.

For her work in educating the public and professionals about AIDS, she received the East-West Gateway Coordinating Council's Government Achievement Award in 1988, and the Ken Alvord Distinguished Community Service Award of the National Association of Medical Communicators in 1998. The author of many articles, she received the Missouri Public Health Association's Publication Award in 1994.

Dr. Fisher was an Assistant Professor of Clinical Medicine at the Washington University School of Medicine from 1978 until 2000, and an Associate Professor of Clinical Medicine at the St. Louis University School of Medicine from 1979 until 2000. She served as the director of the Fairfax

County Health Department from 2000-2001 and left that post to begin a career as a writer and editor. She also was a popular lecturer for genealogy organizations and explained the impact of nineteenth-century epidemics on communities.

A fellow of the American College of Physicians, Dr. Fisher was a member of the American Medical Association, the American Medical Writers Association, and the International Women's Forum. A member of the St. Louis Metropolitan Medical Society from 1979 until 1998, she served as editor of St. Louis Metropolitan Medicine. She was elected to the Douglass (College) Society for Distinguished Achievement in 1992. She was a member of the Fairfax County Medical Society.

Dr. Fisher was an active member of the ADE and a graduate of Camp Edit. She was a recipient of a travel grant and attended the 2003 ADE Annual Meeting in Chicago. Dr. Fisher had published two articles in *Documentary Editing*, an article about Missouri businessman Joseph J. Mersman and an article on his sister, Agnes Hikock. The Mersman diary project will soon be a published edition but the Hikock project remains unfinished.



Linda A. Fisher

### Call for Nominations Lyman H. Butterfield Award

Please send to C. James Taylor your nomination for the 2006 Lyman H. Butterfield Award of the Association for Documentary Editing: jtaylor@masshist.org or Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154 Boylston Street, Boston, MA 02215.

The deadline for nominations is 30 June 2006. You will be contacted should additional information supporting your nomination be needed.

The ADE presents this award annually to an individual, project, or institution for recent contributions in the areas of documentary editing, publishing, teaching, and service. The award is made in honor of Lyman H. Butterfield, whose editing career included contributions to The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, the editing of the Adams Papers, and the publication of The Letters of Benjamin Rush.

The selection committee chaired by Taylor is comprised of past Butterfield Award winners. This year they are Richard Leffler (Ratification of the Constitution Project), Kenneth Bowling (Documentary History of the First Federal Congress), and Elaine Pascu (Papers of Thomas Jefferson).

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