Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California

University History Series
Department of History at Berkeley

Carl E. Schorske

INTELLECTUAL LIFE, CIVIL LIBERTARIAN ISSUES, AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, 1960-1969

With Introductions by
James J. Sheehan
and
Reginald E. Zelnik

Interviews Conducted by
Ann Lage
in 1996 and 1997

Since 1954 the Regional Oral History Office has been interviewing leading participants in or well-placed witnesses to major events in the development of Northern California, the West, and the Nation. Oral history is a method of collecting historical information through tape-recorded interviews between a narrator with firsthand knowledge of historically significant events and a well-informed interviewer, with the goal of preserving substantive additions to the historical record. The tape recording is transcribed, lightly edited for continuity and clarity, and reviewed by the interviewee. The corrected manuscript is indexed, bound with photographs and illustrative materials, and placed in The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and in other research collections for scholarly use. Because it is primary material, oral history is not intended to present the final, verified, or complete narrative of events. It is a spoken account, offered by the interviewee in response to questioning, and as such it is reflective, partisan, deeply involved, and irreplaceable.

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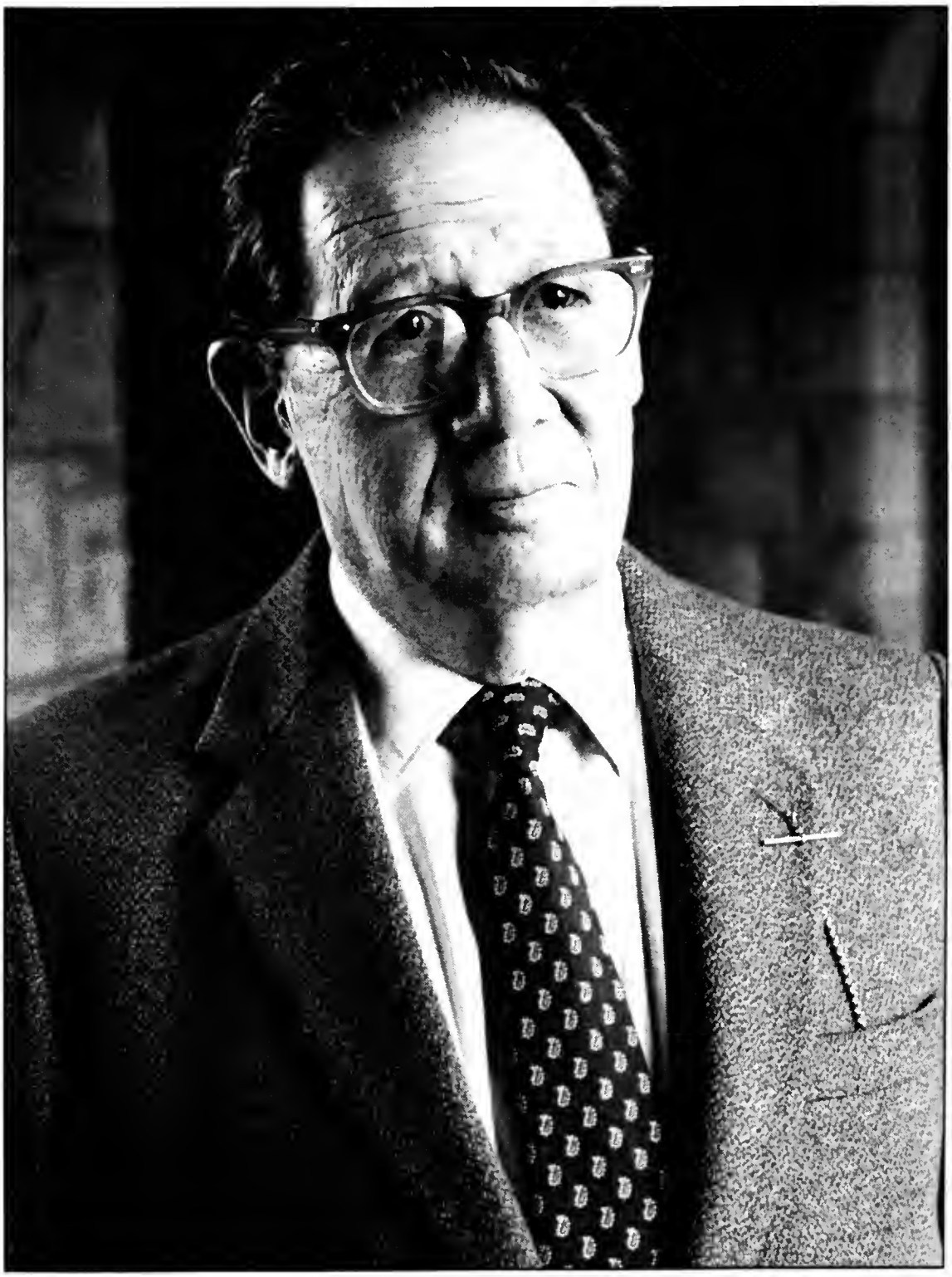

Carl Schorske, 1989.

Photo by Jerry Bauer.

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SCHORSKE, Carl E. (b. 1915) Professor of History

Intellectual Life, Civil Libertarian Issues, and the Student Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, 1960-1969, 2000, xvi, 203 pp.

From Wesleyan University to the Department of History at Berkeley, 1960; thoughts on Catholics and Jews in academia; faculty life and politics on campus and in the history department: the Arts Club, Joseph Kerman, Thomas Kuhn, Carl Bridenbaugh, Raymond Sontag; chairing the history department, 1962-1963: free speech issues re SLATE and communist speakers on campus; reflections on the Free Speech Movement, 1964-1965, and faculty response; assistant chancellor for educational development under Roger Heyns, 1965-1966, campus efforts at educational reform; anti-war and third-world movements on campus; leaving Berkeley for Princeton, 1969; Schorske's teaching and writings on European intellectual history.

Introductions by James J. Sheehan, professor of history, Stanford University, and Reginald E. Zelnik, professor of history, UC Berkeley.

Interviewed 1996, 1997 by Ann Lage for the Department of History at Berkeley Series, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

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Department of History, University of California, Berkeley
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TABLE OF CONTENTS--Carl E. Schorske

PREFACE TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AT BERKELEY ORAL HISTORY SERIES

The Department of History at Berkeley oral history series grew out of Gene Brucker's (Professor of History, 1954-1991) 1995 Faculty Research Lecture on "History at Berkeley." In developing his lecture on the transformations in the UC Berkeley Department of History in the latter half of the twentieth century, Brucker, whose tenure as professor of history from 1954 to 1991 spanned most of this period, realized how much of the story was undocumented.

Discussion with Carroll Brentano (M.A. History, 1951, Ph.D. History, 1967), coordinator of the University History Project at the Center for Studies in Higher Education, history department faculty wife, and a former graduate student in history, reinforced his perception that a great deal of the history of the University and its academic culture was not preserved for future generations. The Department of History, where one might expect to find an abiding interest in preserving a historical record, had discarded years of departmental files, and only a fraction of history faculty members had placed their personal papers in the Bancroft Library.[1]

Moreover, many of the most interesting aspects of the history--the life experiences, cultural context, and personal perceptions--were only infrequently committed to paper.[2] They existed for the most part in the memories of the participants.

Carroll Brentano knew of the longtime work of the Regional Oral History Office (ROHO) in recording and preserving the memories of participants in the history of California and the West and the special interest of ROHO in the history of the University. She and Gene Brucker then undertook to involve Ann Lage, a ROHO interviewer/editor who had conducted a number of oral histories in the University History Series and was herself a product of Berkeley's history department (B.A. 1963, M.A. 1965). In the course of a series of mutually enjoyable luncheon

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[1]The Bancroft Library holds papers from history professors Walton Bean, Woodbridge Bingham, Herbert Bolton, Woodrow Borah, George Guttridge, John Hicks, Joseph Levenson, Henry May, William Alfred Morris, Frederic Paxson, Herbert Priestley, Engel Sluiter, Raymond Sontag.

[2]Two published memoirs recall the Berkeley history department: John D. Hicks, *My Life with History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968) recalls his years as professor and dean, 1942-1957; Henry F. May reflects on his years as an undergraduate at Berkeley in the thirties in *Coming to Terms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

meetings, the project to document the history of the Department of History at Berkeley evolved.

In initial discussions about the parameters of the project, during which the varied and interesting lives of the history faculty were considered, a crucial decision was made. Rather than conduct a larger set of short oral histories focussed on topics limited to departmental history, we determined to work with selected members of the department to conduct more lengthy biographical memoirs. We would record relevant personal background--family, education, career choices, marriage and children, travel and avocations; discuss other institutional affiliations; explore the process of creating their historical works; obtain reflections on their retirement years. A central topic for each would be, of course, the Department of History at Berkeley--its governance, the informal and formal relationships among colleagues, the connections with the broader campus, and curriculum and teaching at both the graduate and undergraduate level.

Using the Brucker lecture as a point of departure, it was decided to begin to document the group of professors who came to the department in the immediate postwar years, the 1950s, and the early 1960s. Now retired, the younger ones somewhat prematurely because of a university retirement incentive offer in the early nineties, this group was the one whose distinguished teaching and publications initially earned the Department of History its high national rating. They made the crucial hiring and promotion decisions that cemented the department's strength and expanded and adapted the curriculum to meet new academic interests.

At the same time, they participated in campus governing bodies as the university dealt with central social, political, and cultural issues of our times, including challenges to civil liberties and academic freedom, the response to tumultuous student protests over free speech, civil rights and the Vietnam War, and the demands for equality of opportunity for women and minorities. And they benefitted from the postwar years of demographic and economic growth in California accompanied for the most part through the 1980s with expanding budgets for higher education. Clearly, comprehensive oral histories discussing the lives and work of this group of professors would produce narratives of interest to researchers studying the developments in the discipline of history, higher education in the modern research university, and postwar California, as well as the institutional history of the University of California.

Carroll Brentano and Gene Brucker committed themselves to facilitate the funding of the oral history project, as well as to enlist the interest of potential memoirists in participating in the process. Many members of the department responded with interest, joined the periodic lunch confabs, offered advice in planning, and helped find funding to support the project. In the spring of 1996, the interest of

the department in its own history led to an afternoon symposium, organized by Brentano and Professor of History Sheldon Rothblatt and titled "Play It Again, Sam." There, Gene Brucker restaged his Faculty Research Lecture. Professor Henry F. May responded with his own perceptions of events, followed by comments on the Brucker and May theses from other history faculty, all videotaped for posterity and the Bancroft Library.[1]

Meanwhile, the oral history project got underway with interviews with Delmer Brown, professor of Japanese history; Nicholas Riasanovsky, Russian and European intellectual history; and Kenneth Stampp, American history. A previously conducted oral history with Woodrow Borah, Latin American history, was uncovered and placed in The Bancroft Library. An oral history with Carl Schorske, European intellectual history, is in process at the time of this writing, and more are in the works. The selection of memoirists for the project is determined not only by the high regard in which they are held by their colleagues, because that would surely overwhelm us with candidates, but also by their willingness to commit the substantial amount of time and thought to the oral history process. Age, availability of funding, and some attention to a balance in historical specialties also play a role in the selection order.

The enthusiastic response of early readers has reaffirmed for the organizers of this project that departmental histories and personal memoirs are essential to the unraveling of some knotty puzzles: What kind of a place is this University of California, Berkeley, to which we have committed much of our lives? What is this academic culture in which we are enmeshed? And what is this enterprise History, in which we all engage? As one of the project instigators reflected, "Knowing what was is essential; and as historians we know the value of sources, even if they are ourselves." The beginnings are here in these oral histories.

Carroll Brentano, Coordinator
University History Project
Center for Studies in Higher Education

Gene Brucker
Shepard Professor of History Emeritus

Ann Lage, Principal Editor
Regional Oral History Office

May 1999

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[1]The Brucker lecture and May response, with an afterword by David Hollinger, are published in *History at Berkeley: A Dialog in Three Parts* (Chapters in the History of the University of California, Number Seven), Carroll Brentano and Sheldon Rothblatt, editors [Center for Studies in Higher Education and Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1998].

March 2000

University History Series, Department of History at Berkeley
Series List

Brown, Delmer M. *Professor of Japanese History, University of California, Berkeley, 1946-1977.* 2000, 500 pp.

May, Henry F. *Professor of American Intellectual History, University of California, Berkeley, 1952-1980.* 1999, 218 pp.

Riasanovsky, Nicholas V. *Professor of Russian and European Intellectual History, University of California, Berkeley, 1957-1997.* 1998, 310 pp.

Schorske, Carl E. *Intellectual Life, Civil Libertarian Issues, and the Student Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, 1960-1969.* 2000, 203 pp.

Stampp, Kenneth M. *Historian of Slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, University of California, Berkeley, 1946-1983.* 1998, 310 pp.

In process:

Bouwsma, William J., professor of European cultural history

Smith, Thomas C., professor of Japanese history

INTRODUCTION by James J. Sheehan

Among the few lectures notes that have survived from my many years of formal education are six tattered pages with the dates, Wednesday, October 7 and Friday, October 9, 1959. The course was Raymond J. Sontag's "Intellectual History of Europe," the place, Room 155, Dwinelle Hall, the subject, Hegel, and the lecturer, Carl E. Schorske, who had been invited to fill in while Ray Sontag was out of town. Together with the other graduate student assistants in the course, I had awaited Schorske's appearance with interest and anticipation. Of course, we did not know that this would mark the beginning of his association with Berkeley--and, for some of us, of four decades of friendship--but we had heard a good deal about him. He was supposed to be a brilliant teacher, his book on Social Democracy was required reading for every serious student of German history, and we had heard rumors that he had turned down offers from both Berkeley and Harvard in order to stay at Wesleyan, decisions that seemed, to me at least, somewhat noble and very eccentric.

Even without the aid of my notes, I have a vivid recollection of Carl's two lectures on Hegel, which displayed his characteristic blend of rhetorical power and intellectual energy. Without losing sight of the text at hand (Hegel's lectures on the philosophy of history), he established connections between Hegel and his historical setting, explained the cultural traditions within which he worked, and then suggested the implications of his ideas for the evolution of German thought. But what made these two lectures--and the many others I heard after Carl began teaching at Berkeley--so memorable was not simply Carl's command of the material and his verbal brilliance, but also his ability to invite his listeners to join him in a common enterprise and thus to transform them from his audience into his companions on a shared intellectual journey. There was always a certain openness and spontaneity in Schorske's lectures; rather than present a finished product they illustrated an ongoing inquiry. This was, I think, the most important source of the excitement with which his lecture room was always charged.

As a graduate teacher, Carl had the same ability to inform, engage, and inspire, and always to do so without arrogance or intimidation. I remember our first conversation about my ideas--if that is what my random inclinations and inchoate ambitions can be called--for a dissertation. Rather than suggesting possible topics or simply assigning me something to work on, Carl told me about the books he had recently read that seemed to suggest new and interesting ways of thinking about intellectual history: Kaegi's biography of Burckhardt, Gollwitzer's book on the Standesherren, and a few others. Clearly I was not going to be able to write such books (in fact, at that point I was

barely able to read them), but he offered them to me as sources of stimulation and inspiration, models towards which to strive. This made me feel like a colleague, with whom he could share his current enthusiasms, and not like a pupil in need of direction. As my own research plans began to form, then collapsed, and finally jelled, he was always attentive, sometimes critical--but never intrusive, overbearing, or discouraging. He was, moreover, extremely diligent in the quotidian dimensions of the graduate teacher's responsibilities--writing letters of recommendation, returning draft chapters, and the like--the difficulties of which I now understand and appreciate much better than I did at the time.

When Carl came to Berkeley, his scholarly reputation rested on his book about German Social Democracy, which sought to explain the party's split in 1917 in terms of deeply-rooted structural and ideological divisions within the labor movement. Although I am now somewhat skeptical about the book's central argument (it seems to me that the immediate impact of the war played a more important role in the party's divisions than Carl's structural analysis would suggest), it is still one of the books I most like to read with my graduate students. It is, in the first place, a beautifully conceived and powerfully sustained historical analysis, clearly written, elegantly researched, and filled with well-chosen examples. Moreover--and this is always the sign of first-rate history--it tells us about much more than its ostensible subject: in this case, about the political and social problems of the German Empire, the interaction of ideology and organization, and--last but not least--the political climate in which the book itself was written. Although after this book, Carl moved away from political history, politics always remained central to his scholarly vocation, which was indelibly marked by the two central crises of his generation: the rise of National Socialism in the thirties, which shadowed his years as an undergraduate as well as his wartime service with the OSS, and the emergence of the Cold War in the forties and early fifties, which shaped his own relationship to American politics.

By the time Carl arrived in Berkeley, he had already begun to work on culture in Vienna around the turn of the century. I recall hearing him describe this project to a packed audience of faculty and students in the Alumni House; parts of it appeared in his course on European Intellectual History, which I audited in 1960-61. For a variety of reasons--not least among them Carl's engagement with the events that are described in what follows--the book he planned to write was never written in the narrative form he had originally intended. Instead, he produced a series of essays that were eventually published in 1980 as Fin-de-Siècle Vienna, a book that has been widely and deeply influential across the usual disciplinary boundaries. The connecting themes uniting these essays are the collapse of Austrian liberalism and the rise of cultural modernism, which worked together to generate an unresolved tension between political pathology and cultural creativity. In Fin-de-

Siècle Vienna, and in the many essays that he has written since (some now collected as Thinking with History [Princeton University Press, 1998]), Carl Schorske has illuminated the complex connections between politics and culture, his major concern as a scholar and, for the years that he was at Berkeley, the object of his efforts as an academic citizen caught up in the affairs of a great university in crisis.

James J. Sheehan
Professor of History

November 1999
Stanford, California

INTRODUCTION by Reginald E. Zelnik

Carl Schorske and Berkeley's Time of Troubles

We read in Jim Sheehan's illuminating introduction to Carl Schorske's oral history that politics always remained central to Schorske's "scholarly vocation"; and at the end of the essay Jim refers to Carl as "an academic citizen caught up in the affairs of a great university in crisis." I was present at Berkeley for the last five years of Carl's involvement as an "academic citizen," and I write, in part, to bear witness to the power and integrity of his political, intellectual and moral presence, which represented the very best that our faculty had to offer in that time of troubles. Other than at the most abstract analytical level, it would surely be a mistake to think of politics and scholarship as two distinct domains in which Carl would or could function in a bifurcated manner. In real life--real political life and, to Carl, real scholarly life as well--the two arenas were always intermeshed and intermingled. There were major conflicts between them, to be sure, yet never in the prosaic sense that one was somehow debasing or corrupting the integrity of the other. Here at Berkeley, politics--taken in the broadest meaning of dedication to the well-being of the polis and promotion of the just use of power--remained central to Carl's scholarly vocation, to both his research and his teaching, while intellectual values were no less central to his political concerns. He saw the university as a community where politics and scholarship not only could coexist, but could strengthen one another, though never without the presence of powerful and often unresolved tensions. When in 1969 he departed Berkeley for calmer waters if not greener pastures, I believe that though troubled by the experience of the previous years, he had not abandoned his guarded faith in the contentious but ultimately peaceful coexistence of these two worlds.

As readers will learn from the oral history that follows, Carl joined our history faculty in the fall of 1960, having been attracted to the university while lecturing here in 1959 in Raymond Sontag's class, as noted in Jim's introduction. It should come as no surprise that very little time had passed before Carl began to involve himself in campus controversies. His left political background, after all, dated back to the rich and lively undergraduate political life at Columbia University in the early 1930s, but also, with a backward stretch, to 1919, his kindergarten year in New York, when this little son of a socialist banker had a near escape from "campus discipline" for singing a German song, Morgenrot, that offended the anti-German sensitivities of a patriotic kindergarten teacher. An active supporter of the controversial Henry Wallace campaign in 1948, and still an independent man of the liberal left in the sixties, Carl came to Berkeley at a time when the seeds of the 1964 conflict around free speech were already being planted by an unwitting combination of vestigial but still

forceful McCarthyism, which often targeted the university, and a growing movement of protest and resistance among a resolute minority of faculty and students. Administrators, for their part, groped for intricate and often perplexing ways to resist recurrent onslaughts from the right, tacking now in the direction of significant resistance, now in the direction of outright surrender, at times even surrendering with pleasure.

The most salient form such conflicts took--though more quietly, more subdued, more civilly, and on a much smaller scale than what soon would follow--was faculty resistance to the banning of controversial speakers from the campus. "Controversial" at the time was generally equated with "Communist," though the term also extended to religious speakers (the banning of Malcolm X neatly combined both cases). In such situations, as Carl explains, it was faculty--small groups, to be sure--more than students who took the lead in resisting suppressive measures, though faculty methods were characteristically unflamboyant, superficially unconfrontational, and always imbued with academic politesse.

Carl had barely been on our faculty a year, for example, before he joined a little group of civil libertarian professors--significantly, four of the eight participants would be active in the faculty "200" during the free speech crisis of 1964--who wrote to President Kerr and Chancellor Strong in 1961 to protest the suspension of SLATE, an activist student organization. Anticipating some of the issues that rocked the campus three years layer, Schorske and the others asserted that "the interpretation of the State Constitution as restricting student political activity is questionable and should receive further study." At the same time, again anticipating Schorske's disposition in 1964 and beyond, always characterized by a quest for cooperation, reasonableness and workable solutions, the letter generously acknowledged the "liberalizing measures" recently instituted by the university administration and its (partial) defense of the open forum from outside pressures. The concluding paragraph nicely illustrates the mood of faculty such as Carl who, anxious to encourage positive change, animated in a sense by "civilizing mission," often found themselves face to face with administrators who did not always share their outlook. "We have no wish to magnify disagreements," Carl and the others wrote. "As faculty members, we try to make ourselves available to the problems of students, and we hope that a dialogue with you, from time to time, will be welcomed as creative and enlightening."[1]

A year later Carl was writing to the Academic Senate's Academic Freedom Committee in support of a faculty resolution taking issue with a

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[1] V. Kennedy, L. Lowenthal, C. Schorske et al. to Kerr and Strong, 23 Aug. 1961, Bancroft Collection (see Appendix B).

university policy that prohibited faculty from citing their university affiliation when taking positions on non-university issues.[2] Shortly thereafter, in 1963, now in his new capacity as history department chairman, Carl was again in the midst of his soon-to-be uninterrupted campus engagement, as he led the department's unsuccessful efforts to allow the historian Herbert Aptheker, a leading member of the Communist party, to speak on campus under the auspices of its graduate colloquium series. (The event did take place, but in the YMCA's Stiles Hall, off campus, with members of the department taking up a collection for the speaker's fee!).[3] Then, in a related case again involving the appearance at a public gathering by another Communist speaker, Schorske took upon himself the burden of presiding over the meeting, an action that predictably led to angry letters from right-wing protesters while earning him the praise of the chancellor and the president (both of whom apparently expected some kind of disturbance that never materialized). In all these cases it was some combination of academic freedom, civil liberties and free speech that was at issue, principles that were always at the very top of Schorske's list. As he put it in a letter to the general secretary of the University YMCA, "the unfavorable returns [about his chairing of the meeting] are coming in; but no one interested in civil liberties can escape this sort of thing... [T]he price is pretty small considering what is at stake."[4]

The crisis Carl was faced with in the fall of 1964, while again revolving around issues of free speech and, more remotely, academic freedom, were of a scale that dwarfed the episodes just described, and, in sharp contrast, involved for the first time a mass student movement, the Free Speech Movement [FSM]. It would have gone completely against his grain for Carl to avoid engagement in this conflict. He plunged into it quickly enough, and of course had little trouble identifying with the causes of free speech and advocacy rights for students, their right to due process, fair disciplinary procedures, and, an often ignored but very serious consideration, respectful treatment. He viewed with growing dismay the heavy-handedness of administration policy, which radicalized the movement and turned a local conflict into one of statewide and ultimately national proportions. But at the same time, like so many other members of the faculty, including even most of those who shared his sympathy for the movement's aims, he was also disturbed by the prospect that the already burgeoning politicization of university

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[2] Schorske to Chairman of Committee on Academic Freedom, 11 June 1962, loc. cit.

[3] Schorske to Chairman of Committee on Academic Freedom, 13 Mar. 1963, loc. cit. (see Appendix D). The total ban on Communist speakers on campus was lifted the following summer.

[4] Schorske to W.J. Davis, 31 July 1963, loc. cit. (see Appendix E). The speaker this time was Albert Lima.

life--and this was even before the "Vietnamization" of our campus--would have a negative effect on our academic milieu. Delighting in our students' desire to act like citizens, he believed in principle that this citizenship could be reconciled with academic decorum. He therefore spent much time and energy in quest of a solution to the free speech conflict that would speedily reduce the turmoil while upholding the values that underlay the struggle of the FSM. He welcomed the sound, but hoped perhaps for less of the fury. He was, as he once described himself in explaining his approach to history, "at once wary and engagé."[5]

Much of Carl's efforts during the FSM took place at meetings with like-minded faculty (several of them signers of the 1961 letter mentioned above) in Professor Charles Sellers' history department office. As a new, very junior member of the history faculty, I had of course met "Professor Schorske" several times by then, and already knew and admired his superb study of German Social Democracy; I actually first knew of him, and already admired him in 1961, when, as a Stanford graduate student, I saw an ad on the Bay of Pigs crisis that he and other history professors, mainly from Berkeley and Stanford, had placed in the Times. But it was at these little "strategy meetings" in Sellers' office that I really got to know Carl, to see him in action, to observe his craftsmanship and draftsmanship in helping to hammer out appropriate language for larger faculty meetings that we hoped would meet the principles of the FSM and still be acceptable to a large enough faculty majority to sway the administration, appealing to its better self. In fact, as I am sure Carl would acknowledge, none of the dedicated work of that little group achieved its purpose, at least not directly. The (Larry) Levine motion--a futile but honorable attempt in November to move the faculty senate in the direction of the FSM position--and other comparable endeavors would fail to win over a faculty majority until a combination of patently vengeful disciplinary action by the then chancellor and a bold new act of civil disobedience by the FSM transfigured the atmosphere and created the climate for the assertiveness of the faculty 200 and finally for the stunning victory for free speech that took place in the Academic Senate on December 8.

It is impossible, in my view, to designate a single author of the December 8 resolutions, which in some ways went significantly further than earlier draft resolutions prepared by faculty supporters of free

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[5] Carl E. Schorske, A Life of Learning (ACLS Occasional Paper No. 1, 1987), p. 3. That paper provides a useful supplement to the present oral history (see Appendix A). It is reprinted in Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism (Princeton, 1998), pp. 17-34.

speech.[6] At one level the true authors of the resolutions were Mario Savio and other FSM-ers, who had long since laid out the basic principles that those resolutions followed. But the resolutions were also a permutation over time of language created at the meetings in Sellers' office, at November meetings of the Academic Senate, at the meeting of the 200 itself, and at the huge informal December 3 gathering of faculty in Wheeler Auditorium called by panicky faculty who had not been strong supporters of the FSM, but were now prepared to heed the views of the Schorskes, Stampps, Schachmans, Smiths, Sellers, Searles, Selznicks, Wolins, Lowenthals, and Levines, to name but a few. While it would take an archeologist to reveal all the layers of authorship--broadly conceived they of course antedated the FSM itself, drawing upon a much longer history of campus battles for academic freedom and civil liberties--no one involved in this affair could deny that the hand and mind of Carl Schorske was a presence at virtually every stage of this evolving story.

Although the Regents' official response to the December 8 resolutions fell short of a straightforward endorsement, and although there were to be on occasion temporary retreats from the robust enforcement of the resolutions, it is fair to say that a genuine victory for free speech principles had indeed been achieved through the combined efforts of an aggressive student movement and a faltering but ultimately responsive faculty. Yet one of the ironic, unforeseen (and, I certainly felt at the time, disheartening) consequences of the December 8 resolutions was the election of a faculty committee, the "Emergency Executive Committee," which, though its purpose was to secure the acceptance of the resolutions by the president and Board of Regents, consisted almost entirely of faculty members who, though moderates by most standards, prior to the December turnaround had to varying degrees been hostile to the FSM and, more to the point, impatient with its faculty friends. To this outcome there was only one exception, Carl, who came in seventh in the field of seven elected members of that committee, the sole representative of the 200 to survive a well organized faculty backlash that swept the elections under the banner of order and stability. If the election results reveal a great deal about the complex blend of motives that went into the voting on December 8, Carl's (bare) survival as the sole representative of what I still refer to as "our group" (and, not incidentally, as the sole representative of the liberal arts) was certainly a tribute to the great respect for him

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[6] Strictly speaking the resolutions were the work of the Senate's Academic Freedom Committee, which formally introduced them at the December 8 meeting. But while I have no doubt that they were vetted and edited by that committee, it is equally clear that the committee was sticking very closely to a version of the text that emerged after much heated debate from the December 3 meeting at Wheeler Auditorium.

that prevailed even in sectors of the faculty whose views he did not share.

As it turned out, Carl was able to cooperate effectively with the other members of the committee, which to a great extent did accomplish its primary goal, winning the Regents' (guarded) acquiescence to most of the December 8 package. Yet the spring of 1965 marked the beginning of several years of unrelenting tension and intermittent anguish for him, as he was prevented by his very nature from resisting the continuous call of duty, placing him in pivotal positions, constantly serving the campus community, always on call, and at times, as he puts it here, "eaten up." He even joined the administration as special officer in charge of academic development for a brief period, but, as his interview reveals, he grew increasingly uncomfortable with what he saw as the rigid policies of the Roger Heyns administration. More and more Carl's engagement and commitment tore him away from the scholarship (though never from the teaching and teaching innovation) that he so adored. In his own words (though he refers here to his time as a graduate student at Harvard, not his time at Berkeley): "When political passions run strong, the relation between one's obligations to the republic of letters and to the civic republic can become dangerously conflated."[7] In academic year 1968-69 escalating war and, as a consequence, more ugly and bitter campus confrontations added to these tensions and temporarily destroyed the "delicate balance" that had seemed to prevail after December 8.[8] Carl then made his decision, without a trace of rancor, to leave us for Princeton, where he continued under more placid conditions to display the same qualities of scholar-citizen we at Berkeley had come to appreciate so much. I know that Carl continued to love Berkeley after he left and loves it to this day.

Reginald Zelnik
Professor of History

February 2000
Berkeley, California

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[7] A Life of Learning, p. 7.

[8] Carl speaks of the "delicate balance" between academic and political rights and related commitments in ibid., p. 15.

INTERVIEW HISTORY--Carl E. Schorske

Carl E. Schorske, professor emeritus at Princeton University, spent only a decade, from 1960 to 1969, as a member of the UC Berkeley Department of History. But what a decade! and what an active member of the university community he was during his tenure on the Berkeley campus. Knowing that his account would add an important perspective to the history of those times, in 1996 we invited him to record his recollections as the fourth memoirist in the Department of History at Berkeley Oral History Series.

Rather than trying to conduct a lengthy biographical oral history during Professor Schorske's visits to the Bay Area, we focused on his experiences at Berkeley and his perspective on the social, cultural, and political shifts that characterized his decade here. For background on his family and education, his mentors at Columbia and Harvard, and his fourteen years of teaching at Wesleyan University, we have appended his Charles Homer Haskin Lecture, "A Life of Learning," given to the American Council of Learned Societies in April 1987.

The oral history begins with Professor Schorske's introduction to Berkeley as a guest lecturer in Raymond Sontag's European intellectual history class in 1959. He describes being "dazzled" by the charged atmosphere of the large lecture hall and by the socially diverse student body of the public university. The following year he accepted the department's invitation to join its ranks as a full professor.

His oral history records how he plunged into the life of the university, relishing the opportunities to exchange ideas with like-minded faculty in departments across the campus. He participated actively in the governance of the Department of History and was chosen as chair of the department just two years after his arrival at Berkeley. He provides significant recollections of fellow faculty members and of the social and intellectual atmosphere of the department.

Soon after his arrival, Professor Schorske joined faculty efforts to expand free speech for members of the university community. His oral history, and the appended documents, provide historians with an important record of faculty initiatives from 1961 to 1963 to broaden the rights of political expression within a public university, in an era when Communists were prevented from speaking on campus, as were candidates for public office of any persuasion.

A substantial part of the oral history is devoted to the 1964-1965 Free Speech Movement and other student protests in the sixties. Professor Schorske discusses his role in events as a member of the Academic Senate's Emergency Executive Committee during the FSM, his

thoughts about educational reform, and his reflections on the personal reactions of himself and fellow faculty to the enormous cultural changes of the time. All considered, with his characteristic intellectual breadth, within the context of "how the republic of letters relates to the civil society."

The interview sessions for the oral history were scheduled around two of Professor Schorske's visits to the West Coast, where he travels periodically as a member of the advisory boards of the Stanford Humanities Institute and the Getty Center for Art History and the Humanities, and for family vacations in Inverness on the Point Reyes Peninsula. The first session took place on October 17, 1996, in his hotel room in San Francisco. Although he and his wife had just arrived by plane from the East Coast, he was willing to sit down for nearly three hours of interviewing before going off to another engagement that evening. As a student in Professor Schorske's European intellectual history class in the early sixties, I recalled very well the charged atmosphere in his lectures and found that he brought that same excitement to our interview, despite his demanding schedule. Although he complains of his octogenarian memory, his intellectual and physical energy seems unabated.

We were not able to meet again until May 5, 1997, this time in a seminar room of The Bancroft Library. The following day we completed our interviewing at the home of Robert and Carroll Brentano, history colleagues and friends from his time in the Department of History at Berkeley.

The long hiatus between the first and the second interviews naturally created some disjointedness in the narrative. Issues covered hurriedly during our first meeting were revisited in the final two sessions. In the interim between October and May, Berkeley historian David Hollinger had contributed his ideas for areas to explore, which led to some backtracking and elaborating on subjects previously discussed. No attempt was made to integrate these two discussions during the editing process, since each had its own character and emphasis.

After light editing, the transcripts of the three sessions went to Professor Schorske for his review. He expressed disappointment with the impressionistic nature of his recollections and the frailty of memory. He made a careful review of the transcript, clarifing some statements and adding considerable details. He checked recollections against documents in his files and contributed several important documents for appendices. In the end, he was persuaded to let the transcript stand without further alterations. We assured him that we would add the caveat that it provided a personal account, not a final, verified record of events; that along with other oral histories in the series it would enable future scholars to assemble from varying perspectives, in concert

with written documents, a sense of the life of the university and the discipline of history.

The editing process took time, on both coasts. Other projects competed for oral history office staff time, and Professor Schorske was writing two books. "Since the oral history is for eternal consumption, I count on your generous disposition to forgive my procrastination," he petitioned in one interchange. Editorial assistant Sara Diamond prepared the final version of the transcript and assembled the appended material. By summer of 1999, the project was ready for the eye of former university archivist James R. K. Kantor, ROHO's proofreader par excellence.

Professor Reginald Zelnik, a Berkeley colleague also active in the political affairs of the campus during the sixties, and James Sheehan, professor of history at Stanford University and a former Schorske Ph.D. student at Berkeley, wrote the two introductions to the volume. We thank both men for their contributions.

On behalf of future scholars, we also thank the Department of History for providing the core funding to make this oral history possible. Appreciation is once again due Carroll Brentano and Gene Brucker for initiating the series on the history of the Department of History and for their ongoing efforts in planning and securing support to continue it. Additional support came from the Bancroft Library's Free Speech Movement Archives project, funded by a generous donation from Berkeley alumnus Stephen M. Silberstein, and the Schorske volume will be a part of the Free Speech Movement Oral History Series.

The Regional Oral History Office was established in 1954 to record the lives of persons who have contributed significantly to the history of California and the West. A major focus of the office since its inception has been university history. The series list of completed oral histories documenting the history of the University of California is included in this volume. The Regional Oral History Office is a division of The Bancroft Library and is under the direction of Willa K. Baum.

Ann Lage
Interviewer/Editor

Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library
University of California, Berkeley
November 1999

Regional Oral History Office
Room 486 The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name CARL EMIL SCHORSKE

Date of birth 15 MARCH, 1915 Birthplace NEW YORK, N.Y.

Father's full name THEODORE ALEXANDER SCHORSKE

Occupation BANKER Birthplace NEW YORK, N.Y.

Mother's full name GERTRUDE GOLDSCHMIDT (SCHORSKE)

Occupation HOUSEWIFE Birthplace NEW YORK, N.Y.

Your spouse ELIZABETH RORKE (SCHORSKE)

Occupation HOUSEWIFE Birthplace CLEVELAND, O.

Your children CARL THEODORE; MRS. ANNE EDWARDS; STEPHEN JAMES; JOHN; RICHARD.

Where did you grow up? SCARSDALE, N.Y.

Present community PRINCETON, N.J.

Education SCARSDALE HIGH SCHOOL; A.B., COLUMBIA COLLEGE; M.A., PH.D., HARVARD UNIV.

Occupation(s) PROF. OF HISTORY.

Areas of expertise HIST. OF MODERN EUROPE. INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY.

Other interests or activities MUSIC, VISUAL ARTS.

Organizations in which you are active Internationale Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften (Vienna, Austria)

SIGNATURE Carl E. Schorske DATE: Oct. 8, 1999

INTERVIEW WITH CARL SCHORSKE

I COMING TO BERKELEY, 1960: TOWN, CAMPUS, AND THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

[Interview 1: October 17, 1996] ##[1]

The View from Wesleyan of the Loyalty Oath Controversy

Lage: This is October 19, 1996, and this is an interview with Carl Schorske for the history of the Department of History series. We're not going to start with your early background because we only have a three-hour session now. We want to talk about your coming to Berkeley, why you came and how you happened to make the change from Wesleyan.

Schorske: Two things. The first is that I was actually courted by Berkeley's department well before I came. I came in 1960, but in either 1955 or 1956--it was probably '55, could have been '56--after my first book came out, I was given an invitation to come to look at Berkeley. I was then at Wesleyan; I was happy at Wesleyan. I was very suspicious of California because of the loyalty oath controversy, which was a very little time before. We're talking now late McCarthy era. McCarthy had already been broken by the time this invitation was issued.

We had at Wesleyan two refugees from Berkeley. One was Charles Muscatine, who figures certainly in your oral histories, and the other was Tom [Thomas] Parkinson, both members of the English Department. Muscatine was a non-signer in the oath controversy, and Parkinson--in the end he did sign, but he was an opponent. There were many people like that on the Berkeley campus.

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[1]## This symbol indicates that a tape or tape segment has begun or ended. A guide to the tapes follows the transcript.

Lage: They came to Wesleyan as a result of this?

Schorske: Yes, but they came as visitors. Muscatine didn't know what he would do. In the end he went back because they changed the regulations. A number of other signers who resigned from Berkeley because they wouldn't sign the oath--there were only twelve, I think, in all--but several of them went back. They didn't take permanent positions elsewhere. Muscatine didn't have a permanent position with Berkeley either. As I say, they were refugees, both these guys.

I had a high impression of the scholarly quality of the university, but I was a small college teacher, and I really found I loved it. So I didn't have much will to move. The combination of the oath history and being way out there--I being an easterner born and bred--.

Lage: You'd never lived on the West Coast, I assume.

Schorske: Right, and I had never been in a state university. I had fear of it, partly because of the political vulnerability that Berkeley had manifested and seemed to manifest in a craven way, in the sense that they didn't fight back. Of course there were many places where nobody fought, so you never noticed it.

Lage: Did your impressions come from Parkinson and Muscatine, or was it just known throughout the academic community?

Schorske: No, no, it was diffuse. We had another member of my Wesleyan department, a wonderful person, who was actually a student of Ernst Kantorowicz, one of the non-signers. His name was Michael Cherniavsky in Russian history. We had other Berkeley people who were connected with this oath thing not as faculty members but as grad students.

The main thing was that throughout the academic community, the California oath case was huge. It was the national case of greatest moment in the early fifties. I didn't need the presence of the refugees, in fact their presence was only a testimony to the quality of the intellectual life that was also at Berkeley, and I knew that. Anyway, I turned that first invitation down.

Lecturing at Berkeley, 1959: The Excitement of the Public University

Schorske: Then I came as a fellow to the Stanford Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. I came there for the year in 1959-60. One day I got a telephone call from Ray [Raymond] Sontag. He was one of the two Berkeley people--Ray Sontag and Carl Bridenbaugh--who had courted me in '56 at an American Historical Association [AHA] meeting.

Ray said he was going back to Washington for a couple of weeks on government business. Would I take his classes? He taught an intellectual history course at the time, and would I take over his classes and give the lectures, two lectures a week for two weeks? He was on the topic of Hegel, and it was something I knew about and liked. So I said, "Sure." Of course I was fond of him because--well, anyway, I knew him somewhat from before, when he tried to get me an instructorship in Princeton. That effort failed because of the anti-Semitism that then prevailed at Princeton. I was very glad to do the lectures in a way to repay him for having been influential in getting me the offer from Berkeley.

I really went up for those two weeks just to lecture. I had friends here--Henry May who was a strong friend of mine from graduate school, and Henry Nash Smith in the English department who was likewise a Harvard friend. I had already reknit ties with them after the war. Then, when I came to California, of course somehow we activated our relation.

The main thing was that I came and I lectured to that class, and I was dazzled. It was such a wonderful experience. It was one of these big things--I think it was Dwinelle Hall, one of the big lecture halls. It was certainly a big hall. I hadn't had at Wesleyan that kind of experience. I had lectured at Harvard also for a term, so I knew what it was like, but here it was in Berkeley. It was the same thing, where you really felt the electricity in the classroom.

Then, there were Sontag's two teaching assistants. One of them was Jim [James J.] Sheehan, the fellow who just drove me here, who as you know is now at Stanford. He's been the department chairman there for years; he's not anymore. The other was Peter Loewenberg, who has become a leading psychohistorian and has been a pillar of the department at Los Angeles. They were Sontag's two assistants.

Loewenberg was the nephew of a Berkeley philosopher of the same name who was the major Hegel scholar in the United States. He was, however, a non-signer. He was a resister. After just one lecture on Hegel, Peter Loewenberg invited me to have dinner at his uncle's house.

Lage: Was he also a Loewenberg?

Schorske: I'm ashamed that I don't remember his first name [Jacob Loewenberg]. He wrote a kind of compendium of translations of Hegel's stuff with an introduction that was very well regarded. I had used his book in my course, actually. It was a coincidence that he was also one of the resisters in the oath controversy. So I had this very interesting evening at his house.

Then I began to catch on that, oath controversy or no, this was really an exciting place. I loved the class, and the more it went on, the more I liked it. I mean we got on well.

Lage: Did you find the undergraduate students at Berkeley to be more exciting?

Schorske: Well, it's partly the mass. It's partly the mass. At Wesleyan, let's say, a big class, a really big class would be sixty people. Sontag was a very well-regarded lecturer and for good cause; his class was 200 or 230 people or something like that. So it was a big mass of people, and that gives you a sort of actor's satisfaction. You have a public to play to in effect, so there was some of that.

I also felt the differentiation in the class, a social differentiation I had never experienced. I'd taught at Harvard and Yale for a term here and there but never with that social diversity, palpably the children of people from the Valley, some fraternity types, others very urban, all kinds of types in the class. That sociological mix I found intriguing. It wasn't pure urban, and it was certainly not pure rural. It was a state university's mix, and I had never experienced it. One couldn't experience it except in a few places like Michigan, Wisconsin, Berkeley, now probably in Texas. Usually you don't get that mixture of urban and rural, as well as different classes, different types of culture, really, that compose the nation. So that struck me.

Then I really did a nervy thing. I called up my friend Henry May, and I said, "I really have been snowed by these two weeks. If that job is still open and you people still want me,

I'll take it." So, I was then invited--I think Ken [Kenneth M.] Stampp was chairman of the department, I'm not sure.

Lage: I don't think so because he's never been chairman. He's always avoided it.

Schorske: Oh, really? Is that right? Is he one of the people you've interviewed?

Lage: Yes, I did. It might have been Delmer Brown.

Schorske: No, he was not yet chairman, not then. It probably was George Guttridge, but never mind, I don't know. That wasn't so significant. The fact was that I was invited then to give a paper at the History Club or whatever it was that used to meet in the Alumni House. That was sort of a test, used when a department hired you anyplace. I got through, and then I was invited to come.

Lage: There was a very positive response to that lecture, from what I've heard.

Schorske: I know, there was. I'm sure I couldn't have been asked if it hadn't been because I'd already turned them down. You asked how I got here, and that was how I got here: via the Stanford Center and then this experience of lecturing and so on.

Lage: And you came as a tenured professor.

Schorske: I came as tenured--I had already gotten tenure at Wesleyan. Even the original offer was for tenure, and this time it was a full professorship which I then had.

Settling In: Social Connections, and Thoughts on Catholicism and Academia

Lage: Was your wife amenable to moving out?

Schorske: Well, she was not <u>that</u> amenable. She became very engaged in Berkeley, but she was not that enthusiastic at first. It would have been easier if we'd gone to Stanford which was also a possibility. We didn't because--I mean, it would have been easier because our children found wonderful schools at Stanford. When we came to Berkeley, the situation was much graver. The high school was still a high school of quality, and I'm sure parts of it still are, but the new sociology of

Berkeley had begun, and the cultural problem for our two children who were in junior high--or one just before junior high and one in junior high--it was a terrible shock to come from Stanford to here. From Middletown [Connecticut] to Stanford was a step up both in intellectual quality of the schooling and in the easy middle-class socialization. It was easy, it was a suburb with high quality public schools.

When we came here it was Willard Junior High [on Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley]. It turned out to be a terrible school for our children, psychologically, and it wasn't so easy with high school either. I've often felt my children paid a big price for my job. Then very soon on top of it came the whole culture shift. That was also a price some of our children paid for my wanting to come here. That's another story.

In any case, my wife certainly came cheerfully, and we had --again the reception from the people in and out of the History Department was just wonderful. It was just so natural. It wasn't because we were special, it was just naturally the way they behaved. The Brentanos [Robert and Carroll] found a real estate agent who was interested in architecture. I was just getting interested in architecture. He knew this town of Berkeley like the palm of his hand, and before we ever looked at anything, he told us about where the possibilities were in architectural terms--what kind of a little enclave we wanted to live in. He told us who the leading architects of Berkeley were and what they had done (a few I knew but most I didn't). He was a knowledgeable, nice, wonderful man.

Very quickly we were taken in. I think everybody who came to Berkeley had this experience. That was something I hadn't undergone and certainly not at Harvard, the university I knew best. They would put on a big show if you were invited, but it was formal, it was dinner parties. This was personal. This was individual people who wanted to make you at home, and they did.

Lage: And was your wife swept into a social circle?

Schorske: Oh, yes, definitely. That was easy, too, very easy. Then we had friends or attachments through people--the Bouwsmas--we hadn't really known them, but very quickly--. Martin Malia, too, became a good friend. He was a Catholic, my wife is a Catholic. Sontag was, too. At Wesleyan she was very much odd man out. In those days Jews had already gotten into universities, but for Catholics it was very difficult.

Lage: You mean for Catholics to be accepted into academic life?

Schorske: Into academic life, especially in the eastern private schools. They were Protestant establishments, and the Protestants had become tolerant toward Jews, but they found Catholics very hard to take, traditionally. Their tolerance for Catholics developed later because there was something deeply creedal and institutional that was offensive to the Protestant consciousness. It produced, especially in liberal academic intellectuals, a deep intolerance.

Lage: That's very interesting. I don't remember having that discussed as much as, say, resistance to the Jewish entry into academic life.

Schorske: No, it wasn't, but we went through it at Wesleyan, and I saw the anti-Catholic prejudice strongly at work at Harvard in the 1930s. Well, I won't spend my time on Wesleyan, but it was a problem. Jews had already been admitted to the faculty even before the war. After the war it was totally easy. Actually, Hitler's horror in a way really did absolutely in the end wipe out anti-Semitism in the American academic establishment and in general in the country. It was a huge turn.

That same thing did not apply to Catholics. You must remember that Catholics also were seen as belonging to a rigid, doctrinal religion. You might be a Catholic mathematician and be reliable, but if you were a historian it was just as bad as being a Communist, for if you were Catholic you were a prisoner of doctrine; the pope could tell you what to think, you know, and how to behave. I mean, I exaggerate slightly, but it was a problem, a real problem.

Lage: But your wife didn't encounter that here.

Schorske: No, and at Wesleyan as soon as the personal element came into play, Wesleyan was a wonderful place. She had never had any friendship problems or anything, but it was easier here at the beginning. The Brentanos were Catholic too. In California it made very little difference. We found that out in the year we were at the Center [at Stanford]. It was already clear. Even the relations between the clergy, the Catholic and the Protestant clergy, were so much better in California than in New York or Massachusetts or any of those places where they were terrible, holding each other at arm's length.

Lage: More Vatican II-ism?

Schorske: Before Vatican II. I mean these distances between the two faiths was so great before Vatican II and the ecumenical

movement started by the Protestants. Well, that's enough of that.

Entering the Intellectual Life of the Campus: The Arts Club and Other Interdisciplinary Connections

Lage: Shall we move on to how you entered into the life of the campus?

Schorske: Yes, if you like, yes. I would say there were a couple of points of entry for me. One of them was certainly intellectual because I rapidly discovered--and always felt it ever after--the intellectual as well as social welcome mat of Berkeley. I don't know if it's still characteristic, but I really did think it was there. You didn't have to prove yourself, you didn't have to do anything. You were just assumed to be here, so people were just naturally open.

I found Henry Smith at a new level of intellectual engagement, and also in the English department, Mark Schorer, whom I had also known in Cambridge before the war slightly. I got to know him better, of course, here. Chuck Muscatine, Tom Parkinson--I mean, these were all well-established people in English. That was easy. Some of them belonged to something called the Arts Club; it's still going in Berkeley, I hope.

Lage: Now tell me what that is.

Schorske: The Arts Club was founded before World War II to introduce the arts, the creative arts, into the university. All over the nation a fight had to be fought to make the universities what they are today, really committed to the creative arts. They are training grounds in the arts to some extent. Certainly they have programs in creative writing, in painting and things like that, not just in art history or literary history, but doing it.

Lage: Just as an aside I'll tell you that the art practice program at Berkeley now is very much threatened to the point of near extinction, I understand.

Schorske: Well, you know that that's also true in public schools at much lower levels, sometimes disastrously, like in New York where art is one of the great avenues of advancement for people of color and immigrants who are good at the visual arts and at music. We had special high schools in New York for this, not

to mention kindergarten programs and God knows what all. The last to come on board is the first to be thrown overboard, and that's what's happening. I'm horrified to hear that art programs are threatened in Berkeley. The Arts Club was originally formed to expose and promote them, did that, and there were fine people in it.

Lage: Who were the active club members?

Schorske: By the time I joined it, the number of members was small, but they were very active and a real presence. The man who can tell you most about that, to my knowledge, is Charles Muscatine. Bill Fretter in the Physics Department was in it, then there was a wonderful philosopher who is still a friend of mine, he's at Harvard--Stanley Cavell. He was teaching here, and in that club. With my son, I audited his course in Wittgenstein's Philosophical Investigations--an intense and deeply disturbing intellectual experience.

Joe [Joseph] Kerman, who is very important in my life, important in the sense that his work--well, Ann, you probably read him in my course, actually. It was a book of Kerman's called Opera as Drama, a marvelous book, sort of opera through the ages to teach people who are not themselves musically educated what the relation is between music and theater, plot and music--it was a terrific book. He's a marvelous scholar, another one. I was getting interested in putting music into my own research, so this was important for me.

There was also [T. J.] Kent, who was a city planner here, and Bill [William] Wurster, who was the dean of the College of Environmental Design, and Leo Lowenthal in sociology. These were people--many of them, like the aesthetician Stephen Pepper, had been years at Berkeley, and they freely took in newer or younger people. In any case, there I met the whole interdisciplinary crowd. We had agreeable dinners, and we read papers to each other, giving us all feedback.

Lage: So this was related to the research you were doing.

Schorske: Much of it was, but more: it was related to my whole intellectual life, my teaching, too. My teaching did involve more media than the printed word, especially as I got deeper into the nineteenth century. My historical mission became, then, introducing the arts as a constituent of history--not simply as an illustration of a history which is essentially political by tradition, but as a constituent in socio-cultural history. The people I met in the faculty outside the history

department made a wider, humanistic discourse possible. I had it at Wesleyan, where I had a lot of very good colleagues, but here there were many more of them, and it was so easy to open the network into the German department, for example, where I got, you might say, tutoring in Austrian literature from Heinz Politzer or people in architecture who could really tell me new things.

Lage: Did you do that more than most historians, do you think?

Schorske: Yes, but that's because my problems were interdisciplinary. It was also because I had good connections here in the first place. I hate to say it, but so much in academic life is dependent on connections. It's just as bad as in the corporate empires. "Who do you know?" These faculty people, very like-minded to myself, could open new vistas and in a way lead me to the intellectual resources of the university, to have converse and socializing with its people. So it was partly my interest, but I have to say it's more entering into a congenial community. Nobody planned it, nobody on either end was planning anything, but the structure of the place was porous and welcoming. If you put those two things together, and add my need for interdisciplinary conversation in my work, that became important.

The Postwar Generation's Interest in Intellectual History

Schorske: The other thing of importance to my scholarship was the Department of History itself. I somewhat disagree with Gene Brucker's picture of its character. He separates the generations: the pure political narrative historians from the social historians. At one level he's right, but the big wave of the generation I belong to, just slightly older than Gene's, five to fifteen years older--start ticking it off: Henry May, Martin Malia, Joe Levenson in Asian History, who was a marvelous man, Bill Bouwsma, Nick Riasanovsky--all these people were intellectual historians. It was a kind of a wave of intellectual history that swept the American historical profession in the forties and fifties. It isn't that we couldn't teach something else, but our commitment was very much in that vein.

Lage: I think he was talking about the generation before you as being more focused on political history. I'm surprised that Sontag was teaching intellectual history.

Schorske: And he did it for modern Europe as a whole, but with great discomfort. He did it because he thought it was a field that needed doing, now high on the profession's agenda, and the fact that people like all those I've mentioned were coming along. The talent in history, which very soon went to social history, at that time was going into intellectual history. Ray felt the need for American students to be exposed to modern intellectual history even though he was not an expert in it. He offered the course in the way that in my time I've taught Greek history--we do the things we sometimes do because an institution has a lack, and you do the best you can. He didn't want to do that forever; he wanted the position filled, and so did the department.

So they hired a whole bunch of people. Tom Kuhn, the historian of science, was another who became a real good friend. That was a new tendency in the earliest postwar generation; we flocked to intellectual history. It became a really live and active field. It was still happily wedded to social history, not the intense archival social history that, say, Gene Brucker did, which is a very special kind. Nevertheless, we had a lot of that too. The American progressive tradition combined social and intellectual history in a way that I still regard as--you know, that's where I live. Social history and intellectual history both have gone in other, autonomous directions, but we could talk about that some other time.

Intradepartmental Politics: Thomas Kuhn, Carl Bridenbaugh, Raymond Sontag

Lage: Would you have more to say about Tom Kuhn? He does come up quite a bit--you'll see when you see the videotape from the meeting [history department colloquium on the history of the Department of History] that he's talked about.

Schorske: Yes, well, I'm sure that he's talked about. On the one hand, we all recognized that this was a very first-class guy. I don't think anybody had the idea that he was the world-class scholar which he is now recognized to have been. There are some historical reasons for this recognition that has come to him in the last twenty years. Among us faculty people in history, he certainly was thought to be first-class.

There were a lot of departmental troubles that revolved around him. There were a lot of troubles for Tom that revolved

around his attempt, a valiant attempt, to be both a historian and a philosopher of science. In the end, he had to be content to be labeled a historian of science, though in his very last years, he had turned more and more to philosophy and had developed that.

In the philosophy department here he had, by his own account, real foes. I'm not knowledgeable about all those quarrels. We in history tended to support him, but then we had a big crisis about--that you probably have been told about--about his promotion to full professor, I think it was to full. He already was associate, I think; I'm not sure. It was the thing that led in the end to Carl Bridenbaugh's resignation because Bridenbaugh didn't think he should have that job.

Lage: Tell me what to recall about that.

Schorske: Well, that was true. In any case, there was a complicated reason for that. Bridenbaugh had his own candidate, Hunter Dupree, a competent man, too, but Bridenbaugh faced in Kuhn supporters a very solid phalanx of the people who had been his ally in so many things in the earlier quarrels, most of which were over by the time I got here. In any case, he was a disappointed man that Tom was promoted over his negative assessment.

Lage: Yet history would certainly vindicate that decision.

Schorske: It certainly would, and it is not in denigration of Dupree, who also had a professorship here but could not compete with Kuhn in sheer intellectual brilliance. Who among us could?

I'm not going to go into the politics because partly I distrust my memory of the department's politics even more than elsewhere. All of this is tricky. I like it better when you can go back and forth to documents and correct yourself. In any case, Hunter Dupree has had a good career as a historian of American science. In the end, both left: Bridenbaugh in 1962, Dupree in 1968. They went to Brown along with Bryce Lyon [1965] and Perry Curtis [1975]. Bridenbaugh went first and brought the others after him. I think that's the way it went.[2]

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[2] For more on this incident, see oral history with Kenneth Stampp in this series, and David Hollinger's "Afterword" in History at Berkeley: A Dialogue in Three Parts (Berkeley: Center for Studies in Higher Education, UC Berkeley, 1998).

Lage: Then shortly after Bridenbaugh left, he made that kind of amazing presidential address to the American Historical Association.

Schorske: Oh, he did that after he left? That was a horror, yes, I remember that, I remember it vividly. It was an attack on Oscar Handlin, but in a form which suggested that children of recent immigrants lacked the sensibility to write American history.

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Schorske: I can only say that in all these things, intradepartmental fights are like family fights. It's very difficult to control the ill effects of these fights. Bitternesses arise which turn judgments sour. This is a grave difficulty. Bridenbaugh was never my kind of historian. I learned from his kind of history, and I respected what he did. I never liked him much as a person. That was the way it was. I know he was a very valuable member of the department and did a lot of good work.

In the end, the people then who became disappointed in his behavior over Kuhn would begin to see that he was flawed in other ways. When he made that terrible speech in the AHA, it was like a vindication of the bad opinion that was formed of him by people who could not accept his view on something else. So you get a general drop in his reputation that perhaps went too far. I don't know.

Unlike many of my colleagues I was attached to Sontag as a person. On national politics we disagreed basically; there we had very little in common, very little. I knew that he was a wonderful teacher, and he did things in the department nobody else did. One of them was to foster connections with the Pacific Coast Historical Association. Now this may have changed, but he was a vigorous protagonist of that organization. Maybe a year after I came--no, it could even have been before--on his invitation I went to one of these conferences. It was in Utah. There I met people who would not have had the money to go to the national conventions. They could only get this far. They could only go where they could sleep in dormitories on the cheap because they were in small, bad-paying little colleges scattered all up and down the West Coast and on into the mountain country.

The importance of this meeting for those people was huge. They were drinking at the professional font of history, and therefore the responsibility of people who had connections with the national or international guild seemed to be enormously

important. Sontag took that responsibility very seriously and tried to enlist people in that enterprise. That's the kind of citizenship you don't find very often because most university people say, "Why do I want to go to meet the guys from Slippery Rock State Teachers College? That isn't where I live, that isn't where I move." He had that service orientation--he was the same way towards students.

I know he played favorites among students. But he rescued people for intellectual life that would have gone down the drain if he hadn't put the investment in. He had these admirable qualities as a person. Okay, so his politics--including his departmental politics which then became very suspect and distrusted because he belonged to the old guard that Gene Brucker describes in his lecture, he was a leader of it. I felt, well, okay, so he has his flaws maybe, but don't exaggerate to the point where you lose the huge services that this man is doing for history as a profession, as a constituent in the communal life of the country. He's doing something for it.

Lage: He was another wonderful lecturer who attracted students into the discipline of history.

Schorske: Indeed he was, terrific.

I'm a profiteer from his generosity, which of course contributes to my positive attitude. I told you about the two people who were his assistants when I came to this university, James Sheehan and Peter Loewenberg. The next year, when I joined the faculty, the first thing he did was, he persuaded these two guys to leave him. They were going to write their theses with him. He was the man in German intellectual history--they were working in German history. He persuaded them to sign up with me. In other words, he gave me two of his very best Ph.D. candidates. I always felt it was a welcoming present. He never said anything about it, but I knew that that was what was going on.

A Vocational Mission and a Humanistic View of History

Lage: This takes us a little off track, but was the opportunity to work with graduate students another thing that you appreciated?

Schorske: Well, I had to learn that slowly. I didn't appreciate it in principle. I felt very strongly, and it's one of the reasons

that I favored undergraduate work in my own vocation for so long, I felt that you really formed people in terms of their intellectual outlook when they were undergraduates. You have the most impact in opening them to possibilities in the pre-professional moment. When they are grad students, and you are taking them on as serious professionals, your first duty is to equip them with the tools of the craft--teach them clear thinking, rigorous methods, the arts of demonstration, and, if possible, encourage their imaginative initiative.

Fundamentally, the graduate student is somebody who has already made a kind of choice for himself, and he has the parameters of his intellectual categories fairly well-defined. So I was a little leery about being a graduate teacher. In the end, of course, I came to love it, and at the end of my career at Princeton, I was a really good graduate trainer, better I think than I had been at Berkeley, though I had marvelous students here. I enjoyed the students, but I don't think it was my real mission. My real mission was more as an undergraduate teacher, and I think I had that in common with Sontag, probably, more than with most other colleagues in the department.

Professionalization, as was correctly observed by Brucker in his excellent lecture: that was the name of the game. So saying, "What are the newest methods?"--that was the way most people introduced students to historiography. I always taught it as historiography, not as a historical methods class, not as, "What is going on in the game today?" It was always, "What are the large views of history, how have they evolved in relation to the historical context in which those historians conceived their mission and wrote their books?" I was making a history out of history, not dealing so much with the methods and the latest cutting edge of the discipline, but going back in time to see how the nature and function of history as <u>thought</u> evolved in relation to history as actuality.

Woodrow Borah and I were at opposite ends of this, and I respected him a lot. He was a real methodologist, but he and I for a while--we each had a section of the graduate historiography course. Everybody could do it their own way, and many people have done it since in various ways, I'm sure--he was much more interested in the latest developments in historical thought and methods, and I was much more interested in the evolution of the idea of history and what historical works showed about culture and society.

It's just a different point of view. Partly it's the difference between a social scientist and a humanist. History

lies between. Some of us lean more to the one, some to the other. The best of us can do both, but very few are the best of us. So, those are the poles.

Lage: You put yourself more towards the humanist?

Schorske: I would be more on the humanist side, yes. I used to be more on the social science side, but when social science began to go behaviorist and used natural scientific models, I began to withdraw from that form. I would have been fully on board with, let's say, Gene Brucker's kind of history, social history, but I wouldn't have been with other forms, such as quantitative history and things like that. Woodrow Borah was into that with great results.

Lage: You talked a little bit about factions in the department. Is there more to say there, how it broke down? Was there more than politics that made the factions?

Schorske: Yes, I would say--let's put it this way. On the whole, I felt that the intensity of factional feeling was kept under control. There were crucial decisions about tenure appointments where it would necessarily surface. The problem was the aftermath of those decisions, so that one side would consider the other to be manipulative and so on.

Lage: Would they surface over, What kind of history do we want here at Berkeley? Or, Is this radical coming into our department?

Schorske: I know of only one case, that of Richard Drinnon, where a political radical was denied tenure [1959-1960].[3] I think that that case could be--and was--decided in terms other than the candidate's radicalism. One of the problems with anybody who is a deviant, whether they're politically radical or whatever they are, is that there are people who would make the decision because of the deviance but who would justify it in terms of scholarly or teaching inadequacy. That's one way. The opposite is equally true. There are people who would be so partisan that they would overvalue a candidate's scholarly accomplishments--you know. Anyway, the thing is that politics enters the equation, but in my opinion, the department didn't succumb to that type of thing, either in this case or in any other that I recall.

God knows when I came I already had a record as a radical because I worked for Henry Wallace. Kenneth Stampp was appointed in this department; he had a similar record. Most importantly, after I left the department overwhelmingly supported Reginald Zelnik for tenure when, I believe, there was opposition to him

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[3] See the oral history with Kenneth Stampp in this series for a fuller account of this incident.

at the regental level for his identification with the New Left students.

Involvement in Civil Libertarian Issues

Lage: Tell me about your background because we've got to pick up on your own political views.

Schorske: Well, okay, I mean my background--firstly, as I said, I was a Wallace supporter, serving on the Connecticut state board of that movement. In the thirties I had been a left-wing isolationist, never a communist, but an isolationist--I sent you that little biography--because as a child of German extraction the experience of World War was burned into my childhood consciousness. [See Appendix A] My father was both a banker and a socialist, a very odd combination. I had the deepest suspicion of world politics and also, therefore, tremendous interest in it. I had left-wing proclivities but then mixed them very oddly with pacifism. (This is still true, although there is no left to go to anymore.)

Lage: Ken Stampp had this similar background. His father wasn't a banker, but he was a German.

Schorske: He was a Wisconsin German, that's right; I hadn't ever put this together, of course you're right.

Lage: His father didn't come from an elite cultural or social group.

Schorske: My father didn't come from an elite group, but he moved into it. He was not college educated. The fact is that he was a 19th century type, an autodidact of great intellectual acquirement. Anyhow, Ken and I had some similar experience except Ken also came from a Lutheran background. I think I'm right about that.

Lage: It's Protestant, but I don't think it was Lutheran.

Schorske: It's Protestant, maybe not Lutheran. He came of a very hard moralistic school, and I was not trained that way. My parents were much more modulated. My father was an atheist, but my mother was Jewish, he was gentile. They didn't--how shall I put it?--they did not inculcate moral rigidities. They were more flexible, perhaps more aesthetic. That sometimes modulates--morals and aesthetics don't necessarily go hand in

hand, they can go at cross purposes sometimes. Anyway, I don't know how we got off on this.

Lage: This is why one thing leads to another. We were talking about the makeup of the department, the political factions, and I wanted to get your political background as well.

Schorske: My political background was that; plus, of course, in the McCarthy period, like every just plain liberal, if you were a serious liberal, then you had to get into the business of the defense of communism, in a certain sense--not communism itself, but of Communists whose freedom of speech and even livelihood were being arbitrarily threatened or withdrawn.

One of my first political involvements, thanks to Ken Stampp and Henry Smith, was with the ACLU activities. I don't remember whether I was a member of ACLU or not, but I can tell you that they got into one issue after another, the same group of people. I was astonished to find in my documents how far back the group with whom I became associated in the FSM crisis had been working together on other free speech questions from way back--1961 and probably before.

Lage: The academic freedom and....

Schorske: There was Slate, I don't know if you know about the banning of Slate. That was the first one I was involved with. I never had done this stump speaking. I think Kenneth got me involved in that.

Lage: And did you do stump speaking?

Schorske: I remember only one occasion. In those days our Hyde Park was not on Sproul steps. There was an oak--beautifully planted inside Sather Gate, near Wheeler Hall--an oak, I hope it still stands, in a kind of concrete planter. That was a place where you'd get up and make speeches at lunchtime. So I remember giving a speech at lunch. In fact, there was more to it than that.

Political Tolerance within the History Department, the Nature of the Discipline

Schorske: Now you were talking about the department, though. I never felt the splits in the department deeply. We could have disagreements about politics, but on the whole I don't think of

the department as ever factionalized by politics, even if there was the case I mentioned of the American historian, Richard Drinnon, who is the biographer of Emma Goldman, who was denied tenure. There was a division--some of the people may have voted just because of his politics. He was a leader in the movement against capital punishment, revolving around the Chessman case. I wasn't personally involved in that.

Lage: I think Ken Stampp discussed him, too.

Schorske: Ken was close to him.

Lage: And there was some question as to whether he was academically up to snuff, also.

Schorske: Yes, there was. Did Ken raise it that way?

Lage: Yes.

Schorske: I think Ken favored his appointment, that was my recollection, but he would give you the right answer on that. He was most favorable to him partly because they were such close political colleagues. I wasn't that close to him personally, but I liked him very much.

Anyway, the long and short, I think that was the only case where even a suspicion could be aroused that there was political prejudice as a factor in professional decisions. When I came along, nobody raised it about me, I'm sure. Henry May knew all about my political past such as it was, and other people, Henry Smith--all the people at Harvard knew that I had been active in the interventionist-isolationist debate, that I was a leftist of sorts. I never felt any prejudice in the department about politics any more than I felt it about being Jewish. I don't think the department really acted that way.

Lage: It wasn't an issue on departmental, professional matters?

Schorske: No, no. I can tell you--I've said it a million times with deep satisfaction. The terrific experience of the departmental ethos was during the FSM when political splits developed that were on-campus issues but with national resonance. Even then, it was a matter of great pride to me, and I'm sure to people who were miles away from me politically, that the History Department provided leadership for a variety of group positions on the spectrum of campus politics. Yet the same people who were opponents on the senate floor would divide differently over the decisions about history in the department--on appointments, promotions, departmental policy, hiring,

committees, anything. Campus political orientations would be put aside in department meetings; you would be there because you were a group of professionals committed to your own subject and your department.

Lage: Do you have an explanation for that because it wasn't true in all departments--sociology and--

Schorske: I have an explanation, I have a very simple, primitive explanation. History is a very ancient discipline. History can ill-afford, and every decade shows it more, to assume that it will ever create a full consensus of historical understanding. It isn't possible. Look, we're not as old as Methuselah, we're not as old as the Jewish race, but we are old enough to have known that people who fervently believed in the truth of one set of meanings in history have been superseded again and again by people with totally different ideas. The "cutting edge" is suspect in history because we know from experience that it will soon prove ephemeral. It too will vanish. You know, when you get to be older, you realize that you, too, have vanished--I mean that your works will die--or, at best, will be absorbed into the stream of historical thought. The work that one day is the rage, the next day it's old hat. Historians are, I think, much more aware of transience than social scientists. That's the way it is.

I feel that the historian's skeptical sensibility has tended to make them more catholic. Their judgements about people in the profession should not be derived from the opinions they hold, the faith they are committed to, the politics they pursue or things of that sort, for they do not constitute a good basis for professional judgement. It's too uncertain. If a person looks as though he's got a great faith or general idea, and he's interpreting history by means of it, just because you don't share the great idea, that doesn't mean he isn't doing something really creative and important in his historical work. Fine history can be written with ideas and values we may not share. Look at Thucydides or Ranke!

Lage: Why doesn't a discipline like sociology share this?

Schorske: That's the second point. It often does, but its belief in itself as a <u>science</u> causes difficulties. I've been very involved in this quite lately because I've been running the project in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a history of the development of academic culture since World War II, the last fifty years. We've only studied four disciplines (history is not one of them). We didn't take sociology either; we took political science.

I can tell you that there is one theme that comes up in the fifties: the use of the scientific model. If you look at the political science department in the crisis of FSM, and the campus upheaval, it is split, and so is sociology, to a large degree on the lines of methodological commitment. The people who are working firmly within the scientific model are on the right side of the political spectrum. The people who are either descriptive of social inequities, social suffering and so on, where you've already got the intrusion of some kind of ethical norm into the definition of the scholarly problem, those people are likely to be on the left of the spectrum. In sociology, it certainly worked that way.

Kingsley Davis in sociology, a master of demographic sociology; Charles Glock, who did survey research--these men brought new statistical power to their discipline. They were very conservative people in campus affairs. I've never figured out this whole taxonomy psychologically. There are different reasons for different groups, surely there must be, but in political science, too, the correspondence between attitude in campus politics and scholarly method was palpable.

Lage: They are still a very split department from what I understand.

Schorske: The people who committed themselves to the scientific method at the moment when it became the thing--the behavioralists in political science--assumed responsibility for a certain predictive capacity. They became very suspicious of traditional political philosophy and the intrusion of its normative externalities into the business of scientific hypothesis formation and testing.

The problem with testing is it's always based on regularity and repetition. If something comes along, like the nineteen-sixties cultural revolution--which nobody expected, nobody could have anticipated, this explosion; or the race problem--with a scientific predictive mechanism, you couldn't do that because you're always working with the existing reality. Hence the future is a closed book to you except insofar as you think you can extrapolate. A new situation challenges your very method, your scientific ego.

Lage: The 1960s may have thrown them more, then.

Schorske: It threw them more. I think it really threw them more, throughout the country, not just in Berkeley. When I look at the Aaron Wildavskys and others, who were that side of political science at Berkeley, they were the people who felt most outraged by the student movement.

Now there was another group that was very close always to governmental policy--Paul Seabury, Robert Scalapino, etc.--it was also on the right in the university crisis and on the Vietnam War. They were descriptive in their approach to politics. It was the [Sheldon] Wolins, Hanna Pitkin, [John] Schaar--it was a cluster of people, actually they came to center around Wolin--who were in the tradition of philosophical political theory. Schaar was an Emersonian. Wolin was a mixture of classical and Old Testament scholarship with the great books of political science--from Plato to Tocqueville and Hannah Arendt. He became a very close friend of mine and a collaborator on the left in the university crisis.

Anyway, those divisions in method that reenforced the political split we never had in history; and I always felt that made life possible. One could go back to the history department feeling reasonably happy about the way intellectual respect and humility blunted the cruel edges of political division.

Lage: So you think it's the nature of history more than the social relationships and the culture of the department?

Schorske: I don't want to say that it's "more than," but that it is a factor I would certainly say, and it is not often noticed. As I remember it, in the chemistry department there was one person--there was one person who was on the left, he was all alone. Although everybody liked him.

Physics wasn't so, it was split. There are different kinds of physicists, and I don't know how much a taxonomy of methodological analysis could be co-related with a taxonomy of political attitude there.

Lage: Maybe theoretical versus experimental physicists.

Schorske: I do not know. I really don't know enough about it. I can think of a few examples that would lead one to that view, but that would take more looking. As you say, social factors enter in. What place does the department have in the university councils? Does it have a strong ego or a weak ego as a consequence? Where is it in the national roster? That can also affect people's conservatism or radicalism.

Lage: What I'm also thinking, just very much more simply--what kind of social interaction is there between the members? The development of friendships, the kind of thing you've described.

Schorske: Yes, well, I think that's important. I've often felt that scientists are marvelous at that. Maybe I'm wrong or have romanticized them. I've seen them also as models in teaching. The science student in the laboratory with his professor--I know that sometimes the professors don't give credit to science students who have made key interventions and helped their work, have even been the originator of an idea or something--nevertheless, basically scientists work with their students with an admirable intensity, treating them as their equals in the same operation--coffee together, bag lunches for reading papers of graduate students to faculty and vice versa, and questioning weekly visitors in common. There's an esprit de corps that's terrific--and lacking in history graduate education as I have known it.

When I was at Berkeley, one of the things I hoped for was that we could generate that particular dimension of science education, the socialization around the intellectual life, that we could make that more widespread. My attempts, centering on the creation of a group in intellectual or cultural history, were inadequate in this direction and were rejected by the department. I'm trying to say that whatever the intellectual divisions among scientists, they did not seem to interfere with the socially organized intellectual life, that social networking was very strong in a positive way. In some departments that may have made them look uniform; in others it may have led to splits. I don't know what those correlations are. Speculation in this area is not enough. Real research is needed.

Lage: All food for thought. It's an interesting project you're doing there, on the development of academic culture. Is David Hollinger [professor of history at UC Berkeley] involved in that?

Schorske: Yes, he is. The study compared the intellectual development of four disciplines since World War II, in three temporal phases. David wrote a paper on that period since 1980. I did one on the period 1945-1960, when the scientific model acquired an unprecedented salience in the social sciences and philosophy.[4]

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[4] Thomas Bender and Carl Schorske (editors) American Academic Culture in Transformation, Fifty Years, Four Disciplines (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

II FREE SPEECH ISSUES AT BERKELEY

Appointed Chair of the Department, 1962

Lage: Let's turn to your chairmanship of the history department, and then go back and pick up the McCarthyism/free speech types of things and end at FSM [Free Speech Movement]. How does that sound?

Schorske: We could do that.

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Lage: You became chairman of the history department in '62, a mere two years after you came to Berkeley.

Schorske: Yes.

Lage: And that, I think is something of note: that you would be chosen as chair so soon.

Schorske: Well, it may be. Some of my colleagues probably knew of my wartime administrative experience. Maybe I was seen as somebody who had the confidence of factions still at war with each other or distrustful of each other. It's the trust problem that's always basic for these things. But above all, it was Berkeley's amazing openness to the newcomer, of which I spoke above, that made my appointment possible.

Lage: Is the chairman chosen by his peers, or by the dean?

Schorske: Chosen by the dean, but the peers are consulted in depth. I don't know exactly what the procedure was then or now, but the normal thing is that the department members are expected to write their recommendations, and whether they do it directly to the dean or through the chairman, I don't remember at all, but certainly the dean would canvass very carefully, not only by

letters, but also by interviewing people he thought it was worth talking to--especially if it's a troubled department. Sometimes he knows the department well, sometimes he doesn't know it at all. We had a dean who was very well disposed to history.

Lage: That must have been Lincoln Constance [dean of the College of Letters and Science, 1955-1962].

Schorske: Lincoln Constance, that's it. He knew us well and handled the divisions tactfully. I would say Sontag was the leading surviving "old guard" person, but Bridenbaugh as senior leader of the younger faction had more power. But Professor Guttridge was also a very sage senior member. I was on good terms with Sontag and Stampp, and May's my oldest friend here. All were close to Lincoln Constance, I believe; maybe also to Bill Fretter [associate dean], I don't know. I was in the Arts Club with Bill Fretter, so he might have known me from that. It's very hard to know--

Lage: All these networks.

Schorske: It isn't even terribly important. My term was very short, due to a sudden operation.

Organizing a Historians' Petition on the Bay of Pigs

Schorske: When Kennedy came in, I was like most academics very high on his advent, and I talked enthusiastically about it on a radio station in Oakland, I remember. But then came the Bay of Pigs.

Lage: You talked on the Oakland station about what?

Schorske: On the inaugural speech of Kennedy. It was two historians; the other was a friend of mine from Dominican College, Marshall Dill.

Lage: Commentators?

Schorske: Right, amateur commentators, exactly. Very quickly after that came the Bay of Pigs, very shortly. Then I did organize a national historians' petition against the Bay of Pigs, to put a big ad in the New York Times and other papers. We soon found out the place to get our views across was through foreign papers, because in the United States, academic intellectuals couldn't get news stories on this, you'd have to pay for it

all. But foreigners would pick it up when historians in numbers launched a protest.

What the intellectuals thought was important in foreign countries wasn't important here, and it was a much better avenue abroad because here people were so still in the anti-communist vein that the Bay of Pigs didn't look bad until quite a lot later. It looked bad abroad more quickly because it was the United States that was doing it and not they. We learned that it was easier to get pressure on our own government indirectly from abroad than it was to exercise it at home.

Lage: How interesting.

Schorske: In any case, I remember having a coffee with Nick Riasanovsky in the little canteen in Dwinelle about the day after the Bay of Pigs happened, and how concerned we both were. A number of historians participated in this effort here. We mobilized our colleagues around the country for a statement--no big deal.

Protesting University Policies on Slate and the Use of the University Name

Schorske: There were always running issues at Berkeley, administrative harassment of political expression. Thus the suspension of Slate. Then came the matter about the university name; we had a crisis about the use of the university name.

Lage: About the university name?

Schorske: Yes. Faculty members were not supposed to identify themselves as being faculty members of the University of California when they engaged in political causes. We regarded that as anybody would all over the country, we <u>were</u> here. If you were the president of a corporation, no reason you shouldn't say that you're with Latex, or whatever it is, when you express your views.

Lage: Right, you're not speaking for the institution.

Schorske: No. So, we didn't accept that restriction.

Lage: And that was during your chairmanship?

Schorske: No that was before [Spring 1962]. But here already in this Slate case--this is so interesting--this is a long memorandum which we did--

Lage: That was in '61?

Schorske: August 23, '61. This is a memorandum to President Kerr and Chancellor Strong [about the suspension of the student political organization, Slate]. I don't think I was chairman then.

Lage: No, that was the year before.

Schorske: I can give you this document [see Appendix B], but what I wanted to point out to you is that the people who were involved in this [memorandum defending student political rights]--all of the people whose names appear here as signatories, were the faculty later on involved in drafting the faculty's December 8 resolution in the Free Speech crisis. We were the civil-libertarian left-wing of the faculty that did that.

The continuity came as a total surprise to me when I found it in my papers now! This is August '61, but already people are only talking about Slate because they were civil libertarian; Van Kennedy (one of the signatories) was a leading civil libertarian on campus. I can't remember whether he was a political scientist or a lawyer--I can't remember. Hanan Selvin, I think, was a sociologist. I don't know where his politics evolved. But the fact is these people--

Lage: Henry Nash Smith, Philip Selznick, Leo Lowenthal--

Schorske: Leo Lowenthal recently died. He too was in the sociology department.

Lage: Charles Sellers.

Schorske: Charles Sellers, and Kenneth Stampp. So three of these eight people who took this initiative were in the history department, and there might have more.

Lage: Now we're getting into the roots of the Free Speech Movement.

Schorske: Well we are, but it's also partly about the Department of History because the Aptheker case was centered in it.

I have to simply say: to my surprise--it belongs somewhere in the center of the story--long before the students were activists in these matters, the faculty was activated; but it

was the civil libertarians in the faculty that were activated. They were, in certain sense, the forerunners trying to get the policies changed in the university in order to overcome the liabilities that clung on from the past, including the oath, but reaching farther back.

Those policies were depriving people on the campus of the right of political expression. So, it goes back to '61, and even the use of the university name. There's another document that is just indicative of the temper of the time.

Lage: Would something like your taking out an ad relative to the Bay of Pigs--would you not be allowed to identify yourself?

Schorske: No, if I had signed, and I probably did. Nobody challenged my right to sign it directly, but identification definitely would have been covered by this policy; you would not be allowed to do that.

Lage: Do you know who George was here [signature on a memo regarding the use of the university name]? [See Appendix C]

Schorske: George Stocking, he's a professor of history. I was on the search committee when he was hired. He is at Chicago now in history and anthropology, a very distinguished man.

Sponsoring an Off-Campus Colloquium with Herbert Aptheker, March 1963

Schorske: Now, here's the Aptheker case, and that to me is--do you want that?

Lage: Definitely.

Schorske: The Aptheker matter--I was department chairman when that happened, and I will give you these documents. Do you know the outlines of the Aptheker case? I could tell, if you want, my remembrance of this story.

We invited Herbert Aptheker as a History Club lecturer--that's described here [See Appendix D]--who was one of the earliest historians of the blacks. Kenneth Stampp can situate him exactly historiographically; I can't. He was not a man of genius by any means. He was a professed Communist and an editor of one of their periodicals, and he wrote a Marxist history of the Negro, but he was also a pioneer in history

doing that subject; people simply didn't do it. Ken was another pioneer later. Anyway, he was invited to the campus. I don't think we invited him because he was a Communist, but maybe--

Lage: You don't think you saw it as a test case?

Schorske: I don't think so originally, but it could be that we did: that it was a piece of, you might say, testing the rules, or malicious mischief, if you wish.

Lage: It's not so malicious.

Schorske: Well, whatever; but it could have been something like that. I cannot guarantee that some civil libertarian motive like that wasn't in it. But in any case, we had already had a foreign Communist speaking. He was a Russian Marxist and a historian, and we had him at a graduate colloquium with no interdiction from the administration. This occasion too was only a graduate colloquium, not a public exercise. We usually let people in if they wanted to come, but it wasn't something--

Lage: It wasn't being publicized?

Schorske: No. So we invited Aptheker, and then as we knew, I had to apply to the administration for permission to pay him, and then it was denied on grounds that there was a regulation that forbade Communists to speak. So we then took the lecture off campus.

Lage: Was it denied by the chancellor's office?

Schorske: It was denied by the chancellor himself. I went to Chancellor Strong on it, and he denied it--he couldn't help it. He was bound by the rules.

Lage: Was he at all sympathetic?

Schorske: Well, you will see from my correspondence with him--yes, in a way, he was sympathetic. He had not been the worst in the older days of the oath.

Chancellor Strong. He was a very fine man actually, a very nice, gentle man, and it was horrible that he was plunged into the FSM thing later. But he was not a strong man; his name didn't fit the character. He had convictions, but he didn't necessarily live by them if higher authority said "No." So I

think he was sympathetic to our action, but he couldn't say that to me either, and I understood that.

Anyway, the long and short was--Ken Stampp was involved with this. I think he and I worked the strategy together. Others may have been involved, possibly Henry May, I don't know. We decided that we would have him speak off campus and would pay him ourselves; we would pass the hat. So we did. I think, in the end, we only paid him forty dollars or something like that. Of course, in those days, you got fifty dollars for a lecture at a university.

Lage: That's right, it's more than it sounds like.

Schorske: In any case, we decided to do it. The department voted twenty-seven to one, with two abstentions--I found the figures--in favor of this. So solid was the department. This was a principle. The guy was a bona fide historian, nobody could deny it, and it was an academic exercise, a graduate colloquium. He was going to be questioned as speakers are; he was going to be criticized as speakers are. But it was part of the educational process, so we were very firm. I don't even remember any big discussion of pro and con in the department.

Lage: Everyone had recognized this, it seems.

Schorske: Right. That's the kind of thing again, see. That's nitty gritty basic university; that's the teaching function. What do you need academic freedom for? This is what's it's all about. Of course, I was able to report that.

After we held the event in the YMCA, we made an appeal as a department--I don't know with what vote, because it isn't recorded in this document--to the Academic Freedom Committee [of the Academic Senate], that they should now take up the question of this so-called Rule Five that had prevented us from inviting Aptheker to the campus. We detailed the history and the reasons why we thought they really must go after this question. So there it was--but you see how well it feeds into FSM?

Lage: Yes.

Schorske: In this case the conflict with the administration was only at the university teaching level, but very soon it became--as it had already started to be with the Slate thing--the students' right to political organization, which the university was denying. That's a different question. But they're so closely related, and the same people who got activated around one would

be activated around the other; but there was a much bigger community that would be activated around the interference with academic freedom in its teaching dimension than with the political citizenship rights of an academic community. That's a larger question on which divisions can be deeper, and where the proportions are different. I came to realize the difference from the Berkeley experience.

Moderating the Appearance of Mickey Lima, First American Communist to Speak on Campus, July 1963

Lage: Did you find something in your papers relating to Mickey [Albert J.] Lima's coming to campus?

Schorske: Oh yes, I did indeed. I have a whole bunch of stuff. That was really odd. It was July of '63. I don't know if I was still the chairman. It sounds to me like I had my operation in April or something, and that ended my chairmanship.

Lage: You were chairman in '62 and '63.

Schorske: I don't know how long into '63. It is not stated in any of these documents on Lima that I was the chairman. My guess is that I was no longer chair. It was in the summer; it wasn't even in the school session. It was interesting for me to find my speech, since I couldn't even remember the episode.

Lage: It was [Professor of History] Irv Scheiner who remembered it and was telling me about it.

Schorske: There is the speech that I made, and then I got notes, for example, from Strong.

Lage: Was this held off campus also?

Schorske: No, that was on campus.

Lage: I see; this was the first time a Communist spoke on campus because the rule was changed?

Schorske: Yes. Well, no, a foreign Communist had talked, but this was now--

Lage: An American.

Schorske: Right. Of course, there was a ruckus with the Regents, and I have correspondence with a few people, including a nice note from Clark Kerr, who then favored letting Communists speak.

Lage: This is wonderful [looking at correspondence].

Schorske: Yes. It's not much, but it's a little. Here's a letter from Bill Davis, who was the head of Stiles Hall, the YMCA. That was a refuge, where we had taken the Aptheker colloquium, but he wrote me this note about Lima.

Lage: Stiles Hall for years took this role.

Schorske: Right.

Lage: Max Rafferty?

Schorske: That's the letter from Clark Kerr where he was trying to brush off some Rafferty pressure; he was under terrible pressure from Rafferty and the right. This is an interesting letter from Strong: "Dear Professor Schorske: Now that the ordeal is over, I want to express my sincere appreciation to you for taking on this extremely difficult chore of moderating the Lima meeting." It wasn't "an ordeal," or even a difficult chore. "I have read your thoughtful opening remarks and have heard from members from my staff and others who were present how well you handled the entire proceeding." Well, there was nothing to handle; it was in Wheeler Aud; all were orderly people. "The continued success of the open forum policy"--which Kerr and Strong backed, certainly--"depends on the conduct of the programs." That's where we would differ, because we would definitely want to have an open forum policy. Only then is the question one of containing any attempt to disrupt--but you have got to have the principle of freedom first, then you could put the other after that.

Then I wrote him. I'll just give you this [July 30, 1963]. I think you should read it; it's easier to do that.

Lage: We can put a copy of these letters in the oral history. [See Appendix E] You refer here to the telephone campaigns to which Strong was subjected.

Schorske: My wife found out that his wife had complained about the telephone campaign to which he had been subjected. She told me about it, so I could allude to the fact that I knew what pressure he had been under.

Lage: And this was before he really had to endure it, during the FSM.

Schorske: Sure...sure. My wife told me that his wife said she found the solution. She put the telephone at the bottom of her laundry basket. [laughter] Isn't that sweet?

Lage: [laughter] She was a very sweet woman.

Schorske: She was. Did you know her?

Lage: I knew her slightly.

Schorske: I knew her hardly at all. I liked him. He was a sweet man until, under the pressure and the crisis he grew rigid and rudderless. He was in the Arts Club.

Lage: He was?

Schorske: All the philosophers were strong in it. Stephen Pepper, as I said before, was one of the founders.

Lage: We have oral histories with Strong and Pepper, and with a lot of this older generation of professors. [See University History Series list following the index in this volume.]

Thoughts on the University in Society, and Instability and Intellectual Creativity

Lage: Let's continue with the interest in free speech on the part of the faculty.

Schorske: Yes, it was a continuous problem, and one of the things that it led me to was really thinking through the relation between the life of the university--what it is as an institution--and public life.

Lage: The public life of a faculty member?

Schorske: No, the life of the whole community. How are we related? What are our responsibilities to the whole community? And what is the sociological relation of our vocation as educators and scholars in the university? And what is the university in society?

Lage: Was it more pertinent to the public university, or was this a question you would ask also of a private university?

Schorske: It's a question of the nature of the university altogether, over time, beginning in the Middle Ages. I became interested in the subject of not just the intellectual content of thought, but of the institutional form of learned thought that is involved with the transmission and enlargement of learning. A big problem.

The Berkeley thing crystallized it. Partly as a result of being new here I began to see California as a unique setting, historically, in modern American history. It has some resemblance to a region I have just been to for the first time in my life that I adored touring in: Thuringia in Germany. It contains Weimar, Erfurt, Eisenach--that's one of the places of Luther--and Jena, Gotha--a whole string of towns very important to the political and cultural life of Germany at least from the fourteenth to the twentieth century. Thuringia has always been a society of political instability and polarization, of religious, cultural, and social variety and instability, and tremendous creativity. A strange mix. This was the mix I felt in California, and at Berkeley.

Lage: Are you saying this in retrospect? Or was the comparison one you thought of then?

Schorske: Thuringia I thought of then. Mind you, I wasn't just in intellectual history; before I came to Berkeley I taught general European history as well. And I've always been interested in comparisons. Even my course was constructed comparing England, France, and Germany. The other area like Thuringia in modern history--in the nineteenth century and twentieth century history--is the Reggio nell'Emilia in Italy . It is another volatile social area with a lot of creativity, but also with a lot of instability.

I first encountered Thuringia and Saxony as a student of socialism. They figure big in socialist history, for both areas have extremes of right and left, so its very hard to construct something to hold that all together. It's also the area of Goethe, of Nietzsche, of huge intellectual, cultural titans. And university life in these regions is fascinating. In my course I never talked about Thuringia itself--but about its university, Jena. Jena was the university where Fichte and Hegel taught. Why this place? Why should this suddenly be the hot spot for philosophic innovation in the French Revolution? What's going on? That kind of issue interested me. But with it, then, how do the universities behave in relation to the political authority outside, or political mass movements outside?

The university is always bedeviled by people who want to make instruments of it. In my opinion--and that's the thing that crystallized for me at Berkeley--the university has to take the tensions of society into its own body. It doesn't resist them, it accepts them. But it insists that once inside walls, the social tensions be intellectualized. You have to convert the poison of social discord into the sap of intellectual vitality.

Lage: I see what you mean; I'm just wondering if that's what the students had in mind, during FSM?

Schorske: Some of them had in mind turning the university over to their own interests, social and ideological interests, as, too, many of the regents did. Probably most of them thought very much like other people: that this is a place which ought to serve my purposes; my social purposes. That's a different thing from trying to come to grips intellectually with the multi-dimensional character of the problems of society that are surfacing in the university. There are many faculty members--and that is a major factor always in universities--who see the university as a place where they can pursue their private scholarship quietly, without examining the university's function for many, often conflicting, social interest groups.

Lage: They don't want these tensions brought in.

Schorske: If they do come in--and especially if they came to the students and more civically oriented faculty--get them the hell out of here! They don't belong here if they're trying to do that. They don't necessarily make the same objection if the external authorities try to impose a political standard on them, but they can, as the oath crisis showed. They don't like that either.

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Schorske: I kind of lost my train of thought [during the tape change].

Lage: You were speaking of the role of the university in a time of societal tensions.

Schorske: The tensions are here. Right. And the question is: to what extent is that an eternal problem of the university, and to what extent is it a temporary problem? You hit the head you see. You have to fight now conservative Max Rafferty or Senator Knowland, now some student radical who's trying to stop the university in its tracks. Michael Lerner once said to me--

I paraphrase--"We'll turn this place into Slippery Rock State Teachers' College, if you don't shape up."

Lage: This is like a threat?

Schorske: Yes, a threat.

Lage: That puts you in the position of being in the middle in some ways, but not quite.

Schorske: It does in a way. What I see in that is that there are two different principles in play: the principle of the university is that of intellectual exploration and dispute; and the principle of the society and the polity is of another kind. The dynamic in each bears some relation to the others, but they're not the same. Neither one has the right, in my opinion, fully to govern the character and function of the other. It isn't our business to tell them what to do, and it isn't its business to tell us what to do. It's the dialectical interaction between the two to find the right way of balancing the meeting of the needs of the society with the meeting of the needs of a university community that is part of a universal community of learning much bigger than the polity in which it is located. Learning itself is a verb. It's not a noun, it's a process! But it has its own law, and that law has to be respected by the civil society or it can't be carried on.

Lage: Were you thinking in these terms when you were actually involved in the Emergency Executive Committee [during FSM]?

Schorske: Before I became involved in that. My thinking had begun earlier. It began with respect to the earlier crises we have talked about. I remember giving a talk at Westminster House, a Presbyterian center. They invited me to give something on the idea of the university. To prepare for it, I sat down and figured out a position on it for the first time. I gave this lecture after that several times, usually to church or student groups that were interested in it.

Lage: This was before FSM?

Schorske: Right, before FSM. In the end I wrote about this subject. It was called something like "Professional Ethos and Public Crisis." [See Appendix F] I gave the paper in the plenary session of the Modern Language Association, to which I was invited by Henry Nash Smith, who was one of my friends here at Berkeley. That was in March 1967 or 1968. Into that paper went all the stuff I had learned through the Berkeley experience, but also in teaching my course: writings on this

subject, the private sphere, and the public sphere, and the history of the university that I really investigated just as a person who had gotten engrossed with this range of issues.

It was half a historical exercise, but I felt we had to put ourselves into a historical perspective as we had to put ourselves into a political perspective to see what was going on outside the university and what was going on inside, and what you could expect in terms of pressures on you, even from within by external forces, but also from without.

Shifting Political Spectrums in the Sixties

Schorske: Now I'm talking personally here. It was a personal issue before we got to that. If you ask Martin Malia, if you interview him which I think it would be worth your doing, or Delmer Brown--no, I don't think he was involved in this--Martin and Delmer became very close over the FSM things because they had a conservative coalition, the Faculty Forum, to which most the members of the history department leaned.

Lage: Was it conservative? Or would you call it centrist?

Schorske: A little of each. These are very difficult terms to fix. You said earlier, "you sound like a centrist." I thought of myself as a centrist. To me the Faculty Forum people were conservative, to them I was a leftist. The watershed in politics keeps shifting in a fluid social situation.

Lage: It shifted a lot during that year.

Schorske: It did. So people who were at one moment what you could generally characterize as a large left--if the watershed begins to shift, many of the people who were in the large left become a large center, and the left becomes smaller, while the people in the center begin to move right. That I really remember from these days; the worst days of the crisis which were not these early ones in '64, '65. To me, the most terrible ones were '69, '70--in that era, which I had only one year of before I left.

Lage: It was probably '68-'69.

Schorske: Maybe it was. Yes, '68-69. Then I experienced a lot of it. The Third World strike is what I'm referring to. That was the worst time I experienced. When things got to a certain point

in the disintegration of communal bonds, you have somebody at your right who thinks you're a Maoist, and you have somebody at your left who thinks you're a fascist. And you're in the middle between these two, and every man in the whole community has exactly the same experience. No matter if he's way over to the right, or way over to the left, somebody thinks--

Lage: --he's a fascist or a Maoist. [laughter]

Schorske: [laughter] Yes. That's when it got the worst. But normally the larger groups define the options, and individuals shift from one to another. Thus the watershed shifts--let's say a person like Irv Scheiner, who had been definitely with Larry Levine and people like me further left of the spectrum early in the conflict, became a centrist with Delmer and Martin. [The Faculty Forum was the counterweight to the earlier "Committee of Two Hundred." The latter--I remember now--was the name of the larger group rallied by the old civil libertarian faculty members that I belonged to. --added by Professor Schorske during editing.]

The Free Speech Movement--Some Recollections

Lage: Now that was during FSM.

Schorske: Yes, that is in the early and middle years of the university crisis.

Lage: Maybe we should go back to FSM?

Schorske: We can. I'm not all that good on it.

Lage: Maybe your memories aren't as keen.

Schorske: They're not so clear.

The Emergency Executive Committee: Selection and Role

Lage: You were on the Emergency Executive Committee. It appears that that was a group to defend those December 8 Academic Senate resolutions, and you spoke to the Regents to persuade--

Schorske: That's right.

Lage: Do you remember anything about dealing with the Regents at that point?

Schorske: Yes, I would have to backtrack a little bit because I think that would get a little too detailed for my memory of the FSM; maybe we should save that for anther time.

I want to tell you something interesting about the faculty election to the Emergency Executive Committee. I found in my files at home, and I don't think I brought it with me, but I could supply it to you, some university document that listed the candidates for the Emergency Executive Committee--maybe it was a Daily Cal [the student newspaper]. There was an election list of maybe twenty-five or so candidates--a huge number of people nominated. [See Appendix G]

I think in the end, six or seven were to be elected. The report gave the number of votes received by the candidates on the first round and the second round. I was, in a certain sense, a candidate of the left. At least I was as far left on the spectrum as you could go [on that list of candidates], and I was not at the farthest left. There were, in that early phase, John Searle, Reggie Zelnik and other people who were much closer to the student position than I was myself.

Lage: But they weren't nominated?

Schorske: To the best of my knowledge they were not. I didn't see any of their names on that list. Reggie Zelnik would be very reliable on this kind of thing. We worked with our faculty group, but he was much closer to the students in general.

Lage: He was very young and new at that point.

[Telephone interruption]

Lage: We were talking about the choice of members of the Emergency Executive Committee, during the December 8, 1964, meeting of the Academic Senate.

Schorske: Yes. And that was interesting because, firstly, the results of the election were--I never analyzed it before, never thought of it until I saw the results now--were preponderantly of the professional school faculties: two lawyers, Arthur Sherry and Richard Jennings [ex officio as chair of the Academic Senate]; two business school people, Art Ross, who became the chairman of the committee, and Budd [Earl] Cheit, who's still at the business school; and one professor from the agricultural school, [Raymond] Bressler. Thus five of seven were from the professional schools. Only two came from Arts and Science: an

older molecular biologist very close to the medical school and myself. I was the only person from Arts and Science, pure and simple.

Lage: And this was by vote from twenty-five to--

Schorske: So that was the second round. So I got through the net, in effect. I had the second largest number of votes on the first round, with twenty-five or so candidates running. In the second round, however, I had very few more votes than I had on the first round; just about the same number. Thus the other faculty members had converged on the professional school candidates.

Lage: That's very interesting.

Schorske: I found it fascinating because the professional school candidates were not people who had been very vocal on the floor of the Senate when all these debates were going on, when every third speaker was from the history department or some other political--

Lage: It sounds like they picked the moderates.

Schorske: They did, but there were many moderate candidates from Arts and Sciences. They picked more than the moderates; they were all people with a long campus history of committee work. This institution is faculty run, but it's run through committees. Usually from the committees, we get then a tier of elite people who will become chancellors or deans or things like that. So it's a continuum, what they call middle management. It was the middle management of the faculty bureaucracy that prevailed in this election.

Lage: Had you been involved in committee work?

Schorske: Very little.

Lage: You hadn't been there long enough?

Schorske: No. I was on the library committee.

Lage: The Budget Committee?

Schorske: The Budget Committee. I was not on that. That was the committee that Delmer Brown headed with such distinction, a very important committee that did faculty appointments and promotions. I went before them for my department, but I don't think I was on it. I certainly wasn't an experienced hand like

the other Emergency Executive members in committee work, and I was not known on the campus. But on the other hand, the people who were there, in effect, involved with the politics of civil liberties and academic freedom would know me. That may have been why I had the same amount of votes in the first as in the second round of elections while everybody else changed all over the place.

I thought it was interesting, and I say it because I think it affected, in a positive way, the way we executed our brief mission--dealing with the Regents. One particularly fine man, Art Sherry--he was an experienced sort in California Democratic circles. He knew the Democratic Party establishment in California--married to an Oakland family. Just old style Berkeley, before all the international cosmopolitans moved in. But he was invaluable; giving us legal and political advice in how to deal with this regent and that regent. He knew all the scoop and stuff about them and so on.

So we were a very motley group. But we got on fine with each other, and we did so partly thanks to Martin Meyerson, the acting chancellor, who really worked closely with us. We also had our lines to the Senate. It was more important in some ways that we could deal with the faculty than directly dealing with the Regents, though that had importance at a certain point.

Lage: So you had not just the role to interpret the Academic Senate to the Regents, you had an ongoing--

Schorske: It was more. As the Emergency Committee, we were involved with helping keep the place together during that time. Of course, keeping it together meant keeping the faculty reasonably together, and getting the policies oriented in such a way that we wouldn't cause a lot of absolutely unnecessary provocation of the students. That was the second problem. That was a big problem for me because most of the other members weren't as used to dealing with students. People in the professional schools would have a different student mix than the ones I would have access to.

So there wasn't experience, and there wasn't much imagination either. There were these two sides of the thing, and in that way the connection that I had also with the centrists, or conservatives, whatever you want to call them, with the Malia and the Browns of this world who also had ties with students--that was useful, as well as my ties to Reggie Zelnik and Stampp, and the student clientele they would be in touch with. I don't want to personalize this too much; it's a

functional position derivative from being on the committee. There is not in any way a fixed constitutional or institutional clarity that I can give you on the committee, a short-lived highly provisional institution. We were the university's jury-rig in the storm. We had what looked like an important job at the time, but probably had little to do with the outcome.

As a committee, we saw ourselves in the middle between two major constituencies: the Regents on the one side, and the students on the other. But our major responsibility was and had to be to the faculty, making sure it held together in practical pursuit of proper academic principles.

Lage: And this seems to have sort of short-circuited the administration. It sounds like you were--

Schorske: By the administration, you mean the central administration? You mean Clark Kerr?

Lage: No, Strong.

Schorske: No, Strong is gone [by January 2, 1965]. Had he not collapsed, there would have been no Emergency Executive Committee. Martin Meyerson was the acting chancellor. We worked very closely with him.

Lage: So he drew you in?

Schorske: There was not tension with him at all. On the contrary, he paid great attention to us, and we paid great attention to him, and did things together. I don't want to exaggerate that we had power in our hands, but he was reduced to a great deal of speech-making and ceremonial roles. We did that too. Like other Emergency Committee members, I talked around the state to alumni groups to convince them and the public of the justice and necessity of the December 8 Resolutions. What were they for? What did it mean that the faculty espoused the principles of free speech and assembly of the student movement?

Lage: You had thought these issues through.

Schorske: Like many others, I thought them through during the pre-FSM academic freedom and civil liberties episodes we have discussed. I <u>had</u> to think them through before the FSM crisis ever happened.

Interpreting the University to Alumni and Regents

Lage: The alumni weren't happy, as I recall. How did it go, talking to them?

Schorske: On the whole, very well. But that doesn't mean you solved the problems of mutual understanding. Alumni are people who have the deepest respect for faculty people. You come with a huge advantage, whatever you may think of them as prejudiced or something--they remember their university as you remember it, for the fine lectures you had, et cetera. They don't want the Reds to take it over, but they don't want it to go to hell in a hack in some other way either. You can at least count on their giving you an ear. They're going to sit and listen. If they argue back, okay.

I don't want to exaggerate how many audiences I faced, but I never felt much hostility. You'd get more of it in the general public that you would get in an alumni audience, and you certainly got more of it in the Regents. The Regents had a strong group of conservatives already before [Governor Ronald] Reagan, though the bulk could be called centrists politically.

Lage: A lot of them were Pat Brown Democrats.

Schorske: That's right. And not all of those were liberal, because Pat Brown appointed some very conservative southern Californians--very tough. Like the fellow who was the head of the May Company, whom he reappointed, was an L.A. Republican.

Lage: [Edward W.] Carter?

Schorske: Carter, yes.

Lage: He was a long-time regent. And [Edwin W.] Pauley.

Schorske: Pauley, yes, my god. These were tough types. Then there were a few others who were strongly liberal, especially Bill [William M.] Roth. Ellie Heller, and--

Lage: [William K.] Coblentz?

Schorske: Right. Those are the three who understood us best and to whom we had the easiest access. They had their problems inside the Regents too. Part of the problem was that Clark Kerr was in a very weakened position by virtue of the crisis and its background. While he had gotten the Communist speaker ban rescinded, he had taken measures against the students. He had

a lot of responsibility and was answerable to the Regents, and there were things he couldn't control there either.

Resentments toward Clark Kerr

Lage: How did you feel about the way Kerr handled the whole situation?

Schorske: From the beginning, not well at all. I was among many who felt that calling the police was a disastrous mistake. In the end, I became aware that he always operated under many constraints that one has to recognize as his political climate. He was between the devil and the deep blue sea. He apparently didn't succeed very well in his public persona with the Berkeley faculty before I got here. Maybe Strong was chancellor.

Lage: Kerr was president when you came to Berkeley. Glenn Seaborg was chancellor at Berkeley when you came, I believe, and then Strong came in '61.

Schorske: That's right. But all I know is that Clark Kerr was not popular around the Berkeley campus with the faculty on the whole. He had his very loyal supporters: Earl Cheit was one of them, Jennings was another. They were both on the executive committee. But then there were people who felt that he was devious and so on. The thing I felt you could never take away from him was his imagination in developing the whole state system in which each campus would have its own special character. I thought it was a very unusual and masterful piece of work, even though he had undermined a lot of his best work in the interest of uniformity and centralism in administration.

Lage: Did you think that some of the resentment towards him was kind of a Berkeley-first attitude?

Schorske: Definitely.

Lage: Fear that Berkeley would be diminished by the growth of the new campuses?

Schorske: Yes. I was a great believer in decentralization myself. The very basis of Clark's achievement, to create all these differentiated branches, would have as its natural consequence --such was my way of thinking about it--the according of a great deal <u>more</u> autonomy to these individual campuses to pursue their individuality. To do this all under a bureaucratic

centralism is dangerous, and when Berkeley became a danger to the system because it was so advanced intellectually as a traditional research university--it was the envy of the other places--it was seen as too powerful. On the other hand, Berkeley was not supportive on the whole of the other places as, in my view, it should have been.

Berkeley people snubbed the other campuses. But, then, there was an attempt to make equalization by holding Berkeley back and holding Berkeley down. So Clark Kerr's centralization of institutions like the statewide Academic Senate and so on, worked against precisely the differentiated characteristics of the state system that Clark himself had designed and espoused. Partly by circumstance, in effect, he imposed centralistic governing principals on top of a university system whose pluralism and differentiation was its glory.

Lage: He did make efforts to decentralize the Academic Senate, and I have been told that Berkeley objected because they would no longer have control over Davis appointments and the like.

Schorske: I don't remember that. Which doesn't mean that I'm right. I really can't say. During the first crisis years at least, the statewide senate was pronouncedly anti-Berkeley.

Lage: It's sort of off our subject.

Schorske: It is a bit, but it's important.

Lage: But I think the reason for some of the resentment toward Clark Kerr is not off our subject.

Schorske: No it isn't, and I remember that we had to vote in his favor in the end when the Regents really tried to force Kerr's resignation--and Meyerson's--they wanted to get rid of Meyerson. They were after us too: the Emergency Committee and the Berkeley faculty, simply. So we rallied to Kerr. In a very peculiar way, the faculty was a big power without knowing it, or without being effectual in exercising its power.

Berkeley was still the strongest campus in the system internationally, not just nationally, and certainly in the state. So at one level, it had to be controlled, because its autonomy, such as it had, was proving disruptive to the system, in terms of internal turmoil. Berkeley was taking the lead, spurred by the students, to achieve academic freedom and full civil rights for the University at the same time. On the other hand, if you crushed down on it too hard, you destroy your major asset. That was a regental dilemma for the thoughtful

regents. We had the wonderful Byrne Report on reconstructing the university, which Bill Roth was very involved in [See Chapter IV.]

Lage: Now that's a different Byrne from the state legislative [Senator Hugh] Burns Committee on Un-American Activities who made a report on the overall crisis.

Schorske: Yes, the Byrne report was prepared in Los Angeles. I worked with him [Jerome Byrne] for a while as an informal consultant. We could go into a lot of things: also the journalistic side--the reporting on the campus "turmoil" and what we did to try to bring our side to the public press, which was so difficult. There we had real contests because as I remember it Clark Kerr was close to the labor and perhaps education editors of the New York Times who did reports on the Berkeley scene that were very unfavorable to the positions the Senate had taken. They stressed the actions, the "insubordination," but left out the principles at issue and the provocative actions by both the administration and the state.

Lage: So this was part of the Emergency Executive Committee's role?

Schorske: No; I don't think we tackled that as a group. I wouldn't say so. But our little faculty caucus tackled it--I can't remember whether before or after. I think it was just after. The little group that I belonged to with Henry Smith, Stampp, Sellers, Wolin, Zelnik, Selznick, Howard Schachman--the group was fluid.

Lage: Was it named? Or was it just sort of--

Schorske: It didn't have a name, it was a caucus that came out of the pre-FSM civil libertarian concerns (including those involved in the loyalty oath controversy) and then got enlarged during the crisis into what was called the Committee of Two Hundred. We just came together, and with some new people. That's when Reggie Zelnik joined it. I think in the early stages Larry Levine was in it; I'm not sure, the group was very elastic and fluid. There were a lot of historians involved, comparatively. That group continued as long as there was a need for an autonomous stand, commensurate with the positions we had taken that led to the resolutions of December 8. To promote and sustain those positions--that was our cement.

Beyond Free Speech: Filthy Speech, Sexual Liberation, Anti-War, Third World, and Women's Movements

Schorske: In early 1965, the political and civil liberty issues began to recede in the direction of disciplinary issues, and above all, the filthy speech business--which really rocked the faculty.

Lage: That really disturbed them? They couldn't laugh that off?

Schorske: They couldn't. They didn't laugh the earlier political phase off either; that was an issue of academic and civic freedom in substance, but often disruption and/or insubordination in practice produced a new level of anxiety. The new issue, involving sexual expression, however, was a threat to the faculty's non-academic culture.

Lage: The filthy speech incident [March 1965]?

Schorske: Yes. To the degree that the students espoused it so that, in effect, sexual liberation or cultural liberation--whatever you want to call it--became part of the movement--that was something which the university professorate could not deal with. They didn't know how to deal with an assault on cultural mores, either personally or institutionally. So it was something beyond academic discipline or insubordination. I think it was psychological subversion.

The filthy speech incident was probably purely accidental; it was not planned or plotted, I don't think. But new sexual freedom became so much a part of the movement. It belongs to the Beat, you see, that began to become the cultural currency of the avant-garde student left. So among the other hypocrisies the activists felt they were destroying was sexual hypocrisy. That was something which ran against the grain of most of their elders in some sense, and there were very few people who could roll with it easily. They didn't know how to handle it. I can't say any more about it. It was just not something you could exactly deal with in terms of, say, the coordinates of civil academic principles and mores with which my thinking had been developing. They didn't really have any place in it. What do you do with a guy who's walking around stark naked--wasn't he?--or who is calling you a mother-fucker? What are you supposed to do with that? [laughter]

Lage: Now we take it for granted, but at the time--

Schorske: No, it wasn't taken for granted.

Lage: Did people fall by the wayside at that point?

Schorske: I really think that people then felt--then you begin to sense the continua of the movement--deregulation of sex life, women's lib, Third World studies--and in a way the tragedy is that some of these continua were to the real deep issues of the society. Thus the Third World movement contained in it real problems.

Lage: Now that was--

Schorske: I know, that's another phase, but from the beginning many of the people who were involved in the Free Speech Movement were involved because they were involved in the civil rights movement, with its important implications for the Third World movement.

Lage: That's right.

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Lage: I wanted to ask you more about your perceptions of the so-called filthy speech movement. I have often looked at it as an irritant--the students always pressing to see where they could add a further insult.

Schorske: Well, I think it had some of that. I think when it began--that one little guy who walked alone with the "dirty word" on his banner--I don't think that was part of a strategy on somebody's part, I think that was probably one little guy, and then his issue was taken up.

What I remember, and this is now a little later phase, but it was the moment when there was a meeting of some kind which Searle and Cheit, on behalf of Chancellor Heyns, tried to forbid in the new student union.[1] At that moment, there was a police bust, and I was very opposed to this. This was another, I thought, terrible moment to bring in the police--the second time. The first time it was Sproul Hall, and the second time it was this--I mean on a major scale--to arrest the leaders.

The response of the students was then to sing the Beatles song, the "Yellow Submarine." Going from Joan Baez to the "Yellow Submarine," I thought, was a great moment of cultural transition, because it went from political protest to sensual escapism; and a certain kind of sardonic utopianism. The

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[1]November 30, 1966--A sit-in inside the student union to protest navy recruiters on campus was broken up by UC and Berkeley police, assisted by Alameda County sheriffs.

song's "Octopus' Garden" under the sea: that was fantasy land to which to withdraw, already a certain kind of proclamation of defeat and solidarization in defeat instead of some kind of forward-looking thrust. It expressed the totality of the movement's separation rather than their penetration or transformation of the machinery of authority. It's a totally different thing.

Lage: And it was a turn from the interest of civil rights and civil libertarianism to kind of the--

Schorske: Well, yes and no because--now I don't remember the exact precipitate--it may have been a protest against a naval recruiting thing; we are also entering the high protest phase of the Vietnam War. The fact is that much of this thing--this is very impressionistic American history here--that you go from the momentum of the civil rights movement, the arrestation of the civil rights movement for a bit, and then the passage onto the Vietnam War, to this tremendous thing which, again, turned off a generation. This is a big deal! Certainly the educated part, or the educating part--people who were getting an education--were turned off in a major way. Part of the reaction was in culture: sexual liberation and drug culture.

I haven't said anything about that. I was involved in the Vietnam War protest movement. Not all the faculty members who were involved in Free Speech were involved in that.

Lage: Do you see them as separate? Or again a continuum?

Schorske: I see them as separate and also continuous. It's possible to pursue one line and not the other; it is quite possible to be a vigorous opponent of the Vietnam War, and to go on a lecture circuit for that cause and never even worry about free speech and all these things because you're so concerned about that war issue. It is also possible to be so concerned about the university and how to reorganize the rights of the people in it and protect academic freedom at the same time, and never worry about the Vietnam War. So, why not?

Lage: You have that whole spectrum.

Schorske: Right. And you have another spectrum, which is the movement of minorities themselves, who have their own axes to grind. Or the women's movement, which was still too young to be a factor in the politics of the university crisis, but was already rising as an issue. One of the great things about the sexual issue is that it injected and gave vigor to the women's liberation movement. No question; there was a relation there.

So all these things--they're different strands that are playing in and out in the crisis, currents that are interacting and intersecting and parting again.

Lage: It's not a simple thing to talk about or to analyze.

Schorske: Very, very complicated. I certainly don't feel I have ever understood it. [laughter]

Lage: [laughter] We'll get to something simple, more straightforward: in all of this--I'm looking at FSM, but it could pertain later too--did the tenured professors have a greater sense of security in taking part in these protests? Did the non-tenured professors ever feel that their position in the university was threatened if they exercised their rights of free speech and academic freedom?

Schorske: I'm not a good person to answer the question. I would say in my department, I don't think the young would have justly had such a view, and I doubt they did, but you should ask them. Irv Scheiner would be a very good informant; he has very good antennae for everybody's sensibilities.

Lage: But it wasn't something foremost in your mind?

Schorske: No, I didn't think that. I thought the university could be ruined by the external forces and the Regents, or by student excesses, but not by a junior-senior split in the faculty, or by intimidation of the juniors. I also thought the attempt at disrupting classes was a dangerous weapon, which I never approved of. In fact, I didn't approve of the strike. I felt if the students made it, we should respect it on the campus of the university, but I would never interrupt the classes. I held my classes off campus for I felt my primary responsibility was to all the students who wanted to learn.

Liberating the Educational Imagination

Schorske: And I'll tell you an interesting thing: as this crisis dragged on, of course, the liberation of educational imagination became very interesting. The thing that was so often said, that on this campus intellectual life was being stopped dead, was just totally contrary to my experience. I thought just the opposite.

Lage: That it was invigorating?

Schorske: Yes, it was invigorating. Not necessarily in the right way. There were many people who were trying to make purely instrumental use of the university and harness it completely to their own concerns, to solve the problems that they had; that's always so, but now more intensely. The critique of the university, expressed in the student slogan, "Don't fold; spindle, or mutilate," was vastly exaggerated, but never mind. There was a basic truth in that slogan, and for me as a teacher, I felt it so deeply as a challenge that I thought we couldn't go on without addressing the university's impersonality toward students.

At the worst times, when there was a real classroom closure, I took my classes off campus, sometimes with great resistance from some of my students who didn't approve of my doing that. I was absolutely firm about that: I would not stop teaching. I remember thinking--then, when we had police busts (that was always the worst for me)--that, Okay, this university can well be destroyed. Between the hammer and the anvil, you can squash a human being easily: so too a university. I thought, If this thing spreads to other campuses the university as a world system for learning might collapse. The crisis has already been to Tokyo, Berlin is very restive, Columbia is getting uneasy. We've had episodes in Chicago even before ours, episodes which could have broken into something drastic if the Chicago administration, unlike ours, hadn't been so intelligent and allowed people to sit for a week in the president's office, or more--I don't remember how long--without ever calling a cop.

Lage: They handled it.

Schorske: They handled it well. There were places that knew how to handle it, and there were places that didn't, but once the movement rose to a certain point, such kinds of patient skill isolating the most radical tactical activists disappeared. With the university's recourse to force, you got the momentum of sentiment based on grievance and maltreatment. Then you were in trouble. But, be that as it may, suppose the academic system began to collapse in the American environment of moral rejection of the worst national policies. I'm thinking the Vietnam War. I'm thinking the civil rights movement. I'm thinking the idealism that is behind the protest movements and the legitimacy of the claims. If those are not recognized by social authorities in the universities, and there's no approach to the radical pressures from within except the use of more force, then we academics may be on the street.

Let me tell you an episode that reflects my state of mind at the time. One day I took an airplane to go to a meeting in the East--and when I took a plane I very often had a martini. I was not usually a martini drinker, but when I left my troubles and duties behind on a trip I liked to get high on a martini--as I could when 30,000 feet above the ground. That absolutely always could be counted on to liberate my fantasies.

On this trip, in the midst of the crisis, one of the things I fantasized about was: if this system of universities that has lasted this long in this country starts to break up, if Berkeley goes, how are we going to continue the vocation of learning? How are we going to start up again? The function can't stop. We've got to continue to teach, we've got to continue to learn. How are we going to do that? I got the idea: let's go back to the Middle Ages.

Our universities were started by a bunch of wandering friars, so to speak, and I would get the like-minded who would be worrying this bone, and we would gather together to make universities as at their medieval origins. We would settle informally, like piano teachers settling in the same part of town, hanging out a shingle and saying, "Come, I'll teach you history, if that's what you want. Others will teach you physics or classics or something."

Lage: The free university.

Schorske: Something like that. But the university would be, in effect, based on the common vocation of the scholars. The idea was that. The free university, as it was spoken of by students, if I remember it, was centered on a certain idea of <u>society</u>. My idea was that you put forward an idea of a <u>university</u>, or that you continue the function of the university, but that we scholars would do this as something like an autonomous class, like Coleridge's clerisy, that is self-sustaining, that is lacking institutional support. It would be ghastly for scientists who need labs, for the humanists who need libraries, for all kinds of things.

Such was the fantasy. It was also rock bottom, What is it we're really in business for? If the conflicting social forces are likely to destroy the university at this point, then we scholars become a vested interest group in sustaining a certain kind of social function which has to do with the creation, transmission, and development of culture controlled by agreed intellectual procedures of knowing. You're in a vocation; you're like a minister. It's half ethical and it's half intellectual, but it's something like that.

Lage: It really made you think about the very basics of your place.

Schorske: Absolutely. It drove me right down to the rock bottom.

Lage: This was later on, I'm assuming. Towards the end of the sixties that--?

Schorske: I would say it would be in one of the great Vietnam protest periods, or possibly when--it was a very great disappointment to me--Chancellor Heyns and above all Earl Cheit and--

Lage: John Searle?

Schorske: Searle, yes--reverted to the use of police against the student movement.

But that was where there was hopefulness. There was a lot of folly, but there were also a lot of new educational ideas, including in history. Wonderful things done, later dropped because they weren't capable of long-term institutionalization. But fine experiments, and above all, a very inventive thinking that had to do with where the scholarship now was. It wasn't just socially and politically dealing with students or what not; it was also something about how to educate a new generation in a humane and humanistic way.

So those were the promising things, and then the resumption of street-fighting, of conflicts over real estate, like the People's Park and so forth--

Lage: And Governor Reagan's--

Schorske: Yes, and the tear-gasing was just the high moment of this reaction. That was not the fault of Chancellor Heyns' team of course. Nothing to do with it. But their use of police, again, and arrest of student leaders in the one case I'm thinking about, that was a bitter blow to me. I just felt very--

Lage: Were you on the team at that point?

Schorske: Yes.

Lage: You were in the chancellor's office?

Schorske: I think I was still in the chancellor's office, but on a term's leave. I was not in on the decision.

Lage: I think we should leave some of that, and we just have to resume next time, because you're tired.

Schorske: Yes, we've got to quit. I think I'm out of gas.

III FACULTY RETENTION AND RECRUITMENT, AND DIVERSITY ON CAMPUS IN THE SIXTIES

[Interview 2: May 5, 1997] ##

Some Departing Faculty: Landes, Rosovsky, and Kuhn

Lage: We're going to pick up a few things that weren't totally discussed last time, more than six months ago.

Schorske: Right. First, this number one [on the interview outline--"More on your chairmanship and faculty recruiting."]

Lage: We did discuss who left the department during your period here, and why in some cases. You talked about Curtis and Lyon with some distress over the Free Speech Movement; and of course Bridenbaugh--

Schorske: --over the Kuhn and Dupree matter.

Lage: Right. Do you recall any others?

Schorske: I recall others who left, yes. Now, one should sunder people who were assistant professors and didn't get over the bar, or who left as juniors, from people who were here and left afterward. To take the latter case first would be the simplest.

In my time, it was amazing how few losses there were. Aside from the ones we have mentioned, there were [David] Landes, Kuhn, and myself; and that's a nine-year span that I was here. That's all I remember, which doesn't mean there might not have been others. But surely in my field in European history, I don't think there were any others who left. Bouwsma departed after I did, but soon returned.

Lage: Retaining good faculty is part of building the department; the other side of the coin from attracting people.

Schorske: Right. Natalie Davis and Peter Brown--both of whom came to Princeton--they were hired after I had been here, and they left after I had been here.

Lage: And came to join you?

Schorske: They came to Princeton. In this chronological order: Kuhn, myself, Davis, and Brown ended up in Princeton. Rosovsky and Landes went first to Harvard. Landes took the job at Harvard which I turned down. While--or just after--I had been chairman, I was offered that job, and I refused. I was still very involved with Berkeley. This was before the évènements of '64. Then after I turned Harvard down, Landes was invited and took the job.

Lage: And I think other people have told me he was disturbed with the unrest on campus.

Schorske: Well, this is interesting: he was not here when the student unrest took place; he had left. [Landes's date of separation was 1964.]

Lage: He'd already left?

Schorske: He had left. So had Kuhn [left in 1964 also]. They both left within a year, or maybe the same year, I'm not sure. That can be checked. After the Sproul Hall sit-ins, Landes wrote a letter to the New York Times very critical of Berkeley and its ways. Kuhn wrote an answer.

The fact of the matter is that Kuhn had something closer to my view of the events, although he was not here. He didn't have the really deep anxiety and hostility to the student movement in general of many faculty members. He was not as conservative a man as Landes, and he came up with another, better defense of what was going on here that didn't mean a ratification of it all, but it did mean that they divided in their assessment. They were out of here, but they both were engaged.

I should mention one other very important man who was in the department--I should have mentioned him perhaps above all--that was [Henry] Rosovsky, who was an economic historian in both Russian and Japanese history [also in the Department of Economics]. A splendid scholar; and you know that he became ultimately the provost of Harvard, or, as I guess it was called

first, the dean of the faculty. He had been very active immediately at the outbreak of troubles in the fall of '64, trying to intercede with Clark Kerr. He was a very moderate and mediating kind of person, and he didn't have any success. Now, that does not necessarily explain why he left here. I do not know. Surely there were other attractions to Harvard for him.

But the fact is that, along with other colleagues, I regarded him as a major loss to the university and the department, because he had already manifested a kind of selfless administrative talent. This is a little different from being ambitious for an administrative post. He had a sense of civic responsibility to assume administrative duties, and he did it in a moment of considerable danger to the university, but also with consequences for himself. He lost his game at that moment in which many people, myself included, supported him to the degree that we knew about his quiet work.

Lage: He was interceding on behalf of some tolerance for the students?

Schorske: Yes. I think what all of us felt--no, that's wrong, absolutely wrong. What <u>many</u> of us felt in the very beginning is that you do not deal with students with police force. You don't use police methods. Now, different people have different degrees of commitment to that principle. Mine is pretty near iron-clad.

Lage: So that was one of your guiding--

Schorske: If shooting begins, you intervene with force or something like that; but in a general way, the quickness on the trigger is costly. One must get people talking--as well as you can, and it's not easy. When people go wild, they go wild on both sides. But anyway, Rosovsky was a person who had that patience, that you work it out, you listen to a lot of insults, and so on and so on, but you try not to intervene. We're skipping to another topic.

Lage: I know we are, but--

Schorske: All I want to say is I think Rosovsky was a loss which had to do with a sense on his part that the central government of this university, the state level, Clark Kerr and the Regents with their rigidity and aggressive response to student claims and actions made it difficult to keep the university intact in the crisis. Rosovsky should be the guy to tell you, is this true or false? Not I. But that was my estimate of his behavior

when I didn't know him that well; for at the time, I didn't. He was in economics, I believe, as well as in history, and not so active in our departmental councils. Delmer Brown could help, perhaps, with this.

Thorough, Comparative Searches for New Faculty in History

Lage: Did you yourself, especially as chair, get involved in recruiting new faculty?

Schorske: Yes.

Lage: Were there any particular ones you want to mention?

Schorske: Yes, I remember my first committee. It wasn't as the chair. You know, in the history department, in some ways the chair wasn't that big a deal, or I never thought it was. We were a very collegially run department. There was power in the chair as mediator between the collegial departmental government and the administration. That was very important, because the chair would have to advise the administration as well as advise the department. But when it came to recruiting and things like that, it was all somehow intradepartmental business, conducted collectively.

So even if you were just a member of a committee, a recruiting committee, an appointments committee, you were already in the big deal. You have to realize that when we appointed a person in this university--I'm not sure it's true today, I don't really know, so much has changed--but the presumption was that the new appointee had an open road up. If you succeeded from the beginning of your instructorship or assistant professorship to the end of that--it was a six-year term when I was here, I think--you had a presumption of promotion. You were not even compared with other scholars in the field to the degree that was and is common in other quality universities like my present one, Princeton, where, when you come up for tenure, you are really put up to it, because the whole national roster of people at that age level in that discipline, that particular sub-discipline, are surveyed for comparative purposes.

Promotion to tenure was always a big deal here too, but not so comparative. The assumption was, we are at a moment now of making a really big commitment. We have to make sure that the person we commit to is really in the top drawer of his field.

But when you begin your junior appointments, you had the assumption that that would be so.

Lage: That was different from Harvard, I've been told.

Schorske: Yes. From Harvard, and as far as I know, from most of the Ivy League schools. I would include Chicago and others. I don't know enough about the middle western state universities. But UC was very open, and one of the reasons it was open was because--and here's a very positive thing about Clark Kerr--he was improving the quality of the university while expanding it. The whole state was expanding the university; it was an expanding state. The state had intelligent leadership, partly anchored in the legislature, one that prized the educational system. They were open to making it grow as the state's population grew and its wealth grew.

Lage: It wasn't the steady state or the shrinking state that we think of now.

Schorske: Right. With expansion, tensions are reduced also because you could assume more obligations, realize more possibilities. As soon as the university shrinks, then the jousting for positions begins. That's much more difficult. So we had that advantage in recruiting.

But the people who did the recruiting--and here I would signal again Bridenbaugh, Sontag, Stampp, May--these were people who were here longer, or who were already in tenure when I came. I think Bridenbaugh, Stampp, and Sontag, even though they later parted ways, they all had a really very fine sense of how to avail themselves of this opportunity.

So you asked me if I was involved; I was involved like everybody else, on search committees. But when we searched for a beginner, we searched with the seriousness that one would expect if we were making a tenure appointment. I don't want to go too far with this, but the candidate's stuff was really read, the stuff was seriously discussed, we made very big comparative searches.

George Stocking, Robert Paxton, Werner Angress

Schorske: One of the people I failed to mention as leaving was a man who left at a younger stage. That was George Stocking [at Berkeley, 1960-1968] in the history of anthropology. He was

not in the history of anthropology when he came here, he was kind of a new social historian. He was out of the University of Pennsylvania. The department didn't do its shopping only in the very top graduate schools; Pennsylvania was second-cut, but a good school with lots of talent flowing through which they trained well.

Stocking was a student of a man named Cochran who, if I remember correctly, was an Americanist interested in social history in a quantitative way, one of the front runners in that field. Stocking was already losing his interest in that kind of work, and very soon began to do anthropological history. When we hired him, if my memory is right, he was betwixt and between. And yet we were all taken with him. He was very reflective, modest, and soft-spoken. He was no big dynamo, but turned out to be a major historian in the field of anthropological history. He left here for Chicago because he got a double appointment in anthropology and history.

Lage: Was he interested in the history of the discipline of anthropology?

Schorske: Yes.

Lage: But not using anthropological techniques?

Schorske: Not centrally. On the contrary, he was using the techniques of intellectual history to explore anthropology's history. He was another intellectual historian, as it turned out. That was not why he was hired or how he was hired. He was hired for American social history, I believe. In the end, he did almost all his work--well, it was a mixture of Europe and America. He got into German stuff, English stuff, American stuff. He played the field in the history of anthropology in the same way that Kuhn did for the history of physics. It was not a nationally delimited field of study for him, and that was part of the strength of his work. A very fine man. We loved him and hated to see him go. I think most would agree with me.

Lage: Would there be a reason why he was attracted away?

Schorske: I think yes, because we didn't have that good an anthropology department. For a while we had a very good crowd. They came from Chicago and they went back to Chicago. Their leader was Clifford Gertz, whom you probably know.

Lage: Well, the anthropology department thinks they're very good.

Schorske: They may be now. They had one or two people who were wonderful. They had a superb person in physical anthropology, Sherwood Washburn. That, however, was not what interested Stocking. The new field--and his--was cultural anthropology. The older field, which was plowed beautifully by Washburn was physical anthropology. He was one of the pioneers in showing the socialization of animal life.

Anyway, Stocking was right to go to Chicago. Anybody could see, that when he was breaking into such a field this was the place to have a joint appointment in history and anthropology. I think that was given to him.

Lage: So that was the man who came and left.

Schorske: Yes, he was the one. And another fine person we had here that left in his junior rank was Paxton. Robert Paxton [at Berkeley, 1961-1967], who went to SUNY [State University of New York] at Stony Brook, and later taught at Columbia. He's quite traditional in his methods. He's a political history student of French fascism and its antecedents in the French republic, but he came to focus on Vichy and did all the finest ground-breaking work in that field. He was a shy young man. He wasn't, in my opinion, adequately cultivated here. I include myself in this indictment, though we were friendly and so were many. Nobody snubbed him; it's just that he wasn't appreciated in accordance with what I think turned out to be his real quality, which was very high intellectually and included a lot of political courage and moral autonomy that proved central to his achievement.

One of the signs of his courage was his imperviousness to social pressures. Paxton was a reserve officer in the navy, and he joined the officers' club. He was a bachelor. Once when he wanted to give a party for the other members of the department, he invited us to Treasure Island where the navy had an officers' club. Or perhaps it was Yerba Buena Island. Anyway, this was at a time early in the Vietnam War when most of us were very much on an anti-military kick. We had no love for the ROTC.

Lage: His was almost a political statement.

Schorske: What was interesting about it was, it was and it wasn't a political statement. What it was, was: "I am my man. I am who I am. I am a naval reserve officer." He also became later on a very strong enemy of the Vietnam War. Never mind; at the time these were not his concerns. He was already working on

the problem of Vichy. He was, in effect, a documented anti-fascist historian.

But he had a sense of his own person, and it included being a naval person, and so he invited the department to his club. I thought it was great, but it was not politically correct.

Lage: Did people go?

Schorske: Sure. As far as I know. My wife and I attended. I think most people went. I don't know whether he invited the whole department; it doesn't make any difference. It's just an index of a certain kind of independence of convention. "I am my own person." He's also a great bird watcher. He bought a house. When he left here, he went to SUNY Stony Brook. He bought a house there where there's lots of marshland. He seemed something of a hermit at that time. I mean, not a real hermit, but a private man. A social man, but somewhat shy. He loved nature and he still does.

Another man was Werner Angress.

Lage: Tell me about Angress [at Berkeley, 1955-1963].

Schorske: Angress was not kept. Angress was somebody--this is very important--who got his degree at Berkeley. Rarely did they ever promote such a person. They wanted to prevent that kind of in-growing which had been practiced to some degree here and was an incubus in many universities all over the country, of graduate schools in particular, to promote their own as against getting people from elsewhere.

Lage: And it had been very strong here earlier.

Schorske: It had been strong. I don't know the history of it, but I have been told that it was strong. Then they were tending to go the other way. If a guy came from Berkeley, he wasn't going to get a job here. If he got a job here, then it was doubtful that he would get a promotion to tenure here.

Lage: So Angress came out of Berkeley?

Schorske: He came out of Berkeley. We were--and are--good friends. I have some prejudice in his favor as a consequence. He was a German refugee who never would have been a historian--assuming that he could have escaped the Nazis--even in the USA were it not for the G.I. Bill. He came to Wesleyan, where I taught before I came to Berkeley. He was my student. I was not his main professor at Wesleyan, but he was an able student and he

did research for me as an undergraduate; yet he was almost my age.

He started a whole new life, deciding to go to college after he finished with the army. He was in the 82nd Airborne, if that means anything to you. He was a tough fighter. He was a graduate student of Sontag's, and Sontag pushed very hard to have him promoted. But Sontag's stock had fallen very low, and for Sontag to promote somebody had come pretty close to the kiss of death, although many people liked and appreciated Angress.

Whatever the case, Angress did not get through to tenure, and he went during my time. So I'm saying Stocking--the people who left at junior ranks before they got to the tenure bar, or when they got to the tenure bar--the ones that I remember most vividly--

Lage: Did Angress go on to do good work?

Schorske: Oh yes; he was an effective teacher at SUNY Stony Brook. After a good book on communism in the early Weimar Republic, he subsequently became a historian of modern German Jewry, part of which he did out of his own biographical reminiscence as a boy under Nazism. His wife had been a concentration camp inmate. They were subsequently divorced. She has recently written a marvelous book in German under her maiden name, Ruth Klüger; it's not in English yet. It's a memoir of her life as a child under the Nazis, including her life in a concentration camp. She taught in the German department here, and later in Princeton and Irvine. They were an interesting couple.

Of the junior people who left here I thought Paxton, Angress, and Stocking were in some sense losses, which doesn't mean that I necessarily voted for them. I can't even remember whether all of them came up for tenure (I do remember Angress's case). They were all good junior people who did not go up to tenure.

Promoting to Tenure from within the Department

Schorske: The idea of building strength from the bottom was marvelous. The strategy that Stampp, Sontag, et al. tended to use was to bring people, many from Harvard, just when they were ripe for tenure but faced difficulty in their university. Always there's difficulty in going up the ladder. At Berkeley, one

could go up the ladder, but at Eastern Ivy there was no presumption in the assistant professor's favor.

Lage: They didn't hire with the assumption that you would go up the ladder.

Schorske: No, they didn't. They hired with the explicit statement: you have to be aware you will not necessarily be able to remain here as a tenured person. We at Berkeley did it the other way. We didn't say you'll necessarily get tenure, but if you perform, fine. Indeed the deck was so stacked that they would hire people whose talent had become manifest in their first book. They had a first-book policy, and those first books often came in the middle or in the late part of their non-tenure position.

So the policy was built by my predecessors, or elders and betters, to cream the market of people who were either in less good universities as seen from here, with tenure, but young; people who had shown their academic mettle in terms of their publication; and people who were likely to be let out rather than go up when the up-or-out policy was applied in major places and especially Harvard. [Martin] Malia, Kuhn--these were Harvard up-or-out characters. Landes came from Columbia. I don't know what his fate would have been there. Bouwsma too came, I believe, as a late assistant professor from Illinois. All these were here when I arrived. Very rarely were people in history hired at tenure in Berkeley when I arrived. You asked me something about that question last time.

Lage: You were hired at tenure.

Schorske: I was hired at tenure.

Lage: So there were few of you?

Schorske: Yes. Hans Rosenberg was hired at tenure shortly before me. There may be others, but that was not the way most of the hiring was done. To appoint people at the end of their assistant professorships with a promise of early tenure was a great asset, in the sense that you got people on the cusp of their creativity. You gave them a big boost by saying if you come as an assistant professor, in the next year, two years, whatever, you will be an associate professor with tenure; or you come as an associate professor without tenure and you'll soon be a tenured person. This was good for the ego and good for the morale, and we had a great esprit de corps.

[Joe] Levenson is another name I haven't mentioned here, but he's a person who was brought in, I believe, at non-tenure. Then he passed over the bar and became a tenured professor. Very important. We hired [Richard] Webster that way. I have a whole list: [Gunther] Barth. [Roger] Hahn also came from outside. But he went up the ladder here. Zelnik, Webster, Levine, Jordan, Middlekauff--all these people came, if I remember, in a non-tenured way, but often near tenure, where you could see the quality because something had been documented beyond the dissertation to show the quality. Zelnik came quite young. It took him more time because his first book wasn't out, I think.

I don't have all the details. I'm only trying to give you a pattern, and those are a few of the names that I think of. One person who had a Ph.D. from Berkeley who made it was John Heilbron. He was a rare case. He was the only case that I can identify--but there may have been more, because I don't know what happened in some other fields like Asian or Latin American history. I'm not sure exactly at what rank Eric Gruen, our very fine present Roman historian came from. But I think he too had an initial non-tenured appointment.

Lage: But Heilbron is a Berkeley--

Schorske: Heilbron was a student of Kuhn's. Hahn came here, I think from outside, but he was well known to Kuhn when he was hired. Of course, Kuhn was building that part of the department pretty much, and they got good people.

Lage: Was there a discussion about hiring a Berkeley Ph.D. when Heilbron was hired [in 1967]?

Schorske: I don't remember it. In fact, his non-tenure appointment wouldn't have made a problem; we could have hired him. We wouldn't do it normally, but with a push you could do it. We had others. There was Sam Haber in American history, who was a student of Henry May's. He went through the department as a non-tenured person and then he made it. I don't think I was here when that happened, but I may have been. It wasn't close to my field, so I didn't notice.

In any case, Heilbron was quickly recognized. He was in a very tough part of the history of science, and he was recognized for his quality. He was in my graduate seminar in historiography, and I was impressed with his fine, sharp mind. Incidentally, the grad students in the history of science were among the most interesting in my historiography seminar.

Considerations in Hiring a Historian

Schorske: I have one more thing that I would like to mention: the hiring of a second colonial Americanist, in which I was involved. I think I was chairman then, but if not, I was on the search committee, which was as important in the hiring process--in fact, more important than being chairman, because that's where the real hunting went on.

We found three splendid candidates all proposed by one single professor at Yale. That was Ed Morgan, who was one of the best colonial historians in the country.

Lage: Was this to replace Bridenbaugh?

Schorske: Yes, probably it was to replace Bridenbaugh. We already had, I think, Winthrop Jordan, I'm not sure. He too subsequently left.

Lage: He did.

Schorske: Do you know where he went?

Lage: No. [Professor Jordan was hired in 1963 and left Berkeley in 1982, for the University of Mississippi.]

Schorske: He came from Brown, I remember that. He came with a new method, and he was a real pioneer in the colonial history of the blacks. He wrote a marvelous book called White Over Black, a path-breaking book. I don't ever feel he's gotten from the profession the credit that he should have for that particular piece of work.

Lage: They're still assigning that to students. My daughter had it assigned in classes just recently.

Schorske: Oh good. Well, I'm very glad to hear it. Anyway, he was a fine person. He was just very original. Then after Bridenbaugh was leaving, I guess that's when it happened. We went--of course the usual combing the country; but our three finalists were all students of a single professor, Edmund Morgan at Yale. There was something about that. We had a very hard time making this decision. Ed Morgan had, like any great graduate teacher, a gift for eliciting the originality of his students and fortifying with discipline their viewpoints, however different from his own.

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Lage: The hiring of Bob Middlekauff must have been the result of this search.

Schorske: Yes, he was the result. But it was such a hard decision, because different types of history were involved in this decision. Perhaps it has to do with where we were at the time: whether to strengthen social or cultural history. The decision was made for somebody between the genres: Middlekauff was in the history of Puritan education; that's what he was working on at the time. His first book was on this. Excellent person. He had the look of great solidity. But all three were just very interesting.

Another who was considered was John Murrin, who ended up at Princeton--one of the most thoughtful and wide-ranging historians I have ever known. The third I cannot remember the name of. Perhaps Ken Stampp or Henry May will know the name. He was a radical historian, and he wrote his thesis and his first book--which I think had not yet come out then--on the merchant seamen in the American Revolution. Three wonderful topics, three outstanding candidates.

Lage: How would you decide? How did the group decide?

Schorske: That was it: it was so hard. We had to make a recommendation. I don't remember what our report said.

Lage: You read their work, I understand?

Schorske: We read the works. We always had to write a report. The report was submitted in writing to the department, then as now, and all the department members were supposed to read the works themselves and see how they came out. We do the same thing at Princeton, so it isn't as if Cal were the only place where that went on. But I rarely remember a more difficult moment in the committee than trying decide to whom to give preference. We really did make the right choice from the point of view of multiple talents. For Middlekauff turned out to be first rate not only as an historian, but also as an administrator of the department and the university, and then he went on to Pasadena to the Huntington Library.

Lage: Did you make judgments about what kind of a citizen of the community the person would be?

Schorske: We didn't focus on that as a priority. We always focused on the scholarship. But then, of course, everybody had other fish to fry someplace, and the problem--we agreed on that--was to somehow keep the quality of the mind central. Now, the quality

of the mind is an elastic conception too. As for me, for example, really it was very important what kind of teacher this would be. Most people were interested in that, but some were willing to overlook deficiency in that area if the scholarship were adequate.

Lage: Did you have them come out a give a lecture at this stage, when the choice was between the three of them?

Schorske: Yes. I don't remember if that was done with the three colonialists. but those on the short list usually would give a talk, The department would assemble with graduate students, as I recall it, in the little Alumni House back here. I too had to give a talk there when I was being considered, so that everybody would have a chance to make a judgment. That's not unique to Berkeley. But yes, we did do that. Then, of course, some would be attracted to one candidate and some to another and whatnot.

But in the end, when the department made a choice, I don't myself remember ever going away feeling, what a God-awful decision. I think we did pretty jolly well, on the whole. What we did was not necessarily to achieve a uniquely high ceiling but to establish a very high floor. I think that's what good procedures do, if they're sustained by an academic ethos of the kind I'm talking about: how good a mind is this? If the mind is good, it can go in a lot of directions, and some flaws may develop which are also related to being effective in a department. But on the whole, if you keep the scholarly criterion central, it saves trouble. It provides the basis for a very wide tolerance; you don't get politics mixed up in it.

I don't care what kind of politics the historian has. One should make one's judgment on how convincing is the way in which evidences are put together to make meaning and to make you feel, "Thus it is, thus it was, it could not be otherwise." You don't have to share the presuppositions of the person to see the work of thought and craftsmanship emergent. The insight that comes from a set of premises that are different from you own can often shake you up or shake the profession up when it doesn't want to be shaken.

We're all conservatives in that sense. We don't want to be disturbed in our ways of making meaning. Yet good departments are built of different mental styles.

Women Faculty and Grad Students, and an Aside on Raymond Sontag

Lage: I'm wondering about women. How many women came into this process of being considered, let alone being hired?

Schorske: Firstly, they didn't come in to be considered. That they were not was not only our fault. That was the fault of the whole mind-set of the country. I do not just single out the Berkeley department. We had one woman, Adrienne Koch. She had a hell of a time. She was defended by the only person who's always regarded as the right-winger of the department, namely, Raymond Sontag, about which judgment much can be said. He was right-wing on the Vietnam War, but he had a long history of being otherwise, including for the fight at Princeton whence he came to Berkeley, to get Jews admitted to the faculty. He's also charged with being anti-Semitic. Another piece, I think, of errant nonsense. He may have had some residual anti-Semitism which was so widespread in America, Protestant, Catholic, whatever--in the Christian community--but I--

Lage: You don't think it affected his judgment?

Schorske: I think it could have. It could have affected his judgment, and other people may have cases. The charge is so often made that I can't read it out. But it was not my experience. When I was at Wesleyan, we hired David Abosh, one of the people whom he was closest to, in Japanese history. He was recommended by his teacher, Joe Levenson, and also equally enthusiastically by Sontag. He was not just Jewish, but a certain kind of stereotypically Brooklyn Jewish, as defined by some anti-Semites. He was an excellent teacher, and so he was good for what we wanted. He was always favored by Sontag.

Lage: And Angress as well, you say?

Schorske: Angress, of course. The biggest defeat Sontag had in my time was over Angress's promotion. Anti-Semitism played no role whatsoever in the discussion. David Landes, who was himself Jewish, opposed the promotion. I'll never forget the line he used of Angress in the discussion: that he was too much concerned "with the care and feeding of students."

Lage: Who said that?

Schorske: David Landes.

Lage: He said that about Sontag?

Schorske: No. About Angress. And Angress was a good teacher. He was maybe not a world beater, but he was certainly concerned about the care and feeding of students. Landes was saying a true thing. But in his mouth, it was another way of saying he doesn't put enough into his scholarship, which wasn't really the case, as the event proved in his subsequent history. He went to SUNY Stony Brook, where he continued to be a productive scholar.

Lage: And the women?

Schorske: The women weren't in it. Adrienne Koch was the only woman in the department, and she had a mighty hard time. I never quite caught up with why, but she somehow was aligned with the Sontag old guard. Sontag had become, by the time I arrived, the leader of the remnants of the old guard, whom Brucker describes in his essay.[1] Sontag had been, on the one hand, a pioneer in bringing new people, but he also had a kind of patriarchal politics running which included, however it happened, Adrienne Koch, a woman. I don't know enough about her scholarly quality. She was said to be difficult to get on with. I didn't know her well enough to make that judgment.

Lage: But did you think at the time, or was there awareness, "Why don't we have more women at the table here with us?"

Schorske: No, no. It was a totally male-dominated profession and we simply didn't question it. Let's be clear about this. If we go shopping for faculty, either we go for finished books or through the old-boy network. If a woman wrote the finished book, you might consider her. Maybe that's how Adrienne Koch got here for all I know. Somebody might consider her. But usually, somebody else would say, "She's a young woman, she's going to get married, she'll never play a role. Why waste the time?" That real deep-seated male chauvinism was regnant in the entire society, except in certain professions like nursing and teaching.

Lage: And probably in the encouragement of graduate students as well.

Schorske: Well, now you're getting down to the cases. One of my great awakenings at Berkeley came from having graduate students, including women, for the first time. I hadn't had any when I taught at Wesleyan. But then I realized that women were

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[1]Gene Brucker, "History at Berkeley," in History at Berkeley: A Dialog in Three Parts (Center for Studies in Higher Education, UC Berkeley, 1998) 1-22.

especially suited to build my field, intellectual history, when I was trying to get people to open up to be intellectual historians in any aspect of culture. Especially in the arts and literature, women had majored as undergraduates. They would come as graduate students open to using artistic materials in becoming historians.

My then opinion, my pop sociology, with a male chauvinistic twist if you like, was that women had a choice of options: they could be serious historians; they had certain independence lacking to men, for they had an anchor to windward, because they could always get married if it didn't work. In that sense, I say with a male chauvinist twist, because my assumptions about a woman's career was that marriage was a big draw, that's where they would usually end up. And maybe it wasn't worth the time for them to take up a career--but looking at their performance as students--

Lage: These are the things that you brought--the cultural baggage you brought to your considerations?

Schorske: The women were good because they were daring. They could and often did take intellectual risks more easily than men. They were good because they were interested in and prepared to consider and work on new subjects that had not been considered subjects, especially the artistic elements in historical life. The same kind of thing went on with social history with the great team of Stampp, Levine, Leon Litwack: bringing race and color into the thing. Jordan has to be added. So we had something going here in the American field, and I felt we had a big thing going in the intellectual history field, to which women could bring a special talent. But I never thought of women's history as a subject.

It turned out, in my experience in seminars, including undergraduate seminars, the 201's we used to--

Lage: 103 was the undergraduate seminar.

Schorske: 103's, yes. Those were established while I was here, and that was a great progress in teaching-through-research, offered by the department. But you felt that the women came into graduate work: there's a lot of talent being missed because they're not included. This was my reaction. So we certainly did not say, as we were later rightly compelled to say, every time you make an appointment you ask yourself, "Is there a woman out there?" But the idea dawned on me in teaching women students. It was the feminist movement that breathed life into the question.

Lage: Did this happen while you were at Berkeley, or later on at Princeton?

Schorske: The mandate only came, I think, after I left. I would have to reconstruct it.

Lage: The real mandate.

Schorske: I was in on the making of that mandate for the American Historical Association. I was on the committee that was appointed by the Council to study the place of women in the history profession. How to enlarge the pool: that was the problem. It was a deep-running study. We compiled files, we asked departments for records on their graduate students: what was their destiny, how many women were there, what was the fellowship distribution? This was a big deal. We established a special office in the American Historical Association that was manned by a person who became a great friend of mine and later a Princeton colleague, Dorothy Ross. She's now a leading scholar in the history of American social science and teaches at Johns Hopkins.

Lage: Was that in the seventies?

Schorske: No; I think it was in the late sixties. It was called the Willie Lee Rose committee. That was the name of the chairman. Hannah Gray and I drafted the report. It was one of the best committees I was ever on. We had three women and two men; hard-working, and we really accomplished a lot.

Lage: Do you think it had an impact?

Schorske: I know it had an impact. It wouldn't have had any if the women hadn't stirred themselves, let me assure you. The women's movement was on. It was the most powerful residue of all the sixties uproar. Not just locally, I'm talking nationally here. And not just in the academy, but across the board, the resolution grew to do something about the place of women.

But it hadn't been in my consciousness before, nor in that of any of my department colleagues to do anything about this until we got the push from the powerful social movement. And then some went into this, others went into the racial minority problem, different people really fanned out; some became resistant. But the resistance was very quiet and weak, because we were in an era in which democracy was on the march, so doing something about palpable injustices was something that was politically correct, and it was damn hard to be politically incorrect. However you may <u>not</u> have wished to have women

coming into the academy and so on, you didn't have the nerve to say it.

So it was the conservatives who were on the defensive instead of the radicals as so often happens. The resistances could be there, but they were weakest in the academy. One thing has to be said for academic culture: we are somewhat descendants of medieval clerics. We have inherited an ethical role. It isn't just an intellectual ethos, as I have argued before; somehow we ought to be measured ethically in our deportment the way ministers are supposed to be: good boys, not have too many flings, et cetera. Well, maybe the academy's code has loosened up sexually, but still somewhere or other the social code of behavior that is imposed on the academic is stronger than that on most professions.

Religious and Cultural Diversity and Prejudices, in Society and on Campus

Schorske: When I came to this campus today, and my wife and I walked around for three quarters of an hour, just the sight of who was here! This is another one of David Hollinger's questions: the ethnic mix. The incredible result, the student racial mix, goes back also to very unpleasant uprisings, the campus Third World conflicts. All of these unruly things that were so feared and resisted--and often rightly in terms of their methods--let me tell you, they made major contributions to loosening up both the university and the society, to make it clear that people who had been shut out had to be taken in, that it had to become more inclusive. Now you walk around the campus--I can hardly believe my eyes. I think I had one Korean student and two black students in all my years at Berkeley. I'm talking about my undergraduate course, with 150, 200 people! They still don't come to study European history if they're black. I hope they will more and more. I just had lunch with two art historians, and they told me they are beginning to get people who are coming into art history now. More than beginning: they have quite a few Asians in European art history. To recruit women, of course, is not a problem in European art history. Once you open the sluice gates there, it's easy to get the recruits. History is a little harder. Physics is very hard, and so on. You know the roster. These things come slowly, but my God, when I think it's only thirty years, more or less, since this began; the change is just unbelievable.

Lage: It is amazing. I think people do forget that some of it grew out of this very unpleasant unrest.

Schorske: Exactly. It was such a mean business for everybody at some point. Nevertheless, there was a real pay-off. What stayed was the best part of it: the work on issues of social justice. The demand for intellectual reform next; not that strong, but some for educational reform, some that also produced results.

Changes in the topics on which people worked [referring to interview outline]--good results, but also sometimes terrible, because to me there is so much present-ism in history today. That's another subject.

Lage: Do you have any reflections on divisions within the department that were based on class or ethnicity? Gender not really, because you only had the one woman.

Schorske: Religion?

Lage: Religion--we talked about anti-Semitism last time, and you talked about Catholicism.

Schorske: I ought to begin by saying if you mean in the faculty of the history department--are you talking about the faculty?

Lage: Yes, the faculty. I'm thinking about the younger generation of historians, the ones that Carl Bridenbaugh objected to and said, "Children of immigrants can't really write about American history."

Schorske: If you ask, What was Carl Bridenbaugh's practice?, please check it out with Ken Stampp and Henry May. I can't believe that Carl Bridenbaugh in his class, and especially in his graduate classes which counted for him much more than anything else he did, that he would, in fact, block somebody who had the wrong ethnicity or the wrong class. How much he would do for gender, I don't know. When he made that ugly remark at the AHA--and I remember it, I was there when it happened--it was a shocker.

Lage: It was a formal speech.

Schorske: Yes, it was a presidential address directed, as everybody knew, at Oscar Handlin of Harvard University.

Lage: It was directed at a particular person?

Schorske: Yes, who was writing a new kind of immigrant history, who was involved in it by his heavy stress on ethnic immigrants. He

was a pioneer in the same way that Stampp was a pioneer with the enslaved blacks. Handlin didn't happen to work with the blacks, he worked with the people who came to Ellis Island. He stressed the less "acceptable" ethnics--Irish, Jews, southern Europeans. He oddly omitted the Scandinavians. One of the important negative reviews of Oscar was written by a Swedish-American.

Lage: Lawrence Levine has written about the impact of Bridenbaugh's speech on him as a young person coming into history. I was thinking when somebody like him or like Reggie Zelnik, who came from the East and an immigrant background, were they fully accepted into this department?

Schorske: I think they were completely accepted. I'm sure they were accepted. I'm sure that among the people who accepted them would have been Carl Bridenbaugh. I would be stunned if it were not the case. The only case I've ever seen of Bridenbaugh really losing his marbles was over this Kuhn/Dupree debacle, which I certainly can't blame on Dupree; there was perhaps some racist uncertainty on the part of Bridenbaugh that blinded him so to this problem, or maybe he had something about Jews. But my God, it didn't--

Lage: You didn't pick it up, it sounds like.

Schorske: I couldn't pick it up. I present myself as a Jew myself. I never felt anything like that. I think when you're half Jewish as I am, your highest sensitivity is toward anti-Semitism. You feel more Jewish in the face of an anti-Semite than you ever feel otherwise. In my case, I didn't know anything about Judaism culturally; you have to learn as an adult what your heritage is. But your sensitivity is plenty high, and I never felt it from him or anybody else in the department. I'm stunned with this idea.

Ethnicity: Now, whether we would go for people [to hire] deliberately to rectify a wrong of exclusion? I do not believe we did. No more than for women.

Lage: That wasn't the temper of the times.

Schorske: When I think of the enthusiasm Bridenbaugh had for bringing Rosenberg to the campus, for example. What for? If he were xenophobic, anti-Semitic--what's Rosenberg doing here?

Lage: So you think his speech was focused on Oscar Handlin and the kind of history he was writing?

Schorske: I'm not really qualified to say. I know that his animus against Handlin was enormous, but nobody would have allowed his animus to run away with him in such a crazy way if there weren't more to it than just Handlin. Let me leave it at that. All I can say is that I don't think, even if he had residual anti-Semitism, of which there is a lot around in any gentile community, there is no way around it--.

And incidentally, the reverse is also true. You ought to read the festschrift for Levenson as a final chapter. It's called The Mozartian Historian.[2] It's a beautiful festschrift.

Anyway, Levenson wrote something on his view of Christianity which is savagely prejudiced, I mean, unbelievable. That is not the way he deported himself in the department. No way. We hired several Catholics with Levenson's support. In the American academic establishment, Jews were hired earlier than Catholics. Jew first, then Catholics, then women, then blacks; thus you go "down" the ladder to overcome prejudice. I'm being a little too schematic, but nevertheless, there's something to be said for watching these priorities. Where does prejudice get broken through?

The stronger you have a commitment that is professional, focusing on the quality of work, the less whatever social prejudice exists is able to operate successfully. Professionalism militates against this prejudice, which doesn't mean that the template of a religiously or ideologically formed orientation disappears from the landscape. We all remain prisoners of what our religious and cultural heritages are, and they will come into play somewhere along the line. Even in personal matters, we have to be really on our guard against that.

But the department didn't suffer from these things except to the degree that the society suffered. So if I looked at the department--

Lage: In asking this question, I wasn't implying that they did. I just wanted you to reflect.

Schorske: Okay. I'm giving you some reflections. Let me make a general reflection about California. My wife is Catholic, and I'm a

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[2]Maurice Meisner and Rhoads Murphy (editors), The Mozartian Historian: Essays on the Works of Joseph R. Levenson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

half-Jew, reared by a family as a "free thinker" and agnostic, as I explained to you. When we came here, especially the Catholic problem was still alive, very much alive in the academic world of America. In my graduate school class in Harvard, people who went into history and who were Catholic, if they were faithful to their creed, they had only one possibility of employment, which was to get to a Catholic institution. They could go to Notre Dame--

Lage: They weren't hired by the major universities?

Schorske: No. They're weren't hired here in the humanities either, I imagine. Sontag was a breakthrough, and he was hired from Princeton. He was a Catholic. I think he was converted while he was at Princeton; I'm not sure about that. He was an Illinois boy. But the fact of the matter is that when I entered grad school in the 1930s Protestants and liberals had less of a prejudice against Jews than they had against Catholics. Catholics were seen as saddled with a creed, like Marxists.

Lage: Like a Communist.

Schorske: Right, like a Communist. They had a mindset, and they were also seen as being under authority. So if the pope said this was the party line, you distort the history, or you don't come out with the full truth, or your vision is skewed. Of course, there are situations in which it's true that your vision is skewed, but so is the guy's who's making the accusation. So to break through: that is the problem.

Lage: Now, you were saying that California was--

Schorske: When we came here, we were stunned by the good relations between Catholics and Protestants in California society as a whole, not just in the university. The university itself was very laic, this place. There had been a huge wall built by the university's original founders against religious intrusion into the academy and against political intrusion into the academy. That's why the Regents exist: to protect the university. It would have been easy to turn that around.

During the FSM time, as during the oath time before it, it was very easy to turn that supposed protective wall into actually an invasion of the university by the right wing in the society. As far as I know, that never turned out to be the case with religion; although Bill Bouwsma, who has followed its place in the university, could give you another story. I hope he's on your interview list.

Lage: He's on our list. We haven't gotten to him, but I think he's next.

Schorske: Henry May is another good informant. These are religiously very sensitive people. Of course, Robert Brentano, a Catholic --he's another person who could talk about it.

Social Diversity at Berkeley in the Sixties

Schorske: I want to say one more thing about your suggested categories: "Reflections on divisions, based on class, ethnicity, gender, religion, in the history department, UC, or academia in general" [from the outline]. I want to say that these categories do not exhaust what I felt when I came here. These are contemporary categories with which David Hollinger is now rightly concerned: class, ethnicity, gender, religion. That's the name of the game today. And as far as I'm concerned, it blocks historical reconstruction in some cases, and this is one. When I came to this campus, what I was snowed by was a foretaste of what I am snowed by even more today; namely, the variety of social subgroups. You could tell it by their clothing. But the variety then was within an overwhelmingly white students population.

The kids from the [Central] Valley, many of whom were in the fraternities, in informal sports clothes; people in the elite, many of whom were also in some of the tonier fraternities and sororities dressed accordingly. Urban bohemians. The way people dressed in class was different. Some of them had jackets, some had shirts with ties, others none of these. Unlike the Eastern colleges I knew, there was no uniform style of dress. Beginning with FSM, all these symbols started to evaporate.

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Schorske: But I had never encountered the visible presence of multiple social subgroups in the classroom to such a high degree.

Lage: You could see it in their papers?

Schorske: I don't want to say I could identify papers sociologically by type, but there was something in the intellectual quality--not so much quality, as <u>timbre</u>, the kind of tonality that was generated by the multiplicity of social subgroups. Ken Stampp, who had Wisconsin in his background, might have had all this

experience, or David Hollinger, who has taught at Buffalo and Michigan. They might be able to tell you of the same thing there in those days. Well, David would be a little young--

Lage: But you came from a different--

Schorske: But I came from the East. So even the university from which I came, Wesleyan, had social lamination, but its palpable presence was always attenuated by a common college-boy style: everybody dressed alike, et cetera. Here it wasn't so. And the students didn't live alike. Some lived in private digs; some were shacked up, some were not; some were in the fraternity houses; some were in the dormitories. Berkeley was the nearest thing in America to a university in Europe, a Continental university, that I had ever seen.

Most American universities are a mix between Continental and English models. But when it comes to housing, the English model prevails in the housing of students. Our colleges are built somewhere on the idea that a university is a community; somewhere, a family in loco parentis. Perhaps Cal never had that concept. Not in my time, and not, I think, before.

Lage: Even less, because they didn't have the dorms.

Schorske: Right. So this quality, of being urban and suburban and rural, that's Social Diversity with a capital D, even though basically it involved only whites. To be sure, it already included women in the student body. It was a rich mix. Now you can look at it with racial physiognomy in your field of vision, but not then.

Lage: But you still had diversity.

Schorske: The diversity was already there, and the subcultures and their power was one of the great interests to me in this university.

Lage: That's very exciting. That aspect was left out of my question for sure.

Thomas Kuhn: A Historian and Philosopher of Science

Lage: Do you want to say more about Thomas Kuhn--from your knowing him well as a person and as an historian--that might interest historians of the history of science?

Schorske: Yes. I understand. I would say the most interesting thing about Thomas Kuhn as an historian to me then was his struggle to be both a philosopher and an historian. This is oil and water; these do not mix. As Jacob Burckhardt said, "Philosophy subordinates; history coordinates." And those two forms of understanding do not mix well.

Lage: Why did he want to bring them together?

Schorske: Because science is closely tied to philosophy, yet philosophy can be seen as a historical phenomenon. Science, and especially physics, which was his major concern, is deeply dependent upon mathematics. Mathematics is a purely logical system. Even if you go over into the empirical, as you do with physics, you have to consider the validity of logical judgments, logical procedures. Kuhn was deeply aware of the philosophical dimension of physical science, and especially modern physical science. When modern philosophy was broken open in the early twentieth century, the great break that came --the next break after Hegel, let's say--came from the relationship between mathematics, logic, and science, but especially mathematics and logic. So to be a mathematical logician, or something like that, was deeply a part of the game. To understand the history of science, one must understand the philosophical component of science.

[Another reason for Kuhn's focus on philosophy, I believe, derived from his concentration on the problem of the relation between innovation and demonstration in science. Demonstration, proof, is essential to the acceptance of a new insight. The insight is individual, but the system of demonstration is social, a matter of historical consensus. It is therefore influenced by history in the larger sense. Kuhn's great gift was to show the structural coherence of science in its philosophic aspect (as a system of demonstration) as historically <u>discontinuous</u>. This is hard for philosophers--especially Anglo-Saxon analytic ones with their a-historical orientation--to accept. Tom affirmed philosophy more than ever as the central intellectual context of science, but insisted on the mutable, disjunctive character of philosophy itself, thus subjecting it to history. Both philosophers and scientists resisted Tom's structural sociology of the history of science, for he robbed both science and philosophy of their autonomy as truth-systems. Tom respected and admired philosophy, but when the chips were down, he saw himself as a historian first. --added by Professor Schorske during editing.]

All I want to say is that there are many reasons for Tom Kuhn not getting on with different people in whatever

departments, but in philosophy he had a lot of trouble at Berkeley. He wanted to be accepted in their ranks full-scale at the same time as in history, but at least he saw philosophy as a historical phenomenon, while history was not for him a philosophical one.

Lage: So he wanted to work as a philosopher, not just as an historian of philosophy?

Schorske: I think he aspired to that, but I am not sure. I believe that the history of science held primacy for him; he never departed a jot or tittle from that major priority. Science, however, is conceived and practiced in a philosophical frame. The protocols of proof, although they may change, are philosophical in substance. This is important to Kuhn's whole position. Hence historians of science must understand its philosophical matrix. Hence, Kuhn felt that his students should come from both philosophy and history.

We shared a conviction in this, because my idea of real graduate teaching in intellectual history is that you have in your classes people whose major commitment may not even be in history; their major commitment may be in another field--whatever, the arts, science. They should learn to historicize their field from you, but you and other students of history must learn the virtues and rigor of the other discipline's special analytic from them. Thus you should welcome the others, and you should send your graduate students to study in seminars of the subjects which they wish to pursue as intellectual historians.

For as a historian, you are never going to give the student the fullness of analytic training that a person needs to do any given area of thought. Therefore, get you to the philosophy department, if that's your interest. Or get you to the art history department. Go to the literature department. Wherever it is. If you want to be an intellectual historian who concentrates on one of these subjects, take graduate training in them, and take into yourself the tension between the analytic and the historian.

Lage: Did the philosophy department not want to give his students--

Schorske: I feel not, but I have nothing but Tom Kuhn's end of the discussion. Tom Kuhn, as everybody knows, was a man with very strong emotions about his own relations with other persons and other fields as well. He intellectualized a lot, but he also had a lot of personal, emotional input. So the sense that I have of his rejection comes from him. I do not have it from

the philosophers--it's unimaginable to me that a person like Searle would have rejected Tom Kuhn. I can't believe it. Nor did Tom tell me that; but he certainly made clear that [Paul K.] Feyerabend was a tremendous thorn in his side; a distinguished philosopher of science. Why they didn't get on, I have no idea, for I have not read their public disputations.

Lage: So that was part of his unhappiness with Berkeley? [The Department of Philosophy did not renew Kuhn's appointment in philosophy in 1961.]

Schorske: That was part of his unhappiness. On the whole he was very happy with the history department. But then, when all the fuss came about his promotion, of course it was a great blow to him that here was this attempt at blocking his path, and so on. It shouldn't have been a great blow because he had practically the whole department on his side, and the administration too.

Then came the opportunity at Princeton: to shape an independent program in the history and philosophy of science, with faculty and students from both disciplines and firm support in both departments. Charles Gillispie, Princeton's fine historian of eighteenth to nineteenth century science, armed with an invitation from Harvard, elicited from Princeton's administration support to invite Kuhn to build such a program with him. The temptation for Tom was overwhelmingly strong. And indeed, the two scholars, though profoundly different in personality and intellectual style, worked beautifully together to build a powerful program in conformity with Tom's ideals that had been frustrated at Berkeley.

One of the people we didn't hire when we took Hahn was Jerry Geison, who's in the history of biology and has recently written a very interesting and controversial book about Pasteur. He was at Princeton, or soon to come there.

Lage: So it was strength at Princeton that led Kuhn to leave Berkeley?

Schorske: It was strength at Princeton and the willingness of the administration there to go to bat and make good terms. When people are discontent, they are very open to the generosity of the offers they receive. When they are very happy, they are more likely to find flaws in offers from outside. Tom was unhappy. He was unhappy in this situation: "I can't go further." There may also be deep emotional reasons that transcend these institutional ones, but I don't know them. Surely the move to Princeton placed severe strain on his marriage.

Lage: But aside from why he left Berkeley, are there other things to note from knowing him at Princeton about the quality of his mind or the way he approached his work?

Schorske: Let me tell you this. In the first place, David Hollinger's question about whether we recognized Kuhn's exceptional qualities has to do with the fact that, as he has pointed out in a recent Daedalus issue [Winter 1997], Kuhn is now a major figure. Within the last two decades of his life, Kuhn's influence began to travel from one field to another. Hollinger was one of the first to recognize it; he wrote a brilliant article on Kuhn and the implications of his work for history. On the other hand, I think he has in this other question--

Lage: These aren't necessarily David's questions [on the interview outline], I have to say. I just took his suggestions, and other reflections, and came up with a few things here.

Schorske: Oh, I see.

Lage: I don't want to make him responsible for this line of questioning.

Schorske: I feel that when you are working with your colleagues, you do not know who will turn out to be the stars. You can really tell who's damn good; that's not hard. You can tell the wheat from the chaff. But when it comes to knowing who is going to be a truly major figure and an overriding influence, and why he/she will be so, that is much more problematic. It takes time. Great mistakes might be made by the general public, because they latch onto a phrase, and then in another ten years the phrase may get watered down--like Kuhn's "paradigm"--and finally fade away, and with it the reputation of a person who should have a much bigger reputation than he has when he got popularized around a phrase. So there are these problems. My feeling is that, like others, I identified Kuhn as one of the really interesting people in the department, but not more. I have to add that my list of interesting minds in the department was pretty long; I could give you seven or eight names at least.

Then, if I start to add friends of Kuhn's and mine, like Stanley Cavell--there were at Berkeley other people of exceptional originality in the cultural sciences: Joseph Kerman in music, for instance. I can go on with a pretty long roster of people of our generation, roughly. I think I was probably ten years older than Kuhn--but here we were in the same generation basically. There were a lot of wonderful people on

this campus. If I had been asked in 1965 or '67, who's going to be the blockbuster in all this crowd, I don't know what I would have said.

I would have said of Joseph Kerman, he's a sure thing, because he wrote one book that was so smashing. I assigned it in the course you took: Opera as Drama.[3] I thought it was really a milestone in the understanding of musicology. But I wouldn't have been able to make the judgment about Cavell, or about Kuhn. About Henry May I was pretty sure, when his major book came out on the pre-World War I period.

Lage: Innocence; American Innocence?

Schorske: The End of American Innocence.[4] I thought that looked like a winner. There are judgments you make like that. Joseph Levenson's Confucian China and Its Modern Fate was another instance for me.[5] Then you say, "Well, on the basis of this, this is a really good historian. This is top-drawer stuff," or a good philosopher or whatever. But I couldn't do that with Kuhn; his path-breaking book had not yet been published, and I might not have recognized its revolutionary import.[6]

But I thought he was fascinating and a great interlocutor. He taught me more about conducting intellectual history in our anti-historical age than any other historian except Leonard Krieger. Both wrestled with the problem of doing history in relation to a-historical analytic models. That's my problem. That may have been my research problem ever since I began to get involved in Vienna.

Lage: And that was something that you would feed back and forth with Kuhn?

Schorske: Yes, indeed. And in which his example of wishing to be philosopher and historian when they don't mix in order to do something else, which is history of science, as I wanted to do history of art, history of this, history of that, and put them

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[3]Joseph Kerman, Opera as Drama (New York: Knopf, 1956).

[4]Henry F. May, The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Time, 1912-1917 (New York: Knopf, 1959).

[5]Joseph R. Levenson, Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

[6]Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of the Scientific Revolution (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

all on a social platform. He and I had a somewhat different agenda, but I felt he had taken the hardest problem of all: hard in its ultimate substance, namely, modern physics; hard in the non-miscibility of philosophy and history as modes of thinking. So for the will to bite the bullet, I found him inspiring. That's all.

Lage: Wonderful.

Schorske: But not the findings. Was he going to be the great man of our generation? I had no idea, because I had too little ability to understand, let alone judge, in science.

Lage: That's asking a lot of people, to look to the future in that way.

Carl Schorske, 1966.

Photo courtesy Time magazine,
from the cover of the April 1966 issue.

IV MORE REFLECTIONS ON THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT

Maintaining Freedom of Thought in a Public University

Lage: Now, let's see. We dealt with the Free Speech Movement somewhat cursorily at our interview in May. I'd like to discuss it more fully, but I don't want to go into the details that must be very fuzzy in your mind. I can't imagine that you remember week by week what happened, even with the chronology I sent to you. I ask here [on the interview outline]: It would be good to have a clearer statement of your own position. Well, earlier today, you made the statement about no police dealing with the students. That might be--

Schorske: That is a strategic position. That's very easy. But I think my general position came from wrestling with the problem of how does the republic of letters relate to the civil society. That was the big problem which I had not had to face in force until I came to Berkeley, because Berkeley had had to face it in force in the early fifties. I had already begun to taste it at Wesleyan in the McCarthy era. It was a general problem.

When I came to Berkeley, a renewed privately funded anti-communist crusade was reviving the issue of the oath controversy on the campus in another form. Much of the public and the powerful conservative forces in California suspected that the university was "red" and so on. All the things that [Richard] Hofstadter and others worried about in the American illiberal, anti-intellectual tradition surfaced and gained new salience. But the problem that came to occupy me was the relation between the standards of the university and the standards of civil society: where do they meet, how do they mix? My positions--and I have to use the plural--revolved around that. I felt that it was the responsibility of the university to defend to the death its own autonomy, and for that, the medieval university was the model. I began to think and talk about that, and the department too became involved in these issues before FSM, as I told you last time.

So the conceptual frame with the difficulties inherent in maintaining, at the same time, the fact that the university is an institution with civic responsibility, and yet an institution which, for its primary pursuit, that of learning, must maintain its special absolute standards, which include free thought and speech, the acceptance of ideas from any element in society no matter how hated by our world, and has to do that as a state university; I thought that was absolutely fundamental. So all my positions are always related to this.

Opposing Centralization: The Byrne Report

Schorske: In the course of defending the positions of principle adopted by the senate on December 8, 1964, the structure of the university also came into question. It led to an examination of the position of Berkeley in the University of California system. I became a foe, as did many people here, of the degree of centralization, because centralization made it hard for Berkeley to maintain its position in the crisis. We had people on the other campuses who believed with us as a general faculty--I don't want now to get into the divisions--and who believed in the cause of free speech we were defending, expressed in the Academic Senate positions. I'm not talking about extreme student positions or the later Third World positions; I'm talking about actions by the Berkeley senate, about our institutional self-government and on what principles. We had our allies, but we also had our opponents everywhere.

Lage: On the other campuses, are you saying?

Schorske: On the other campuses. One of the methods of the central administration in trying to control Berkeley's actions under pressure from the Regents was to employ the institutions of centralization. Clark Kerr's institutional plans had had two sides: one was the construction of new campuses, of which each would develop its own special character. The other was to develop statewide institutions that would keep a uniformity of standards, but also limit campus autonomy through central control.

Academically, under normal conditions, it made sense to strengthen the other campuses, even though that meant containing Berkeley's resources in favor of the other campuses. In fact, Berkeley was primus inter pares. In the crisis, the other campuses felt that they should not be dragged down by what they saw as the misbehaviors of Berkeley--understood; but

also, there was a tendency then for the others to be complicit with the majority of the Regents in curbing Berkeley in a way that Berkeley could not and would not accept.

Lage: The action was here on the campus.

Schorske: Right, the action, but not only that, the mentality that sustained the push for free speech and the right of social protest was here on the campus. We had already accepted into our body social a social mix which involved another kind of engagement with the society from the kind that believes that what we should produce are only docile people who will go out and occupy the positions that the elite offers them in the society. We had long abandoned that position, which largely prevailed on all the other campuses. We were already a great university in the most supercharged social climate in the nation in an urban scene where we had in our body social all the currents that were causing havoc throughout the nation.

We were volatile because we were an institution so representative of the society of California, even if the proportion in which its social elements were present here was different from that of the state.

Lage: Ours was volatile?

Schorske: Yes, volatile. It was the most volatile corner of the country then. The most powerful, the most energetic, the most forward-looking, and the most explosive all at once. We were in the middle of it, not the other campuses. They were not. They had a different agenda. So I became very committed to the idea of decentralization, that there would be a university at Berkeley with the autonomy to sustain its special character.

Lage: Did you have encounters with other figures on other campuses?

Schorske: Yes. I was involved with Byrne.

Lage: Jerome Byrne--?

Schorske: Jerome Byrne in Los Angeles in 1965. I spent quite a lot of time working with that group, and they came up with a plan that was altogether to my liking.[1]

Lage: For more decentralization.

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[1]Report on the University of California and Recommendations to the Special Committee of the Regents, by Jerome C. Byrne. May 7, 1965.

Schorske: Much more decentralization. So we wanted to see the system loosened, each campus with its own budget not decided on or recommended by the central authority, but recommended by each campus to do its own thing. There was a lot of illusion in all this, no question. One of the things that a revolution does is it incites creativity, but at the same time, it incites illusions, it inspires illusions. I don't want to exempt myself from being prey to that.

It also incites tremendous anxieties. I felt them, and my colleagues felt them right, left, and center. But in that, you try to steer to find the via media which will give you some kind of locus standi to preserve what you most value. The position for me was that the university must take the social tensions into the bosom of the university and intellectualize them. To do that, you have to defend your status as a university, that is, as an intellectual, professional affair about which the outer world cannot impose its religion, its politics, its exclusivist ideology and practices, right, left or center.

Lage: Its police.

Schorske: Then the battle's lost, when the police come.

Lage: Did you have experiences with faculty on other campuses that encouraged you in this idea that the other campuses were more conservative?

Schorske: I had it more than most faculty because I was involved institutionally with the Emergency Executive Committee, a very short-lived organization. It's amazing to me how much it's forgotten.

Lage: It was just a few months.

Schorske: Six months. It functioned from just after December 8, 1964, through the [Acting Chancellor Martin] Meyerson regime until Roger Heyns became chancellor. Some of the people who were in it ended up in the Heyns administration. But never mind that. In the very short time that I was involved with it, we had first to put over with the Regents the December 8th Resolutions, which were a faculty-voted thing. We got from [President] Clark Kerr agreement for us to go to the Regents' meeting in Los Angeles and try to do that. In that connection, I had some contact with faculty on other campuses, but not much; I didn't know many people.

Lage: On these other campuses?

Schorske: No. I knew few. The Emergency Executive Committee had a meeting with the very competent chancellor of UCLA, a medical doctor. I don't remember his name.

Lage: Was it [Franklin] Murphy?

Schorske: Murphy, sure. He was the man. A very skillful administrator and very adroit in this situation. He never was an overt foe of Berkeley, but he was ready to fish in the troubled waters.

Lage: He was a big supporter of UCLA, however.

Schorske: He was indeed. And what's much more important from our point of view--I speak now as a Berkeley person--he had much more representation for UCLA and its point of view in the Board of Regents than Berkeley had. We had very few sympathetic regents. One of them lives in Princeton and is now a friend of mine, William Roth.

We had but four regents who were really in our corner and one who was occasionally sympathetic--but that was the end of the story. I'm talking now about the senate positions in the crisis.

The December 8 resolutions were our point of entry. First we had the meeting with the Regents, and that was successful. We got Clark Kerr to support us to put the December 8th Resolutions over so far as they concerned free speech--what it was all about in the beginning--and some other things. It was under that resolution that the Emergency Executive Committee was also created. It was short-lived, but it came at an important moment.

Then came other moments which involved us with the Regents, though these were very rare. I don't think you want me to go into all that, but I do want to say what the Byrne committee looked like as established by the Regents. I've learned since that Bill Roth had a lot to do with that, but whatever the reasons, the committee was charged with rethinking the whole UC structure. I thought, and many people here thought, we really needed restructuring, of which decentralization would be the key feature. For us, it would have had to preserve the two principles: professionalism within, which meant absolute freedom of thought, and civic responsibility without.

Its a tricky thing to consider structure and governance when everybody's on fire, and the fellow on your right thinks you're a Maoist, and the fellow on your left thinks you're a fascist. I think I told you this before.

Press Treatment of FSM

Lage: You did. There was a lot of writing about Berkeley. I'm thinking about Nathan Glazer's article in Commentary. Berkeley was on the national scene. Do you recall any of that? Or did people from the East that you had connection with take an avid interest in what was going on out here?

Schorske: They had an interest. But they perceived little about it except the disruption of order, demonstrations and police action. I felt myself this was a media failure, and notably a failure of the New York Times. The Times' education reporter, Fred Hechinger, was my idea of a really poor journalist. He seemed to have only one source of information: the statewide administration.

Lage: Ah. So he didn't give a good--

Schorske: He was simply giving Clark Kerr's line. I hate to keep talking negatively about Clark Kerr, because he did terrific things for this whole state, the university, and Berkeley too, for which he was not credited enough, especially by the faculty. I just wanted to introduce that one demurrer. But in the crisis he had his own views of what was possible and necessary for him, and they were not the same as many of us on this campus. Indeed, his initial rigidity compounded the problems, poured oil on the fire. There cannot be denial of that.

Lage: So you don't think the Times gave the faculty's--

Schorske: The New York Times gave the official view. In the Los Angeles Times, by contrast, I learned what first-class crisis journalism was all about. Did I mention this to you?

Lage: No. You mentioned that you wanted to talk some about the press treatment of this, so this is a good time to do that.

Schorske: All right, this is a good time, because the Los Angeles Times reporter on education was the opposite end of the line from the New York Times. His name was William Trombley.

Lage: Yes, William Trombley. He covered education for a long time.[2]

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[2]Oral history with William Trombley, conducted in 1994 by Dale Treleven, UCLA Oral History Program, California State Archives State Government Oral History Program.

Schorske: I believe he became the education editor. He came up to Berkeley systematically. He became a good friend of mine, and he also became close to people who did not see eye to eye with me at all on the crisis, whether in the faculty, administration, or the student body. Trombley earned everybody's trust, because he canvassed widely and took seriously everything that everybody said. He became a real purveyor of the actual positions that people were occupying. It's very hard to do reportage like this. It's hard for the reporter, it's hard for the interviewees. But he had such a balance in his mentality that he could in fact do that. And boy, did I prize him for it. It became an example of what really great journalism could be.

I have agitated for him to get a Pulitzer prize in his time. His reporting on the Berkeley campus, if it had been published in the New York Times, would have created nationally a very different picture of our situation. I don't want to say it would necessarily favor the segment of opinion I was identified with, but the left's position and issues of principles would not have been swamped by the issues of order that occupied the right and much of the center.

The negative publicity was a matter of deep concern to the faculty that espoused the free speech cause. In a crisis in which freedom and order were both involved, those whose basic concern was with order--which included strict adherence to campus regulations--were always favored over those primarily concerned with freedom. It was much like the civil rights movement, where the protest marches were "illegal," but fundamental to the realization of new freedoms.

I don't think that we have mentioned the faculty groups that formed about this division. But we should briefly identify them, because the left group, favoring the free speech principles, tried to break through the law-and-order publicity on its own on one occasion. That was the group I belonged to.

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Our group started in the middle of the troubles. In a way we had the initiative, because when the crisis was so big in the fall [of 1964], the administration wasn't getting anywhere with its attempts to curb. Then the faculty had to form around something, and they formed around us, for we had the clarity of principle and the will to activate the senate as an institution. So if you look at the December 8th Resolution and the pamphlets that went with it, you will see that we had an advantage because we had thought the thing through and we knew who we were.

Lage: The Committee of Two Hundred, do you remember that?

Schorske: I remember that.

Lage: This was active before December 8th, and more on the left side.

Schorske: I remember it as a name, and I think it was on the left, and I probably was a participant in that. But it didn't claim my full-time allegiance, even though it may have spawned the small committee caucus that came out of that.

Lage: You may have been the ones who wrote the December 8th Resolutions. I think that's what I remember.

Schorske: I'll bet you're right. I just forgot it. See, this is another case of the way memory plays me false.

Anyway, that faculty group certainly, we had a big bloc of support in the faculty, although I'm sure that some of the people who later formed or went with the more conservative Faculty Forum attended meetings of the Committee of Two Hundred in the beginning. That's probably the way it worked. Certainly that's the way I remember it--like Martin Malia, we were very close, he and I, in the beginning of the crisis, talking all the time. Then gradually the sides divided. So it went. He helped found the forum as a law-and-order group. That's part of the process.

But about the publicity and the press: Henry Smith of our caucus had a friend who was a member of the English department, or perhaps the speech department, but also a journalist close to the Chronicle or something. I have forgotten his name. He was a very fine young person. He arranged for us to actually have a kind of a press conference, but private. He took the view that, to have any real impact on the press, one must talk to the owners, publishers, and editors, not to reporters. Somehow, a group of them, including William Knowland, the arch-enemy of free speech in the university, agreed to meet us. We made no formal statement or anything like that. The aim was to try to tell people who were in command of the press what we thought really the issues were and how our thinking went, and to meet their views directly.

So we met--I remember it quite vividly--in San Francisco at Jack's, a now-defunct, wonderful old restaurant on Sacramento Street. We met in a private room and had an afternoon or an evening, or a lunch or something, of open, free discussion with the press people, just trying to press through and get some more attention paid to the point of view of some faculty

members who sympathized with the aims of FSM, and the reasons behind them. We had some success with that.

Lage: And Knowland participated, you say?

Schorske: He did, he came to this. I'm pretty sure I remember right. I can't guarantee it, but I think he did. There were probably six or eight faculty members quite randomly chosen: Reggie Zelnik or Ken Stampp might have been among them. You might ask Ken if he was there. But Henry Smith picked the people and arranged it all. That was just an attempt because we felt it [press coverage] was so very bad. We were also more than eager to go to alumni groups, to go to any place we were asked, and try to get invitations to go to the local churches, to talk wherever we could talk.

Lage: To sort of counteract the press?

Schorske: Yes, yes. For the press focused essentially on the worst student behavior, not the issues. I used in my talks an example of what we thought the university should be, which was something some members of the history department showed during the big anti-communist campaign. Did I talk to you about that last time?

Lage: About the forums?

Schorske: The noon lecture series on communism. And the other ACLU-type activities.

Lage: Yes. [See Chapter II]

Schorske: The communism noon lectures provided an example to me of the way we ought to be behaving. We didn't have a common line; we had different perspectives depending on where we came from and what part of the world we were dealing with, but we were all trying to test our own propositions and to confront the public with a different view. That's the place where it had to be recognized that we of the university had to reflect on the tensions in the society and make our own scholarly judgments on them known.

That was the hard thing to get going and very difficult to maintain when you were being put under stress. During the FSM years, the recourse to force or pressure tactics buried or distorted the issues. When the students would occupy a building or something some people were ready to ignore the issue of free speech and student rights to organize politically and simply backed police action. They felt that was warranted

because of the misbehavior. But when the police came, or when Reagan sent his airplanes with gas to the campus, then the left would feel justified in defending the student actions. In a dialectic of protest and repression, the problem of order and principle became conflated and confused.

Lage: In either case, yes.

A Memorable Meeting with FSM Leaders

Lage: You talked to the press, you talked to the Regents, you talked to the alums. Did you yourself meet with the student leaders of FSM?

Schorske: Yes, I met a number of times with them in different contexts. I had some in my class, so I could talk to some of them.

Lage: How did that work? I know some people who dealt with students became very frustrated with shifting positions.

Schorske: Sure. So did I. I had no permanent commitment to many positions they were taking, partly because they were changing all the time. Only where the key factors of academic freedom and civil rights for university members came into play: that was where my loyalty was and would remain.

I had one very unhappy experience when--probably because I was a member of the Emergency Executive Committee and considered to be the lefty in that small group--I was invited by the FSM to a big meeting of leaders and their loose in-group of activists.

Lage: The Steering Committee, I think they called it.

Schorske: Yes, the Steering Committee, and who was on it, and how many of the friends of those on it would be at a given meeting varied. I was invited to a fairly large one. I had a very miserable evening, because I soon realized that I was sitting not to exchange views or to discuss, but as a scapegoat. I was put on the hot seat and given the hot foot. It was something between a revolutionary tribunal and a ritual slaying of an old bull, a father slaying.

Lage: And you were the liberal member of the Emergency Executive Committee.

Schorske: Yes, but that made no difference. For that evening, the most radical students set the tone. I doubt that it was planned that way. It emerged as the kind of group dynamic you often get in mass movements. It wasn't necessarily deliberate cruelty, but in situations like that, the worst guy, the boldest brother, always has the voice.

Lage: So it was an attacking kind of thing?

Schorske: Attacking, and the strongest weapon is the weapon of laughter. If you can say something that makes the other person, the "guest," that penetrates his armor with wit, then the laughter breaks out, and the laughter consolidates the mob, the mass, in its own righteousness and its sense of otherness from its scapegoat. So I experienced that; that was unpleasant.

In Europe too, in 1968, it was common for radical students to reject the professors who espoused their cause. Marcuse at Frankfurt, the theologian Helmut Gollwitzer in Berlin were pilloried even worse in this way. Many European professors were scarred for life by this treatment. My hosts that night let me feel their distance, even their cruelty--often through derisive laughter--but for me it was a sign that others on the faculty, such as Reggie Zelnik, would have to hold the lines of communication open to the leaders of FSM. My usefulness in this role, never great, was clearly at an end.

Teaching and the Intellectual Atmosphere during FSM

Schorske: In contrast to this unusual experience with the student activists, I have to cite marvelous experiences as a teacher in the sixties. Reading Ray Colvig's account,[3] I want to tell you that his stress on the faculty ratings--and other evidences about the university that show it still a very vigorous intellectual center--certainly conforms to my experience. I don't know exactly what class you were in, Ann.

Lage: I was here during that time. I was class of '63, and then I was in graduate school during the FSM.

Schorske: Were you in my course during that time or before?

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[3]Chronology of events of the 1960s, prepared by Ray Colvig, campus public information officer. A copy of this chronology is in the UC Archives, The Bancroft Library. A summary of the chronology was sent to Professor Schorske before this interview session.

Lage: I think it was before.

Schorske: Doesn't make any difference. I can tell you that the work that was done in class, the atmosphere in class, to me were extremely stimulating.

Lage: Even during the midst of it?

Schorske: Oh, sure. When I went off campus to teach, the engaged atmosphere in class never dropped. Not all people attended, but the people who followed me off campus were as involved with the work as ever. There were people who felt it was wrong for me--

Lage: When you held your class off campus?

Schorske: Right. When I held it up in the Newman Club on College Avenue, or the Westminster House.

Lage: So some people thought you shouldn't hold your class at all?

Schorske: Sure, naturally.

Lage: Did anybody say you should hold your class on campus? Were there any students who objected to--

Schorske: Yes, I had a few letters like that. It was not a problem for me, because I was giving my classes. The students were often asked to travel shorter distances to get to the classes that I was giving off campus than they would have if they had to go from some other part of the campus to get to where I was scheduled to give the class. So that was an easy thing to answer: "I am available, I insist on being available. I will cooperate with the strike against the policy of the university, but I will not stop my teaching function come hell or high water, because that's not what I'm here for."

Those classes also were very good. They may have been tense, and the students may often have colored their findings with the results of the intensity of the experience they were going through, but they were intellectually alive. So who the hell cares? As a teaching situation it was fine, it was just fine. And to get that across to the press--??

I shall give you one opposite piece of testimony, the worst personal moment I ever had in Berkeley. I used to give my grad seminar at home. I lived out on El Camino Real, the other side of the Claremont Hotel beyond Ashby Avenue.

Lage: Near Tunnel Road.

Schorske: That's right. Anyway, I always had my seminar there. I continued that during the time the students were on strike. But my seminar was "off campus" as always in my home. It was nothing new. But one night, three members of my seminar came to the door, not to come in, but to tell me that they were no longer willing to have the seminar at home. I don't know whether that was during the strike or not; I'm not sure. But it was in a moment of high hostility.

The man who led this little group, I remember him very well. He was a professed Maoist. There were very few students who made it a creed. He wore heavy boots; he had the militant costumery to go with the position--another great rarity among the student activists. He gave me to understand that he and the two students (who were actually my lecture course assistants) would no longer attend my seminar.

Lage: At all? Or they didn't like it at home? Or did they object to you and your activities?

Schorske: At all. No, they did not want, in this situation, to attend my seminar. Whether it was because I should have been totally on strike, I really can't remember. I remember only the tone, the peremptory tone, in which this was delivered. To hold one's seminars at home wasn't so very normal at any time, though other faculty members certainly did it in my department. But I didn't think I deserved this kind of treatment. I had a record, and they knew what the record was. Also I felt that for them to cut their academic activity as graduate students meant something different from students interfering with a class--I had only one episode where anybody tried to stop a lecture, and that was quickly dispelled. The episode at home was uniquely painful, for I was its target as a professional, not as an institutional representative as I had been at the FSM scapegoating meeting.

Lage: Can you remember if we're talking about the FSM time or later?

Schorske: I'm pretty sure this is still FSM. All my major experiences with students, as with the senate, were pretty much FSM in the mid-sixties. You have to realize how much I was gone.

Lage: In the later sixties.

Schorske: In the later sixties. It began almost right away. I had already had a leave promised to go to the Behavioral Studies

Center for a half year, which I believe was in the spring of '66. So I was only in--

Lage: Then you were at Princeton '67 to '68.

Schorske: Yes. Beginning in the fall of '67.

Lage: You were assistant to Chancellor Heyns.

Schorske: Very briefly. I was there for a year.

Lage: Did you teach during that year, or were you occupied with--

Schorske: Certainly. I taught. I don't think I taught a full load, but I certainly taught. When I came back, in the fall of '68, the situation on campus was much worse than when I left in many ways. At one level, people were inured to the really sick side of things, Telegraph Avenue and so on. But it was a shock to return to see how far cultural deterioration had proceeded. Now we're talking about really sick people, Berkeley counterculture--students and others--of wasted lives.

Lage: Yes. I think we should hold off on that. We've spent our time today. I think we're going to wear you out if I keep prodding away. Just to wind up with the FSM period, do you have any comments about Henry May's leadership [as department chair] during FSM?

Schorske: It's odd. I don't remember it as striking one way or another. I remember that he chaired a large meeting of the department shortly after the crisis broke--you refreshed my memory and then I recalled it--where the department discussed what position to take, if any. He certainly chaired it pretty well. Henry May certainly didn't share my position; he didn't from the beginning. He's very nervous about radicals anyway, especially radical action. This goes way back, at least to our graduate days at Harvard. It doesn't mean that he's a right-winger at all; he's a true liberal. But he also is very nervous about anything that isn't within rather conventional channels. That manifested itself quickly and made him join with Delmer Brown and Martin Malia and others who shared his position, in the so-called Faculty Forum.

I don't remember that his leadership of the department betrayed any political position. He didn't make politics from his administrative position, and he didn't prevent it. He was a true chairman, what the chairman of our department was supposed to be. I can only say that if I remember nothing striking, the more the credit to him for that.

V EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE WAKE OF FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT

[Interview 3: May 6, 1997] ##

Charles Muscatine and the Commission on Educational Reform

[Carroll Brentano is present during the interview, which was conducted at the Brentano home.]

Lage: Yesterday I thought we really did finish up on FSM. I don't want to dwell on it, so if something comes to mind as we're talking, fine, but let's move on.

Schorske: What are we moving onto?

Lage: Well, your one year with Roger Heyns as assistant to the chancellor for educational development, but beyond that, your comments on and relationship with this move towards educational reform during that time. The Muscatine Report[1] came out, and the Tussman College program began, and I wondered if you had a role with either of those?

Schorske: No, not really. Muscatine was one of the faculty group that was organized to support the aim of free speech. Muscatine came out of that. But, as you are probably aware, he was earlier a refugee from the oath controversy of the fifties, and he came to Wesleyan where I was teaching. Have I told you this?

Lage: Yes, you knew him at Wesleyan.

Schorske: He was a member of the smaller group that in the end made the December 8th Resolution or that moved toward that. What you identified as the Committee of Two Hundred--and I had forgotten that name--but anyway, we were the little caucus that was sort of self-appointed.

Lage: And was interested in civil liberties?

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[1]Education at Berkeley: Report of the Select Committee on Education, UC Berkeley Academic Senate, March 1966.

Schorske: Yes, but as individuals. Only after the troubles began did we come together as a larger group. If you don't have the identity of those people, you probably should. They were--it was a little bit floating. The historians were Kenneth Stampp, [Charles] Sellers, Reginald Zelnik, and myself. I think that's all. There was Howard Schachman from molecular biology. There were three sociologists who came and went, but they were in and out all the time. They were Philip Selznick, [William] Kornhauser, and Leo Lowenthal. Lowenthal was the most continuous member of this group; it lasted several years. But the others were very important and active, Selznick in particular. Then the political science person was Sheldon Wolin, who played a big role in reconstitution after I left Berkeley. He was also very important in the so-called Foote-Mayer report.[2] They were already working on the constitution of the Berkeley campus. Muscatine and Henry Nash Smith were the people in our group from the English department.

This group lasted relatively intact until the end of 1964/65. I mention this because nobody had any idea of all the activities that were going to develop, but as it happened, various members of the group became engaged in the spin-off activities that followed from the initial FSM impulse. Muscatine was the main one who took up educational reform.

Lage: How do you see these related to the push from the students? Or was it a faculty initiative?

Schorske: It was certainly not a faculty initiative. Educational improvement was something about which members of the faculty--there were aspects of this that always bothered members of the faculty. One of the people who was most concerned and most active about it is the much-maligned Ray Sontag, who was very concerned about how to keep personal connection with students in the mass educational system. He didn't have any nostrums for this, but in his own teaching reached out to vast numbers of students through interviews, things that people didn't do. When you taught classes of a hundred or more--

Lage: You mean class office-hour types of things?

Schorske: Yes. He had office hours, and he kept a file box of the students to kind of refresh his mind about their personal characters and problems. This was often seen as something--and it may have been that--that enabled him to play favorites, or that he had a taste for that. But the other side of it was the depth of his educational concern, and that was very real. He had that

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[2]Caleb Foote, Henry Mayer, et al. The Culture of the University: Governance and Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1968).

reputation at Princeton before he came here. When he came to a mass university, he refused to give it up. He didn't just become a lecturer; he was a teacher. I'm talking about undergraduate education; that was his particular thing to get worried about.

What triggered the push for educational reform? I really feel it was a student thing, but it was something which I think Mario Savio, in an inspired moment, launched as an attack in some speech that had nothing to do with the free speech issue, but had to do with flouting authority on educational grounds. In that famous phrase: "We're just a card. Do not fold, spindle, or mutilate."

Lage: That really took hold in the imagination of the students.

Schorske: Not just with the students; it precipitated an issue, that the way the registrar's office worked, the way the whole machinery for enrolling in courses worked, whether you were in a large course or a small course, all these things. Nobody had systematically thought that through. That triggered the educational reform thing.

Then in the wake of the actual FSM business, when it began to get resolved--that is, in December--because the faculty took hold of the question, the senate, then the other issues began to surface. For good or for ill, they surfaced. One of them was educational practice and how it would work, could something be done to personalize a mass institution in education?

That led to the establishment of the Muscatine committee, the Committee on Educational Reform. Muscatine certainly was interested in this. His interests ranged beyond just the forms of education or even the question of intimacy between students and teachers. He got into questions of language, the relation between high and vernacular literature. He became related, in a very interesting way--I don't know how much he knew him personally, he knew him somewhat--to Father Ong. Is this a name to you?

Lage: No.

Schorske: He's a great scholar. He was from St. Louis University. I'm not sure what order it was; it doesn't make any difference. He was a scholar of the great Portuguese intellectual of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, very famous--Ramon Lul. He's a Portuguese humanistic scholar. That was his specialty, but he got on to all kinds of extra questions.

Lage: This Father Ong?

Schorske: Yes. They had to do with uses of language and how our literary language is not necessarily exhaustive of culture, that it was the

beginning of a critique of "pure" language from the academy. This begins to ramify. I could go on on this--[laughs]

Cultural Side Issues to the Free Speech "Revolution"

Lage: How does this relate to the educational reform?

Schorske: Because it suggests one side of educational reform that was begun but not then carried very far. More was done at Stanford in specific classes than here to take in vernacular literature as part of literary substance, and to indicate how it was related to the literary potential, if you like, of purely low-culture language. Central to this discussion then came people like [William] Burroughs, the Naked Lunch. [Robert Pirzig's] [Zen and the Art of] Motorcycle Maintenance. So it was not yet into the question of using black English or things like that, but it was moving that way.

Now, Muscatine had a feel for this. He didn't carry it very far himself, but this latched onto things that are very deep in the Catholic tradition of Father Ong. Sensitivity to local language is developed when you engage in missionary work. One set of missionaries wants to Europeanize "the native," and the other set wants to say, "Culture is culture, Christianity is Christianity. They should be brought together, but don't confuse the one with the other." Respect all human language and cultures. I would say this point of view began to have some resonance in a post-Christian, multicultural world context.

Lage: And it does seem right that it grew out of this movement in the sixties.

Schorske: Yes, out of the cultural quests of minorities for separate identities, and it did grow out of the ethnic movements in universities, but it was something which in the end education needed to take account of. Now we get into the problems of '69 to '71. I was not fully in all this, but these are things that began to issue from that, and where academics began to get interested in it.

Lage: That almost sounds like new subjects rather than new forms of class instruction.

Schorske: Yes, but it also fits with what do you think your education is doing? How far are you converting people into a homogeneous elite? How far are you making a universal culture? And how far are you making a pluralized culture? It took almost two decades

for these issues to surface enough so that they acquired address by academic people.

Lage: But you see roots of them in this time.

Schorske: Yes. The frames began to be set. We're always talking about overlapping revolutions. As I told you before, the simple civil liberties thing was the beginning and the heart of the first push, but then it became an empowerment question for students. When the empowerment question came for students, that happened to coincide with empowerment questions that some of the students and faculty had already been involved in with the civil rights movement. Some of the professors had been involved in this, Kenneth Stampp very vigorously among them in the civil rights movement. Even though it would probably not have occurred to Kenneth Stampp to press the claims of black vernacular culture against American high culture, that is what some scholars in the department--Larry Levine and Leon Litwack--did. The minority rights movements fueled the ethnic studies movements.

The dissolution of conventional authority that took place around the liberation in a very traditional way of a rights revolution for free speech, when it became a rights revolution for civil rights, that was already a step toward radicalization. If in another step you then throw the body in, and you begin to develop the sexual aspect of liberation, the feminist aspect of this, there's a radiating set--

Lage: Very far-reaching.

Schorske: Indeed. So the political revolution, as so often happens, begins to develop cultural ramifications and begins to erode structures of authority that have been operating with a social consensus unquestioned by anybody for years and years. The modes of deference suddenly change. What kind of clothes do you wear when you speak to the chancellor?

I remember when I was working with Heyns, one evening he invited the FSM committee to the house to dinner. He had moved himself back to the campus; Chancellor Strong lived away from the campus. He took over the old president's house and wanted to reactivate it, to be a visible presence on campus. He invited Bettina [Aptheker], et cetera, to meet him. He hadn't met them. I was asked to introduce the people. So we met, and to my surprise, they were all dressed up in a conventional way. I say to my surprise, because that was not the way they had lately disported themselves on the campus. Getting your tie off was the first step; throwing your jacket away was the second.

Lage: For the women, the dresses went.

Schorske: Men and women, right. They began to dress alike, with jeans; unisex came. These things happened, and then became quickly generalized in the culture so that even people who were not involved in the movement adopted the new loose style. It wasn't possible for me any longer to do what I mentioned to you yesterday, to tell who was a child of a farmer in the Valley from who was a child of the San Francisco elite or who was from a Jewish high school in Los Angeles. You couldn't tell it by the clothing any more because everybody began to dress alike.

Lage: Do you remember any more about that dinner? How the feelings between the generations went?

Schorske: I don't remember a thing. [laughter] Yes, I have one picture. It was my meeting with these students. We had agreed to meet in front of the steps that led up to the house. We did, and I remember my surprise at their dress. I don't think I remarked on it. I brought them in and introduced them. It was a perfectly agreeable and civilized evening. Everybody was on their good behavior--which didn't mean that twenty-four hours later that they wouldn't be on bad, i.e., defiant, behavior again. [laughter]

I remember it as a truce, but I don't remember anything about the substance. It was a way of their saying, "We're ready to work with a new guy." But how far that went, and what were their internal discussions about, I know nothing.

You must understand I was never really personally close to any of the Steering Committee except one: Martin Roysher. He was in my class and you might have even known him. He became very turned on when I worked in my course on William Morris, the English Pre-Raphaelites, and the Arts and Crafts Movement, with their relation to socialism.

Roysher, unlike many of the student leaders, was very inclined to socialism. He was also the son of a professor of silver craftsmanship in an important school in Los Angeles for practical training in the crafts. So Roysher had a very high respect for arts and crafts, and he never knew that that had any connection with socialism or things like that.

You will remember that another cultural manifestation of the sixties movement was a mania for arts and crafts. People got turned on by it; this was an alternative way of making a living without entering the system. This is how hippies thought they would set themselves up independent of the society, often on communes on the land, and so on. With Roysher, that crafts thing resonated before it became widespread. I told you yesterday how electric I found much of the atmosphere to be in my classes, in my teaching. The relation I had with Roysher and other students who,

whatever their politics, were searching history for clues to their present situation, was interesting, if rarely close.

Lage: Did you know Michael Rossman?

Schorske: I knew Michael Rossman, though not well. He was intellectually quite forceful, but unlike Roysher, he had not sublimative capacity. The FSM was a desublimating movement on the whole.

Lage: Now, tell me what you mean by that.

Schorske: What I mean is that when you let aggressive instinct loose, as revolutionary or counter-revolutionary movements do, there is a way of letting it go raw so that you can shred the opponent. The relation between love and rape; let's put these at two poles. Both are based on sexual instinct, but love can be spiritualized. Art carries the same process further, make virtual experience out of instinctual impulse, and this inhibits it. Our instincts are most related to our animal character psychologically, and we are animals. But then if you begin to refine them, give them mental form, that's sublimation. You then have indirect feeling where direct impulse was the rule before.

Lage: And this FSM group had difficulty with sublimation?

Schorske: They were not strong sublimators, at least in their collective action. And the problem is--

Lage: [laughs] Others might describe it differently.

Schorske: And then you have people on the faculty. In Freudian terms, they have strong egos and superegos, repressing the id. Many of them have great trouble sublimating. They may do so in the little corners of their lives. But mostly faculty people, they are rational, active in the constructive power of the intellect, logic, et cetera, and they are also ethical. At least it's part of our academic code, our convention, that we should be ethical people, to repress instinct. Nobody tells us to be artistic people, sublimators. And if you look at the history of the universities, it's always been a problem to get aesthetics, man's sublimative aspect, taken seriously at a university.

Personal Response to Cultural Changes of the Sixties

Lage: Let me ask you: during the sixties, do you think your ability to kind of stand back and apply a cultural analysis helped you deal with the change better? Some faculty fell by the wayside in terms of support for the students.

Schorske: I did too in some ways, but I can only say I don't think that my capacity for aesthetic sublimation, which is high, was much of an obstacle to my relating to the students even though they were desublimating and letting their instincts speak. Other people were outraged by student behavior because they confused conventions of order with the principles of law.

Lage: Or lack of deference to authority seemed to--

Schorske: Upset them? That's the worst side of it. The best side of the legal outlook is that there is regularity in civil relations, and that law expresses it, and so on. I was not outraged by the defiance of legal authority, because authority was violating rights. I didn't favor disorderly behavior, but it didn't bother me so deeply, any more than it did in the civil rights movement or the anti-Vietnam War movement.

Lage: You mentioned coming back from your leave in Princeton--now we're jumping way ahead--and being kind of shocked by changes that occurred the year that you were gone. Was there a point when you kind of lost faith in where this revolution was going?

Schorske: No, that concern began earlier. The rawness had always bothered me, as had the rigidity of the administration; I can't deny that. Revolution and counter revolution are a deadly team. What bothered me when I returned was that the visible signs of--I would almost call it a cultural sickness--had begun to manifest themselves. I mean the street and drug culture, the onset of which many of us hardly noticed. The presence then of people from all over the country for whom Berkeley became a mecca who had nothing to do here, who were idle and who engaged themselves on and off in the protest movement, but who began to saturate the whole surround of the university with a presence of decaying life --it was no longer informed engagement or anything like that (I shudder to use a word as formalistic as that), but rather they were just a presence looking for a peculiar kind of release from the normal constraints that a culture imposes.

Lage: When did you notice that aspect taking over? Not during FSM?

Schorske: I don't know. I told you in the interview last November, or whenever we were together, that the first awareness of this that caught to my full attention was that little guy carrying the sign saying "Fuck." The "filthy speech movement."

Lage: Which occurred right on the heels of FSM. [March 3, 1965]

Schorske: So that was very early. That was the beginning. That was only the beginning of a sort of revolution of the body, a return of the repressed. It brought a drastic shift from what had been rights in the area of politics and justice to new freedoms in the area of

libidinal and instinctual life. That had its cultural ramifications, and some of them were very good; thus there was an intellectual and aesthetic side that was remarkable. I was interested in [Gustav] Mahler, and I'll never forget how, quite suddenly, Mahler became the composer for the musically sensitive part of the new student culture.

Now that's a small corner, but Mahler, with his fragmented style, with the power of his emotions, with the whipsaw and whiplash kind of musical compositional technique, Mahler was a composer who fit a new psychological culture of feeling. Beethoven, who's always returning you back to terra firma and hammering in the diatonic system again, after his Promethean excursions into the unknown, isn't with it in the sense of the endless kaleidoscopic exfoliation of Mahler. When you had people wearing buttons--one of the first signs of the new freedom on campus were tables selling buttons on Sproul Plaza, you could get a button saying "Mahler Grooves." Well, this is, was sublimation --the cultural side of the student revolt.

Lage: These are things that are forgotten, I think.

Schorske: Of course they are, and these are things that weren't noticed at the time either. But these are all in the realm of aesthetics. They're not in the realm of justice, law.

Lage: So we have that shift, and then we have the Third World issue coming in.

Schorske: The Third World issue comes in, and that was another phase of the multi-dimensional political/cultural revolution of the sixties. And of course, that was a huge shift that happened in the year of my absence, to the best of my knowledge. I never really got involved with that except, when I came back, it was a presence, and faculty had virtually no contact with the people who were pressing this. There were interested faculty who wanted the cause pursued, but there was practically nobody--the German professor, Fritz Tubach was an exception--who had contact with the people who led it, a new group with ties to the black radical movements outside the university.

Lage: Community people?

Schorske: Community people. Don't ask me about that; I'm too ignorant.

A Range of Responses to a Revolutionary Situation: Heyns, Meyerson, Searle, and the "Yellow Submarine"

Lage: Okay. [laughs] Now, we started off talking about educational reform and we got way off, so let's go back.

Schorske: I want to go back to education. I can't deal with the making of the Muscatine Report, for I can't remember it well, except that it recommended much greater flexibility in programming and the establishment of separate small college units within the university. The Strawberry Canyon College experiment issued from it. It had some similarity to the Tussman Experimental College Program which was activated before the report, I think. But it didn't have the rather stiff, formalistic quality that Tussman drew from his great mentor, Alexander Meiklejohn. Others can tell you about the Tussman experiment and its meaning.

I myself favored pluralism for the solution of the mass university's educational problem. What I came to realize was that in practice, if you wanted to change the education, you would have to do it by resigning yourself to the introduction of a great many transient programs, some of which might take, some of which might rub off and not take but leave a legacy of some sort, while much of it would not last. I still believe that. In all forms of teaching, you cannot institutionalize it and make it permanent. The problem is to find a flexible relationship between slowly evolving disciplines and the more quickly changing student culture and its intellectual interests and values.

What we had is a special problem that was a concern of mine when I was involved with Heyns: how to meet deep need for new forms of education without succumbing to ideological fashion or, on the faculty side, traditionalist conceptions. My wife was in a way more involved than I with educational innovation, because she was a researcher for Neil Smelser, whose name has not come up much here. I hope you're going to do an interview with Neil Smelser.

Lage: I hope to.

Schorske: He was not in my political camp, but he was a person I deeply respected as an intellectual educator.

Lage: He was more moderate?

Schorske: Yes. He didn't seem to be a political man at all as far as student rights were concerned. He was not concerned with the university's shape and structure either. He was an interesting sociologist, very theoretically inclined, but he didn't mix it up with radical, conservative--these categories meant little to him, as far as I could see. He was interested in the substance of

educational improvement. And his first thing, and that was under Heyns--

Lage: He succeeded you in the post as vice chancellor for educational reform.

Schorske: I think so in substance, yes--but I was never a vice chancellor. Well, he did a lot more with it. I have to step back one second to say that when I was with Heyns in his first six months, you must understand what the degree of the problem was on the campus when all the new movements were bursting out all over. Reform efforts were in the hands of the faculty committees, or being agitated for by the students. Actually, three of us--you may get different testimony from Cheit or Searle--but I always thought the three of us were sort of the inner advisors to Heyns--working as a group to meet constantly shifting pressures.

Lage: Heyns was new on the campus.

Schorske: He was new on the campus. He was very good about taking advice, but also a very strongly defined person, much more strongly self-defining than Meyerson, who took advice more readily and had a much wider span of vision for alternatives than Heyns.

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Schorske: Heyns had a sense of justice, and strong ethical convictions. This man was completely on the side of righteousness, he was a law-type man. Meyerson was less so. Meyerson was a very aesthetic and cosmopolitan person, and Heyns was a very, I would almost say provincial, Michigander, Oak Grove Dutch. That's where he came from. And a philosopher-psychologist of a very scientific kind. He's truly Dutch Reformed: ethical but somewhat rigid.

Lage: Was he the right man for that time, or do you think somebody more like Meyerson could have done more?

Schorske: Meyerson would have been better, I think, but never mind. Meyerson failed later in other institutions. Who would succeed in that turbulent situation, God alone knows. I feel Heyns did a very fine job according to his lights, though I became more and more distant from his rigid policies. It was a good thing I left on sabbatical, because I would have had to leave his team for policy reasons. I could not go the police route.

Lage: Do you mean bringing in the police?

Schorske: Yes. And I could not go with the basic attitude that Heyns, Cheit and Searle had, that to do things strictly by the rules, you solve problems with rules. It's not my temperament.

Lage: Is it John Searle's temperament?

Schorske: Emphatically.

Lage: He'd been so much a student supporter, or at least that was the impression I had.

Schorske: John Searle was a real student supporter in the beginning. He was an English angry young man. He was no nonsense. He and Tom Nagel, another able philosopher who went to NYU, were the two angry young men of the philosophy department. There were two in math who were really wild men: [Stephen] Smale and somebody else. All of these people were extremely capable in their academic disciplines, let me make it very clear, but in their relations with the students they were, for my money, too uncritical at one end, and, in the case of Searle, much too repressive at the later end of the development.

Lage: Did you see Searle make a switch during this period?

Schorske: Oh, sure. It was a visible switch, from a radical stress on political rights to a radical stress on academic order.

Lage: What prompted it?

Schorske: I cannot enter that psychology. I do not know what prompted it. There is no man who didn't have a threshold of tolerance: "How much shall we live in the disorder in patience and wait it out?" Ken Stampp: unintelligible switch from one position to another with respect to student defiance of academic authority. Perhaps he could tolerate breaches of civility when political freedom was at stake, but not for cultural freedom or student power. You may get the reason for it, he may give it to you in his testimony. But to me it was unintelligible He not only switched, but he became a very angry man, not that he ever became a reactionary.

Lage: I think he perceives that he stayed the same and the ground beneath him switched.

Schorske: I think he could be absolutely right about that. That's what I mean by patience, in the face of the wider process unfolding that transcended the issue of free speech. Berkeley's was, in form though not in scale, truly a revolutionary situation--and that was for me as an historian its great lesson. I learned more from the university upheaval than from all the history books I had read about what the dynamic of revolution is: I learned that it is a dynamic of dissolution and halting re-integration; and that no person can know from its initial form how far it will go or in what channels it will flow. The dissolution will go on, and on, and on, until slowly islands of recongelation, of some kind of order, will begin to emerge in a place that is not necessarily

expected. It's not the same as a victory of repression. The repressive thing will gather around possibilities for order that emerge from the open situation. Whether they be reactionary or progressive, one often doesn't know. But the dissolution process is one that tries the soul.

Lage: Did you discuss it with Searle?

Schorske: With Searle, no. I happened to be away when the intervention was made--the "bust" in the student union--that led to the "Yellow Submarine." That was the key moment. The "Yellow Submarine" was the sign of a great change in direction of the student movement. That particular Beatles song was connected with the drug culture: it was connected also with a certain utopianism. The embattled students in the union thought of it as a moment of solidarity, expressing the will to resist the overwhelming force of the power that was brought against them. But the "Yellow Submarine" was also a testimony of defeat.

Lage: And withdrawal.

Schorske: Yes. Retreat into the psyche. It was the place where the cult of the body and the drug and the new culture began to really erode the political will. That was a testimony of defeat. I didn't read it that way at the time, but I see it that way now. The Searle/Cheit police intervention, they undertook with great conviction, and Heyns went along. How much was he involved? I was not in on the decision, so I don't know. But certainly it meant a lot to me in a negative way that our administration had now taken police action when in that situation it really was unnecessary, in my opinion. I wasn't here. It didn't look that way to me. But I knew that the fat was in the fire again. Berkeley went the way of confrontational force later taken by Harvard and Columbia; not the wise, evasive, patient road of Chicago, Yale, Wesleyan, and Princeton, which spared those institutions from so much bitterness and grief.

Efforts to Improve Faculty-Student Dialogue

Lage: We left Neil Smelser because these other things came up, and I think we have to pursue them when they do come up, but let's not forget him.

Schorske: No, and you're probably going to have to reorder some of these remarks. They can't just be put in this wild sequence that I'm rolling along on.

Lage: We'll see. There is a certain order to them, and, after all, the events rolled along wildly as well.

Schorske: Yes, Neil Smelser. Neil had a very good idea--or maybe it was Roger Heyns--who was educationally open and fertile, by the way. He was a good educator. I wish he had been made president of Michigan, and so did a lot of people there, because he knew the ground well and was a pioneer in educational innovation there, instead of being dumped into this impossible governance situation at Cal. The Smelser idea was that you go around the faculty and you ask them what they would like for educational innovation, department by department. Very institutional, very legalistic, very formal. Not to my taste, because department-centered. It's all right as a starter.

It was something, however, to encourage the departments to improve the relationship between faculty and students. What do you feel you'd like to have? One percent of the budget was to be devoted to innovative courses, I believe. Liz, my wife, was Smelser's interviewer. So she went to the departments and asked these questions and learned about departmental difficulties in Berkeley.

Lage: It'd be nice if all of that was kept. Do you think it is? Do you think there's a record of it?

Schorske: I'll bet it is. She wrote it all up, department by department. The amazing thing was that some departments already had marvelous social devices, and they were usually for student/faculty contact. It's one of the things the biologists were very good at, at least some of the biologists. There were different biological subgroups, but we had a marvelous life sciences group in the campus generally. Some had ongoing weekly seminars. Whether it was an outsider or a grad student or a professor, somebody every week read a paper. Whether it was bag lunch or something like that. This was the way to make a student a mature participant in the scholarly community, to socialize him or her where it counted most.

Lage: Was this something instituted in response to the sixties' pressures from students--or was this a tradition in the department?

Schorske: No, I'm sure that these biologists--because scientists are much better in apprenticeship than we, especially with grad students--they're not so hot on the undergraduates--but with the grad students they can be very good. I think some of them already had these things going. But Liz said the bottom line was everybody wanted a place to have coffee, a social space; which, of course, from where I sat was sheer nonsense. I believe in housing, and I believe in places for social intercourse, but unless it has an

intellectual function at its center, it achieves little. The idea of sitting down and having coffee with a student in a department lounge adds nothing--I'd rather be on Sproul Plaza or the what-do-you-call-it, the Golden Bear, cafeteria.

Lage: The dining center.

Schorske: Right. Or out on the street, on Telegraph in a coffee house. If you want a coffee, you don't need--

Lage: So people wanted their little spots within each department.

Schorske: Right. That was one way to address the question. There were certainly other suggestions but I do not know them. But the idea of trying to say to the department, "What do you want?" must have given Smelser information about how the departments were responding officially to what would bring students and faculty together.

Well, let me go to my own educational side. I really wrestled with this bone myself because I had a large class.

Lage: You mentioned in an article you've written, which I have here somewhere, an experience you had here and a student's comment. Do you want to tell about that?

Schorske: You'd like it for this record?

Lage: Yes, if it was an important experience.

Schorske: It was important for me in trying to address the generation gap in teaching intellectual history. It was the end of, I think it was actually the second term of the year 1964-65. We were still then on the semester system, I believe. But whatever it was, I always taught through the year when I was on deck, so I can't fix the term. Anyhow, the end of the term came, and I got the usual applause that students give you. I walked out of the class with a lot of students still around, and behind me this girl said--and I remember a girl; I don't remember her name, but she was an interesting woman, one of my Los Angeles high school types--saying [scornfully]: "And they call that a dialogue."

That was the line she used to express her contempt of the system of lecturing, and of my lecturing--that this was not dialogue. There was no exchange between students and faculty. Of course, my experience of that course in particular, and this is always my number-one happy memory of my Berkeley teaching experience, was that people did intervene in a large lecture class. Even if they didn't intervene often, they brought me after-class contributions to my own knowledge that were enormous. That could come from any quarter.

Lage: You mean you found that students did respond to lectures?

Schorske: They did. They responded not only to lectures, but in them. I believe in lecturing. I believe it is not only an efficient way of teaching large numbers, but also brings out a certain aspect of some instructors' flair for the oral form, who are ham actors in some way. The less "ham" the better. But certainly the lecture is a style of instruction that can be very persuasive.

Lage: And stimulating.

Schorske: Stimulating. So, good. I'm in favor of lecturing, but not exclusively, or at the expense of the personal intellectual exchange. When my student said these things about the dialogue, I felt a deep-cutting truth. She was probably one who didn't like lectures. Or she might have been turned on to say so by the going FSM critique that this was a factory; that was a common indictment of Berkeley.

Then the question was, how do you get a dialogue? That was what interested me most in the sociological situation where the culture of the students was drifting away from accepting, as a valid experience, the very culture of their elders, of the teachers. So how do you bridge? They have new questions. They're not my questions, they're their questions. How do you in that situation create a dialogue--not just between teacher and student, but between generations who are ceasing to communicate with each other? Whatever his/her personal respect or affinity for the faculty member--the student didn't have to be a member of FSM or anything else to experience the generation gap. It's an eternal problem, but in the crisis it grew wider and made the need for more personal instruction more acute.

So my effort then was to devise a form of more personal intellectual engagement within the frame of the larger lecture system to address that. I was not alone; other faculty members were doing it in their own ways. The method that I found--do you want this?

Lage: Yes, I do. This is the kind of thing that's interesting, what developed educationally from this era.

Schorske: My plan centered on teaching assistants who would run sections with far more independence from the professor's lectures and reading than was traditionally allowed. For that I needed support from the administration.

Lage: You hadn't had that before?

Schorske: I didn't have a section system. Like other lectures in history's upper-division courses, I just had readers. I think that some readers held some kind of informal discussion group, I'm not sure. But now I had a system where the graduate student TAs [teaching assistants] would devise their own subjects for consideration by the students that were related to the structure of my course, but were not locked in to my lectures and readings necessarily. I called them satellite seminars.

The graduate students had to be much more numerous than the readers because they had to teach sections, so they had to get paid--that's where support came in. They would write a little catalogue notice of about fifty to seventy-five words of what their topic would be. I gave this course with different figures considered, different intellectuals in philosophy or whatever, the arts. The TAs could make up any theme they wished to trace through those thinkers.

One theme was, I remember it well, the idea of women in nineteenth century thought. Another was "the costs of freedom." These topics were not my ideas; graduate students thought them up. They were to be explored in the thinkers or artists (Burke, Nietzsche, or whomever) taken up in my lectures. The TA could assign readings from those authors which illuminated his topic rather than the exact texts on my reading list. Thus the satellite seminars followed my course lectures, but on different, parallel tracks.

Lage: How closely did you supervise the teaching assistants?

Schorske: Only in the beginning. I supervised them only to a degree--we certainly had a detailed discussion--what do you want to do? I would try to help them flesh out their problem, but it was not my problem any more. The only obligation they had was--behind this, there were the lectures; they were supposed to come to these lectures. The students too, though I never cared about attendance. The notion was, I gave my history course, and they took a loosely affiliated course that used my lecture as a background--one that would be much more intensive on a particular question than mine.

Lage: How close was their spirit to yours?

Schorske: At the time I thought it was wonderful. But I don't really know, because I didn't police them. I did occasionally look at the papers that came out of it. I had hints of the results from the student end. Even TAs who were not particularly gifted, when they ran a para-course of their own, could become very effective teachers. As an added social feature, many met their students not on campus, but in their own digs. For the undergraduates to go to the graduate student's own quarters and have beer and meet in the

evening, or whatever they did, had great appeal. As for me, I learned from the TAs' problems. They posed new questions. One of the graduate students had kind of gotten into Foucault, and he started to develop some kind of Foucaultian epistemic system of analysis in his course. It was all new to me, and very challenging.

Lage: Which is very early for all of this, even for considering the idea of women.

Schorske: Yes. The women's question was hardly up. It was a grad student of Henry May's, Jacqueline [Reinier] who had this idea. She was an excellent person. I think she ended up teaching American Studies someplace. [Early American History at CSU Sacramento]

We issued a mimeographed catalogue for the course, containing the topics and descriptions of the course seminars that the teaching assistants were going to give. The students could choose among these and among the TAs if they knew them. And if they didn't want to study in any of the seminars, fine; there was the regular course, with exams that took the form of papers. Thus, you could just be in the old-fashioned lecture course.

Well, this method really worked for me as long as I was teaching at Berkeley. I think for the graduate students it was a maturing experience. But now, down to the theoretical bottom line in terms of instruction, the important point was that the graduate student had an intermediate position in two ways. Firstly, he or she was part of a new culture with new issues. He had questions on his mind which were on the minds of the undergraduates and surely not on mine. Secondly, the graduate student was a preprofessional. He expected to be an historian of whatever he was going to be, a scholar of some kind. In that sense, he was with me learning my craft of analysis. He really had a stake in scholarly procedure and discipline such as an undergraduate does not have.

The undergraduate doesn't have a <u>career</u> stake in the learning process. This graduate student always does. Whether he wants to take it up or not is another question. Most of them do, so they were really interested in intellectual history and how to learn its stuff and how to analyze cultural documents.

Lage: They might have been the greatest beneficiaries of all this.

Schorske: I hope so. I think they were. But the combination--the third circle is the widest, the social, to create an atmosphere of learning in which the imposed authority of the professor is minimized.

Back to the young lady who followed me out of the lecture room: you can really call this restructured course a dialogue. And the teaching assistant was conducting it in his/her rooms, or some coffee house, or wherever they're getting their results the way they wish. If the students are really getting into a dialogue situation that's important, because they have made the choice to. Every time you make a choice, you make commitment. You can't avoid it.

So everybody's commitment is raised. Mine is raised to let go of some of my authority. If you're in authority, you have to learn now that you will do better by not trying to press your authority; loosen it. Which was my attitude toward this whole affair, the revolution in general. Adapt to it in such a way that the values that are central to your own being and your professional self-definition or ethos are activated for a new generation with new techniques of social functioning in the educational setting. So for me it was just wonderful.

Considering Corresponding Changes in Catholicism

Schorske: And I'll tell you something else. This was the era of Pope John XXIII, or whatever he was--I always mix the numbers up; Carroll can correct us. [speaks to Carroll] Was he twenty-two or twenty-three? [Carroll replies, "Twenty-three, definitely."] John XXIII: was he in Avignon or one of those places? [Carroll replies, "One of those places."] [laughter]

Anyway, I was a refugee from the campus strike [Newman Center], sometimes teaching, I think I told you, in the Catholic church up on College Avenue.

Lage: During the disturbances.

Schorske: Yes, one of those moratoriums or something. My wife was a communicant there. I am not religious. But we were both interested in what was happening to the church. Some thought it was falling apart, and some thought it was being rejuvenated. This is what always happens in revolutionary situations; you don't know whether you're involved in decadence or in a great springtime of life, renewal. That was what was happening in the university at Berkeley. The renewers and the decayers, those two visions produced the same sort of confusion as to where things were going in the church as in the university.

I thus became very interested in the reforms that were happening in the Catholic Church. They involved decentralization and redefinition of authority. (We've discussed it for the

university). I thought it was extraordinary. The Catholic reformers were trying to decentralize the church, to put much more of what had been papal power in the hands of the clergy, especially the bishops, who were being organized in different national groups. Playing down the Pope and the Vatican bureaucracy that had always run things from Rome seemed like paring down the central power of the Regents, president and the state-wide headquarters in University Hall. This was coupled with a new movement for participation by the laity in the church, which could be compared to the movement for student participation in the university.

Decentralization was, in varying degrees, a psychological threat to everybody in the church. The people who didn't have authority had to learn that they would have to take it up responsibly. They would have to protect the values of the church universal in local settings in which new things were going to come up, and were already coming up, that involved the weakening of their authority too, because they couldn't rely on headquarters anymore, et cetera. So that's just the political and institutional side of a spiritual change.

But take the liturgical side. That was so intriguing to me. I got interested in it because I've always been interested in civic ritual and religious ritual, the relation of theater and religion. All these questions play into my view of history. Now it seemed relevant to teaching. Vatican II reversed the historical trend in the church that was increasingly centralistic and authoritarian since the Reformation. The high altar in the Counter-Reformation got higher and higher, and everything became more centralized. The priest had his back to the congregation and addressed God on their behalf, but the people did not contribute. They just sat there. Remember my student: "and they call that a dialogue?" Vatican II turned this around literally. It made the priest face the people across the altar, which was a simple table, ideally at the center of the church, not at one end of it. Priest and people should be co-celebrants. They're all sitting at the same table. Its a reproduction of the communion at the table in the Last Supper.

Lage: This was going on at the same time?

Schorske: Vatican II ran from 1960 to 1965.

Lage: That's a nice correspondence with the Berkeley crisis.

Schorske: The aggiornamento was felt in Berkeley, because the university parish (Newman Center) was run by Paulist fathers, who were both progressive and very smart. Even in the architecture of their new building they began to reflect the new ideas of the Church and its democratized ritual. It was one of the first churches that didn't

focus on the high altar; it is built so that everybody was brought to the altar as a table instead of being separated from a high altar by a priest.

It doesn't sound like anything that has anything to do with us in the university. But then to go back to the Reformation and see what happened. The Protestants made the service revolve around the Word rather than the ritual sacrifice of Christ, so the preacher is the big thing. The authority of the Word, the books, is interpreted for the people by the minister. I don't want to get too much into religious history, but the fact is that even church architecture reflects it. If you go to a Presbyterian church, a traditional one, you will find that there is a row of seats for the presbyters between what remains of the altar and the congregation. Milton said, "New presbyters are old priests writ small," because he was even more low church than the Presbyterians and didn't believe in having those elders (presbyters) who are always overlooking the minister from the front row of seats. The center is not so much an altar as a lectern. The Word delivered by the minister who is its interpreter substitutes for the old-style Catholic priest, who officiates at a sacrifice with his back to his flock. The minister, unlike the priest, always looks at his audience: but he's the authority still. There's no dialogue there either.

So I felt this was lesson number two for the university teacher: start loosening up your authority as a professor delivering the word. The primacy of lecturing (preaching) in teaching is ceasing to be, well, as the Germans say, the only road to salvation, "das alleinseligmachende Mittel." "This is not the way you can go."

Lage: So these are things that you were thinking at the time?

Schorske: I did. And I brought them directly to bear. I did not fool around. I told my classes about this: that the return to participatory community in Vatican II--in which ecumenically minded Protestants were also interested--had some relevance for the university. As I taught the nineteenth century, I could point to the Oxford movement, and how university people in the 1830s, or 1820s, or 1840s in England suddenly looked to the historical and spiritual (<u>not</u> the political) example of the Catholic Church in trying to reform the university and society.

How did these students from backgrounds in Birmingham and Manchester, where all the great collections are even to this day in pre-Raphaelite painting, how did they get all involved with the Oxford movement, which is high church and regression to Catholicism, though they often came from evangelical homes? Well, if you take up a problem like that, if you examine the nature of the social currents of religion, both Protestant and Catholic, you

can see how that university culture is affected too by larger social and cultural change.

Rethinking and Adapting Academic Traditions

Lage: So these are things you were discussing in your class and tying to the current--

Schorske: Sure. But not relating too closely past tendency to our own. One tries to find reciprocal illumination of past and present, where differences count. I myself was having retakes on everything. You have to understand that it wasn't only students who were undergoing changes. We too in the faculty were undergoing changes. How do we work? Bob Brentano will give you another whole set of new concerns and problems in teaching. Every ingenious, committed teacher was having his own, "I have to rethink. I have to see: Is there some way?" This hasn't got to do with converting to a movement, it has to do with adapting a tradition both intellectually and rhetorically to a new situation, in which the forms in which we communicate learning and even the ways in which we make innovative steps intellectually, whether inside or away from tradition, can be made acceptable to another kind of student culture. We have to think it through. The bigness of the university, itself a problem, made it impossible for the faculty to do this collectively.

The devolutionary conception of education I was searching for involves being aware that if you are a messenger of your gospel--in my case, intellectual history--then you jolly well better temper the kind of claims that cling to your whole professional style, that have validated your authority; that is not the same as an intellectual validation. In searching for a new teaching method or a new rhetoric, the thing you have to hang on to is your sense of what is <u>intellectually</u> secure. And where you have doubts, you reveal the doubts. Where you see paradoxes in your own presentation and thinking, you reveal them.

Let me make it very clear: I did not stand there thinking every time I spoke a sentence about all these inner things going on. But in a general way, I too and my colleagues were swept up in something like re-visioning the function of the university and the way in which our presentation of the substance and ethic of learning should be conveyed to a changing student culture.

Lage: Now was this institutionalized, even to the extent that it was taken up as a departmental concern, or was this individual professors?

Schorske: No, it was individual professors, except where new colleges or experimental programs like Strawberry Canyon were concerned. One of the great weaknesses in this department, in all departments I've ever been in, practically nobody ever has educational discussions. Practically nobody even has discussions of history as a substantive discipline in history departments. Go to the science departments; this vacuum is unheard of. People have--I told you--bag lunches; students and faculty read each other's papers.

My department at Princeton was much more active always than Berkeley in this, for we have occasional seminars or workshops organized for us to present our papers.

Lage: But this didn't happen here.

Schorske: No, and I never thought of doing it here either. But the point is that there isn't much educational discussion, here or at Princeton or elsewhere. One becomes aware who else is doing what, and then you can talk privately. You can hardly do it unless somebody thinks of addressing curricular questions, where someone says, "Now look. We have a requirement about so many courses of a given type for a major. Why don't we organize these courses differently?" In the Berkeley department, there was one very great, positive, forward step in my time here. We instituted the 103s, the undergraduate seminars.

Lage: But that was even before FSM.

Schorske: I think it was before FSM. It's not a product of the affair; it began earlier. But I think I was here when it started. And talk about dialogue; it really went on in those 103s. It was like a graduate seminar in the best sense. When I got to Princeton, even my satellite seminars turned around, because we have a system in Princeton where regular faculty members serve as section leaders, as well as graduate students. So I had senior professors as TAs in my course. Sometimes they came from other departments. If they were willing to serve, they would be my section leaders.

Lage: That's quite a change.

Schorske: Some of the best people in German literature were teaching in my course. I had an architect--. Well, the satellite seminars were ideal for the interdisciplinary subject of intellectual history, especially at a certain moment when Princeton too underwent its troubles.

After a while, however, the interest fell away, the experiment didn't work any more; professional disciplinary identity reasserted itself, and it was only history graduate students who were doing the satellite seminars. Soon they didn't want to be

bothered with devising special themes for their sections. The mission had ceased to be relevant as the old order reasserted itself. The situation changed, so you couldn't go pushing forward with making graduate students go to a great deal of work to devise separate reading lists. They had to familiarize themselves quickly with other writings of the authors I assigned, all these complicated things. You couldn't ask that of people any more if they didn't feel that they had a stake, if they didn't see that they were doing something very new that was enlarging their autonomy. They didn't want enlarged authority; they wanted to fit in as fast as possible, get their degree and get out of there, and get a real job. That's the new ball game.

Media Representations of Berkeley Teaching: "Berkeley Rebels"

Lage: You left Berkeley, so perhaps you aren't aware of what remained at Berkeley from the new initiatives, but what do you think was retained from all this?

Schorske: I don't really know, and I hope you'll get those answers from other people, those who stayed. I'm really not capable of answering that question. I know things like, for example, Charles Sellers, who was one of the most inventive teachers we had. He lost his interest afterward, I understand, and I'm very sorry to hear it. He retired early, went into politics. He wasn't adequately respected, in my opinion, in the faculty, in the history department, or in the university; but as an educator, he was a powerhouse.

For undergraduate sections in his larger courses, Sellers had students working on sources in a way that very few instructors had ever done. I heard Bob Brentano talking this morning about a plan he'd been involved with for grade school experiments to mix anthropological techniques and historical source utilization in educating grade-schoolers in other cultures. Dazzling! These things go on all the time You often don't know who's doing it or when. Sellers I know was very inventive. But I doubt that most faculty changed their teaching ways at all. Leon Litwack was a very ingenious instructor. I encountered him by accident yesterday having lunch. We recalled a terrible episode that I may have mentioned to you about that CBS documentary "The Berkeley Rebels." Did I talk to you about that?

Lage: On the phone, but we didn't tape anything about "The Berkeley Rebels."

Schorske: The film was interesting. Yet it was a very bad scene in many ways. Basically, it was a first attempt to be sympathetic to the

students in the public medium of television. Harry Reasoner was the narrator; how much he had to do with making the program, I have no idea. They came here. I was a kind of teacher-hero in that film. They showed a lot of things about the FSM. Many of them were romanticized. Things I can remember [laughs]: two of the FSM leaders riding bareback on horses on a beach or something. Uncanny.

But whatever. The video-makers projected what were purportedly two views of instruction at Berkeley, the right way and the wrong way. One was my course, and the other was Leon Litwack's course, which I think he gave jointly with Sellers at the time. We were in fact working along different lines for the same end. Litwack and Sellers got a new idea for increasing dialogue in the huge introductory course in American history. They would get the professor's lecture projected into little rooms in which the teaching assistants would conduct discussions of the lecture after it was received. Thus the students had a chance to talk about what was said in the lecture and relate this to the reading and so forth.

As for me, the producers cast me as a good lecturer with immediate rapport with class. They showed me at an unusually high moment in the classroom, in full flight. I was lecturing on Hegel. They picked up some witty line--"the way things work with Hegel, God must be a narcissist." I remember this line coming through on the TV screen, something you think of in the middle of a lecture, you know. [laughter]

Thus I was pictured as having total engagement with the students, because they picked a moment when I had cracked a joke. So it looked as though I was really Mr. It as an instructor.

Then they showed Litwack in Wheeler Auditorium or some huge hall where Americanists have to teach because their audiences are so big, lecturing to his class. They chose a moment when he was reading statistics about, I don't know, the demographic changes in the Middle West--something which, in isolation, can only seem impossibly dull.

Lage: So they just picked a bad moment, because he's quite a fine lecturer.

Schorske: He's a fine lecturer, he's a wonderful lecturer. So it was just dirty pool. Even worse, they totally distorted the experiment with video in the sections. They put the camera on a carriage or whatever you call that, a dolly, and they moved it down the corridors of seminar rooms or little classrooms, showing through the doors as it went people incarcerated in these small, darkened rooms, looking at a television screen, just looking there,

receiving this lecture with its statistics, one room after the other. It was going down death row in education! [laughter]

And of course I knew what Leon Litwack's teaching was like and what his experiment was meant to do, to open the lecture to closer criticism. He told me yesterday, for the first time, he thought it was one of the worst educational experiments he'd ever done. He thought it was a total failure. But at the time he was outraged by the unfair treatment he'd received, as we all were in the history department. It was so gross--

Lage: The treatment in this film?

Schorske: Yes, in the film. But he felt fundamentally they were right. He had himself, he told me yesterday, gone to these little rooms where the discussion was being held, and he felt it didn't work. You can't discuss in that situation with the time that is allotted to a section meeting, fifty minutes or something. You can't do any kind of a job. It was dull to sit there to look at a tape, when you could have been sitting in a big hall listening to a live person. He said after that year, he never did it again. He was very angry at the piece of lecturing they picked out, but he was not at all angry with the critique, which he shared, of the failure of this experiment.

Well, that's the way it is. Some experiments work and some fail. In what comes forth as a public representation of the effort at what works and what fails, this poor guy looked as though he, Leon Litwack, was just the fellow Savio had been talking about in the "Do not fold, spindle, or mutilate" speech.

Lage: It's ironic that they picked him, I would think.

Schorske: I know. And how that happened, who knows? So why pick me? All those accidents go on every which way. But the episode shows how even the supposedly sympathetic media--how few they were!--misunderstood and misrepresented efforts to counteract impersonality in the teaching of large classes.

Architectural Re-formation

Schorske: I want to say one thing more, because it related to educational reform too. As you know, I was interested in the architecture and spatial structure of the campus in relation to the teaching mission as well as to public assembly and university ritual. But on the architecture, I felt we would come a cropper on this campus with our numbers always expanding. No matter what happened, we were always growing. Because the buildings weren't right for what

it seemed to me we needed in the educational system. I was a believer not, as the students tended to be, in medium classes, no more big lectures. I thought there ought to be more big lectures, if anything. Only the best lecturers should lecture--very hard to introduce politically into a faculty, you can imagine. I felt that we really needed to say that some education can be done effectively by the lecture method; yet a lot of education cannot be done well unless you get down either to the tutorial or the seminar size, where the discussion can really go on.

Lage: And then you have the problem of the mass education in the large public universities to contend with.

Schorske: Right, and then you have the buildings. You have the terrible problem of the buildings. Look at the classroom design: classroom after classroom has forty seats, thirty-five seats, something like that. They're all in a row, and the professor is in front--just the authority we have finished trying to turn in a more dialogical direction. Do not denigrate the great lecturer, which every academic institution can use. Let him speak in a big hall where his dramatic quality counts even more than in a small setting. If you lectured with brilliant rhetoric to eighteen or thirty people, it's not half as efficient as if you've got a hundred sitting there. But the architectural problem is mind-boggling. Your buildings are arranged with the middle-sized class as the norm: too small for the mass-enrollment courses, too large and badly laid out for discussion. To find a space and to reorganize this space flexibly in accordance with changing student body size and changing educational needs--.

Lage: Was that something you brought up at the time?

Schorske: I tried to push this with Chancellor Meyerson, emphasizing that we should think growth, educational reform, and forms of building together. In twenty-five years, you will take the insides out of several classroom buildings of some importance. And you can begin thinking about how the wall partitions are constructed. Get your engineers to go around, look at the buildings, and see what walls are easily removed; and what walls can go up easily: where there's now a space that holds fifty people, it might make two seminars. You can take out the fixed chairs, throw them away, and you put in a table, which is what you should teach at in a seminar where equality is needed and exchange is essential. Not one person standing and the others sitting down; you're all around a table. In spatial thinking, as in that about teaching authority and forms, I was stimulated by the architectural changes that accompanied the historical and the present day reform of religious practice.

Lage: Oh, I see. The altar.

Legacies of the Sixties: Institutional and Intellectual

Lage: You really were stimulated a great deal by these ten years you were here, it sounds like.

Schorske: Oh, terrifically. I have to say that from the day I first came to the Berkeley campus, stimulus was the name of the game. And yesterday in a walk through the campus, you say, "Did the sixties do anything?" Well, it was just the same Berkeley campus. But why are all these Asian and black students coming to the Berkeley campus? This is an achievement of the sixties; nobody would have believed this possible. In my university, we work like mad to recruit minority students. We have a higher proportion of black students than you do, but the recruitment effort, the money that goes into doing this! Well, it was the civil rights movement on the outside, but also the action on the inside that has brought policies for enlarging the talent pool in the university with minorities. And now the counterattack is undermining these gains, especially in California.

In a place like Princeton and many other places, getting women there, boy did it make a difference. Now they don't make any difference; they're just Princeton undergraduates, bright or dumb, like every other male. [laughter] But they're there. And the bright ones are there. And the talent pool is wider, so there are more bright people, more people able to profit from this, or to learn and reject, whatever they may do.

But if you look at the legacy of the cultural-political movement in which Berkeley played a large part, this was a pay-dirt movement, despite some of the horrors that it caused and the lives it broke. I feel for some of those migrants, the Telegraph Avenue bums, whom we still see. People sometimes very old now, thirty years after the events, still lingering around. I'm sure you find them in the hills too, It's just sad.

Responding to the Postwar Shift to Formalism

Lage: Now did this era also affect your writing and the directions you took in history?

Schorske: It's very hard to say. I don't honestly think it did very much except in my teaching and my ideas of the university. My second intellectual and scholarly formation, reformation, took place in the fifties. It took place at Wesleyan, not here. My new mission, my particular mission in cultural history, I discovered

there in another situation, one also very fraught with politics, as was the one in Berkeley.

It had to do with--I don't know how far to get into it--the impact of the Cold War on academic culture. It had to do with the fact that in American scholarship during the postwar era, and in particular in the era of McCarthyism and the anticommunist crusade, the tendency in the disciplines in the humanities and social sciences was to dehistoricize themselves. History was, of course, the least affected by this trend. Yet I saw the historical mode of understanding among the educated threatened by formalism and scientism.

I've just written this up in the last issue of Daedalus magazine, what the fifties meant.[3] The social sciences became scientized, quantified, and so forth, in an attempt to achieve maximum objectivity and to disengage from ideological and value commitment as much as possible.

The humanities, for their part, went into formalism. This is the fifties: the great era of the New Criticism. Formalism in literature meant dehistoricization and desocialization. So the humanities become desocialized, the social sciences become dehumanized, and the over-arching conceptual frame for this is a rigorous formalism. Neither one is paying attention to the interaction between formal thought and social or cultural experience.

I saw that my job as an intellectual historian--I always wanted to be one but I didn't think of it this way until the fifties--was to find some way of demonstrating the historical character of formalism itself--not just today, but in the past as well. You cannot escape history; you are part of it even when you try to reject it. At the same time, I wanted to broaden historical work, to tell the historians that you cannot go on always using other disciplines and their materials merely as illustrations of what are essentially political or social historical developments that the historian knows before he reaches for these other fields, whether they be philosophy, psychology, the arts, whatever. With new analytical methods developed in the dehistoricizing disciplines, the historian has to pay more attention to the theoretical and formal aspects of the subjects he incorporates, and not just to reduce them to illustrations. Rather he must weave other fields into the fabric of historical development, cognizant of the analytical principles that people who reject history have shown to be illuminating.

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[3] See the Daedalus issue in expanded book form: Thomas Bender and Carl Schorske Op. cit. 3-16, 309-330.

You talk about Muscatine. He was one of the colleagues who shook me out of historistic slumbers. Muscatine and I had it out at Wesleyan when he was a refugee there, before I ever came here, at the time when he was a very strong New Critic--he was a Yale-trained person--even though he was working in medieval literature; I, on the other hand, was a strong historicist. He was the guy who showed me that you jolly well better look at how this poem is constructed before you start using it to illustrate your history. It's more than an illustration; it has its own life, and here's the way to analyze it. And history unaided cannot grasp it.

Lage: So he was an important figure in some of your thinking.

Schorske: He was a very important figure in my intellectual development. It isn't only he; this place [Berkeley] was full of people with whom this discourse could be constructed, where the formalists themselves were not radical rejecters of history. Of economists, this was less true, and I lost my touch with the social scientists. I had allies among the social scientists, and some of them remained socially oriented. Someday there will be an analysis of who was on what side in these--

Lage: What about Philip Selznick, whom you mentioned earlier?

Schorske: Selznick was one of the people with whom I found it easy to have understanding. He was in the sociology of law. He had a little institute for that. He was socializing the legal discipline, and was thus partial to history. Partly because of this mindset, he was on my side during the FSM. If you go to the other side of the sociology department, there were the behavioral scientists such as Charles Glock and Kingsley Davis.

Lage: Selznick had left, had he not?

Schorske: No. He didn't leave.

Lage: Who am I thinking of here? Oh, Seymour Lipset. Was he a sociologist or a political scientist?

Schorske: He was a sociologist--a political sociologist [in the Department of Sociology].

Lage: Glazer, Nathan Glazer [in Sociology].

Schorske: Nathan Glazer--they all left. Louis Feuer [in Philosophy and Social Science]. He left. These are all ex-Marxists, and hence were inclined to see the student movement as profoundly subversive.

Lage: Did you have any interchange with them?

Schorske: Yes. I did with Lipset.

Lage: Because he left denouncing--

Schorske: I did not know Glazer then, but Lipset I knew well, and Meyerson was close to Lipset. I told you about Meyerson's catholicity. Here is an example of it. To a final dinner that Meyerson gave when he was going out as acting chancellor he invited my wife and me and the Lipsets. We were opponents in the events at Berkeley. Lipset was not on the Emergency Executive Committee, but he had very close advisory relations to Meyerson.

When I talk about the behavioralist sociologists, the quantifiers, my wife worked for one.

Lage: Neil Smelser?

Schorske: No, for Charles Glock. But she worked for Smelser too. He was not the same kind of survey research sociologist as Glock. He was a Parsonian theorist. He was the heir apparent to Parson's legacy, which comes from Max Weber. And that was growing big in this country in the fifties, and Smelser became its main exponent.

Anyhow, I shouldn't get off on this. The taxonomy of forms in which scholarship is conceived, whether the role of history is accounted for or not, also provided some kind of key, not foolproof, to the way in which people divided over the campus issues. You could not--

Lage: You went into that a little bit in talking about political science in our first interview.

Schorske: Okay, well then sociology was another instance. Political science was the clearest and most drastic case of the correlation between method and political outlook. But sociology was a runner up; it was very tough in the sociology department for the behavioralists and more historical analysts to communicate with each other on campus issues. We didn't have that trouble in history, thank God, because we're such an intellectually loose discipline.

Difficulty of Constructing the Grand Narrative: Fin-de-siècle Vienna

Lage: Now, just to get back to our earlier question, your own direction was set in the fifties. Do you think the climate in the sixties affected your choices in your historical work?

Schorske: I don't think much. It expanded the interdisciplinarity of my research, but it did one thing to me: it softened me up about the validity of conceiving history as a straight narrative if it was going to address the very tough problems of the relation between historicism and modernism, which became my problem, I never abandoned it. How could one historicize the antihistorical or ahistorical culture of the modernists?

##

Schorske: I worked madly trying to write a narrative history about Vienna that would have all these fields--politics, art, music, psychology, literature, et cetera--and still keep a clear narrative structure. Partly it was a failuré. I was not able intellectually to construct an integrated narrative history out of the multidimensional material I was working on. I resigned myself in the end to using the post holing system, to using here--

Lage: Post hole.

Schorske: Yes. You know what a post hole is.

Lage: Yes.

Schorske: You sink a shaft in this area and in that area. It's all the same subsoil. The posts that you put in these holes can be bound together and so on and so on, but the exploration, essentially, and the anchorage, the provision of anchorage, is an independent, autonomous exercise to resign oneself not to thinking in terms of the grand narrative, but to think of the essayistic approach. I use essay in Nietzsche's sense, or in the literal French sense: it's a try. It's the college try, you know? That I resigned myself to it was partly because my life, partly because my multi-disciplinary problem, dictated it.

Lage: But was it also a philosophical view that things didn't fit together?

Schorske: Well, it--I can never tell, I will be very honest, I can never tell whether it was a personal failure to achieve the fit myself in the way of a narrative sweep, to achieve a traditional form of historical book, or whether it was that I was myself a modernist and was in fact caught in a world in which my insistence on the autonomous nature of the cultural fields, of the parts, was forcing me to recognize that the whole could only be found in the subsoil below and the heavens above but not here on the surface [pounds table]--where I was supposed to be doing the work. [laughter]

And you will be amused at this, but in the end I found confirmation of my essayistic method in France, after my

retirement. It started already in New York, where I discovered Milan Kundera, the novelist, who was very big in the seventies, a Czech emigré, as you know, who lived in Paris. I discovered this man's work. One of my students gave me several of his books. The first of them, The Joke, was in German, out in translation. He was still on a narrative thing. He then began to fragment; his novelistic forms began to evolve into separate episodic or thematic units, as my forms did.

My first book had been a well-crafted book--my revised thesis --on German socialism in the traditional mode, but I paid a lot of attention to making it hang together. I tried to integrate sociology, ideology, and politics, and I had advisors who helped me with that when I published it, Oscar Handlin being the chief. But after wrestling with Vienna's more complicated culture for several years, I began to say "No, you can't do this as a straight narrative this time." Then to find Kundera coming to the same conclusion--boy, it was a shock and an encouragement! Maybe this world shouldn't be--you shouldn't try to say what you want to say in your moment in history with the old means.

So I say that's the positive side, that I know my essays are complete as autonomous but related entities. I know that people find in them--my original idea--that substratum of social experience that makes cohere people in fields of thought as diverse as are involved in my Vienna book,[4] from politics to psychoanalysis and back.

But the other possibility is that somebody else could have made a consecutive narrative and I couldn't, that it was a personal failure. Which of these is true, I do not know. I have had to live with the result and at least have had the consolation that modernism, which was my subject, was fundamentally fragmented; that the things and values that had made it possible to see the world as coherent in some integrated relation of logic and life were evaporating from the scene, and that consequently my own sense of cultural coherence was to be found through a poly-focal perspective on the modern and historical worlds.

You can ask, then, "How do you make form out of substance?" You use new, pluralistic forms for new substance. That's the positive way of evaluating my work. The other is to say "You wanted to make a narrative form, the 'proper' form for a time-subject to be understood, and you didn't succeed. So what you've left us is a bunch of fragments. What's meaningful about that?"

Lage: I appreciate the way you've explained it. It's very accessible.

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[4]Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture (New York: Knopf, 1979).

Schorske: So Berkeley was a place where I could pursue rigorously an education in the autonomous disciplines I needed for my multifaceted approach. Yes, I say rigorously because of the wonderful people around: Kuhn who worried this in some way, Cavell in philosophy, Kerman in music, Politzer in German literature; colleagues in the history department. I mean, for the stuff I told you about religion, I never should leave [William] Bouwsma out: Bouwsma's grasp of Protestantism, and especially his Venice, which he finished, I guess, after I left Berkeley. But never mind. I learned about religion from Bouwsma, from May, from other people here. I learned about architecture and city planning from Meyerson, who was in that field, and from Berkeley's fine architectural library. I mean, let's say if I was falling into parts, the pursuit of those parts--the post holing--was something I really could do with faculty in Berkeley in a major way, and I did. That was why it was a growth opportunity for me intellectually.

Leaving Berkeley for Princeton, 1969

Lage: Now we need to move to the final set of questions.

Schorske: All right.

Lage: Why did you leave?

Schorske: Well, that was complicated. Several things. I will be frank about it: I had gotten involved in the crisis here (the anti-Vietnam War movement as well as the university problem) to the point where I was feeling to some degree eaten up. It did not have to do with what was wrong with the place, but it did have to do with my deep emotional engagement with it. Where would I be when the ship was on an even keel again, or if it didn't get on an even keel again? I felt that I had a sort of constituency that was putting me in a position where some faculty members expected of me things that, in the last analysis, I was not prepared to give. The cost for my research--I'm such a slow worker that you have to put that into the equation. And a slow grower. The psychic cost for one not temperamentally suited to conflict was very high.

Lage: They expected your time? Are you talking about demands on your time?

Schorske: They expected my involvement; that meant time--and more.

Lage: In all the political and governance issues.

Schorske: Yes, in what was going on in the university. And to say that such expectations came to me only from without is wrong. I added to them myself. So it's a mixture. It was social pressure and internal pressure--internal ambition, if you wish, but not to become an administrator. I never wanted that. But to pursue somehow the degree of faculty involvement I had contracted when I was already in my mid-fifties was too much.

Lage: So your work was suffering.

Schorske: My work suffered greatly in this period.

So why did I leave? It came about almost by accident. In 1968 I took a year off to go to the Institute for Advanced Study to catch up in research. And I did partly; I did another leg of work on my Vienna study. But then I had an offer from both Princeton University and the Institute. The two institutions went together: you became a regular professor at Princeton, they said, and for three more years you can continue as an Institute member for half of each year. So I had a complete deal that was very rare. I found it enormously tempting because--well, for the reasons I've given you. Berkeley was taking too much out of me, even if I was to some extent at fault for that. I desperately needed the clear time and the quiet for my book that was already over ten years in the making.

Lage: When you got away, did you get more perspective on the UC experience, or on California as a place compared to the East?

Schorske: Oh, I think my views were already formed. I didn't reform them, no. I certainly was interested in how the two different institutions worked. I had an educational opportunity in Princeton that I didn't have here, but I didn't know that when I left. In the end, I could build up my own program in European cultural studies, which I had tried to do with colleagues here in another form--one of the documents I gave you talks about these efforts within the history department here, which were rejected.

Lage: Oh, that was rejected? That proposal for a graduate program in cultural history? [See Appendix H]

Schorske: That proposal was rejected. It didn't have any appeal to Muscatine; but above all it didn't have any real appeal to the history department except for the intellectual historians. It had some support in the history department, but they refused to let us go out and get money for it.

[Hans Rosenberg led the attack in the department, arguing that a special program in cultural history in which graduate students received allocated fellowships would privilege that field over others. Nick Riasanovsky argued in vain that if students in

cultural and intellectual history were financed from new funds, it would free fellowship money for others. I remember his words "All ships rise on the same tide." But Rosenberg prevailed. He had a particular distrust of intellectual history as a result of his German experience. Because Geistesgeschichte, in which he had been trained, was in Germany often associated with nationalist ideology, Rosenberg had left this field for social history, where a more critical attitude toward state and nation prevailed. He could not but view with distrust an effort to make Berkeley a magnet for the study of cultural history. His authority, rarely exercised with such a force of feeling, carried the day. --added by Professor Schorske during editing.]

That decision by the history department I regarded as the one blow I ever received from the history department. I did not anticipate it and found it mortifying, as well as just plain wrong.

Lage: And did you recreate the proposal at Princeton?

Schorske: I created something different: an interdisciplinary program in European cultural studies for undergraduates. The different thing I did there I couldn't have done here because it involved too many disciplines, and it was more forward-looking, though very small. It was an undergraduate program in which almost all the courses were team taught. Again, I had to go out and get the money for it in the beginning; then the university took it over. It still exists. The courses were team taught by one social scientist or historian and one humanist. It was a program, not a major, and not a department. It was voluntary on the part of the students, and they came from all different majors. They wrote their thesis with their major department, but it had to be on an interdisciplinary problem. We ran a special seminar for the senior thesis writers. At Princeton everybody writes a senior thesis.

It was a terrific teaching experience for me, such as I never had anywhere else, year after year working with different partners--great people, such as Richard Rorty in philosophy, Joseph Frank in Russian literature, and Anthony Vidler in architecture. Vidler was my principal partner is constructing the program. Robert Darnton and sometimes Natalie Davis gave a course with Clifford Geertz, from the Institute for Advanced Study, who taught year after year without compensation. We had a terrific growth potential for instructors to keep you alive, Thus, Lionel Grossman in Romance languages and I gave a seminar on the culture of Basel in the nineteenth century that opened up a whole new subject for both of us.

Lage: So those were exciting years too.

Schorske: And I couldn't do those here. All in all, I had luck in my three institutions: Wesleyan, Berkeley, and Princeton. Each gave me something, each took away something. The general atmosphere here I could never replicate anyplace else, for social and cultural stimulation. It's just mind-bogglingly high here and came at a time for me when I might have become much more sedentary and professionally complacent. So it was good for me personally, but I think in the end my family paid a high price. Again for me, it was worth it to change to Princeton. I still miss the place terrifically, as you can tell--and so does my wife.

Lage: Yes.

Schorske: But for my final years of teaching, to keep growing in new fields, Princeton was a wonderful experience.

Lage: Were the students of a very different quality?

Schorske: No, although the social differentiation of the students at Princeton was obviously less palpable than at Cal. As far as my students in intellectual history were concerned, I felt that those at Berkeley were more intellectual, those at Princeton more academic. The ones at Princeton, however, could be bonded more easily around intellectual interests. I would like to have done at Berkeley what Sherry Washburn did for his anthropology students, establish a little house for them, to give them social identity. Selznick did it too for his law and society program. That would make for intellectual learning as I believed in it, but I couldn't get that out of the history department here. In Princeton I didn't need it. The students found themselves; they made a subculture for themselves in the cultural studies program. I hope they still do. They were an elite because they were self selected; they got no extra credit for much of their work. They got course credit, but boy, the work they had to put in for our program was heavy.

Lage: So they were stimulated as well.

Schorske: Oh. They were great students who stimulated each other. We had the best faculty and the best students. Well, that's elitist if you like, but it made my last teaching years a huge pleasure.

Lage: Sounds very nice. Well, is there anything else that you want to say about this experience in the sixties?

Schorske: No, I don't think so. I think I've said over much.

Lage: When you've read accounts of what happened in Berkeley in the sixties, do you ever feel that there's something that's just missed or something you'd want future historians to be sure to get straight?

Schorske: I think that nobody thinks of putting into this what your last day's questions have pushed forward: what did the sixties do to your way of thinking about history, about teaching, about the profession? And I would say that the big item that Berkeley put foremost on my agenda was that university teaching is a vocation and not a profession alone. It is a profession with a responsibility not just to the international community but to the local community of learning--students as well as professors--in which one serves.

Among the people I found here, one of the main ones who had a full sense of learning as a vocation was Sheldon Wolin. He was not much loved by the faculty here because of his radicalism. But for me, he was a great moral example as a teacher-scholar, even if I disagreed with many of his institutional ideas. Another, in many ways at the opposite remove from Wolin on the political spectrum, was Ray Sontag, whose commitment as a teacher in my view transcends his conservative politics both national and, often, departmental.

The idea of vocation in connection to the scholarly profession derives from our origins in the medieval university where the teachers and scholars were men of the cloth. Ours is a clerical heritage, secularized. In the secularization process, too much of the moral dimension of our calling was eroded. That was a lesson I learned at Berkeley that should have been for everybody, but wasn't.

Lage: And isn't much talked about.

Schorske: No, that isn't talked about, and I wish it were.

Lage: Well, now we have it.

Schorske: No, now we just have on the record somebody who thinks vocation should have been on the agenda more than it was.

Transcribed by Mary Mead and Estevan Sifuentes
Final Typed by Sara Diamond

TAPE GUIDE--Carl E. Schorske

APPENDIX

1983
Maynard Mack
Sterling Professor of English, Emeritus
Yale University

1984
Mary Rosamond Haas
Professor of Linguistics, Emeritus
University of California, Berkeley

1985
Lawrence Stone
Dodge Professor of History
Princeton University

1986
Milton V. Anastos
Professor Emeritus of Byzantine Greek
and History
University of California, Los Angeles

1987
Carl E. Schorske
Professor Emeritus of History
Princeton University

A LIFE OF LEARNING

Carl E. Schorske

Charles Homer Haskins
Lecture

American Council of Learned Societies
Washington, D.C. April 23, 1987

ACLS OCCASIONAL PAPER, No.1

Charles Homer Haskins (1870-1937), for whom the ACLS lecture series is named, was the first Chairman of the American Council of Learned Societies, 1920-26. He began his teaching career at the Johns Hopkins University, where he received the BA degree in 1887, and the PhD in 1890. He later taught at the University of Wisconsin and at Harvard, where he was Henry Charles Lea Professor of Medieval History at the time of his retirement in 1931, and Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences from 1908 to 1924. He served as president of the American Historical Association, 1922, and was a founder and the second president of the Medieval Academy of America, 1926.

A great American teacher, Charles Homer Haskins also did much to establish the reputation of American scholarship abroad. His distinction was recognized in honorary degrees from Strasbourg, Padua, Manchester, Paris, Louvain, Caen, Harvard, Wisconsin, and Allegheny College, where in 1883 he had begun his higher education at the age of thirteen.

In 1983, to recognize Haskins' signal contributions to the world of learning in the United States, the ACLS inaugurated a series of lectures entitled "The Life of Learning" in his honor. Designed to pay tribute to a life of scholarly achievement, the Haskins lecture is delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Council by an eminent humanist. The lecturer is asked to reflect and to reminisce upon a lifetime of work as a scholar, on the motives, the chance determinations, the satisfactions and the dissatisfactions of the life of learning.

In this year's lecture, Carl E. Schorske, Professor Emeritus of History at Princeton University, delivered an elegant address in which he offered a series of pointed reflections not only upon his own distinguished career as a teacher and scholar but also upon the relationship among academic, cultural, and political developments since the 1930s. We are honored to publish Professor Schorske's lecture here as the first in a series of Occasional Papers of the ACLS.

My first encounter with the world of learning took place, if family account is to be believed, when I entered kindergarten in Scarsdale, New York. To break the ice among the little strangers, my teacher, Miss Howl, asked her pupils to volunteer a song. I gladly offered a German one, called "*Morgenrot*." It was a rather gloomy number that I had learned at home, about a soldier fatalistically contemplating his death in battle at dawn. The year was 1919, and America's hatred of the Hun still ran strong. Miss Howl was outraged at my performance. She took what she called her "little enemy" by the hand and marched him off to the principal's office. That wise administrator resolved in my interest the problem of politics and the academy. She promoted me at once to the first grade under Mrs. Beyer, a fine teacher who expected me to work but not to sing

Was this episode a portent of my life in the halls of learning? Hardly. But it was my unwitting introduction to the interaction of culture and politics, my later field of scholarly interest.

I

When I taught European intellectual history at Berkeley in the early 1960s, I devoted a portion of my course to the way in which the same cultural materials were put to different uses in different national societies. One day, I gave a lecture on William Morris and Richard Wagner. The intellectual journeys of these two quite dissimilar artist-thinkers involved stops at many of the same cultural stations. Morris began by using Arthurian legend to champion a religion of beauty, then became an enthusiast for Norse mythology and folk art, and ended a socialist. Wagner traversed much the same itinerary as Morris, but in the reverse direction, starting as a social radical, then reworking Nordic sagas, and ending, with the Arthurian hero *Parsifal*, in a pseudo-religion of art.

In the midst of delivering my lecture, I suddenly saw before me a picture from my childhood that I thought to be by Morris. (The picture proved to be the work of George Frederick Watts, then close to the Pre-Raphaelites.) It was "Sir Galahad," a painting that hung in color reproduc-

tion on the middle landing of the staircase in our family's house. Here was a beauteous knight in the best Pre-Raphaelite manner: a figure in burnished armour with a sensitive, androgynous face, mysteriously shrouded in misty bluish air.

After the lecture, I recalled how my mother loved that picture, how indeed she loved Morris' *Defense of Guenevere,* and the literature of the Victorian medieval revival from Scott onward. Not so my father. He poured contempt on that feminine Sir Galahad. Now Wagner's *Lohengrin* or the *Nibelungenlied*—that was a medievalism he could embrace. Father not only loved Wagner's music, he believed in Siegfried the sturdy mythic socialist, as interpreted by G.B. Shaw in "The Perfect Wagnerite," and in the anti-feminist interpretation of Wagner of that curmudgeon radical, H.L. Mencken. Mother accorded a hard-won tolerance—no more for the Teutonic longueurs of Wagner's operas, but none for the abrasive virility of Mencken or my father's Shaw.

Recalling hot parental arguments on such matters, I suddenly realized that, in contraposing Morris and Wagner in my teaching, I had hardly left the family hearth. Freud would say that, here in the midst of my professional work as a historian, I was addressing in sublimated form a problem of the family scene. In any case, the episode brought home to me the power of my family in shaping the cultural interests and symbolic equipment with which I came to define my life.

As far as I know, my parents had no deliberate idea of pushing me toward an academic career. Autodidacts both, they respected learning, but what they cultivated was not scholarship but a kind of natural intellectuality. The concerts, theaters and museums that were their recreation became the children's education. They fostered our musical interests not just with private lessons but by taking us with them into their choral societies. On my father's two-week vacations we went by rail and ship on intensive sight-seeing trips: to New England historic sites such as Concord or the old ports of Maine; Civil War battlefields where my grandfather had fought in a New York German regiment; the great cities of the East and Midwest from Philadelphia to St. Paul.

Along with all the elite cultural equipment, my parents introduced us children, through their lives as well as by precept, to the realm of politics. My father, son of a German-born cigar-maker, inherited the radical propensities that went with that socially ambiguous trade. As a young New Yorker, father had campaigned for Henry George and Seth Low in their mayoral races, and followed the radical free-thinker Robert Ingersoll. World War I made father, despite his profession as banker, a life-long socialist. His deep-seated hostility to America's entry into the war—both as an anti-imperialist and an ethnic German—gave his political orientation, though still progressive in substance, a bitter, alienated quality by the time I came along in his forty-fifth year. I inherited a marginal's sensibility from him as a German. When my mother, who, unlike my father, was Jewish, encountered unpleasant social prejudice during my high-school years, I acquired a second marginal identity. Perhaps this sense of marginality enhanced history's fascination for me and shaped my attitude toward it, at once wary and *engage*. For me, as for my parents, politics acquired particular importance, both as a major determining force in life and as an ethical responsibility.

II

In 1932 I entered Columbia College. From Seth Low Library the statue of Alma Mater looked upon a space that contained the principal tensions of the university's life: In the foreground was 116th Street, New York City's bisecting presence at the center of the campus. On the south side of the street stood the Sun Dial, a great sphere of granite, Columbia's Hyde Park Corner. Here were held the rallies for Norman Thomas, who swept the student presidential poll in 1932. Here I took the Oxford Oath, pledging never to support my government in any war it might undertake. Here too I watched in ambivalent confusion as anti-war sentiment slowly turned into its own opposite, militant anti-fascism, after Hitler occupied the Rhineland and Mussolini invaded Ethiopia. Political radicalism then bore no relation to university rebellion; it only invigorated the university's intellectual life.

In Columbia's strongly defined academic culture, Clio still presided over much of the curriculum. It is hard for us to remember in our day of disciplinary differentiation and autonomy how much all subjects were then permeated with a historical perspective. Having deposed philosophy and become queen of the world of learning in the 19th century, Clio, though not as glamorous as she had been, still enjoyed pervasive in-

fluence. She dominated the only compulsory course for undergraduates, a two-year introduction, Contemporary Civilization in the West. It was designed in the spirit of the New History of the early twentieth century, that amalgam of pragmatism, democracy and social radicalism that James Harvey Robinson, Charles Beard and John Dewey had injected into Columbia's university culture. The course presented us in the first year with three textbooks in modern European history: one economic, one social and political, and one intellectual. Our task was to generate out of these materials a synoptic vision of the European past, leading, in the sophomore year, to analysis of the American present.

The structure of undergraduate major programs also reflected the primacy of history as a mode of understanding in contrast to the intra-disciplinary analytic and theoretical concerns that tend to govern the program in most fields of the human sciences today. The programs in literature, philosophy, even economics, were saturated with the historical perspective on human affairs.

I avoided a history major, which I felt would tie me down. Instead, I enrolled in Columbia's two-year humanities Colloquium, which allowed one to construct one's own program. Colloquium was centered in great books seminars conceived in a more classical spirit than usual in the university's prevailing pragmatist culture. The seminars were team-taught by truly outstanding young faculty members, such as Moses Hadas and Theodoric Westbrook, Lionel Trilling and Jacques Barzun. Watching their play of minds on the texts awoke in me for the first time a sense of the sheer intellectual delight of ideas.

The thought of an academic vocation, however, was slow in coming. Actually, I aspired to a career in singing, which I had studied since high school days. By my junior year, the sad truth grew upon me that my voice simply had not the quality to support a career in *Lieder* and the kind of Mozart roles I dreamt of. In the same year, I enrolled in young Jacques Barzun's course in 19th-century intellectual history. Barzun simply overwhelmed his few students with the range of the subject and the brilliance of his exploration of it. At work on his biography of Hector Berlioz, Barzun injected much musical material into his course. While I shared with my classmates the exciting experience that this course turned out to be, I

drew one rather personal conclusion from it: intellectual history was a field in which my two principal extra-academic interests—music and politics—could be studied not in their usual isolation, but in their relationship under the ordinance of time. I was ready to pursue it.

Yet something held me back. I felt myself to be an intellectual, interested in ideas; but could I be a scholar? Oddly enough, my Columbia experience offered no basis for an answer. As an undergraduate, I had only once been asked to prepare a research paper. Written exercises took the form of essays, oriented toward appreciation and interpretation of an issue or a text, with no particular attention to the state of scholarship or to the marshalling of empirical material to sustain a point of view. I found scholarly works often uninteresting; and when they truly impressed or captivated me, I found them daunting, far beyond my powers to emulate.

The hue of resolution thus sicklied o'er by the pale cast of doubt, I sought advice. It was arranged for me to see Charles Beard, who was attending the American Historical Association's 1935 convention in New York. Perched on the bed in his overheated room in the Hotel Pennsylvania, Beard poured forth his scorn for the pusillanimity and triviality of a historical scholarship that had lost all sense of its critical function in the civic realm. He gave me a formula for a fine scholarly career: "Choose a commodity, like tin, in some African colony. Write your first seminar paper on it. Write your thesis on it. Broaden it to another country or two and write a book on it. As you sink your mental life into it, your livelihood and an esteemed place in the halls of learning will be assured."

The second counselor to whom I turned, Lionel Trilling, then in the fourth of his six years as an instructor in a still basically anti-semitic Columbia University, almost exploded at me. What folly to embark, as a half-Jew, upon an academic career in the midst of depression! Thus both of my gloomy advisors spoke out of personal experiences that confirmed the gap between the high calling of learning and some seamier realities of the academy. Neither, however, could touch my central doubt, which was about my own fitness for scholarly research. There seemed no solution to that but to put it to the test. When I entered Harvard Graduate School in the fall of 1936, it was in a receptive spirit, but hardly with a strong vocation.

III

To pass from Columbia to Harvard was to enter another world—socially, politically and intellectually. My undergraduate stereotypes of the two institutions doubtless led me to exaggerate their differences. But stereotypes can have roots in realities. The very physical structure of Harvard seemed to express a conception of the relation between university and society different from that of Columbia.

Harvard was in the city but not of it. Where Seth Low Library looked upon the city street, Widener Library faced the Yard, a greenspace walled off from the surrounding town. The Harvard houses, with their luxurious suites, dining halls with maid-servants, separate libraries and resident tutors, expressed a unity of wealth and learning in which each lent luster to the other. Whatever its social elitism, Harvard was, as Columbia was not, a citadel of learning seemingly impervious to political tensions. Harvard had no Sun Dial, no central space for student rallies. The students must have felt no need for one. If politics had a presence here, it did not meet the newcomer's eye. I was glad, given my self-doubts about a scholarly career, to take advantage of the opportunity that the University's calm environment offered for submersion in the work of learning.

The form of instruction at Harvard differed even more strikingly from Columbia's than its architectural form. At Columbia, we thought of our instructors as teachers, guides in the exploration of texts to make us generate intellectual responses. At Harvard, the instructors were more like professors, learned authorities dispensing their organized knowledge in lectures. The prevailing nineteenth-century idea of history, with its strong architecture of development and narrative structure, reinforced the authoritative lecture mode.

Thanks to the man who became my advisor and mentor, William L. Langer, I had no chance to follow the narrow road of Charles Beard's sardonic counsel about the strategy of the specialist. Langer urged me to take not just one seminar, but many, to gain experience in a variety of historical research techniques: economic, diplomatic, intellectual and social. Seminar experience—especially with Langer—slowly dispelled my misgivings about a life of research, and gave me the much-needed intellectual discipline to pursue it. The greatest impact on my scholarly outlook and value system came not from the seminars in modern history, but from an intensive exploration of Greek history with William Scott Ferguson. Despite the fact that I was a modernist without usable Greek, Ferguson took me on for an in-depth tutorial. Each week I went to his house for a two-hour discussion of the books he had assigned, ranging from the anthropology of pre-political tribes to Aristotle's Athenian Constitution or the structure of Roman rule in Greece. For my general examination I prepared a special subject on Aristophanes under Ferguson's guidance—an exercise which enabled me for the first time to ground a whole literary *oeuvre* in a field of social power. Ferguson's critical tutelage really opened my eyes, as the field of classics has done for so many, to the possibilities of integrated cultural analysis. It also remained with me as a model of pedagogic generosity.

The comparative quiet of Harvard's political scene that I found on my arrival in 1936 soon changed. After 1938, when America began to face the menacing international situation in earnest, political concern became more general and intense within the university—and in me. Divisions on the issue of intervention ran deep, and many of us, young and old, felt impelled to debate it publicly. When political passions run strong, the relation between one's obligations to the republic of letters and to the civic republic can become dangerously conflated. Two personal experiences at Harvard brought this problem home to me.

The first occurred in 1940 in History I, the freshman course in which I served as a graduate teaching assistant. Its professor, Roger B. Merriman, a colorful, salty personality of the old school, passionately devoted to aristocratic Britain, believed, along with a few other staff members, that instructors had a public responsibility to get in there and tell the little gentlemen what the war was all about, to make them realize the importance of America's intervention. A few of us, across the often bitter barriers of political division, joined hands to resist the use of the classroom as an instrument of political indoctrination. My two partners in this effort were Barnaby C. Keeney, later the first director of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and Robert Lee Wolff, who became professor of Byzantine history at Harvard. Quite aside from the principle involved, the experience of History I taught me how shared academic values could sustain friendships that political differences might destroy.

The second experience, of an intellectual nature, left a permanent mark on my consciousness as an historian. The graduate history club had

organized a series of what were called, in jocular tribute to Communist terminology of the day, "cells," in which the student members prepared papers on problems that were not being dealt with in regular seminars. My cell took up the problem of contemporary historiography. We inquired into historical work in different countries as it evolved under the impact of recent history. I examined German historians under the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich, not merely in terms of the political pressures upon them, but also in terms of the way in which specific cultural traditions in historiography, in confrontation with a new present, led to new visions of the past. I was astounded to discover that some of the most nationalist historians justified their doctrinaire nationalism by an explicit philosophic relativism. The value of this exercise in the sociology of knowledge was not only in understanding the work of historians of other nations. It also sensitized me and my fellow-apprentices in history to the fact that we too live in the stream of history, a condition that can both enhance and impede the understanding of the past. Above all, it made us aware as our elders, in their positivistic faith in objectivity, were not, of distortions that can result from our positions in society.

IV

The Research and Analysis Branch of the Office of Strategic Services, which I joined a few months before Pearl Harbor, has been rightly known as a second graduate school. My own intellectual debt to my colleagues there—especially to the German emigres and to a stellar group of economists, some Keynesian, some Marxist—is not easy to calculate. The whole experience, however, taught me that, much as I enjoyed contemporary political research, I was not by temperament a policy-oriented scholar.

When I was released from service in 1946—over thirty, the father of two children, without a Ph.D.—I found what proved to be an ideal teaching post at Wesleyan University. I was to stay for fourteen years. Of all my mature educational experiences, that of Wesleyan probably had the strongest impact on the substance of my intellectual life and my self-definition as an historian. Basic to both were the larger shifts in America's

politics and academic culture in the late forties and fifties. I would have encountered them in any university. But only a small college could have provided the openness of discourse that made it possible to confront the cultural transformation across the borders of increasingly autonomous disciplines. At Wesleyan in particular, thanks to President Victor Butterfield's selection of imaginative faculty members at the war's end, an atmosphere of vital critical exploration prevailed. From my colleagues I received the multi-disciplinary education for the kind of cultural history I soon felt drawn to pursue.

In the first two years at Wesleyan, I had no sense of either the intellectual dilemmas about to appear or the new horizons that opened with them. Like most returning veterans, whether students or professors, I felt only a joyful sense of resuming academic life where I had left it five years before. The freshman Western Civilization course that I was asked to teach had just been introduced at Wesleyan by assistant professors fresh from Columbia. For me it was a throwback to my own freshman year fourteen years earlier. Teaching four sections, I had more than enough opportunity to explore the riches of the course. Once again I encountered there, in all its optimistic fullness, the premise that the progress of mind and the progress of state and society go hand in hand, however painful the tensions and interactions may sometimes be.

In framing an advanced course in European 19th-century history, I also returned to a pre-war pattern to explore the relationship between domestic national histories and international development. Even my European intellectual history course, though fairly original in its comparative national approach to the social history of ideas, bore the stamp of the American neo-Enlightenment in which I had been formed at home and at Columbia. Its central theme was the history of rationalism and its relation to political and social change. Viable enough for constructing an architecture of intellectual development before the mid-19th century, the theme proved less and less useful as the 20th century approached, when both rationalism and the historicist vision allied with it lost their binding power on the European cultural imagination.

In the face of the fragmentation of modern thought and art, I fastened on Nietzsche as the principal intellectual herald of the modern condition. He stood at the threshold between the cultural cosmos in which I was reared and a post-Enlightenment mental world just then emergent in America—a world at once bewildering, almost threatening, in its con-

ceptual multiplicity, yet enticing in its openness. After Nietzsche, whirl was king, and I felt rudderless. The conceptual crisis in my course set the broad question for my later research: the emergence of cultural modernism and its break from the historical consciousness.

While in my teaching I tested the dark waters of modern culture, my research was still cast in terms set by my political experience and values from the years of the New Deal and the War. I could not bear, after five years of engagement with National Socialism in the OSS, to resume my dissertation on its intellectual origins, despite a substantial pre-war investment in the subject. Instead I turned to German Social Democracy as a thesis topic, and concurrently, to a more general study of the problem of modern Germany. Behind both lay a pressing concern with the direction of world politics. The two super-powers were in the process of creating through their occupation policies two Germanies in their own images: one socialist and anti-democratic, the other democratic and anti-socialist. Accordingly, the saw-toothed course of the divide between East and West in German politics ran between the two working-class parties, Communist and Social Democratic. Before World War I, these two groupings had been part of a single party committed to both socialism and democracy. Why had that unity failed to hold together? What was the historical dynamic that made of democracy and socialism incompatibles in Germany? Contemporary questions surely stimulated my historical research, though they did not, I hope, determine its results. I realize now that I was writing not only analytic history, but a kind of elegy for a once creative movement that history had destroyed.

Parallel to the historical work on German Social Democracy, I explored directly the contemporary problem of Germany and American policy toward it for the Council on Foreign Relations. There I had an experience of the life of learning quite different from that of either government or academia. The members of the Council's German Study Group, headed by Allan Dulles, were intelligent, influential members of America's business and political elite. Most of them viewed German policy not as an area in which, as in Austria or Finland, some kind of accommodation was to be sought with the Soviet Union, but as a counter in the fundamental conflict between the two powers. I continued to believe in the goal of a unified but permanently neutralized Germany. That policy, which had been espoused by the OSS group with which I had worked, still seemed to me the only way of redeeming in some

measure the damage of the Yalta accord and of preventing the permanent division of Europe. Although the Council generously published my analysis of the German problem, it rejected my policy recommendations. It was my last fling at influencing U.S. policy from within the establishment.

The swift transformation of the East-West wartime alliance into the systemically structured antagonism of the Cold War had profound consequences for American culture, not the least for academic culture. It was not simply that the universities became a prey to outer forces that saw them as centers of Communist subversion. The break-up of the broad, rather fluid liberal-radical continuum of the New Deal into hostile camps of center and left deeply affected the whole intellectual community. The political climax of that division was Henry Wallace's presidential campaign in 1948, in which I myself was active. The bitter feelings it left in its wake only served to conceal a more general change in climate by which most intellectuals were affected, namely the revolution of falling expectations in the decade after 1947. The coming of the Cold War—and with it, McCarthyism—forced a shift in the optimistic social and philosophic outlook in which liberal and radical political positions alike had been embedded.

Wesleyan was a wonderful prism through which these changes were refracted. Several liberal activists of the social science faculty, including non-religious ones, turned to the neo-Orthodox Protestantism of Reinhold Niebuhr to refound their politics in a tragic vision. Young scholars in American studies transferred their allegiance from Parrington and his democratic culture of the open frontier to the tough moral realism of Perry Miller's Puritans. For undergraduates, a new set of cultural authorities arose. Jacob Burckhardt, with his resigned patrician wisdom in approaching problems of power, and the paradoxical pessimism of Kierkegaard elicited more interest than John Stuart Mill's ethical rationalism or Marx's agonistic vision. Existentialism, a stoical form of liberalism, came into its own, with Camus attracting some, Sartre others, according to their political persuasion.

Nothing made a greater impression on me in the midst of this transvaluation of cultural values than the sudden blaze of interest in Sigmund Freud. Scholars of the most diverse persuasions to whom my own ties were close brought the tendency home. Two of my teachers turned to Freud: the conservative William Langer used him to deepen his

politics of interest; while the liberal Lionel Trilling, now battling the Marxists, espoused Freud to temper his humanistic rationalism with the acknowledgement of the power of instinct. Nor can I forget the day in 1952 when two of my radical friends, the Wesleyan classicist Norman O. Brown and the philosopher Herbert Marcuse suddenly encountered each other on the road from Marx to Freud, from political to cultural radicalism. Truly the premises for understanding man and society seemed to be shifting from the social-historical to the psychological scene.

All these tendencies pointed American intellectuals in a direction that Europeans, with the exception of the Marxists, had gone half a century before: a loss of faith in history as progress. At a less credal level, but one actually more important for the world of learning, history lost its attractiveness as a source of meaning. Formalism and abstraction, refined internal analysis, and a new primacy of the theoretical spread rapidly from one discipline to another as all turned away from the historical mode of understanding of their subjects. For intellectual history, this tendency had two consequences, one relating to its educational function, the other to its scholarly method.

Students now came to intellectual history expecting consideration of thinkers no longer studied in the disciplines to which they belonged. Thus in philosophy, the rising Anglo-American analytic school defined questions in such a way that many previously significant philosophers lost their relevance and stature. The historian became a residuary legatee at the deathbed of the history of philosophy, inheriting responsibility for preserving the thought of such figures as Schopenhauer or Fichte from oblivion. In economic thought, a similar function passed to intellectual history as the economists abandoned their historical heritage of general social theory and even questions of social policy to pursue an exciting new affair with mathematics.

An opportunity for intellectual historians, you say? Yes and no. We were simply not equipped to assume such responsibilities. At best we had paid little attention to the internal structure of the thought with which we dealt. We had a way of skimming the ideological cream off the intellectual milk, reducing complex works of art and intellect to mere illustrations of historical tendencies or movements. The new ways of analyzing cultural products developed by the several disciplines revealed such impressionistic procedures as woefully inadequate. The historian thus faced two challenges at once: to show the continued importance of history for understanding the branches of culture whose scholars were rejecting it; and to do this at a moment when the historian's own methods of analysis were being revealed as obsolete and shallow by the very a-historical analytic methods against which he wished to defend his vision.

For me, the issue first came to focus in dealing with literature. When I charged my Wesleyan friends in the New Criticism with depriving literary works of the historical context that conditioned their very existence, they accused me of destroying the nature of the text by my excess of relativization. One irritated colleague hurled at me the injuction of e.e. cummings: "let the poem be." But he taught me how to read literature anew, how the analysis of form could reveal meanings to the historian inaccessible if he stayed only on the level of ideas, of discursive content. Other colleagues in architecture, painting, theology, etc., similarly taught me the rudiments of formal analysis so that I could utilize their specialized techniques to pursue historical analysis with greater conceptual rigor.

By the fifties, the problems I have thus far described—the blockage in my course after Nietzsche, the changes in politics with the external and internal Cold War, the dehistoricization of academic culture, and the need for higher precision in intellectual history—all converged to define my scholarly agenda. I resolved to explore the historical genesis of the modern cultural consciousness, with its deliberate rejection of history. Only in a circumscribed historical context, so it seemed to me, could a common social experience be assessed for its impact on cultural creativity. Hence, a city seemed the most promising unit of study. Like Goldilocks in the house of the three bears, I tried out several—Paris, Berlin, London, Vienna—in seminars with Wesleyan students. I chose Vienna as the one that was "just right." It was indisputably a generative center in many important branches of twentieth century culture, with a close and well-defined intellectual elite that was yet open to the larger currents of European thought. Thanks to my Wesleyan colleagues, I had acquired enough intellectual foundation to embark upon a multidisciplinary study.

V

In 1959, when I was on leave at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, a Berkeley colleague asked me to take over his course in intellectual history for two weeks. The class, although over 300 strong, had a spirit of collective engagement and responsiveness that I simply had not encountered before. I was seized by the feeling that Berkeley, with its bracing intellectual atmosphere, was the place I had to be. Ironically enough, I had turned down an offer there only four years before without even visiting the Berkeley campus. Throwing shame and protocol to the winds, I called a friend in the history department to ask if the job were still open. Fortunately it was.

To pass from Wesleyan to Berkeley in 1960 was surely to move from academic *Gemeinschaft* to academic *Gesellschaft*. Wesleyan, with its intimate and open interdisciplinary discourse, had helped me to redefine my purposes as a scholar. Berkeley influenced the direction of my historical work much less. But it forced me to think through issues that I had not considered since Harvard: the relation of the university to contemporary society, and my vocation as a teacher. The crisis of the sixties presented them in depth and urgency.

As a public university, Berkeley was, of course, especially vulnerable to the pressures of both state and society. When I arrived there in 1960, the shadow of the oath crisis of the fifties and the McCarthy years still lay heavily upon the faculty. Moreover, 100-year-old regulations barring political and religious speakers and campus political organization were still in force. Devised to protect the university's immunity from outside pressures of state and church, these rules had become under current conditions nettlesome restrictions of academic freedom. Until 1964, however, it was not students but faculty members who took the lead in pressing the issue of free speech. My department, for example, unanimously agreed to make a test case of the restrictive rules by inviting Herbert Aptheker, a self-proclaimed Communist historian with a Ph.D. and solid publications, to address its graduate colloquium. When the administration, as it had to do, refused permission for the speaker and denied the department the funds to pay him, we took the colloquium off

campus and held it in a church hall to dramatize our point: that a responsible educational function had, in the University of California, to be conducted as an unauthorized off-campus activity.

In another action, when a well-funded right-wing group conducted a state-wide campaign of "education in Communism" in the towns of California, the History Department offered a public lecture series on comparative Communism to counteract propagandists masking as scholars. Our historians, of widely different political persuasions and with varied regional expertise, demonstrated to a large public by their example how the university could serve society by intellectualizing in analysis and rational discussion its most burning public problems.

With the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War, American politics took a new turn, with profound consequences for the university. The pressure on it came not only from the right and the establishment, as in the fifties, but from the left and those with social grievances as well. This led at Berkeley to a shift in university attention from academic freedom and autonomy—a primary concern of the faculty—to political rights and the freedom of university members to pursue on campus their causes as citizens—a primary concern of students. In a liberal society, academic freedom and civic freedom are interdependent, but they are not the same.The first relates to the universal republic of letters, the second to the limited body politic. The recognition each must pay the other produces a delicate balance, easily upset when contestants locked in political struggle begin to see the university as a weapon or an obstacle. This is what happened at Berkeley. Political rights having been too long denied in the name of academic immunity, academic autonomy began to be put at risk in the name of political rights.

I became deeply involved as a minor actor in the ensuing crisis, serving first on the Emergency Executive Committee of the Academic Senate, then as Chancellor's officer for educational development. Let me say only that I went through the same rhythm of anguish, illusion, hope and disabusement that is so often the lot of participants in intense social crises. I realize now, on reflecting back, that once again my outlook and actions were marked by a kind of basic archetypical mental disposition to synthesize or unify forces whose dynamics resist integration. An ironic thrust seems to have characterized my intellectual work: In my book on Social Democracy, I had tried to comprehend socialism and democracy

in a single perspective. In my intellectual history of Vienna, I had sought to integrate politics and culture in substance, historical and formal analysis in method. Now, in the crisis of university and society, I tried to reconcile academic autonomy and anti-war activism; in educational policy, faculty authority and educational renewal.

Those who experienced the university crisis will know how searing the sense of dissolution can be, even if tempered now and again by a sense of future promise. I certainly had hopes that a stronger university community would issue from the crisis, and drew strength from the fine group of collaborating colleagues who shared my convictions about both free speech and educational reform. But in the conflict-laden environment, two other, less homogeneous entities made the situation bearable: my department and my classes.

The history department was deeply divided over the issues of university policy; more, it contributed articulate spokesmen to almost every shade of opinion in the Academic Senate. Yet when the department met on academic business, its divisions on personnel or curricular problems did not follow those in Senate meetings on university issues. I could expect to find in a colleague who had opposed me on the Senate floor a staunch ally on a department matter. Professional ethos and collegiality remained intact. How different it was in other departments, such as politics and sociology, where methodological divisions tended to coincide with and reinforce political faction! My classes, buoyant and intellectually engaged through all the troubles, also were a continuous source of stability. However, the pressures of the crisis caused me to rethink my teaching.

Once, after a final lecture in intellectual history, I had an experience that gave me food for thought. My students gave me the customary round of year-end applause. After all the difficulties of that year, I floated out of the lecture room on cloud nine. Then, as I walked down the corridor, I heard a girl behind me say to her companion, in a voice heavy with disgust: "And they call that a dialogue!" The remark jerked me back to earth. Beneath it lay two problems: first, student hunger for closer relations with the instructor, always present to some degree, but intensified by the unrest into a widespread rejection of the lecture system as "impersonal." Second, the passage of the student revolt from politics to culture. The gap that had opened between generations in

both moral and intellectual culture was real—and in fact, wider than that in politics. How to bridge that gap, and make it possible for the professor of one generation to deal with new questions arising in another: that was the problem my jaundiced critic raised for me. It crystallized my interest in new educational forms suited to the mass university.

To bring my ideas of the intellectual tradition into a new relation to students' questions, I restructured my course on polycentric lines. While I continued to present my interpretation of intellectual history in the lectures, I displaced the locus of instruction into a series of satellite seminars. These were organized on topics defined not by me, but by graduate teaching assistants. I asked them to deal with the same thinkers as I presented in my lectures, but left each free to choose texts of those thinkers more suited to the particular theme each had selected. They came up with themes I could not have thought of at the time, such as "The Costs of Freedom," or "The Idea of the Feminine in European Thinking." The graduate T.A. thus became a mediator between my professional discipline and standards in which he had a vocational stake, and the concerns of the new generation of which he was a part. All gained by the enlargement of the T.A.'s authority. The satellite seminar not only helped satisfy the felt need for dialogue, which in fact any section system might provide; it also set up a healthy dialectic between the interpretive scheme of my lectures and the ideas and existential concerns of the students reflected in each seminar's special theme.

As I followed the intellectual yield of the seminars, I was made aware of the deep truth of Nietzsche's observation that a new need in the present opens a new organ of understanding for the past. Many ideas that have become more widespread, such as Foucault's, first arose for me there. The satellite seminar system was adopted by a few others both in Berkeley and Princeton, and was effective for its time. In the mid-seventies, however, when deference to the canonical in matters intellectual and social quiescence returned, it lost its appeal for graduate assistants. Well suited to its time, its time soon passed. In education as in scholarship, one must live in the provisional, always ready to acknowledge obsolescence and to adapt the forms of instruction to changes in both culture and society.

VI

I went to Princeton in order to save if possible my scholarly work. It was not the fault of the University of California, which I dearly loved, that I invested so much psychic energy in institutional life and in my teaching. But, given a tendency to neglect research for the other claims on the academic man, I could not resist the temptation of an appointment at Princeton University coupled with a half-time fellowship for three years at the Institute for Advanced Study.

At Wesleyan in the fifties, in response to the impact of the rightward shift of post-war politics and the de-historicization of academic culture, I had redefined my mission and method as an interdisciplinary intellectual historian. At Berkeley in the sixties, a university under the double pressure of America's conservative establishment and a recrudescent youthful left, I grappled in thought and action with finding the right relation between university and society. Part of a strong group of intellectual historians at Berkeley within a department of great diversity, I felt I was doing the work of my guild when I tried to adapt my subject to the intellectual and existential needs of a new generation of students.

At Princeton in the seventies, the center of my vocation shifted somewhat, from inside the history department to the humanities as a whole. Here again, a change in academic culture led me to redefine my function. Fundamental to it was the polarization of the social sciences and the humanities from each other. That process, which had begun in earnest in the fifties, now reached a new intensity. The concern with aggregate, depersonalized social behavior on the one side, and the concern with linguistic and structuralist textual analysis independent of any social context on the other did not simply diminish the relevance of history to both groups. Their mutually exclusive conceptual systems also penetrated the discipline of history itself. Social historians, seeking the "otherness" of past cultures or of classes neglected in previous historiography, became more interested in the static cross-section of culture in the manner of anthropologists than in the dynamics of continuous transformation. At the other end of the spectrum, among intellectual historians, Hayden White lifted intellectual history clear of its social matrix by analyzing historiography as a literary construct. Synchronic recovery of a static slice of the past at one end of the spectrum, humanistic theory of forms at the other: these recapitulated within history itself in the seventies the loss of interest in process and transformation that had marked the new academic culture outside history in the fifties. In my Princeton history department, the dominant orientation was toward the social sciences.

I am no theorist and no methodologist. My way of addressing the problem of polarization in the *sciences humaines* and in history itself was through teaching—but this time not alone, and not purely within history. A small group of Princeton faculty from different departments joined me in devising an undergraduate inter-disciplinary program called European Cultural Studies. Its regnant idea was to bring to bear on the same objects of study the separate lights of social scientists, historians included, and humanists—the groups that elsewhere were pulling so far apart. All courses in the program were taught in two-person teams—hopefully one social scientist and one humanist. Few social scientists other than social historians could be induced to join the program. But the seminars did establish a field of discourse relating the social and ideational worlds to each other, despite the autonomism of our academic culture. In a more personal sense, teaching over some years with scholars in philosophy, architecture, Russian, German and French literature made of my last teaching decade a quite new learning experience. From one of the seminars, on Basel in the nineteenth century, issued a research project with my teaching partner, a study echoing the concern of my Berkeley years: the relation between university culture and social power.

During much of my scholarly life, I worked to bring the arts into history as essential constituents of its processes. In the last years, I have reversed the effort, trying to project historical understanding into the world of the arts, through work with museums, architecture schools and critical writing for the larger public. The venue may change, the forms of one's engagement alter as one grows older and the world changes. Preparing this account, however, has made me realize all too clearly that I have not moved very far from the issues that arose in my formative years, when the value claims of intellectual culture and the structure of social power first appeared in a complex interaction that has never ceased to engage me.

Slate

August 23, 1961

MEMORANDUM TO PRESIDENT KERR AND CHANCELLOR STRONG

As you know, we have been actively interested in the problem of student political organization and activity on campus. Since the suspension of SLATE on June 9th, we have met several times by ourselves and with other members of the faculty; we have discussed some of these problems with students who have sought our advice and aid; several of us were invited to appear at the hearing held July 20th by the Committee on Recognition of Student Organizations; and we have exchanged views with you on a number of occasions.

In the light of the new directive of July 24th, we thought it would be of interest to you to have our general assessment of the situation as we see it now.

First, however, we should like to restate the particular issues that have concerned us. These have been mainly three:

(a) The suspension of SLATE. We wished to affirm faculty interest in this particular case, and to defend SLATE if that seemed necessary and proper. After study of the case we did conclude that SLATE, while meriting some kind of punitive action, should not be permanently suspended under the rules in effect prior to July 24, 1961. More specifically, it was our hope that SLATE would be able to participate in the ASUC elections of the Fall term, 1961.

(b) The general problem of fair procedure in the regulation of student organizations. While we do not think that the administration of these affairs should be governed by an excess of legalism, we do feel that at least the rights of notice and hearing, as well as a due regard for fairness in fitting the punishment to the crime, should be safeguarded. The SLATE case does suggest that such procedures have yet to be developed on the Berkeley campus. It is our understanding that the Committee on Recognition of Student Organizations has taken cognizance of this problem and may have reported on it in connection with its consideration of the SLATE suspension.

(c) The idea of campus political parties. We were concerned lest the SLATE case, whatever its particular merits, prejudice the general idea that campus political parties are a useful adjunct to more formal educational processes on campus.

Our understanding of the Present Situation

1. The new directive of July 24th does allow campus political parties as "student groups organized exclusively for the election of student officers and for discussion of student government issues." We assume this

means that such groups can enter candidates in student elections, such candidates being identified as party candidates; run a unified campaign; hold rallies on campus; and do whatever else may be reasonable and proper in the light of their special purposes.

2. The new directive is silent on the right of other bona fide student organizations to present themselves as student political parties running candidates in student elections. However, it is our understanding that, at least on the Berkeley campus, "off-campus as well as on-campus student groups with faculty advisors and fraternities and living groups are entitled to sponsor candidates. The only requirement is that a group be a bona fide student group and that it conform to election rules of the ASUC;" (Letter of Chancellor Strong to Professor Selznick, July 19, 1961.)

We are delighted by the evolution of this policy. It definitely appears that the University is committed to safeguarding the opportunity of the student body to have a meaningful political experience so far as the election of student government is concerned. We are still in some doubt regarding the effects of the restriction on holding membership meetings on campus, so far as the new category of "off-campus" organizations is concerned, and we fear that this may work a serious hardship.

Some Continuing Problems

We feel it would be of value to the administration, in working out its new policies, to give consideration to the following matters which may be troublesome in the near future.

We welcome the spirit of Chancellor Strong's statement of July 19th to the effect that ASUC itself will determine the rules of participation in student elections. Certainly maximum autonomy for the Associated Students is desirable. On the other hand, we assume that the administration will retain residual responsibility for insuring that ASUC rules are broadly consistent with University policy, including the policy of safeguarding the rights of bona fide student groups. It may be desirabble to anticipate some issues that may arise when ASUC attempts to interpret University policy with respect to participation in student elections.

Specifically, if an organization such as SLATE decides not to be a "student organization authorized to use University facilities for regular membership meetings and to use the name of the University," it may yet seek to run candidates in the student elections as an "off-campus" group. Will it be able to organize its campaigns on campus by holding campaign organizing meetings, rallies, conferences with other groups, etc.? Will the question of rules to bbe made by ASUC for the governance of student elections be a proper campaign issue? If it is, will ASUC be allowed to decide what constitutes a "membership meeting?"

On a broader level there are some issues which remain, for us, not yet clearly resolved. For example, we feel that the interpretation of the State Constitution as restricting student political activity is questionable and should receive further study. We have some doubts about the realism of the assumption that student pronouncements are likely to be confused with the stand of the University as an institution. And we continue to believe that all bona fide student groups should be allowed to hold membership meetings on campus, so long as they are engaged in lawful activities serving an educational purpose. We hope that both the administration and the faculty will from time to time re-examine these questions in the light of experience under the new policy; and we offer our earnest support in your efforts to sustain and extend freedom and responsible citizenship on our campus.

Our interest in the issues raised by the SLATE suspension should not be construed as a general criticism of the University administration. We are well aware of the liberalizing measures instituted in recent years. Nor are we unmindful of the repeated defense of the University, and of its open forum policy, made by the administration against adverse pressures and criticism. (In passing we might note that the very telegram which helped get SLATE into so much trouble was written in praise of the University and specifically of President Kerr.) We would be unhappy, and seriously misunderstood, if our action in this matter in any way loosened the broad and firm bonds that now exist between faculty and administration.

We have no wish to magnify disagreements. At the same time, we know you will concur that it is important to keep lines of communication open. As faculty members, we try to make ourselves available to the problems of students, and we hope that a dialogue with you, from time to time, will be welcomed as creative and enlightening.

Yours very sincerely,

Van Dusen Kennedy	Hanan C. Selvin
Leo Lowenthal	Philip Selznick
Carl E. Schorske	Henry Nash Smith
Charles G. Sellers, Jr.	Kenneth M. Stampp

Use of Univ. Name (Giedt)

June 11, 1962

Professor W. H. Giedt, Chairman
Committee on Academic Freedom
Academic Senate, Berkeley Division
211 Mechanics Building
Campus

Dear Professor Giedt:

At its last meeting, the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate passed a sense-motion expressing its opposition to sections one and three of the "Draft Statement Concerning Use of University Name and Facilities by Faculty and Staff in their Relations with Persons and Groups outside the University."

Since I was not able to attend that meeting, I should like to take this means of indicating to you my support of the sense-motion adopted by it. It seems of highest importance that we be allowed to identify ourselves professionally before the public -- though clearly not claiming to speak for the University of California.

With thanks for your interest,

Carl E. Schorske
Professor of History

CES:hb
cc: President Kerr

BERKELEY: DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Carl--

How about this?

> At its last meeting the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate passed a sense-motion expressing its opposition to sections one and three of the attached "Draft Statement Concerning Use of University Name and Facilities by Faculty and Staff in their Relations with Persons and Groups outside the Universs ty."
>
> Because all of us were not there, and because those of us who were prefer not to lose our identities completely in the anonymity of a voice vote, we would like, as scholar-citizens distinguished by their membership in the faculty of history of the University of California, Berkeley (though clearly not as representatives of the University [illegible] as a corporate body), to indicate our personal support of that motion.

Hutson says that the petition -- and any other letters or communications-- should be sent to Prof. W. H. Giedt, Ch. of the Comm. on Academic Freedom, 211 Mechanics Bldg., and that a copy might be sent to President Kerr.

George

March 13, 1963

Professor J. H. Reynolds, Chairman
Committee on Academic Freedom
Academic Senate, Northern Section

Dear Professor Reynolds:

I am transmitting herewith a communication from the Department of History to the Academic Freedom Committee of the Senate. The statement was adopted at the Department's meeting of 8 March, 1963, by a vote of 27 to 1, with two abstentions.

I should like to add for your consideration a few elements in the situation not contained in the departmental communication:

(1) The History Colloquium is neither a required academic exercise nor a public function. Invitation is by campus mail to the faculty and by post-card to the students. In the interests of active participation by students, colloquia are not announced on the University Calendar or to the general public. The topic of each colloquium is presented by a speaker, who also normally leads the discussion among faculty and students.

(2) Outside speakers are invited to a colloquium only after written notice has been sent to the tenure members, with the request that any objection be registered before a certain date. This procedure was followed in the case of the colloquium for Dr. Aptheker. One member subsequently reported not receiving the notification in this instance, though he did not specifically dissent from the invitation.

(3) The Chancellor, in apprising me by telephone on Saturday, February 16, 1963, that the colloquium could not be held on campus, invoked both Regulation 5 and the interpretations thereof as summarized in the University Bulletin, February 13, 1962, pp. 131-132. The Chancellor in his conversations with me at no point denied the educational character of the colloquium, and in general showed understanding for the Department's position while feeling obliged to deny the use of University facilities.

(4) The Chancellor made his decision on the basis of an administrative policy in which politics has primacy. While the Chancellor did not cite it specifically, the relevant policy would seem to be that expressed in Regulation 5 and interpreted by President Kerr as follows: "'to prevent exploitation of its [the University's] prestige by unqualified persons or by those who would use it as a platform for propaganda.' The latter phrase has been specifically interpreted by word and by practice to exclude speeches by members of the Communist Party of the U.S.A." (President Clark Kerr, Report to the Regents, December 15, 1961.)

(4) con't. The Department, on the other hand, is guided by a policy in which educational and scholarly aims must necessarily have primacy. On this occasion, the two policies -- political and educational -- came into clear conflict. The Department was forced either to cancel a legitimate educational function or to reduce it to an "off-campus" activity. Neither choice was happy, but the latter was, I believe, the only correct one by professional academic standards. Since time did not permit full consultation of the tenure members, I bear the responsibility for the decision to remove the meeting to Stiles Hall.

(5) As the logical corollary of the position taken above, it seemed to me essential to maintain the scholarly and non-public character of the Colloquium once it was removed from the campus. Thanks to the cooperation of faculty, students and the authorities of Stiles Hall, this proved to be possible. The colloquium was marked by normal scholarly discussion, like any other, despite the unaccustomed off-campus setting in which it was held.

Respectfully submitted,

Carl E. Schorske
Chairman

CES:hb
enc.

cc: Chancellor Edward W. Strong

Aptheker

Department of History 8 March 1963

To the Committee on Academic Freedom

The Department of History, at a meeting on March 8, 1963, voted to call your attention to the following facts:

1. A year ago the Department of History invited Professor Troukhanovskii of the Soviet Union, editor of Voprosy Istorii, to speak on the subject of Soviet historiography to a colloquium of history graduate students and faculty in the Alumni House. This was admittedly a topic on which Professor Troukhanovskii is qualified to speak, and the discussion was not one that permitted him to use the University "as a platform for propaganda." Though it may be assumed that Professor Troukhanovskii is a Communist, the University administration apparently did not consider the colloquium a violation of Regulation Number 5 and permitted it to meet on campus.

2. Early this year the Department of History invited Dr. Herbert Aptheker to speak on the subject of American Negro historiography to a colloquium of history graduate students and faculty in the Alumni House. Dr. Aptheker is editor of the Communist theoretical magazine Political Affairs. He also holds a Ph.D. degree from Columbia University and is author of American Negro Slave Revolts and editor of A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States. In addition, he has written several short studies of the Negro in the American Revolution, in the abolitionist movement, and in the Civil War. Negro historiography, therefore, is obviously a topic on which Dr. Aptheker is qualified to speak; moreover, he represents a point of view with which graduate students working in American history need to be familiar. The reasons for inviting Professor Troukhanovskii and Dr. Aptheker, and the circumstances of the two meetings, were identical. In both cases the graduate students and numerous members of the History Department were prepared for scholarly controversy and committed to objective exploration rather than political debate. Two days before Dr. Aptheker was to speak (February 18, 1963), Professor Carl Schorske, Chairman of the Department of History, received notice from the Office of the Chancellor [illegible] Dr. Aptheker to speak on [illegible] University Regulation 5. The Department was forced [illegible] Stiles Hall.

3. It is the opinion of the Department of History that the interpretation and application of Regulation 5 in the above instance was in clear violation of the spirit of the regulation itself. "The function of the University," according to the regulation, "is to seek and transmit knowledge and to train students in the processes whereby truth is to be made known. . . . The University is founded upon faith in intelligence and knowledge and it must defend their free operation. It must rely upon truth to combat error." To interpret this regulation in such a way as to prevent a dialogue on campus between a Marxist historian and a group of history graduate students is, we think, to commit a serious violation of academic freedom.

4. We respectfully request that the Committee on Academic Freedom investigate the facts of the case and consider whether a recommendation for a more rational interpretation and application of University Regulation Number 5 would not be in order.

Office of Public Information

TH 5-6000, Ext. 8734 : 101 Sproul Hall

7/22/63 Albrook 1489

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY
SCHEDULED FOR 12 NOON MONDAY 7/22/63

Berkeley--Following is the text of introductory remarks by Professor Carl E. Schorske, prepared for delivery in connection with the appearance of Albert J. Lima at Wheeler Auditorium on the Berkeley campus of the University of California today (Monday):

The interest in this meeting has been high. Both on and off the campus, people see it as a turning point in the history of our University. Why? Some erroneously believe that, for the first time, a Communist may now speak on campus, and that students will now be "exposed" directly to Communist ideas. In fact, students have long been exposed to these ideas through Communist writings. Moreover, foreign Communists have been permitted to speak on campus. So far as Communism is concerned, this meeting inaugurates a change only in that an American Communist can now present his ideas in person to the University community. Our students and faculty can consider, test and weigh these ideas man-to-man, rather than merely man-to-book. In this sense, Mr. Lima's presence here today has its educational importance in enlarging the ways in which our students can acquire knowledge about Communism rather than in opening such knowledge to them for the first time.

In a larger sense, however, the meeting acquires its significance from the fact that the Regents, by their resolution of June 21, have affirmed that self-defining freedom of inquiry on which any university must rest. Political anxiety about the students has given way to intellectual confidence in the students. The Regents have wisely lifted the "ban," not negatively, but positively in their resolution:

> "The Regents of the University have confidence in the students of the University and in their judgment in properly evaluating any and all beliefs and ideologies that may be expressed in University facilities by off-campus speakers. This is in the best American tradition."

So it is--in the best American tradition. For ours is a nation which was among the first to raise a time-honored principle of the university--the faith in a free exchange of ideas--into a principle for a whole society.

It is gratifying to see the reestablishment of that principle in the University of California in the form of an untrammeled "Open Forum Policy." We thus join the ranks of America's great institutions of learning--Harvard, Minnesota, Yale, Wisconsin and many others--in offering our students, without fear or favor, all that the world holds in the way of ideas. We know that, whatever their beliefs, the students will receive these ideas both respectfully and critically, in the time-honored tradition of scholarly life.

BERKELEY: OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR

July 23, 1963

Professor Carl E. Schorske
Department of History
3303 Dwinelle Hall
Campus

Dear Professor Schorske:

Now that the "ordeal" is over I want to express my sincere appreciation to you for taking on this extremely difficult chore of moderating the Lima meeting.

I have read your thoughtful opening remarks and have heard from members of my staff and others who were present how well you handled the entire proceeding. The continued success of the open forum policy depends on the conduct of the programs, and I am delighted that this first one went so smoothly. That it did was largely due to your actions, and you have my sincere thanks.

Sincerely,

E. W. Strong

July 30, 1963

Chancellor Edward W. Strong
University of California
3335 Dwinelle

Dear Chancellor Strong:

This is to thank you for your generous words of appreciation concerning my moderating the Lima meeting. Thanks to the help of the public information office and the maturity of the students who attended the meeting, the chore proved to be not at all difficult.

I should like to take this occasion to thank you for your role in lifting the qualifications on the open forum policy. After learning from Mrs. Strong about the telephone campaigns to which you have been subjected, I am more sensible than ever to the selflessness that was involved in your championship of a full open forum policy.

Sincerely yours,

Carl E. Schorske

CES:mf

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
CLARK KERR
President of the University

RECEIVED BY
CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE

BERKELEY 4, CALIFORN

July 26, 1963

COPY

Mr. Sidney S. Watts
2371 Knoxville Avenue
Long Beach, California

Dear Mr. Watts:

Dr. Max Rafferty has forwarded your letter of July 20 to me for reply.

Albert J. Lima's recent speech on the Berkeley campus of the University of California was sponsored by SLATE and the W. E. B. DuBois Club, both of which are off-campus student organizations. To implement University policy, the meeting was moderated by Dr. Carl E. Schorske, a professor of history on the Berkeley campus.

Your interest in the University is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Clark Kerr

cc: Dr. Max Rafferty
Chancellor Strong

→ bc: Dr. Schorske (Via Chancellor Strong)

Lima

STILES HALL

University YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

2400 BANCROFT WAY • BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA • THornwall 1-6010

July 29, 1963

Professor Carl E. Schorske
3303 Dwinnelle Hall
University of California
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Professor Schorske:

I write to commend you for your public service in chairing the meeting last Monday at which Mr. Lima spoke. Your motives and your role in doing this are bound to be misunderstood and misinterpreted by some. I hope there are many more of us who know and appreciate your real dedication to freedom which, I am sure, motivated you to place yourself in this position.

It is certainly a pleasure to be able to reply, in this way, to the kind note which you sent to us when Stiles Hall opened its doors to the History Department Colloquium a few months ago.

Cordially,

William J. Davis

WJD/fl

July 31, 1963

Mr. William J. Davis
Stiles Hall
2400 Bancroft Way
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you very much for you kind note. Your prediction was right: the unfavorable returns are coming in; but no one interested in civil liberties can escape this sort of thing. I know that you agree that the price is pretty small considering what is at stake. Nevertheless, it is certainly cheering to get expressions of support from people like yourself.

Sincerely yours,

Carl E. Schorske
Chairman

CES:mf

Living - follow up.

BERKELEY: Office of the Chancellor

November 19, 1963

DEANS, DIRECTORS AND DEPARTMENT CHAIRMEN:

The Regents' in their June meeting modified the University's policy on off-campus speakers. Their resolution reads:

> The Regents of the University of California have confidence in the students of the University and in their judgment in properly evaluating any and all beliefs and ideologies that may be expressed in University facilities by off-campus speakers. This is in the best American tradition.
>
> Therefore, the Regents approved the following policy for off-campus speakers: Any off-campus speaker may be allowed to speak on a campus of the University in accordance with the policy set forth in the University regulation on the "Use of University Facilities."
>
> Whenever the respective Chancellor considers it appropriate in furtherance of educational objectives, he may require any or all of the following:
>
> 1. That the meeting be chaired by a tenure member of the faculty.
>
> 2. That the speaker be subject to questions from the audience.
>
> 3. That the speaker be appropriately balanced in debate with a person of contrary opinions.

On the campuses of the University of California, when off-campus speakers are discussing political, social or religious issues, the meeting will be chaired by a tenure member of the faculty, and the speaker will be subject to questions from the audience.

Undoubtedly there will be many meetings on the Berkeley campus for which faculty moderators will be needed. So that the burden will not fall too heavily on a few, and to aid students in finding moderators for their meetings, I am requesting that you furnish me, by November 25, names of those tenure members of your department or staff whom you think will be willing to serve occasionally as moderators.

E. W. Strong

PROFESSIONAL ETHOS AND PUBLIC CRISIS: A HISTORIAN'S REFLECTIONS*

By Carl E. Schorske, *University of California, Berkeley*

"THE professional association and public issues": why is the topic before us? A social crisis has placed it there.

That communities so secure in their sense of purpose and function as learned associations are falling victim one by one to anxiety, self-doubt, and explosive internal criticism attests in itself to the gravity of America's condition. For ours is an Enlightenment society, constructed on the premise that the progress of society and the progress of mind are interdependent. When the society divides over the value and function of learning, when the academy divides over its vocation and its social responsibility, it is safe to conclude that a republic founded like ours on faith in reason is not in good health.

Every province in the world of scholarship must find its own way to meet the crisis of learning in which we are all involved. I can offer little more than reflections on the evolving relationship of scholarship to public life. Out of the contrast of past experience and present context, perhaps we can see more clearly how to sunder the useful from the obsolete in our inheritance. Against this background, we can then assess the relevance for the MLA of actions by other professional organizations to revitalize their scholarly ethos to meet the modern crisis.

I

Scholars have ever been conscious of holding dual citizenship. They are citizens of a civil polity and citizens of the republic of letters. The two communities overlap, but they are not the same in their purposes, their canons of behavior, and their ultimate commitments. Traditionally, the two republics of politics and of learning have organized their relationship under something like the Gelasian theory that governed Church and State in medieval Europe. Spiritual power and temporal power each had its proper sphere and wielded its own sword, while each supported and served the other in its proper function. The voice of the republic of learning is raised in matters of politics only when its vital interest is affected; that is, the pursuit of truth by the use of intellect. The polis, for its parts, violates the immunity of the scholarly world only when the latter acts in an illegal way. Immanuel Kant, in his attempt to clarify the relations between scholarship and politics, distinguished between reason in its universal employment, and reason in its civil or religious employment. In the first, the governing principle was "dare to know"; in the second, "argue as much as you want, but obey." Under these two principles, the two republics confronted each other with different commitments but could live together in uneasy mutual toleration.

In the 1780's, while Kant was articulating his ideas of scholarly-political relations, the young American republic was engaged in a fever of educational experiment. It was groping for means to achieve a far closer integration of the republic of letters and the civil republic than had ever been attempted before. With all due allowance for the powerful religious ingredient in the making of American civilization, our polity was conceived in the Enlightenment and built upon its premises. Under the historical perspective of the Enlightenment, the progress of society and the progress of mind are one. While religion is reduced to a private affair, the life of the mind is elevated into a public concern. Enlightenment society makes the principle of scholarship—rationally controlled innovation—its own principle of development. For good or for ill, the distinction between the republic of learning and the civil republic becomes blurred as the two spheres move toward concentricity.

The substantive content of the rational philosophy of the Enlightenment further reinforced the integration of the scholarly and the civic realms. Science—or natural philosophy—and the study of man were conceived under a single principle, that of immanent rationality, which the scholar would disclose. Scientific reason and normative reason collaborate to the same end; technical and moral progress proceed together, each reinforcing the other. That is why the institution of learning is assigned not only technical and service functions, but also moral and metaphysical functions earlier performed by the Church. Alma mater is the American successor to Mother Church, *Mater et Magistra*. The scholar is looked to as moral teacher and guardian, as well as scientist, increasing both his responsibility and his temptation.

There were two kinds of integration in the

* An address delivered at the Plenary Meeting of the MLA Standing Committees in New York, 28 March 1968.

Enlightenment—one of the academy and society, the other of the natural and humanistic sciences. Though never complete, the strength of the integrations in America was sufficient to produce a powerful *civic* tradition of claim for scholarly service, technical and moral; and an equally powerful *scholarly* tradition of claim to a role in the definition of the public weal. The traditional dual citizenship of the scholar seemed reduced to a distinction without a difference. On both sides, civil and scholarly, the guards were down.

II

Toward the close of the nineteenth century, both society and scholarship took a new turn. Society began to discover that not all the fruits of scientific civilization were sweet, as the technological economy revealed its social cruelty. At the same time, the internal development of scholarship made specialization an intellectual necessity. New forms of scholarly organization were devised to promote it. The scholar became a professional. In the 1870's and 80's, 200 learned organizations were established, changing the orientation of the man of learning away from the general cultivated public to his specialized scholarly peer group. As each discipline became organized into a guild with its canons, the old Enlightenment unities broke down. The autonomistic tendencies of men of learning, dormant since the days of Kant and the early liberal struggle for academic freedom, appeared once more. The once unified community of learning became fragmented into a congery of specialized provinces, each living by its own discipline, dedicated to its own enterprise. The primary intellectual responsibility of the scholar was neither to *urbs* nor to *orbs*, neither to his local scene nor to the great republic of letters, but to his professional peer group—to other specialized scholars. Accordingly—and this seems to me vital for our present concern—the degree to which a scholar would consider the social or general human import of his work and vocation came to depend on the peer group, on the professional ethos of the organized discipline to which he was committed. The new professional did not go back to Kant's universalism when he revived Kant's autonomy. As he broke from the Enlightenment unities in the interest of substantive scholarly progress, he slipped unwittingly into both moral and civic irresponsibility.

Of course this was not apparent at the time when American scholarship was first organizing itself professionally. The confidence in the ultimate order and coherence of the universe that pervaded liberal culture in the nineteenth century informed the development of specialized scholarship as well. The nineteenth century, after all, was full of slogans reflecting a proud autonomy in plural standards which an era with less metaphysical optimism could hardly dare espouse: "Business is business"—"Krieg ist Krieg"—"L'art pour l'art": these maxims declare that each field shall operate under its own law, with no external referent, human or divine, ethical or metaphysical. Let us not forget *wertfreie Wissenschaft*, the scholar's version of *laissez-faire*, as a late addition to this list. Or "To pursue truth wherever it may lead." The scholar, like the businessman and the artist, still had the sense that an inherent power for order in the world would absorb his product into its beneficent economy without his assuming responsibility for the process.

To be sure, the actual behavior of the young professional associations shows the strength of social impulses beneath the specialist's intellectual claims to autonomy. Franklin Jameson, the *spiritus rector* of the young American Historical Association, was committed to a rigorous historical positivism; but behind it lay a democratic animus against the patrician aristocracy of culture. He was determined to break the power of what he called the "elderly swells who dabble in history" by creating a "professorial class." The edifice of historical knowledge could no longer be built by single individuals privileged with great leisure, but only by a corporate community working according to common scientific principles. Jameson set as a major aim of the AHA "the spread of thoroughly good second-class work," for on this both the progress of knowledge and the dissemination of culture depended. History as *Wissenschaft* implied the professional community in reciprocal service with a democratic polity—at the expense of the elite.[1]

The early transactions of the Modern Language Association reveal a similar integration of professional, scientific commitment and public or social concern. In 1887, when this association was in its infancy, Provost William Pepper of the University of Pennsylvania welcomed your fifth conclave in Philadelphia thus: "You call yourselves the Modern Language Association of America . . . You represent a new and aggressive force in education; you are the leaders in the at-

[1] John Higham et al., *History*, in *Humanistic Scholarship in America*, ed. Richard Schlatter (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965), pp. 6–25.

tack now being made on the stronghold of the classicists." Dr. Pepper was obviously convinced that the MLA was doing society's work in its destruction of "the rigid sway of an exclusive system"—classical education—"kept up for the benefit of a small and exclusive class." The population explosion posed a threat then as now: "[O]ur colleges are barely maintaining their influence and hold over the swarming millions of our population. Had not a wise heed been paid to the changing needs of our national life and relations, and to the changing aspects of our national thought, the influence of our colleges might have been far less than it is today." Upon this influence, Dr. Pepper asserted, "the future of our precious institutions depends." Hence he hailed the MLA as a development which brought the academic system "in closer touch with the intellectual needs of our people."[2]

The authors of the papers in the early issues of *PMLA* suggest a similarly broad conception of the new professional's vocation. As you doubtless know better than I, the crusade against the classics was not narrowly utilitarian. In justifying the study of modern literature and language, its advocates pressed their social and moral value as vigorously as their value of knowledge. The stress on Germanic pure science was paralleled by an evident populist zeal to analyze and preserve local dialects, minority group languages, and poetry which betrays that democratic love of the folk with which Herder had informed the German philological revolution. The scholar and the people were connected by a two-way street. The scholar absorbed and honored popular culture, while the folk was to absorb the language and literature of the elite culture. One ardent advocate of the democratization of higher learning urged the association to introduce the teaching of Old English philology in the elementary schools. "Let us convert the school-boards," he urged; "let each of us become a priest and missionary *in partibus infidelium*."[3]

Enough has been said to indicate that the new professorial class, with all its scientific detachment, still defined its scholarly commitment as largely overlapping with its public function if not identical with it. The assumptions of the Enlightenment still held together the republics of learning and of politics, while expanded education assured the progress of both spheres. This was as true for the literary profession as for the historical and scientific ones. Though learning was now corporate enterprise, it still implied a civic mission.

Gradually, however, the terms of the relationship between the learned and the wider society were changed. The metaphysical and moral premises of the Enlightenment were gradually eroded in favor of a frank instrumentalism or pragmatism. The innocence of the Age of Reason, with its faith in universal culture, gave way to the innocence of the Age of Expertise, with its confident commitment to specialized research.

Social developments reinforced the internal tendencies of scholarship toward the encapsulation of the higher learning in professional communities of experts. The transformation of our economy by science and technology created vast demands for scientific skills. They were called for not only to extend the miracles of production, but also to mitigate the social disasters attendant upon them. While the natural scientists developed new ties with industry, social scientists picked up the pieces as government advisors or civil servants. A moral impulse often underlay the scholar's entry into these new tasks of scholarship. Yet there was a great difference between being a professor-social reformer of the old school like John R. Commons and a New Deal bureaucrat. The old progressive served the democratic society; the new one served the democratic state. The "value-freedom" prevalent in the new professional ethic increased imperceptibly as the scholar became a servant of industrial or governmental bureaucracy rather than an independent agent pursuing self-chosen social goals. Because the bureaucratization of political life and scholarly service was undertaken in the interest of social reform and the war against Nazi tyranny, the slow transformation of the academic intellectual into a "value-free" state expert was hardly observed even by the usually critical Left.

III

The whole process has now caught up with us. The body social is deeply split over its destiny, and the academic community over its nature and public function. American society has employed science as the sorcerer's apprentice did his master's magic, abetted by the scholars' zeal for truth without consequences. The miracle of technological rationality is drowning us in goods and

[2] "Address of Welcome," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America*, III (1887), 3-6.

[3] Francis B. Gummere, "What Place Has Old English Philology in Our Elementary Schools?" *Transactions of the Modern Language Association of America*, I (1884-85), 170-178. See also Vols. I-III, passim.

exploding in computerized overkill, while our problem of poverty becomes a problem of racial culture. Because the society is so obviously dependent on the educated and manned by the expert, penetrated by Mind, so to speak, the social crisis takes, for the first time, the specific form of a crisis of Enlightenment. The two loci of our crisis are the two traditional centers of civilization itself: the city and the institutions of learning. The two crisis strata are the ghetto Negroes and the intelligentsia—those with the least education and those with the most. They are in revolt against the hypertrophy of morally uncontained rationality, against learning run amok. Small wonder that they often rebel against intellect itself, in a kind of mindless passion. That is the negative reaction to the rule of passionless mind in imperial America.

That a social crisis should come to focus in the question of the use and abuse of learning is a situation unprecedented in the history of learning because never has knowledge been the very stuff of power as it has become in modern America. The *révoltés* call upon the academic community to cry out and rebel; the right-wingers tell it to shut up and study. The Left appeals to the traditional moral functions in the academic ethos, the Right to the scientific and technological-service functions. Each of these external claimants on the academy has its partisans within the walls, equally prepared to press the university into the service of external power.

What is to be done? In the face of society's division, the tendency of most of the academy is to accept the issue as it is posed, politically, and to answer it with a reassertion of its traditional immunity and neutrality. Kant's two republics are invoked again, in one of which we follow truth wherever it may lead, and in the other of which we argue but obey. This "dual-citizenship" solution may solve the problem for the individual scholar and for the university administration, but it no longer solves the problem for the professional community. Why not? Because it construes the problem falsely as scholarship *versus* politics.

I submit that the challenge of politics to the community of learning today should—and does—raise not a question of politics, though it does that too, but of scholarly ethos. What is before us is the consequence of the breakdown of the Enlightenment unity of instrumental and moral rationality; for the modern scholar, the consequence of the value-free science his professional organizations were built to promote. Has the right to pursue truth wherever it leads a more absolute justification than the right to pursue free enterprise wherever it leads? If not, what voice shall the scholar assume in preventing the abuse of learning? If the mixed economy comes to the organization of learning, how can the individual scholar be protected in his pursuit of truth? The scholarly community can determine the answer only if it recognizes a concomitant responsibility; a responsibility for the implications of its findings for society and mankind. This, I believe, is the point of entry for professional associations into the public sphere.

One would expect the humanists to be the first to face the moral challenge of the social crisis of learning. Instead the natural scientists have led the way. The American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), after much debate, entered the arena of public issues in a manner directly related to the scholarly competence of its members. In 1960, its Committee on Science in Human Welfare defined the rationale for such engagement as follows:

> [T]he scientific community should, on its own initiative, assume an obligation to call public attention to those issues of public policy which relate to science, and to provide for the general public the facts and estimates of the effects of alternative policies which the citizen must have if he is to participate intelligently in the solution of these problems. A citizenry thus informed is, we believe, the chief assurance that science will be devoted to the promotion of human welfare.[4]

The committee separated the role of the scientist in political decision-making, where he is indistinguishable from other citizens, from his role in "science-related issues," where "the scientist and his organizations have both a unique competence and a special responsibility."[5] In pursuance of this policy, the AAAS Council in 1966 established a Committee on the Consequences of Environmental Alteration, with the task of examining the effects of chemical and biological agents which modify the environment. This committee has, among other things, engaged the government in a searching scientific inquiry on the long-run effects of herbicides. Instead of the scientist serving the government as expert bureaucrat, his professional community now organizes to serve the citizens, against their govern-

[4] AAAS Committee on Science in the Promotion of Human Welfare, "Science and Human Welfare," *Science*, CXXXII (8 July 1960), 4.

[5] "Science and Human Welfare," *Science*, CXXXII, 3-4.

ment if need be. The committee is insistent but not aggressive. It "volunteers its cooperation with public agencies and offices of government for the task of ascertaining scientifically and objectively the full implications of major programs and activities which . . . affect the ecological balance on a large scale."[6] The scientists here represent no party but the party of humanity, at whose disposal their professional organization places their expertise. The controversy within the scientific professions over this new role has often been heated.[7] But that too has helped to educate the members of the profession to a broader conception of their vocation.

The American Anthropological Association, after acrimonious debate, adopted a resolution on the Vietnam War in November 1966.[8] More importantly, it has been exploring the ethical questions posed for the anthropologist by America's world policy. It is not easy for the anthropologist to win confidence in cultures which perceive Americans as a master race. At the same time, like the natural scientists, the anthropologists have been involved in government work. Their involvement in planning for counterinsurgency in Project Camelot led the AAA to probe its own ethos. Government employment, government financing of research were only the more obvious targets of professional association inquest. The relevant committee reported that "the feeling is growing in all scientific fields that the researcher should be aware of the policy implications of his results, and furthermore should try to specify their legitimate use."[9] The inquest resulted in a "Statement on Problems of Anthropological Research and Ethics," adopted at the 1967 meeting. The statement begins with an identification of the anthropologist with the party of humanity, though for scientific reasons: "The human condition, past and present, is the concern of anthropologists throughout the world . . . Expansion and refinement of [our] knowledge [of mankind] depend heavily on international understanding and cooperation in scientific and scholarly inquiry . . . Constraint, deception and secrecy have no place in science." Academic institutions and their members, including students, "should scrupulously avoid both involvement in clandestine intelligence activities and the use of the name of anthropology as a cover for intelligence activities."[10] I doubt that those who adopted this resolution knew that, in 1919, Franz Boas, founding father of the AAA, was censured and stripped of his membership in the association's council because he publicly attacked two anthropologists who "prostituted science by using it as a cover for their activities as spies" in Mexico.[11] Under the pressure of America's new crisis of polity, the anthropologists seem to be developing a less governmental and more universal conception of scholarly responsibility.

The anthropologists have also turned to bring their discipline to bear on the problem of war. A group of 350 anthropologists, believing that members of their guild "have both a moral and professional concern for the effects of war on the human species," petitioned the AAA for symposia on this subject. The papers and discussion, along with some instructive history of the controversy over science and public issues, have been made available to the wider public under the title, *War: The Anthropology of Armed Conflict and Aggression*, edited by Morton Fried et al. (New York, 1968). Both the political problems and the intellectual potentialities arising out of a confrontation of an academic discipline with the political and moral dilemmas of the modern world are illuminated by this record. At the next business meeting of the AAA, it is planned to discuss anew the war and world politics as matters of practical urgency for American anthropologists, whose professional lives are threatened with erosion as backward people shut out the scientific American in recoil against the ugly American. The experience of the AAA in approaching these issues has been tension-laden and arduous. But it demonstrates graphically how much any discipline has to gain in self-understanding when it dares to bring its light to bear on basic public questions.

IV

What are the common features in the approach of these two organizations, the AAAS and the AAA, to the public domain? First, they have moved toward assuming some corporate responsibility to clarify the implications of their

[6] "Science and Human Welfare," *Science*, CLV (17 Feb. 1967), 856.

[7] "Science and Human Welfare," *Science*, CLIX (23 Feb. 1968), 857–859.

[8] Kathleen Gough, "World Revolution and the Science of Man," in *The Dissenting Academy*, ed. Theodore Roszak (New York, 1967), pp. 136–137.

[9] American Anthropological Association *Newsletter*, VIII (Jan. 1967), 6.

[10] "Statement on Problems of Anthropological Research and Ethics by the Fellows of the AAA."

[11] George W. Stocking, "The Parameters of a Paradigm: Franz Boas, the American Anthropological Association and the National Research Council." (Unpublished MS.)

sciences for society and, conversely, the implications of public policy for their sciences. Accordingly, the scientists' service to the state is being placed in the wider context of a public diaconate of scholarship. Second, the ethos of the scholarly community is being enlarged through debate, impelling its members to be mindful of the general implications of their pursuit of truth. Third, no attempt is made by the organizations to subordinate scholarship to political criteria. Instead, each scholarly community reminds itself that its primary allegiance is and must be to the party of humanity; if that means debate or even conflict with political authority, so be it. Kant's "argue but obey" is no longer enough to save learning from abuse. But his "dare to know" proves applicable in a new context.

You may well ask whether the precedent of scholarly communities whose research is so clearly involved with the public domain has any implications for your province of learning. If literature reflects and can enhance the quality of life, then surely literary scholars, as a body, must have a concern to make the public aware of how that quality is being rendered and assayed in literature. Not every scholar will engage in that task, but could not your community of scholars explore and report to the public on the problem of our polluted culture—including its flowers of evil? Just so has the AAAS tackled the problem of our polluted environment.

A second, related area of inquiry is that of language. We all know that the Negro is resisting learning "pure" English in the schools. What do we know about *his* language? Why don't we learn it? The MLA of the 1880's plied a two-way street between academic and folk culture. As a European historian, I know that every democratic movement in the nineteenth century—in Greece, Serbia, Bohemia, and the like—had as a decisive stage the convergence of philologist and folk, to bridge the cultural gulf that divided elite and people. Are your scholars and students learning about the language gap between the ghetto culture and ours, or between Puerto Ricans and Negroes? If not, perhaps the MLA could reactivate its earlier interest, sensitizing the American citizens and urban officials to the possibilities of a creative integration of the science of culture with society, and thus of one stratum of society with another.

In these and other areas, the MLA would, I think, find the ways charted by the AAAS and the AAA the most promising. They reckon with all the historical realities. They neither retreat into Enlightenment optimism about the natural beneficence of knowledge, nor do they remain mired in the indifferentism of *wertfreie Wissenschaft*. They begin from the realistic premise that specialism is the modern form of knowledge, but that the moral detachment integral to it is dangerous both to learning and to life. These professional corporations face the obligation arising from this danger, and commit their resources in learning and research to clarifying relevant scholarly aspects of public issues. Even at political risk, they are learning to educate the public to the social and cultural dangers they discern. They are finding ways for the republic of learning to contribute to the civil republic *according to its own nature and concerns*, without being swallowed by politics. In short, they show that the general spirit of the Enlightenment can still govern the behavior of the modern specialized professional association in a way appropriate to the modern crisis.

(c. Thurs 10 Dec 64)

APPENDIX G

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA BERKELEY DIVISION

ELECTION OF THE EMERGENCY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The following persons have been nominated to serve on the Emergency Executive Committee authorized by the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate at its meeting on December 8, 1964.

Nominee	Nominators
D. Blackwell (Statistics)	B. Friedman (Mathematics) G. M. Kuznets (Agricultural Economics) F. C. Newman (Law) H. N. Smith (English) J. R. Whinnery (Electrical Engineering)
R. L. Beloof (Speech)	G. D. Berreman (Anthropology) C. H. Sederholm (Chemistry) S. Shifrin (Music) P. E. Thomas (Mathematics) G. B. Wilson (Speech; Dramatic Art)
R. G. Bressler, Jr. (Agricultural Economics)	H. A. Bern (Zoology) V. Fuller (Agricultural Economics) J. J. Parsons (Geography) T. L. Reller (Education) E. S. Rogers (Public Health)
E. F. Cheit (Business Administration)	W. Galenson (Business Administration; Economics) C. Landauer (Economics) C. B. McGuire (Business Administration) L. Ulman (Economics; Business Administration) D. Votaw (Business Administration)
K. Davis (Sociology)	D. I. Arnon (Cell Physiology) W. Galenson (Business Administration; Economics) S. M. Lipset (Sociology) C. B. McGuire (Business Administration) M. Meyerson (Architecture)
S. P. Diliberto (Mathematics)	G. J. Maslach (Mechanical Engineering) A. E. Hutson (English) C. W. Tobias (Chemical Engineering) M. H. Protter (Mathematics) A. Torres-Rioseco (Spanish & Portuguese)
L. S. Feuer (Philosophy)	C. Landauer (Economics) E. F. Cheit (Business Administration) L. Ulman (Business Administration; Economics) W. Galenson (Business Administration; Economics) D. S. Shwayder (Philosophy)

Nominee	Nominators
B. J. Moyer (Physics)	R. A. Cockrell (Forestry) A. M. Ross (Business Administration) A. W. Imbrie (Music) P. L. Morton (Electrical Engineering) E. G. Segre (Physics)
R. E. Powell (Chemistry)	C. B. Morrey, Jr. (Mathematics) L. Constance (Botany) G. Mackinney (Nutritional Sciences) J. R. Whinnery (Electrical Engineering) I. M. Heyman (Law)
A. M. Ross (Business Administration)	M. Chernin (Social Welfare) G. J. Maslach (Mechanical Engineering) P. Selznick (Sociology) J. R. Searle (Philosophy) W. M. Stanley (Biochemistry; Molecular Biology)
S. A. Schaaf (Mechanical Engineering)	R. E. Powell (Chemistry) E. V. Laitone (Mechanical Engineering) G. J. Maslach (Mechanical Engineering) J. V. Wehausen (Naval Architecture) E. M. McMillan (Physics)
H. K. Schachman (Molecular Biology)	D. A. Glaser (Physics) E. B. Haas (Political Science) J. R. Caldwell (English) E. R. Dempster (Genetics) W. M. Stanley (Biochemistry; Molecular Biology)
C. E. Schorske (History)	H. N. Smith (English) H. Rapoport (Chemistry) H. G. Blumer (Sociology) S. S. Elberg (Bacteriology) L. Constance (Botany)
J. R. Searle (Philosophy)	H. McClosky (Political Science) B. J. Moyer (Physics) A. M. Ross (Business Administration) M. Schorer (English) S. Smale (Mathematics)
P. Selznick (Sociology)	D. A. Glaser (Physics) F. C. Newman (Law) E. F. Cheit (Business Administration) G. L. Turin (Electrical Engineering) J. tenBroek (Political Science)

Nominee	Nominators
A. H. Sherry (Law)	R. E. Degnan (Law) I. M. Heyman (Law) S. Kadish (Law) D. W. Louisell (Law) S. Sato (Law)
S. Silver (Electrical Engineering)	B. Bresler (Civil Engineering) S. S. Elberg (Bacteriology) L. M. Grossman (Nuclear Engineering) G. J. Maslach (Mechanical Engineering) B. J. Moyer (Physics)
J. Tussman (Philosophy)	W. R. Dennes (Philosophy) R. I. Smith (Zoology) D. Rynin (Philosophy) R. Y. Stanier (Bacteriology) N. Jacobson (Political Science)
T. Vermeulen (Chemical Engineering)	W. H. Giedt (Mechanical Engineering) W. Balamuth (Zoology) L. L. Sammet (Agricultural Economics) R. N. Walpole (French) D. W. Jorgenson (Economics)
R. C. Williams (Molecular Biology)	B. Mates (Philosophy) J. A. Garbarino (Business Administration) J. D. Hart (English P. L. Morton (Electrical Engineering) E. G. Segre (Physics)

Department of History
December 8, 1965

Proposal for History Faculty and Graduate-Student Fellows' Group in Intellectual History

I. The Substantive Expansion of the History of Higher Culture.

Intellectual history is a comparatively new field deriving impetus from two sources: (1) The inherent, imperialistic propensity of history as a discipline to colligate ever more disparate elements of human cultural behavior under the ordinance of time; and (2) the diminishing relevance of a historical orientation to the progress of most non-historical disciplines. The second of these has, in the last two decades, placed upon historians a burden gravely taxing their capacity in fulfilling their role, both as scholars and as teachers. We need new kinds of training to meet new tasks.

The breakdown of continuity in tradition which developed in the arts in France about a century ago has now spread to almost all scholarly fields. Thus the history of philosophy which, in our student years, provided the central axis of a philosopher's training, has been crowded to the periphery of the discipline as the analytic and linguistic concerns acquire predominance — concerns for which but a few adumbrations in the work of past philosophers have any significance. Yet the philosophic systems of the past have the greatest relevance to an understanding of the development of our culture and its values. Intellectual historians have become residuary legatees of philosophy departments as these lose their interest in the sequential development of their discipline.

In the field of economics, the situation is roughly similar. The history of economic doctrine, which used to be the crowning course in the undergraduate curriculum and provided the summa of the professional economist's erudition, has fallen so deep into desuetude and genuine irrelevance that economics departments find difficulty in manning the field. Again history as a discipline is becoming the residuary legatee.

Literary scholarship underwent a similar de-historicization under the impact of the New Criticism, but here a healthy reintegration of the historical approach (at a far higher level than before) with formal analysis has overcome the difficulty. In the history of science, a similar reestablishment of historical and scientific-analytic synthesis has revitalized a field. Economic history (as opposed to the history of economic thought) has similarly experienced a methodological resurrection after a period of lamentable consignment to the too-narrow confines of either history or economics departments.

Besides the fields now undergoing de-historicization or just emerging from it, there is still a third group which has never been historical and is reaching the age where its own past becomes a matter of concern to it. There has been recently established an Association for the History of the Behavioral Sciences, anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists

have become increasingly aware (whether in healthy maturation or pathological necrophilia) of the significance of the work of their intellectual progenitors. The history of education, social work and other professional fields has likewise drawn increasing attention.

In all these groups of disciplines -- the de-historicized, the re-historicized and the newly historicizing -- the demand for competent scholars is mounting. Neither history departments nor the subject-matter departments can adequately train scholars in these hyphenated fields without a cooperative effort.

II. The Problem of Training in the History of Thought and Culture.

A. Existing precedents and programs. Training in the history of science has been the first to be devised to meet the problem which, as indicated above, is growing more widespread: to train a scholar both in the analytic skills of a given subject and in the synthetic and contextual method of the historian. At Berkeley the History of Science Program has become confined to the history department -- perhaps a bit too narrowly. In Economic History, both departments concerned have recognized that the subject may fruitfully be approached from either discipline, but that intensive graduate training in the other is basic to proficiency in the subject. While degrees are granted either in Economics or in History, the requirements of both departments are tempered to the interdisciplinary intellectual needs of the economic historian. Courses are cross-listed and faculty collaboration eminently successful. Unlike the sterile narrative-statistical approach traditional to economic history, the emergent practitioners of the field are sensitized both to the cultural psychology of economic behavior (from history) and the theoretical foundations of economic profess (from economics).

A third, not quite comparable area of successful interdisciplinary graduate education at Berkeley is in the Japanese area program. Here again, only regular departments offer degrees. But anyone who has sat in a doctoral examination of a Japanese specialist cannot fail to be impressed with the extraordinary range of the candidate's methodological equipment. This is but a reflection of the lively interdisciplinary learning which the Japanese scholars here have imparted to each other, and which is reflected in the kinds of questions which examiners pose to a candidate, whatever his departmental base.

B. The need for expansion of interdisciplinary graduate training. It is surprising that, despite the acute need for what one might call hyphenated history programs (e.g., history-philosophy, history-economic thought, history-architecture, etc.), so few interdisciplinary programs have been devised. Precisely because the demands here are for regular training in the auxiliary discipline, the difficulty of devising such programs is minimal. Special interdisciplinary courses are not only necessary but perhaps even pedagogically undesirable. The need can be but satisfied by utilizing existing graduate seminars in two different disciplines. An intellectual historian who wishes to work in philosophy should be schooled in philosophical analysis of precisely the same

[retyped]

rigorous kind with which the budding philosopher is equipped. So too the student of literature who wishes to develop the historical dimension of his discipline should receive seminar training in the historian's craft, quite apart from literary subject matter.

In short, the substantive need of scholars for solid interdisciplinary capabilities suggest that we introduce a far greater flexibility in our graduate training. This can be done without setting up new departments by a little creative inter-departmental planning on the lines suggested by the economic historians and the Japanese area specialists.

In most teachers in the field, there is an acute sense of amateurishness in the discharge of a serious duty. Yet the intellectual historian is widely and carefully equipped in the field of general history. If his successors are to be more thoroughly schooled in a non-historical analytic discipline, but shall the loss of general erudition in history be compensated for?

I suggest that, in the hyphenated programs graduate students, at least in history, be asked to develop familiarity with two historical fields, so that the contextual sensibilities be strengthened by comparative analysis. Thus a student in history and philosophy might offer a field in 17th century France and 19th century Germany, and be asked to demonstrate his command of the general history and philosophy of both cultures in his qualifying exams, with special attention to the problems of understanding the social-functional dimension of philosophy in the two milieux. Thus the student would acquire breadth by analytic comparison where a more holistic approach would carry the danger of producing superficiality. His erudition in a given traditional discipline would be less than at present, but his command of skills to pursue new knowledge would be clearly greater.

III. Implications for General Education.

A. A national need. Aside from the felt scholarly need for the hyphenated approach to advanced learning in the history of thought and higher culture, there exists a strong demand for teachers able and equipped to undertake interdisciplinary instruction. Introductory courses in the humanities and integrated social sciences present their sponsors with perennial staffing problems. We confront today a strange situation in which the frontiers of scholarship and the frontiers of college instruction both demand more rigorous and rich interdisciplinary capacities, while graduate education provides only that degree of breadth which a single discipline offers. Men trained in history and philosophy, sociology and literature, anthropology and political science could make a far more creative response to the national demands for general education in the humanities and social sciences. In their teaching as in their scholarship, such men will be problem-centered, not discipline or method centered.

B. A Berkeley need: Lower division general education. The development

of a general education program at Berkeley must surely suffer from the fact that the teaching assistantships are almost all organized on disciplinary lines. The narrowness of the organization (if not the substance) of graduate instruction finds natural reflection in the departmentalism of lower division programs. If graduate training were conceived on the lines suggested above, it would liberate new energy for interdisciplinary undergraduate instruction. Moreover, it would make highly desirable for the graduate student a teaching internship of an interdisciplinary character. Expanded general education of the undergraduate would enrich the interdisciplinary equipment and general cultivation of the teacher. Participation in general education courses, which presently is often viewed as a sacrifice, would, if it grew out of a new conception of graduate training, become an intellectual advantage.

There is no need for the general education courses to be tailored closely to the interdisciplinary program of the graduate student. Indeed, the graduate program should develop analytic capacity in two disciplines only and (at least for historians) familiarity with two national cultures. There must be the greatest latitude in determining which combinations of skills are best for the students -- not tight requirements. Breadth must come later; it can no longer be taught synoptically. Teaching in general education courses, however, can provide the dimension of breadth to graduate education. In short, where the graduate training will concentrate more on developing skills and less on erudition, the teaching experience will provide broad cultivation and a corpus of material in which the graduate student may apply his newly analytic acquired equipment.

A few general education courses for freshmen and sophomores in each major cluster of fields -- Humanities and Social Sciences -- might be staffed by students from the interdisciplinary graduate training programs. These would bring together, as the integrated Social Science course presently does, graduate students from several fields, who learn as much from each other as they learn from their professors. Resources presently absorbed in a multitude of departmental introductory courses could be redeployed into a smaller number of interdisciplinary field courses. Certainly history, English and philosophy should be able to devise one or two joint courses wherein a community of discourse and some academic skills could be jointly conveyed to the lower division student.

IV. A Graduate Program in History and Culture.

Out of the needs for new forms of training to meet the scholarly problems of the history of higher culture, Berkeley can develop a graduate program in which teaching experience will be integral to the education of the graduate. In turn, the existence of a capable corps of graduate students with interdisciplinary interests and skills should contribute to the effective development of a lower division general education program.

The graduate program could be conceived on a five-year basis, as follows:

1st year: Fully supported year of study: Research seminars in two disciplines, plus Faculty group seminar. M. A. oral.

2nd year: Fully supported year of study: Research seminars in two disciplines.

3rd year: Teaching internship; take qualifying exam on pattern of Economic History or History of Science; i.e., with strong interdisciplinary emphasis.

4th year: Teaching internship (cont.); begin dissertation.

5th year: Fully supported year of study; complete Ph.D. dissertation.

The program should be conceived as for Ph.D. candidates only. There seems no way to offer a meaningful M.A. when two disciplines must be mastered. The conceptual and cultural breadth will derive rather from teaching than from formal graduate course work. The student should concentrate on acquiring analytic skills in seminars, but be left free of other course requirements.

All students should be fellowship holders admitted on a five-year basis, though of course subject to dismissal for non-performance at any stage. This implies that the University provide at least two years of support, justified by teaching in general education. Funds should be sought for the first, second and fifth years.

An imposing list of contributors to a program in History and Culture should attract excellent students. In the better liberal arts colleges, where interdisciplinary approaches to humane letters and the social sciences are strongly developed, many of the ablest students hesitate to commit themselves to a single discipline in graduate school, but would be drawn to richer but no less rigorous program.

Second, the status of comparative studies on the campus is now established in the Institute of International Studies. For intellectual historians in particular, the comparative approach is invaluable, and we should extend into the area of the humanities the foundations already laid by Professors Lipset and Apter in the social sciences.

If we preserve flexibility in programming and assure a continuous substantive scholarly basis for both the graduate program and the general education courses sustained by it, we can greatly strengthen our attractiveness to both the ablest and most sensitive graduate students and to the foundations needed to support them adequately. A program in History and Culture properly devised has the singular advantage of integrating the teaching and learning experience for the graduate student, and unifying range and rigor in fields too prone to oscillate wildly between arid specialism and windy superficiality. It would also develop the scholarly basis for supporting a meaningful general education program, thus integrating learning at all levels from faculty to freshmen.

V. The Trans-national 'Group' in Historical Studies

Members of the history faculty who would wish to associate themselves with the program would constitute a group to choose the graduate fellow advise them on their plans of study, and administer their examinations. Funds should be sought for student fellowship support (first, second, and fifth years, v.s.) and for a faculty group seminar, to be joined by the first-year fellows, meeting twice a month for dinner and the evenin The seminar would concern itself with discussion of historical works (work in progress and published work by the members and other historian past and present) which raise problems about the nature of intellectual history and its relation to other disciplines and to history in the lar Both the dinner and the literature to be discussed at each session woul be provided for each member out of the seminar's funds. These funds would not be used for released time from teaching.

The group program in intellectual history might well be matched by history groups with other avenues of approach. The possibilities of attracting excellent students and enriching their intellectual lives an ours are many and various. This proposal may be only a beginning.

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Curriculum Vitae
2000

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Born: New York, N.Y.
15 March 1915

Social Security:
046-26-8490

Married: Elizabeth Rorke
14 June 1941

Children: Carl Theodore, 1942; Anne, 1945; Stephen, 1948; John, 1952; Richard, 1960

Education: Columbia College, A.B., 1936
Harvard University, M.A., 1937; Ph.D., 1950

National Service: Office of Strategic Services, 1941-1946 (of which three years as Ensign/Lt. J.G., U.S.N.R.)

ACADEMIC POSTS:

Wesleyan University:	Assistant Professor of History	1946-50
	Associate Professor	1950-55
	Professor	1955-60
University of California, Berkeley:	Professor	1960-69
	Chancellor's Assistant for Educational Planning	1965-66
Princeton University:	Dayton-Stockton Professor of History	1969-80
	Director, Program in European Cultural Studies	1973-79
	Emeritus	1980-present
Harvard University:	Visiting Lecturer	1952
Yale University:	Visiting Lecturer	1953
Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales:	Directeur d'études associé	1980, 1984
Collège de France:	Visiting Lecturer	1986

EXTRA-UNIVERSITY POSTS, EXHIBITION CONSULTANTSHIPS:

Council on Foreign Relations, Secretary, German Study Group, 1946-48
Rockefeller Foundation, field project on revival of German academic life, 1950

Museum of Modern Art, Historical Consultant on Vienna, 1980-81
Centre Pompidou, Paris, Scientific Advisor for Vienna Exhibition, 1985-86
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Consultant for American Aestheticism Show, 1985-86; Consultant for Herter Brothers Show, 1995
Library of Congress, Consultant for Sigmund Freud exhibition, 1997-98

BOARDS, ADVISORY COUNCILS, PROFESSIONAL OFFICES:

Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies, Board of Trustees, 1977-85
Institute for the Humanities, New York University, Board of Advisors, 1977-79; Executive Committee, 1986-89
School of Architecture, Miami University, Board of Advisors, 1985-89
Institute of French Studies, New York University, Board of Advisors, 1983-present
New School for Social Research, Enabling Committee, 1980-83
Library of Congress, Council of Scholars, 1980-1994
American Council of Learned Societies, 1981-84; Chairman, Executive Committee, 1982-84
Smithsonian Institution, Advisory Council, 1980-89
Getty Center for Art History and the Humanities, Visiting Committee, 1990-present
Centre de Cultura Contemporánia de Barcelona, Advisory Committee, 1992-present
Stanford Humanities Center, Advisory Board, 1993-1998
Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften (Vienna), Chairman, International Advisory Council, 1993-present
American Historial Association Council, 1964-68
Chairman, Conference Group for Central European History, 1968-69
Chairman, Modern European History Group, American Historical Association, 1979-80

EDITORIAL BOARDS:

Wesleyan University Press, 1950-59
Philosophy and Public Affairs, 1971-82
Central European History, 1972-76
Princeton University Press, 1973-77
Daedalus, 1977-90
Psychoanalysis and Contemporary Thought, 1979-present
History and Memory, 1989-present
Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales, 1991-present

AWARDS, PRIZES, DECORATIONS:

Distinguished Scholar Award, American Historial Association, 1992
Behrman Award in the Humanities, Princeton, 1980
MacArthur Prize Fellowship Award, 1981
Pulitzer Prize for General Non-Fiction, 1981
Cross of Honor for Arts and Sciences, First Class, Austrian Federal Republic, 1979
Grand Prize of the City of Vienna for Cultural Education, 1985
Ordre des arts et des lettres, officier, French Republic, 1987
[Festschrift] Rediscovering History: Culture, Politics, and the Psyche, edited by Michael Roth, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif, 1994
Great Silver Medal of Honor for Service to the Austrian Republic, 1996
Harvard Centennial Medal, 1999

HONORARY DEGREES:

Wesleyan University, Dr. of Letters, 1967
Bard College, Dr. of Letters, 1982
Clark University, Dr. of Letters, 1983
New School for Social Research, Dr. of Letters, 1986
University of Salzburg, D.phil., 1986
Miami University, Dr. of Letters, 1987
State University of New York, Stony Brook, Dr. of Letters, 1989
Monmouth College, New Jersey, Dr. of Letters, 1994
University of Graz, D.phil., 1996
Princeton University, Dr. of Humane Letters, 1997

ELECTIVE ACADEMIES:

American Academy of Arts and Sciences
Austrian Academy of Sciences (corresponding member)
Royal Academy of Fine Arts, The Netherlands (honorary fellow)

INSTITUTE FELLOWSHIPS:

Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton), Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Wesleyan Center for the Humanities, New York Institute for the Humanities, Getty Center for Art History and the Humanities

FOUNDATION FELLOWSHIPS:

Guggenheim, Social Science Research Council, Rockefeller, A.C.L.S., Japan Foundation, MacArthur Foundation

PUBLICATIONS:

A. Books

(with Hoyt Price) The Problem of Germany, Council of Foreign Relations, Harpers, N.Y., 1947.

German Social Democracy, 1905-1917, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1955; Russell and Russell reprint, N.Y., 1971, 1976; Paper editions: John Wiley and Sons, 1966; Harper Torchbooks, 1972; Harvard paperback, 1983; German translation, Die Grosse Spaltung, Berlin, Olle and Wolters, 1981.

Editor (with Elizabeth Schorske), W. L. Langer, Explorations in Crisis, Harvard University Press, 1969.

Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture, Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y., 1980; Paper edition, Vintage, 1981; translations in Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, German, French, Japanese, Hungarian, Rumanian; (in preparation: Czech, Russian, and Korean).

Editor (with Thomas Bender), Budapest and New York. Studies in Metropolitan Transformation, 1870-1930, Russell Sage Foundation, N.Y., 1994.

Eine österreichische Identität: Gustav Mahler, Picus Verlag, Vienna, 1996

Editor (with Thomas Bender), American Academic Culture in Transformation: Fifty Years, Four Disciplines. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1998

Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1998; paper edition, 1999. (Translations in preparation: French, Spanish, Portuguese, Hebrew, Hungarian, and Japanese.)

B. Articles; Chapters in Books

1. International and Political History

"Eastern and Western Orientation in German Foreign Policy," Virginia Quarterly Review (Winter, 1947).

"Two German Ambassadors: Dirksen and Schulenburg," in Gordon Craig and Felix Gilbert, eds., The Diplomats (Princeton, 1953), pp. 477-511.

(with Franklin Ford) "The Voice in the Wilderness: Robert Coulondre," ibid., pp. 555-578.

"A New Look at the Nazi Movement," World Politics, IX, No. 1 (Oct. 1956), pp. 88-97.

2. Cultural and Intellectual History

*"The Idea of the City in European Thought: Voltaire to Spengler," in Handlin and Burchard, eds., The Historian and the City (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 95-114.

"Die Geburt des Moeglichkeitsmenschen," in Special Supplement on Sarajevo, Die Presse (Vienna, June 1964).

*"The Quest for the Grail: Wagner and Morris," in Kurt Wolff and Barrington Moore, Jr., eds., The Critical Spirit, Essays in Honor of Herbert Marcuse (Boston, 1967), pp. 216-232.

"Professional Ethos and Public Crisis," P.M.L.A., LXXXIII (1968), pp. 979-984.

"Weimar and the Intellectuals," New York Review of Books, XIV, Nos. 9 and 10, May 7, 21, 1971.

"'Ver Sacrum' im Wien der Jahrhundertwende," Die Presse, July 1, 1973.

"Observations on Style and Society in the Arts and Crafts Movement," Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University, XXXIV/2 (1975).

"Cultural Hothouse," New York Review of Books, Dec. 11, 1975.

*"Generational Tension and Cultural Change. Reflections on the Case of Vienna," Daedalus, Fall 1978, pp. 111-122. (French translation in Actes de la recherche en science socialies, April 1979).

"Freud: The Psycho-archeology of Civilizations," Mass. Hist. Society Proceedings, XCII (1980), pp. 52-67.

"Mahler and Klimt: Social Experience and Artistic Evolution," Daedalus, Summer 1982, pp. 29-50.

"Otto Wagner," Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, 1982, pp. 357-361.

"Forward," Kandinsky in Munich, Guggenheim Museum, N.Y., 1982.

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"Mahler et Ives: archaisme populiste et innovation musicale," in Colloque internationale Gustave Mahler, 1985, (Paris, 1986), pp. 87-97.

*"Oesterreichs ästhetische Kultur, 1870-1914. Betrachtungen eines Historikers," in Traum und Wirklichkeit Wien 1870-1930 (exhibition catalog, Vienna, 1985), pp. 12-25. (English: "Grace and the Word: Austria's Two Cultures and their Modern Fate," Austrian History Yearbook, XXII (1991), pp. 21-34.)

*"Abschied von der Öffentlichkeit. Kulturkritik und Modernismus in der Wiener Architektur," in Ornament und Askese, Alfred Pfabigan, ed. (Vienna, Verlag Christian Brandstätter, 1985), pp. 47-56. (Translations: "De la scène publique a l'espace privé," in Vienna 1880-1938 [exhibition catalog] [Musée de l'art moderne, Paris, 1986], pp. 72-81; "Revolt in Vienna," New York Review of Books, May 29, 1986, pp. 24-29); "Revolta in Viena," Saber (Barcelona), no. 11, Tardor, 1986, pp. 47-53.)

"Vienna 1900. An exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art," New York Review of Books, Sept. 25, 1986, pp. 19-24.

*"A Life of Learning," American Council of Learned Societies, Occasional Papers, No. 1, New York, 1987. Also in The Life of Learning, Douglas Greenberg and Stanley A. Katz, editors, New York and Oxford, 1994, pp. 53-70. Abridged version in Lary May, editor, Recasting America. Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War, Chicago, 1989, pp. 93-103.

"Wagner and Germany's Cultures in the Nineteenth Century," Solomon Wank et al., editors, The Mirror of History. Essays in Honor of Fritz Fellner, Santa Barbara and Oxford, 1988, pp. 171-180.

*"Science as Vocation in Burckhardt's Basel," Thomas Bender, editor, The University and the City, New York/Oxford, 1988, pp. 198-209.

*"History and the Study of Culture," New Literary History, vol. 21, 1989/1990, pp. 407-420.

*"Medieval Revival and its Modern Content: Coleridge, Pugin and Disraeli," Ferenc Glatz, editor, Modern Age -- Modern Historian: In Memoriam György Ránki, Budapest, 1990, pp. 179-192.

"The Refugee Scholar as Intellectual Educator: a Student's Recollection," Hartmut Lehmann and James J. Sheehan, editors, An Interrupted Past. German-Speaking Refugee Historians in the United States after 1933, Washington/Cambridge, 1991.

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"The Panovsky Conference: A Window on Academic Culture in the Humanities," in Irving Lavin, editor, Meaning of the Liberal Arts: Views from Outside, Princeton, N.J., 1995, pp. 373-383.

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INDEX--Carl Schorske

February 2000

INTERVIEWS ON THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Documenting the history of the University of California has been a responsibility of the Regional Oral History Office since the Office was established in 1954. Oral history memoirs with University-related persons are listed below. They have been underwritten by the UC Berkeley Foundation, the Chancellor's Office, University departments, or by extramural funding for special projects. The oral histories, both tapes and transcripts, are open to scholarly use in The Bancroft Library. Bound, indexed copies of the transcripts are available at cost to manuscript libraries.

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Amerine, Maynard A. *The University of California and the State's Wine Industry.* 1971, 142 pp. (UC Davis professor.)

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Bierman, Jessie. *Maternal and Child Health in Montana, California, the U.S. Children's Bureau and WHO, 1926-1967.* 1987, 246 pp.

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Blaisdell, Allen C. *Foreign Students and the Berkeley International House, 1928-1961.* 1968, 419 pp.

Blaisdell, Thomas C., Jr. *India and China in the World War I Era; New Deal and Marshall Plan; and University of California, Berkeley.* 1991, 373 pp.

Blum, Henrik. *Equity for the Public's Health: Contra Costa Health Officer; Professor, UC School of Public Health; WHO Fieldworker.* 1999, 425 pp.

Bowker, Albert. *Sixth Chancellor, University of California, Berkeley, 1971-1980; Statistician, and National Leader in the Policies and Politics of Higher Education.* 1995, 274 pp.

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Grether, Ewald T. *Dean of the UC Berkeley Schools of Business Administration, 1943-1961; Leader in Campus Administration, Public Service, and Marketing Studies; and Forever a Teacher.* 1993, 1069 pp.

Hagar, Ella Barrows. *Continuing Memoirs: Family, Community, University.* (Class of 1919, daughter of University President David P. Barrows.) 1974, 272 pp.

Hamilton, Brutus. *Student Athletics and the Voluntary Discipline.* 1967, 50 pp.

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Hays, William Charles. *Order, Taste, and Grace in Architecture.* 1968, 241 pp.

Heller, Elinor Raas. *A Volunteer in Politics, in Higher Education, and on Governing Boards.* Two volumes, 1984, 851 pp.

Helmholz, A. Carl. *Physics and Faculty Governance at the University of California Berkeley, 1937-1990.* 1993, 387 pp.

Heyman, Ira Michael. (In process.) Professor of Law and Berkeley Chancellor, 1980-1990.

Heyns, Roger W. *Berkeley Chancellor, 1965-1971: The University in a Turbulent Society.* 1987, 180 pp.

Hildebrand, Joel H. *Chemistry, Education, and the University of California.* 1962, 196 pp.

Huff, Elizabeth. *Teacher and Founding Curator of the East Asiatic Library: from Urbana to Berkeley by Way of Peking.* 1977, 278 pp.

Huntington, Emily. *A Career in Consumer Economics and Social Insurance.* 1971, 111 pp.

Hutchison, Claude B. *The College of Agriculture, University of California, 1922-1952.* 1962, 524 pp.

Jenny, Hans. *Soil Scientist, Teacher, and Scholar.* 1989, 364 pp.

Johnston, Marguerite Kulp, and Joseph R. Mixer. *Student Housing, Welfare, and the ASUC.* 1970, 157 pp.

Jones, Mary C. *Harold S. Jones and Mary C. Jones, Partners in Longitudinal Studies.* 1983, 154 pp.

Joslyn, Maynard A. *A Technologist Views the California Wine Industry.* 1974, 151 pp.

Kasimatis, Amandus N. *A Career in California Viticulture.* 1988, 54 pp. (UC Davis professor.)

Kendrick, James B. Jr. *From Plant Pathologist to Vice President for Agricultural and Natural Resources, University of California, 1947-1986.* 1989, 392 pp.

Kingman, Harry L. *Citizenship in a Democracy.* (Stiles Hall, University YMCA.) 1973, 292 pp.

Koll, Michael J. *The Lair of the Bear and the Alumni Association, 1949-1993.* 1993, 387 pp.

Kragen, Adrian A. *A Law Professor's Career: Teaching, Private Practice, and Legislative Representation, 1934 to 1989.* 1991, 333 pp.

Kroeber-Quinn, Theodora. *Timeless Woman, Writer and Interpreter of the California Indian World.* 1982, 453 pp.

Landreth, Catherine. *The Nursery School of the Institute of Child Welfare of the University of California, Berkeley.* 1983, 51 pp.

Langelier, Wilfred E. *Teaching, Research, and Consultation in Water Purification and Sewage Treatment, University of California at Berkeley, 1916-1955.* 1982, 81 pp.

Lehman, Benjamin H. *Recollections and Reminiscences of Life in the Bay Area from 1920 Onward.* 1969, 367 pp.

Lenzen, Victor F. *Physics and Philosophy.* 1965, 206 pp.

Leopold, Luna. *Hydrology, Geomorphology, and Environmental Policy: U.S. Geological Survey, 1950-1972, and the UC Berkeley, 1972-1987.* 1993, 309 pp.

Lessing, Ferdinand D. *Early Years.* (Professor of Oriental Languages.) 1963, 70 pp.

McGauhey, Percy H. *The Sanitary Engineering Research Laboratory: Administration, Research, and Consultation, 1950-1972.* 1974, 259 pp.

McCaskill, June. *Herbarium Scientist, University of California, Davis.* 1989, 83 pp. (UC Davis professor.)

McLaughlin, Donald. *Careers in Mining Geology and Management, University Governance and Teaching.* 1975, 318 pp.

May, Henry F. *Professor of American Intellectual History, University of California, Berkeley, 1952-1980.* 1999, 218 pp.

Merritt, Ralph P. *After Me Cometh a Builder, the Recollections of Ralph Palmer Merritt.* 1962, 137 pp. (UC Rice and Raisin Marketing.)

Metcalf, Woodbridge. *Extension Forester, 1926-1956.* 1969, 138 pp.

Meyer, Karl F. *Medical Research and Public Health.* 1976, 439 pp.

Miles, Josephine. *Poetry, Teaching, and Scholarship.* 1980, 344 pp.

Mitchell, Lucy Sprague. *Pioneering in Education.* 1962, 174 pp.

Morgan, Elmo. *Physical Planning and Management: Los Alamos, University of Utah, University of California, and AID, 1942-1976.* 1992, 274 pp.

Neuhaus, Eugen. *Reminiscences: Bay Area Art and the University of California Art Department.* 1961, 48 pp.

Newell, Pete. *UC Berkeley Athletics and a Life in Basketball: Coaching Collegiate and Olympic Champions; Managing, Teaching, and Consulting in the NBA, 1935-1995.* 1997, 470 pp.

Newman, Frank. *Professor of Law, University of California, Berkeley, 1946-present, Justice, California Supreme Court, 1977-1983.* 1994, 336 pp. (Available through California State Archives.)

Neylan, John Francis. *Politics, Law, and the University of California.* 1962, 319 pp.

Nyswander, Dorothy B. *Professor and Activist for Public Health Education in the Americas and Asia.* 1994, 318 pp.

O'Brien, Morrough P. *Dean of the College of Engineering, Pioneer in Coastal Engineering, and Consultant to General Electric.* 1989, 313 pp.

Olmo, Harold P. *Plant Genetics and New Grape Varieties.* 1976, 183 pp. (UC Davis professor.)

Ough, Cornelius. *Recollections of an Enologist, University of California, Davis, 1950-1990.* 1990, 66 pp.

Pepper, Stephen C. *Art and Philosophy at the University of California, 1919-1962.* 1963, 471 pp.

Pitzer, Kenneth. *Chemist and Administrator at UC Berkeley, Rice University, Stanford University, and the Atomic Energy Commission, 1935-1997.* 1999, 558 pp.

Porter, Robert Langley. *Physician, Teacher and Guardian of the Public Health*. 1960, 102 pp. (UC San Francisco professor.)

Reeves, William. *Arbovirologist and Professor, UC Berkeley School of Public Health*. 1993, 686 pp.

Revelle, Roger. *Oceanography, Population Resources and the World*. 1988. (UC San Diego professor.) (Available through Archives, Scripps Institute of Oceanography, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, California 92093.)

Riasanovsky, Nicholas V. *Professor of Russian and European Intellectual History, University of California, Berkeley, 1957-1997*. 1998, 310 pp.

Richardson, Leon J. *Berkeley Culture, University of California Highlights, and University Extension, 1892-1960*. 1962, 248 pp.

Robb, Agnes Roddy. *Robert Gordon Sproul and the University of California*. 1976, 134 pp.

Rossbach, Charles Edwin. *Artist, Mentor, Professor, Writer*. 1987, 157 pp.

Schnier, Jacques. *A Sculptor's Odyssey*. 1987, 304 pp.

Schorske, Carl E. *Intellectual Life, Civil Libertarian Issues, and the Student Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, 1960-1969*. 2000, 203 pp.

Scott, Geraldine Knight. *A Woman in Landscape Architecture in California, 1926-1989*. 1990, 235 pp.

Shields, Peter J. *Reminiscences of the Father of the Davis Campus*. 1954, 107 pp.

Sproul, Ida Wittschen. *The President's Wife*. 1981, 347 pp.

Stampp, Kenneth M. *Historian of Slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, University of California, Berkeley, 1946-1983*. 1998, 310 pp.

Stern, Milton. *The Learning Society: Continuing Education at NYU, Michigan, and UC Berkeley, 1946-1991*. 1993, 292 pp.

Stevens, Frank C. *Forty Years in the Office of the President, University of California, 1905-1945*. 1959, 175 pp.

Stewart, George R. *A Little of Myself*. (Author and UC Professor of English.) 1972, 319 pp.

Stripp, Fred S. Jr. *University Debate Coach, Berkeley Civic Leader, and Pastor*. 1990, 75 pp.

Strong, Edward W. *Philosopher, Professor, and Berkeley Chancellor, 1961-1965.* 1992, 530 pp.

Struve, Gleb. (In process.) Professor of Slavic Languages and Literature.

Taylor, Paul Schuster.
Volume I: *Education, Field Research, and Family*, 1973, 342 pp.
Volume II and Volume III: *California Water and Agricultural Labor*, 1975, 519 pp.

Thygeson, Phillips. *External Eye Disease and the Proctor Foundation.* 1988, 321 pp. (UC San Francisco professor.) (Available through the Foundation of the American Academy of Ophthalmology.)

Tien, Chang-Lin. (In process.) Berkeley Chancellor, 1990-1997.

Towle, Katherine A. *Administration and Leadership.* 1970, 369 pp.

Townes, Charles H. *A Life in Physics: Bell Telephone Laboratories and WWII, Columbia University and the Laser, MIT and Government Service; California and Research in Astrophysics.* 1994, 691 pp.

Underhill, Robert M. *University of California: Lands, Finances, and Investments.* 1968, 446 pp.

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Wada, Yori. *Working for Youth and Social Justice: The YMCA, the University of California, and the Stulsaft Foundation.* 1991, 203 pp.

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Wessels, Glenn A. *Education of an Artist.* 1967, 326 pp.

Westphal, Katherine. *Artist and Professor.* 1988, 190 pp. (UC Davis professor.)

Whinnery, John. *Researcher and Educator in Electromagnetics, Microwaves, and Optoelectronics, 1935-1995; Dean of the College of Engineering, UC Berkeley, 1950-1963.* 1996, 273 pp.

Wiegel, Robert L. *Coastal Engineering: Research, Consulting, and Teaching, 1946-1997.* 1997, 327 pp.

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Williams, Arleigh and Betty H. Neely. *Disabled Students' Residence Program.* 1987, 41 pp.

Wilson, Garff B. *The Invisible Man, or, Public Ceremonies Chairman at Berkeley for Thirty-Five Years.* 1981, 442 pp.

Winkler, Albert J. *Viticultural Research at UC Davis, 1921-1971.* 1973, 144 pp.

Woods, Baldwin M. *University of California Extension.* 1957, 102 pp.

Wurster, William Wilson. *College of Environmental Design, University of California, Campus Planning, and Architectural Practice.* 1964, 339 pp.

MULTI-INTERVIEWEE PROJECTS

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Architects landscape architects, gardeners, presidents of UC document the history of the UC presidential residence. Includes interviews with Mai Arbegast, Igor Blake, Ron and Myra Brocchini, Toichi Domoto, Eliot Evans, Tony Hail, Linda Haymaker, Charles Hitch, Flo Holmes, Clark and Kay Kerr, Gerry Scott, George and Helena Thacher, Walter Vodden, and Norma Willer.

Centennial History Project, 1954-1960. 329 pp.
Includes interviews with George P. Adams, Anson Stiles Blake, Walter C. Blasdale, Joel H. Hildebrand, Samuel J. Holmes, Alfred L. Kroeber, Ivan M. Linforth, George D. Louderback, Agnes Fay Morgan, and William Popper. (Bancroft Library use only.)

Thomas D. Church, Landscape Architect. Two volumes, 1978, 803 pp.
Volume I: Includes interviews with Theodore Bernardi, Lucy Butler, June Meehan Campbell, Louis De Monte, Walter Doty, Donn Emmons, Floyd Gerow, Harriet Henderson, Joseph Howland, Ruth Jaffe, Burton Litton, Germano Milano, Miriam Pierce, George Rockrise, Robert Royston, Geraldine Knight Scott, Roger Sturtevant, Francis Violich, and Harold Watkin.
Volume II: Includes interviews with Maggie Baylis, Elizabeth Roberts Church, Robert Glasner, Grace Hall, Lawrence Halprin, Proctor Mellquist, Everitt Miller, Harry Sanders, Lou Schenone, Jack Stafford, Goodwin Steinberg, and Jack Wagstaff.

Interviews with Dentists. (Dental History Project, University of California, San Francisco.) 1969, 1114 pp. Includes interviews with Dickson Bell, Reuben L. Blake, Willard C. Fleming, George A. Hughes, Leland D. Jones, George F. McGee, C. E. Rutledge, William B. Ryder, Jr., Herbert J. Samuels, Joseph Sciutto, William S. Smith, Harvey Stallard, George E. Steninger, and Abraham W. Ward. (Bancroft Library use only.)

Julia Morgan Architectural History Project. Two volumes, 1976, 621 pp.
Volume I: *The Work of Walter Steilberg and Julia Morgan, and the Department of Architecture, UCB, 1904-1954.*
Includes interviews with Walter T. Steilberg, Robert Ratcliff, Evelyn Paine Ratcliff, Norman L. Jensen, John E. Wagstaff, George C. Hodges, Edward B. Hussey, and Warren Charles Perry.

Volume II: *Julia Morgan, Her Office, and a House.*
Includes interviews with Mary Grace Barron, Kirk O. Rowlands, Norma Willer, Quintilla Williams, Catherine Freeman Nimitz, Polly Lawrence McNaught, Hettie Belle Marcus, Bjarne Dahl, Bjarne Dahl, Jr., Morgan North, Dorothy Wormser Coblentz, and Flora d'Ille North.

The Prytaneans: An Oral History of the Prytanean Society and its Members. (Order from Prytanean Society.)
Volume I: 1901-1920, 1970, 307 pp.
Volume II: 1921-1930, 1977, 313 pp.
Volume III: 1931-1935, 1990, 343 pp.

Six Weeks in Spring, 1985: Managing Student Protest at UC Berkeley. 887 pp. Transcripts of sixteen interviews conducted during July-August 1985 documenting events on the UC Berkeley campus in April-May 1985 and administration response to student activities protesting university policy on investments in South Africa. Interviews with: Ira Michael Heyman, chancellor; Watson Laetsch, vice chancellor; Roderic Park, vice chancellor; Ronald Wright, vice chancellor; Richard Hafner, public affairs officer; John Cummins and Michael R. Smith, chancellor's staff; Patrick Hayashi and B. Thomas Travers, undergraduate affairs; Mary Jacobs, Hal Reynolds, and Michelle Woods, student affairs; Derry Bowles, William Foley, Joseph Johnson, and Ellen Stetson, campus police. (Bancroft Library use only.)

Robert Gordon Sproul Oral History Project. Two volumes, 1986, 904 pp.
Includes interviews with thirty-five persons who knew him well: Horace M. Albright, Stuart LeRoy Anderson, Katherine Connick Bradley, Franklin M. "Dyke" Brown, Ernest H. Burness, Natalie Cohen, Paul A. Dodd, May Dornin, Richard E. Erickson, Walter S. Frederick, David P. Gardner, Marion Sproul Goodin, Vernon L. Goodin, Louis H. Heilbron, Robert S. Johnson, Clark Kerr, Adrian A. Kragen, Mary Blumer Lawrence, Stanley E. McCaffrey, Dean McHenry, Donald H. McLaughlin, Kendric Morrish, Marion Morrish, William Penn Mott, Jr., Herman Phleger, John B. deC. M. Saunders, Carl W. Sharsmith, John A. Sproul, Robert Gordon Sproul, Jr., Wallace Sterling, Wakefield Taylor, Robert M. Underhill, Eleanor L. Van Horn, Garff B. Wilson, and Pete L. Yzaguirre.

The University of California during the Presidency of David P. Gardner, 1983-1992. (In process.)
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The Women's Faculty Club of the University of California at Berkeley, 1919-1982. 1983, 312 pp.
Includes interviews with Josephine Smith, Margaret Murdock, Agnes Robb, May Dornin, Josephine Miles, Gudveig Gordon-Britland, Elizabeth Scott, Marian Diamond, Mary Ann Johnson, Eleanor Van Horn, and Katherine Van Valer Williams.

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Gordon, Walter A. *Athlete, Officer in Law Enforcement and Administration, Governor of the Virgin Islands.* Two volumes, 1980, 621 pp.

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