

Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California

University History Series
Department of History at Berkeley

Richard Herr

HISTORIAN OF SPAIN AND FRANCE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, 1960-1991

Interviews conducted by
Ann Lage in 2008

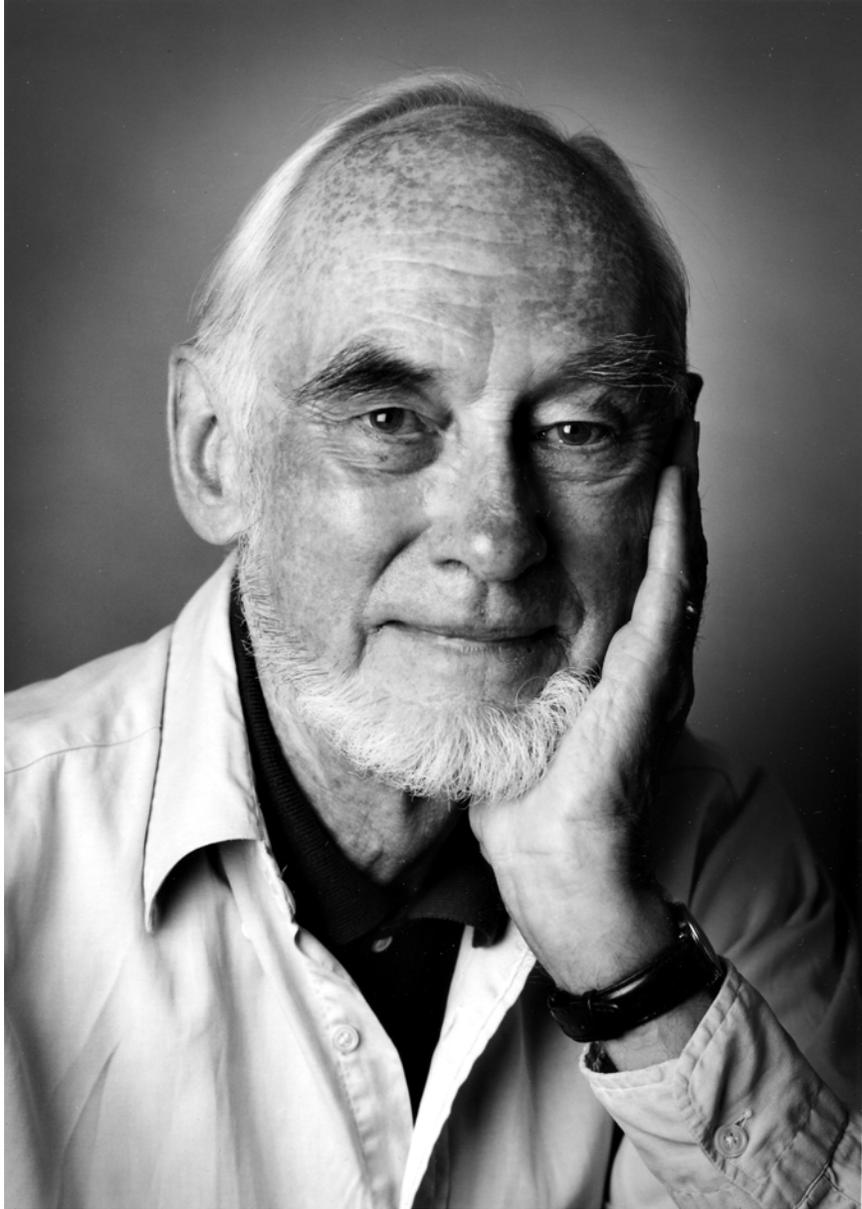
Since 1954 the Regional Oral History Office has been interviewing leading participants in or well-placed witnesses to major events in the development of Northern California, the West, and the nation. Oral History is a method of collecting historical information through tape-recorded interviews between 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 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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Richard Herr, 2007

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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 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, 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 University history. 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. In the course of a series of mutually enjoyable luncheon meetings, the project to document the history of the Department of History at Berkeley evolved.

In initial discussions about the parameters of the project, a crucial decision was made. Rather than conduct short oral histories focused 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; discuss other institutional affiliations; explore the process of creating their historical works and changes in the discipline. 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.

¹ The Bancroft Library holds papers from history professors Walton Bean, Woodbridge Bingham, Herbert Bolton, Woodrow Borah, William J. Bouwsma, George Guttridge, George Hammond, John Hicks, David Keightley, Joseph Levenson, Martin Malia, Henry May, Thomas Metcalf, William Alfred Morris, Frederic Paxson, Herbert Priestley, Franz Schurmann, Engel Sluiter, Raymond Sontag, and Kenneth Stampf. Miscellaneous files of the Department, 1915-1929, are also held in Bancroft's University Archives.

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).

Using the Brucker lecture as a point of departure, it was decided that the project would first document the group of professors who came to the department in the immediate postwar years, the 1950s, and the early 1960s. This group, most of them retired, was the one whose distinguished teaching and publications initially earned the department its high national rating. They made the crucial hiring and promotion decisions that cemented the department's strength and expanded the curriculum to meet new academic interests. At the same time, they participated in campus governing bodies dealing with central social, political, and cultural issues of their times: 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 benefited 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.

Carroll Brentano and Gene Brucker committed themselves to facilitate project funding and to enlist the interest of potential participants. Members of the department responded with interest, joined the periodic lunch confabs, offered advice in planning, and helped find funding. In the spring of 1996, Brentano and Professor Sheldon Rothblatt organized a symposium, titled "Play It Again, Sam." There, Gene Brucker restaged his Faculty Research Lecture. Professor Henry F. May responded with his perceptions of events, followed by comments from other history faculty, all videotaped for posterity and the Bancroft Library.³

Meanwhile, the oral history project got underway with interviews with Delmer Brown, professor of Japanese history, and Kenneth Stampp, American history, both of whom came to Berkeley in 1946. To date, we have completed a total of seventeen in-depth oral histories with this group, nine of which are now in print and on line. The interviewees represent a variety of subject fields and historical approaches. The series also includes one interview with a faculty wife. (View on line at http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/ROHO/collections/subjectarea/univ_hist/history_department.html)

Diverse in their personal backgrounds and scholarly interests, the faculty who came to the department in the postwar years had one thing in common: all but one were men.⁴ In the 1970s and 1980s, as more women completed PhDs, women within the academy and the women's movement nationally worked to increase women in tenured faculty positions. The Department of History at Berkeley slowly began to add women to its faculty, beginning in 1971 with the appointment of Natalie Zemon Davis. By 1990, the department had two female full professors, five associate professors, and four assistant professors, of a total tenure-line faculty of sixty-two. During these years, women historians nationally were part of a broader critique of universalist assumptions about history and society that included significant contributions from Berkeley faculty. Feminist scholars, in particular, were integral to the radical changes in subject matter

³ 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].

⁴ Adrienne Koch was a faculty member, 1958-1965.

studied, methodology, and modes of discourse in the profession.⁵ The new intellectual and programmatic directions associated with an increase in female faculty were accompanied by sometimes contentious battles at Berkeley as elsewhere over the evaluation of academic work, teaching priorities, and curriculum development.

The second phase of the project on the Department of History at Berkeley focuses on the women faculty who came to Berkeley in the 1970s and 1980s. In 2003, Natalie Davis was interviewed during a visit to the campus, and in 2008 we launched a three-year project to document seven more of Berkeley's women historians. As in earlier interviews, we explore the faculty member's contribution to her scholarly field, examining the development of her intellectual project and working methods, and probe experiences relevant to understanding the development of the discipline and the department. In addition, we discuss challenges facing women in the academy over the course of their professional careers.

The organizers of this project are grateful to the Department of History and to the many individual donors that have made these interviews possible. The considerable interest in the fruits of our project to date confirms our initial premise 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."

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

Gene Brucker
Shepard Professor of History Emeritus

Ann Lage, Project Director
Regional Oral History Office
Berkeley, California
May 2009

⁵ Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, London: W.W. Norton, 1994), 153. Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: the "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 471.

Series List—Department of History at Berkeley

December 2009

- Bouwsma, Beverly Hancock. *Observer of Campus and Community Culture, Berkeley Department of History Faculty Wife, 1956-2001*. 2008, 136 pp.
- Bouwsma, William J. *Historian of European Culture in the Early Modern Era, University of California, Berkeley, 1956-1991*. 2008, 137 pp.
- Brown, Delmer M. *Professor of Japanese History, University of California, Berkeley, 1946-1977*. 2000, 410 pp.
- Brentano, Robert. *Scholar and Teacher of Medieval History, University of California, Berkeley, 1952-2002*. 2005, 370 pp.
- Brucker, Gene. *Historian of Renaissance Florence, University of California, Berkeley, 1954-1991*. 2005, 211 pp.
- Herr, Richard. *Historian of Spain and France, University of California, Berkeley, 1960-1991*. 2009, 256 pp.
- Jordan, Winthrop D. *Historian of Slavery and Race Relations in America, Professor at the University of California, Berkeley, 1963-1982*. 2009, 194 pp.
- Keightley, David N. *Historian of Early China, University of California, Berkeley, 1969-1998*. 2003. 163 pp.
- May, Henry F. *Professor of American Intellectual History, University of California, Berkeley, 1952-1980*. 1999, 218 pp.
- Malia, Martin Edward. *Historian of Russian and European Intellectual History*. 2005, 229 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.

Donated Collection:

Borah, Woodrow W. *Woodrow W. Borah interview: oral history transcript*, by James W. Wilkie and Rebecca Horn, 1983. Transcript in Bancroft Library.

In process:

Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Historian of Early Modern Europe, Professor at Berkeley, 1971-1978*.

Fass, Paula, United States history, history of childhood

Halperin, Tulio, Latin American history

Levine, Lawrence, United States cultural history

Litwack, Leon, United States history, African American history

Wakeman, Frederic, Historian of China

INTERVIEW HISTORY—Richard Herr

In his oral history Richard Herr, historian of Spain and France, looks back on his life and career as a “great train ride,” in which he “witnessed one vast transformation.” Born in Guanajuato, Mexico, in 1922, the youngest son of a mining engineer, he grew up bilingually, living in a sort of colonial world—“closer to Victorian society than to our current society”—near the mine that his father headed. After high school in Cincinnati, he studied history at Harvard, thinking he would pursue a career as a newspaper man, and enlisted in the army after early graduation. As a member of the Signal Intelligence Corps during World War II, he was stationed in Washington DC, London, and Paris. He was in Germany the day the Germans surrendered and has lasting impressions of his visit to the Buchenwald concentration camp. In Paris he met a group of Spanish civil war refugees, including the woman who became his first wife, Elena Fernández Mel, and after the war he continued his studies at the University of Paris. After a brief stint in the world of business when he returned home to Ohio, he decided to pursue an academic career, attending the University of Chicago and studying political and intellectual history under Louis Gottschalk and Daniel Mornet.

His research trip to Spain in 1950-51 for his doctoral dissertation was the first of many over the next forty years. In his oral history he describes his immersion in Spain’s past, as he delved into rich archival sources in the national library and in remote rural outposts. At the same time, he was participating in a rapidly changing Spanish society, living in Spain under Franco, taking part in *tertulia* with Madrid intellectuals and becoming acquainted with village priests and *alcaldes* in the countryside. While directing UC’s Education Abroad Program in Madrid from 1975 to 1977, he observed the transition in Spain after Franco’s death. His wealth of archival research and first-hand understanding of Spanish culture, as well as his interest in diverse historical approaches, are apparent in his several books on Spain, all well received among Spanish academics and in the US. Throughout his career, Herr has also taught and written on topics in the history of France and Western Europe.

Richard Herr came to Berkeley from Yale, first arriving as a visiting professor in 1955-’56 and then hired as associate professor in 1960. He provides an important perspective on the sixties in the Department of History, recalling his distress at the pressures faced by young faculty under consideration for promotion to tenure as the department fashioned itself into one of the most prominent in the nation. He also recalls departmental and his own personal responses to the Free Speech Movement and anti-war protests. As a member of the Select Committee on Education (Muscatine Committee) and chair of a committee to review the undergraduate program in the College of Letter and Sciences, Herr helped craft a series of academic reform proposals. His oral history also reflects on changes in the department in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly the impact of women faculty and women graduate students. In the 1980s, Herr helped found and was director of programs in Spanish and Portuguese Studies at Berkeley. He taught at Berkeley until his retirement in 1991, upon which he began, as he terms it, his “third age,” continuing to be actively engaged in the historical enterprise. In 1990, he was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The oral history was recorded in five interview sessions, conducted from February to April 2008 in Herr's home in north Berkeley, where he lives with his wife, Valerie. After the transcription and audit-edit of the videorecorded interviews, Herr reviewed the transcript carefully, adding fuller references to names and book titles and making only a few changes for clarification or accuracy. We are grateful to Richard Herr, as we are to his colleagues who have also participated in this oral history series, for allowing his own life and career to become source material for future historians. The list of completed oral histories documenting the history of the Department of History at Berkeley is included in this volume. Most of the completed interviews in the series can be found online at

http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/ROHO/collections/subjectarea/univ_hist/history_department.html .

Copies of all interviews are available for research use in the Bancroft Library and in the UCLA Department of Special Collections, and video files of the interview are available for listening and viewing in the Bancroft Library.

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 the history of the University of California. The Regional Oral History Office is a division of The Bancroft Library and is under the direction of Richard Cándida Smith.

Ann Lage
Interviewer
Director, History at Berkeley Project
Regional Oral History Office

December 2009

Richard Herr
Interviewed by Ann Lage, ROHO
Interview #1: 2-27-2008

[Begin Audio File Herr 1 02-27-08.mp3]

01-00:00:01

Lage: Here we are with the first interview with Richard Herr for the Department of History Project—and I am Ann Lage for The Bancroft Library. Today is February 27, 2005, and this is tape one.

01-00:00:18

Herr: [chuckling] 2008.

01-00:00:19

Lage: [laughing] Oh! 2008! Sorry. When you go back into time you can get confused about dates, but thank you. We're going to start, of course, as we always do with the beginning and with something about your family. But you and I discussed that you've written about your family and you're writing other things about them.

01-00:00:39

Herr: That's right.

01-00:00:39

Lage: I thought we should focus on your upbringing and the impact of your family.

01-00:00:47

Herr: But mind you I haven't written anything that I'm likely to have published, so—okay.

01-00:00:51

Lage: Okay, but tell enough that we know what kind of family you came from, but I'm interested in how you think that shaped you, particularly as a historian.

01-00:01:03

Herr: Okay. Well, I do think it did shape me, because I was brought up to think that I had a fairly distinguished background on my mother's side particularly. I thought this once that my—at least the family identity—is something like the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, because the Mississippi River has the name, but the longest one is the Missouri River. And so the Winships, which is my mother's family, is longer and they're more distinguished, I would say. They started in 1636 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, when my great-great-ancestor, Edward Winship came across.

01-00:01:40

Lage: From?

01-00:01:40

Herr: From Northumberland, from northern England, became a selectman in Cambridge. I don't think there were many people of distinction until it came to my grandfather [Albert Edward Winship], who became quite well known because he was editor of a thing called the *Journal of Education* in Boston, which was read by teachers all around the country, and he traveled all around the country lecturing in favor of improving public schools and conditions for public school teachers, so that he was a very much admired person.

01-00:02:15

Lage: What time period would this had been?

01-00:02:17

Herr: From about 1890 to 1930.

01-00:02:21

Lage: Did he follow a particular philosophy?

01-00:02:24

Herr: I don't know if he had a particular teaching philosophy, except that he wanted to improve the content of education and, particularly, I think, he wanted to improve the conditions for teachers and women teachers. I know that I had a high school teacher [Gertrude Curtis], a very austere woman, who took me aside one time and said, "I just learned that you're Edward Winship's grandson." And I said, "Yes." And she said, "I *worshipped* that man!" So—

01-00:02:54

Lage: Oh my! So that does leave its impression.

01-00:02:56

Herr: Yes, yes, oh yes, definitely. I also had an uncle who was a professor at Harvard [George Parker Winship]. He was the librarian of the Widener collection at Harvard, and an uncle [Laurence Leathe Winship]—these are my mother's brothers—who was editor of the *Boston Globe* and was very, I think, instrumental in making the *Boston Globe* the leading newspaper that it is now.

01-00:03:20

Lage: So these were your mother's brothers.

01-00:03:22

Herr: These are my mother's brothers, yes.

01-00:03:23

Lage: I see.

01-00:03:24

Herr: Okay, so I sort of had that sense—except my mother [Luella Parker Winship] never thought much of her brother who was a professor at Harvard, and I always got this sense that being a professor at a university must be really second rate. There are other things that you should do—

01-00:03:35
Lage: Yes, because of the attitude towards—

01-00:03:36
Herr: Because of my mother's attitude toward him, yes.

01-00:03:39
Lage: That's interesting.

01-00:03:39
Herr: But on the other side, I come from a Mennonite background, a Pennsylvania Dutch—

01-00:03:45
Lage: On your father's side [Irving Herr].

01-00:03:45
Herr: On my father's side, that's why I say that's got the name, but it didn't have quite the distinction, although I remember in 1939 we were on our way to college. We drove across from Cincinnati to New York and stopped in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on the old Route 30, the Lincoln Highway, and stayed in one the things they called cabins in those days. You know that you didn't have motels, you had cabins.

01-00:04:07
Lage: Like a motel—what we would call a motel.

01-00:04:08
Herr: What you'd call a motel now, except they really were cabins. You had your own independent cabin—and at breakfast the next day my father said, "My name is Herr, and I think we came from this region. Is that a name that you've heard?" And they said, "Oh yes, hundreds of them, all over that hill in the cemetery" [chuckling]. But suddenly my father realized—this is important. We went and looked—there's a plaque there because the first Herr was a minister who came in 1710 with a group of people and established the local community.

01-00:04:39
Lage: So they came to—

01-00:04:40
Herr: To Pennsylvania.

01-00:04:42
Lage: To this continent—

01-00:04:44
Herr: To get away, they were—

01-00:04:44
Lage: —before your mother's family.

01-00:04:45

Herr: No, no. My mother's came in 1636.

01-00:04:48

Lage: Oh, 16—

01-00:04:49

Herr: And this is 1710, so it was shorter. But my father suddenly realized that he didn't have to look up so much at the Winships. I think he always felt that he'd married up, and now he could feel that maybe he hadn't.

01-00:05:01

Lage: If length of time in the country is—

01-00:05:03

Herr: Yes, well, but in this—distinguished brothers and father and things like this. His father had been an editor of a newspaper in Oak Park, and he delivered newspapers when he was a boy, then he became a mining engineer. He went to Harvard. That's where he got his mining degree and that's where he met my mother.

01-00:05:21

Lage: I see. So they both went to Harvard.

01-00:05:24

Herr: No, she went to Mount Holyoke.

01-00:05:26

Lage: Mount Holyoke, yes, because Harvard—

01-00:05:28

Herr: Harvard—no, but they had—Radcliffe was going then, and her father, the editor of the *Journal of Education*, said he wouldn't let her go to Mount Holyoke unless she could pass the exam to get into Radcliffe, because he wanted his daughters to go to Radcliffe and she, I think, wanted to get away from the family [chuckling].

01-00:05:43

Lage: Who can blame her! [laughter] So that's interesting. So they were both—had your father gone east to school or was he—

01-00:05:53

Herr: He'd gone east. He'd had a year at the University of Michigan. I don't know how he decided he wanted to go to Harvard and he wanted to be a mining engineer. I think he wanted to be a mining engineer because of the Alaskan Gold Rush, and he was going to get rich. I think he always had his eye on money, to a certain extent.

01-00:06:11

Lage: Oh really!

01-00:06:12

Herr: And it never worked out, because by the time he got his degree, the Alaska Gold Rush was over, so he ended up in Mexico instead.

01-00:06:20

Lage: Even thinking of Harvard having mining engineering is somewhat surprising.

01-00:06:24

Herr: Well, it's curious, but they did. It was a distinguished mining engineering school. He got a master's, and they did their research, or their training, on Martha's Vineyard in the summers. They went out there and surveyed, learned how to survey and that sort of thing.

01-00:06:40

Lage: And then did he immediately go off to the hinterlands?

01-00:06:44

Herr: Yes. His first job, I guess, was in Mexico. He graduated in 1901, and he was in Mexico right away in 1901.

01-00:06:51

Lage: And when did your parents marry?

01-00:06:52

Herr: 1904. I think he came back to marry her. They'd met back before that, but I don't know if they saw each other for two or three years. I'm not quite sure—until he came back to marry her.

01-00:07:03

Lage: When your mother chose him as a husband, she must have known she was going to have a different kind of life from her fellow—

01-00:07:11

Herr: There's a letter she wrote to her mother about Irving, saying that he loved her and she's not quite sure, but she thinks more and more I think I do like him. Then, I don't know if there's much beyond that, but obviously, I think they were quite attached to each other. It was quite a trip—mind you, her father had been traveling all over the United States and had actually been to Mexico with his lecturing and his interest in going places, so it was not—I guess actually she'd been out to Chicago too, with him, as a child, as a young girl, to the Chicago World's Fair of 1993 [means 1893], so—

01-00:07:52

Lage: So she'd done some traveling, but still, living in a mining town in Mexico.

01-00:07:55

Herr: She'd done some traveling—well, that was a big thing, and furthermore, when she got there, almost immediately she discovered she was pregnant, which I think was the real shock.

01-00:08:01

Lage: [chuckling] Do you see this from the letters also?

01-00:08:04

Herr: No, no, no. But I can imagine it. They sent her sister down to take care of her while she was pregnant and when the baby was delivered. I think they had a nurse, or somebody came from Mexico City to deliver the baby. This was outside Guanajuato, which is an important mining town ever since the colonial days.

01-00:08:24

Lage: And how far from Mexico City is it?

01-00:08:28

Herr: A hundred and fifty miles, 200 maybe? I'm not sure. I'd have to look on a map to be sure.

01-00:08:33

Lage: But there wouldn't have been a medical facility there, or—

01-00:08:36

Herr: There would probably have been some kind of doctor there, yeah, and I—I'd have to go back and look at the letters. I think that it was just a nurse, probably a midwife, who came up from Mexico City.

01-00:08:49

Lage: So this was your first brother.

01-00:08:52

Herr: That's my first brother. He was born in 1904 also, December, and my second brother was born in California. They had a rough life. My mother, particularly, I think, had a very rough life. My father quit the job in Mexico because he thought he was going to get promoted to being in charge of the mine and he wasn't. They sent somebody out—it was an English company—they sent somebody in from England, so they went off to Costa Rica, and they were in Costa Rica, I guess, when my second brother was conceived, but then that collapsed and they came back to California.

01-00:09:25

Lage: And what did they do in California?

01-00:09:27

Herr: Well, there was a mine in Stent, California, which is just outside Yosemite near Jamestown, Jimtown, yes, Jamestown. The man who had hired my father to go to Mexico, the agent, was living in Chicago, and he was asked to recommend someone to run this mine. It was by—the big department store in London—I'm blanking on the name right now but—

01-00:10:05

Lage: We can find that.

01-00:10:05

Herr: We can find that, yeah, had bought this mine. He [H. G. Selfridge] had been a purchasing agent for the department store in Chicago, gosh, I told you I should have gone over my notes [chuckling] [Marshall Field & Co.] and was offered a mine in California that was very rich, very rich, and he bought it, and he sent people out to check it out and discovered that it was really a very rich mine. Then he sent my father to take it over, and when my father got here he couldn't find any gold in it.

01-00:10:37

Lage: Oh! So this was a gold mine.

01-00:10:39

Herr: Oh it was a gold mine—it was a gold mine. It's a gold area up there, and my father eventually discovered that they'd tricked him into buying this mine, that it hadn't any gold in it at all. They had sent little samples of it. What they'd done—I don't know how much of this you want—but the man who was trying to buy it had sent these mining engineers, who'd been to survey it before he bought it, into the mine. They picked up the samples, they put them in the office and left them there overnight, and during the night the seller would come in and put gold dust inside the samples. So when they were sent off it looked like it was a very rich mine, but it turned out not to be. So that was a bust.

01-00:11:21

Lage: Your father—

01-00:11:22

Herr: My father discovered it. Furthermore, he saved the mining engineer who had hired him, not the—Selfridge was the name of the man in London—

01-00:11:31

Lage: What was it again?

01-00:11:33

Herr: Selfridge. Selfridges Department Store. He'd bought it and started it, I think, by that time, but he was an American. He came from Wisconsin. He saved this man who'd been in charge of hiring him, who'd sent him to Mexico originally, from losing a lot of money, because he discovered this in time for this man to give up on his agreement to buy a share in the mine before it became final [Henry L. Hollis]. So that ruined them—and see, my mother had to live in this very tiny village while she was pregnant. She was expecting the baby, the baby came there, and about two months later they had to leave. The next job was up in the Klamath River, in north[ern California], so she went up with the two babies, two children, in a stagecoach, more or less, to Weaverville and she says, the dustiest, worst time she'd ever had.

01-00:12:22

Lage: So this was not great adventure for her.

01-00:12:24

Herr: This was not, no, none of this was—she looked, there are photographs—she looked very bad at that point, very ill.

01-00:12:29

Lage: Oh, actually ill rather than unhappy.

01-00:12:32

Herr: Well, run down, yes, her face looks very wan. What was she by then? She was twenty-six, yeah.

01-00:12:41

Lage: Oh goodness. And then where did they go from there?

01-00:12:48

Herr: I think they decided that mining was not the type of thing for them, that she kind of talked him into—and so he started looking for other kinds of jobs. There was a period there where he didn't have any fixed income, I don't think for a while, a couple of years. And eventually they were offered the job back in the original mine in Mexico, and he went back there in 1910. By then it was owned by an American company.

01-00:13:09

Lage: I see. And did he go back as head of the mine?

01-00:13:12

Herr: Yes, yes, and stayed there off and on until 1932. They had to get out from 1916 to 1920 because of the civil war that was going on in Mexico. They decided that they could hardly run the mine, and he didn't want his wife and two children there, and he decided to get out also. They'd already escaped once when [Woodrow] Wilson sent the marines into Veracruz.

01-00:13:39

Lage: They left at that time.

01-00:13:41

Herr: They left at that time on a train with British passports because they were afraid that Americans were going to get killed.

01-00:13:47

Lage: I see. This is a very exciting life!

01-00:13:50

Herr: Well, it was, it was all before me [chuckling].

01-00:13:54

Lage: Right, right. Well, let's just reference that your brother and you were co-authors, really, weren't you?

01-00:14:00

Herr: Yes, but he was born in 1906. I was born in 1922, so he's actually fifteen-and-a-half years older than I am. My other brother [John Winship Herr] was seventeen years older than I. So I really didn't know my brothers. They were off at school by the time I was born and didn't come back except for summer holidays and things like that.

01-00:14:16

Lage: I want to reference the book that you did with—was it your younger brother or your older brother? [[Robert Woodmansee Herr](#), [Richard Herr](#), *An American Family in the Mexican Revolution*, Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1999]

01-00:14:21

Herr: My younger brother, my younger brother, Robert Woodmansee Herr. It does describe these years quite accurately, and with all my mother's correspondence which we still have and her diaries.

01-00:14:30

Lage: And some writing by you and some by him.

01-00:14:33

Herr: Well, I put some of the—I did some research down there in, I guess, in the nineties, in the actual archives of the mine, went down and spent, Valerie and I spent a couple of days there going through the materials there, went back another time, and I went to Mexico City to look up information on this mine from the archives there, which took it back to about 1740. But that's the kind of information I put in—I put information about how many people were working there, how much they were being paid, how much my father's salary was, and things like that. Whereas, my brother talked about the memories of the family and my mother's correspondence and the fighting that went on around there.

01-00:15:11

Lage: Well, tell me now about your growing up, because this is where you spent the first ten years of your life.

01-00:15:16

Herr: That's right. That's right. By then, you see, by the time I was born it was calm. I think—it's always been a question whether I was a mistake or a decision. There is a letter from my mother to my brother saying, "We decided we wanted to have another family," or to at least not be just the old people at home yet. So maybe I was, there were some plans for me. Well, since my mother had taken fifteen years without a baby, I guess there was some reason. She had some control over it, shall we say. My brothers went off to prep school just about the summer before I was born.

01-00:15:56

Lage: And where did they go to prep school?

01-00:15:58

Herr: My older brother, John, went to Exeter, and my younger brother, Bob, went to Loomis, which is in Connecticut. And they both went from there to Harvard.

01-00:16:14

Lage: Following the tradition.

01-00:16:17

Herr: And before that, my mother had been teaching them, which is what she did with me, you see. She taught them to read and write and got textbooks from a sister of hers who was a textbook editor for the World Book Company.

01-00:16:28

Lage: So she was your teacher.

01-00:16:30

Herr: That was what you'd call nowadays home-schooled.

01-00:16:33

Lage: Yeah, home-schooling, right.

01-00:16:34

Herr: Well, they'd been in, during from about 1917 to 1920 they had been in school in the States in Cambridge or Oneida, Oneida, New York, because my father had worked for the Oneida Community Silver [Company]—it produced silverware.

01-00:16:52

Lage: In—this was—

01-00:16:54

Herr: In New York. While he was out of Mexico.

01-00:16:57

Lage: I see, oh that one period when they left Mexico.

01-00:17:00

Herr: That's right. And he actually took a trip as a salesman throughout South America, went to Rio, to Buenos Aires, to Chile, up—I guess he went to Peru—was very discouraged when he got back because they hadn't shipped any of his orders. It was terrible. That was a wonderful time because, of course, nothing was coming from Europe because the war was on. They normally would have gotten their silverware from England or Germany. So that—but those years they would have been in school at Cambridge or in Oneida, New York. But then they went off to prep school.

01-00:17:31

Lage: Very nice! And you were born [1922]—what kinds of things do you recall about those years that you think may have left an influence on you?

01-00:17:44

Herr: You know, I was thinking about this. [pause] It's hard to know, but I do know that I felt a tremendous attachment always to Mexico and to my—of course, I learned two languages. I felt it quite natural to have two languages and to have people who were sort of different from each other. It never shocked me, but it was a very colonial life. We were the foreign colony, definitely, were the foreign colony. We had a special school for us that they'd started, so it was taught in English, with the local dentist's wife, who was a Canadian, was our teacher.

01-00:18:22

Lage: I see. So you did have a teacher there too.

01-00:18:24

Herr: Oh in the school, yes, we had a teacher. We had, as I recall, thirteen students, all grades, from about first grade to twelfth grade.

01-00:18:35

Lage: And was this a community of people not just at your mine, but—

01-00:18:38

Herr: Oh no, no, this was—by then, this was in the city itself. By then we had moved in from the mine. I was in the mine until they decided I really had to go to school, and then he talked his employer into moving him to Guanajuato and he'd go out—they bought him a car and he drove out to the mine at that point.

01-00:18:56

Lage: I read that short memoir, the beginning, where you talk about the hacienda, so I didn't know that at one time you moved into town.

01-00:19:03

Herr: Yes. No, we moved into town at the end of that thing, and—

01-00:19:07

Lage: So tell me more about the colonial feel.

01-00:19:12

Herr: So I—no, let me just say one more thing. Valerie always says that I am a very different person when I'm in a Spanish community than when I'm in an English community. She says I'm much more open and relaxed, and I don't know if it goes back to the childhood experiences of speaking Spanish in Mexico at a different level with different people, but it's curious, because [she'll say], "When you're in Spain you're different from when you're here." So that maybe that—

01-00:19:36

Lage: That's very interesting. Do you feel like the language—the Mexican people are not the Spanish people, but is there something about the language that—

01-00:19:44

Herr:

Probably something about the language. No, they're not the Spanish people—although the upper class is largely Spanish, a lot of Spanish blood, of course, but the people we had in the mine, they would have been mestizos, they'd be mixed blood like everybody, more or less, that you'd see—Mexicans around here now. They were clearly lower class, they weren't very educated, although our maid, the lady who ran the house, our main cook, she certainly could read and write. She wrote letters to us. And I guess—but they were obviously the servant class, and the children were—I played with them quite regularly. I was quite good friends and all, but I played with them differently, I would say, from when I played with the children in the school. My best friend was a German boy, whose parents were German. I don't know exactly what they were in, what their particular business was, because besides mining there was an Englishman in charge of the electric power company, one of the main bankers was also English, and this friend of mine was German. The mother of the banker was French, and I knew their children. In fact, I met them again during the war in England. But my best friend was this Hans Karl Burger and we'd play trains and all sorts of things like that. He always told me how much better the German toys were than the American toys. And it was true, they were! [chuckling]

01-00:21:18

Lage:

Did he speak English?

01-00:21:21

Herr:

Yes, they had to in the school. The school was all in English, and I learned later that he was killed in the German army. He went back to fight for Germany.

01-00:21:29

Lage:

Well, this does give you a very different view of the world, it seems, to grow up like that.

01-00:21:36

Herr:

Oh yes, oh I think so, I think so.

01-00:21:38

Lage:

Now what about view of—were you made conscious of being somewhat superior? Or—

01-00:21:45

Herr:

Oh definitely—it oozed out of the family, I think, that English is a better language than Spanish, you know. People who speak English are better than people who speak Spanish. I don't think it was ever said. I think you just felt it. My mother, she told me later that she was somewhat upset because my two brothers played together in Spanish, and she couldn't get over the fact that they were playing in Spanish—when English is the language of the family! Yes.

01-00:22:10

Lage: Did that stick with you? Or did you rebel against it at some point? How do you think that worked into your being?

01-00:22:20

Herr: No, I was surprised when I came—I lost my Spanish when I came back to the States at ten.

01-00:22:25

Lage: Oh, you did.

01-00:22:26

Herr: By the time, well, I studied it again in high school and I took it as one of the courses, and finally the teacher discovered I'd been brought up in Mexico, which she thought was kind of unfair [chuckling]—she said, “So *that* explains why you speak it so well!”

01-00:22:40

Lage: You were way ahead on the accent, I'll bet.

01-00:22:43

Herr: That's right. But, I don't know, later on, perhaps, it occurred to me that Americans didn't like people to speak in a foreign language at that point. So when we came back from Spain with our first, Elena's and my first son who was then five, he went to kindergarten speaking Spanish, and he came back very excited because he said, “The teacher says it's all right if I speak Spanish!” So it was because he'd come home thinking, well, I can't speak Spanish now because I'm not in—so there was this ethos in the States that you really don't speak—

01-00:23:23

Lage: Sure. And maybe there still is.

01-00:23:25

Herr: Well, maybe there still is, yes, well, there is among some people, yes.

01-00:23:29

Lage: Yeah, among some people. Do you ever think about that experience as giving you a certain kind of perspective that historians have because you were apart and you were observing another culture?

01-00:23:46

Herr: I—[pause] found out that I have much greater empathy writing the history of Spain than many English authors have. You can read it in the comments that they make in their writing, and I think my writing about Spain is really quite, what should I say—appreciative of the country, and I think Spaniards recognize that when they read it. So I suspect that just goes back to those days, but you know, it's hard to trace these things and, of course, by then I also had a Spanish wife.

01-00:24:18

Lage:

Yes, that would have something to do with it. Well, that's interesting. Okay, well, anything else you want to say about those times? I don't want to—

01-00:24:28

Herr:

Well, you did say something in there about how did family attitudes or religion—religion is going to come back in, but I think it comes back in better at college and in the army. But I do remember from the very beginning, my mother's rejection of Catholicism and my father's too, for that matter, but it really came from my mother. They wouldn't let the maids ever take me inside a church. She was of Puritan background, and there was one event when we were already back living in the city and it was Christmas time, and I was in charge of the maid, or the maid was in charge of me, let's put it that way. [I] left with her, and she wanted to go to some festival. It was at Christmas time and it was a Christmas festival, and she was not supposed to take me to the church. So this turned out that this festival was not inside the church, it was in the grounds outside the church, but it was behind some walls. It wasn't a Catholic festival at all, it was very much an old Indian festival. They were dancing Indian dances with Indian costumes on, and it was very hush-hush. I think it was against the government to do it, so she took me and she put me in the corner. She said, "Just sit there and just watch and don't say anything. Don't tell anybody." So that—I always remember very starkly this particular sort of native dance that was going on that was anything but a Catholic service that she took me to—hush-hush because she was not allowed to.

01-00:26:02

Lage:

So you had to not tell your parents.

01-00:26:04

Herr:

I didn't have to tell my parents, no. I don't know if I ever did.

01-00:26:08

Lage:

[chuckling] So their feelings about Catholicism might not have been that unusual amongst New Englanders.

01-00:26:15

Herr:

Well, my mother was brought up in the Boston area, and there's this sense of attitude toward the Irish, I think, was really quite negative. I think in those days I'm quite sure they still thought that the pope was trying to take over—that the Catholics in the States were following orders from the pope, and they were dangerous that way. In that book that my brother wrote there is a passage from my father saying that the two things that are holding Mexico back are drink and the Catholic church, and if it weren't for these, Mexico would be a very much more prosperous and modern country.

01-00:26:54

Lage:

So that was impressed on you. And how did they—what kind of religion did they—

01-00:27:01

Herr: We didn't have any religion while we were in Mexico. I don't think there was any—there was no church we could go to, and I don't remember having, we did celebrate Christmas.

01-00:27:08

Lage: But you didn't read the Bible and things like that.

01-00:27:10

Herr: No, we didn't read the—my mother was, I don't think she was particularly religious that way. She just had a prejudice against Catholicism and Catholics.

01-00:27:18

Lage: Any other strong values that they—did you always know you were going to end up at Harvard? That kind of thing—educational.

01-00:27:29

Herr: Well, my two brothers were at Harvard when I was there in Mexico. My father had been to Harvard, so I think it was sort of understood that I was expected to get eventually to Harvard, yes. Although how we would get there we don't know, because they couldn't afford to send me to a prep school. By the thirties it was really, that wasn't in the books.

01-00:27:47

Lage: So when you left Mexico, that had something to do with the crash, did it not?

01-00:27:51

Herr: That's right, oh yes, definitely. The crash and the rising power of the labor unions, which made it very hard to run the mine. My father spent a great deal of time negotiating, going to trials, there were trials in Mexico City that he went to about labor conflict and things like that.

01-00:28:09

Lage: Would the government be—

01-00:28:10

Herr: And the price of silver went way down after 1930, so they couldn't make a profit on the mine. So they didn't close the mine, but my father decided it was time to get out. He was, he thought, he was fifty-five and it was time to retire, and so that's when we came up.

01-00:28:26

Lage: Now why Cincinnati?

01-00:28:28

Herr: Because my older brother had met a daughter of somebody in the Bethlehem Steel Company, I think it was the Bethlehem Steel Company, given him a job and then sent him to start a branch or a warehouse in Cincinnati, or at least work there. Between him and my father they'd decided that if my father put some money into a company that my brother John started, he could start a company of his own and my father's condition was that he would have a place

in it whenever he got out of Mexico. So that's why we came to Cincinnati. It was called the Cincinnati Steel Products Company, and my brother was president of it, and I think—I forget, he may have given my father a title, but it turned out my father was no good at selling steel. He was much too talkative and not hard enough pushing people to buy things, so he eventually became the bookkeeper, which I think was a big comedown because he'd been running a company with 1200 employees, or something like that, and suddenly he's just the bookkeeper in my brother's company. I think he suffered from that, all the—

01-00:29:39

Lage: And were you aware of this as you were growing up?

01-00:29:42

Herr: Well, I knew that he had lost—that he wasn't what he'd been before. He spent long hours with these pages spread out on the dining room table trying to balance it down to the last ten cents, and I'm sure he suffered from it, which actually made us very close to each other. I was—he never really wanted to move into circles much in Cincinnati. He felt awkward, I think, when we'd go to the Harvard Club, or something like that, so we became very good friends. We played chess together; we played chess a lot. We played golf a lot together. When he came home from work we would throw the baseball outside. He let me pitch, and he'd be the catcher and we'd do that. So I always was rather, looked up to him. And not think of him quite as anything like an equal or anything like that, but I realize it was a very close relationship.

01-00:30:33

Lage: Yeah, probably closer than he had with your brothers.

01-00:30:35

Herr: Oh very much so. I think he had—although he said when we had our first child, and I was taking care of the baby for a while, he said, “Well, I never did that!” Because when he was in Mexico, of course, they had lots of maids to take care of me. And my mother—I'm very close; I felt I had a very protective childhood. My mother had been—I was very sick once in Mexico. I was in bed for four months and—

01-00:31:02

Lage: Oh you were. And why was that?

01-00:31:03

Herr: I had a combination of measles and mumps, apparently. And they thought I wasn't going to make it. I had tremendous nosebleeds. I can remember leaning my head over the edge of the bed and blood running out into a potty, and my mother came and would say, “Oh you have lots of blood. You don't have to worry about it.” And I'm sure she was scared stiff. They eventually had to get a nurse to come from Mexico City because my mother collapsed, I think, from the tension.

01-00:31:30

Lage: From the worry most likely.

01-00:31:32

Herr: From the worry and tension, and when I started getting better, then I couldn't even walk, and she read to me a lot in those days. She read, I remember she read *King Arthur* and she read *Robin Hood* and books like that, so my home—

01-00:31:52

Lage: And how old were you when that happened?

01-00:31:52

Herr: I must have been about eight or nine. I think it was in 1930. It might have been—yeah, the spring that I became nine, I think. I stayed home from school. I don't know if I still have them, but I had lots of birthday cards sent to me because I was in bed for my birthday, from the children at school.

01-00:32:08

Lage: And did you do reading on your own also? Did it make you more of a reader do you think?

01-00:32:13

Herr: I don't recall reading very much at that age, no, on my own. No, I remember we read *Winnie the Pooh*. What I remember is my mother reading to me. That was what—if you wanted to read, she would read to me, yeah. I think she liked reading. When we were in Cincinnati, then she would read at night after dinner to both of us. I think we must have gone through three or four Dickens novels while there, just reading a chapter or two a night.

01-00:32:42

Lage: It seems to me she was very glad she'd had this third child.

01-00:32:47

Herr: Oh she was, I think, but it was also a tremendous worry for her. I was also sick in Cincinnati afterwards. Asthma was what I suffered from mostly then, and they couldn't figure it out. I remember going to a doctor for regular, once a week, for shots. I had—they took a cyst out of my mouth once and they made some kind of serum out of it, and then I'd get shots from that. They had a medicine—they didn't know what to do for asthma in those days, and I was home from school a lot. I was very weak in school. For one thing I was younger than the other children. They put me a class ahead. I was small and I was teased and I was, I think, by seventh grade I missed thirty-five days of school. Once you consider that that's five days to a week, that's seven weeks of the year I wasn't in school.

01-00:33:36

Lage: Yeah. That's a lot. But you still played golf.

01-00:33:41

Herr: Probably not that year! [chuckling] Later on probably while I was in high school.

01-00:33:44

Lage: So that resolved, the asthma?

01-00:33:47

Herr: Only when—pretty much toward the end of high school and certainly when I left the house. I'm not sure now that it wasn't because my father smoked a pipe all the time. Nobody thought about that in those days.

01-00:33:57

Lage: People didn't, no. And did you go to public school?

01-00:34:03

Herr: Yes. Yes, I went to—the first year in the States I was in sixth grade, because I'd already done the fifth grade in Mexico, and they put me in sixth grade in the lowest section. There were two classes, and they moved me up at Christmas time to the top class. Then I went to a public high school, which was a college preparatory high school called Walnut Hills High School in Cincinnati, which was founded, I guess, at the end of the nineteenth century, to prepare students to go to college, so it didn't have vocational training. I had had Latin from the seventh grade on. We had six years of Latin. That was a great school. That was a great school. It did very well. I got teased a lot at first.

01-00:34:47

Lage: Again because you were small?

01-00:34:49

Herr: Again because I was small, because I was small, because I had big ears, because my name was Herr. You can imagine what they can do with Herr as a name! And I like this story—one of the ones who teased me most was a boy named Ed Miller. He teased me a lot, and my mother wouldn't go interfere, you know—you think now that if you're being bullied you should protest at the school, but she said, "No, no. You have to take care of this yourself." And so she finally said, "Well, no. You just stand up to him." So I stood up to him and I said, "We'll have to fight. We'll fight this out." So he said, "All right. We'll go and fight." So one afternoon after school we were going to go and fight down at the lower level of the school, and all the classmates came and watched. He knocked me over, put me down. I was put down and held down on the floor and it was all over. But he never teased me again after that, and we became very good friends. He became my best friend in high school, and we used to play tennis together a lot.

01-00:35:53

Lage: Just the fact that you were willing to confront him was enough.

01-00:35:55

Herr: That's right, that's right, that's right. Yeah, and I guess by the time I was in ninth grade that was pretty much over, and I did very well in high school. I came out the top in the class and got what was called the Harvard Book, which was given to the person with the highest grade point average.

01-00:36:12

Lage: And what was the Harvard Book?

01-00:36:14

Herr: Well, it was the Harvard Club of Cincinnati gives you a little, every year they gave a class—I don't think—they may have given it to all the high schools in Cincinnati, but it was to the student—I have it out there. It's bound in leather and I think—it's Admiral [Richard E.] Byrd's story of his year in Antarctica. It's called *Alone*. He was one of the heroes of the time. He tried to spend a whole winter by himself at the South Pole and eventually had to come and be rescued, because he was being poisoned by the fumes, I guess, from his heater. That's what I got from the Harvard Club.

01-00:36:52

Lage: Did you have any teachers who were particularly influential?

01-00:36:58

Herr: I remember one teacher, Miss [Wilma] Hutchinson, her name was, because she was very excited by the Spanish Civil War. She was an English teacher. I think she was our homeroom teacher. But she would tell us every day what was going on in Spain with the Civil War, and she was very much on the side of the Republic, so I became very excited already about the Spanish Civil War back when it first came on in 1936. That I remember very much. I remember some of the teachers. I wouldn't say they were influential. I thought I was going to be a scientist. I liked physics very much. I got very excited about astronomy all on my own and, I guess, the summer before my senior year I got myself a summer job at the local astronomical observatory which went back to the 1830s in Cincinnati and worked for them doing calculations on an old machine that you turned around, like this, to figure out exactly where stars were that they were observing.

01-00:38:08

Lage: So you thought that might be—

01-00:38:10

Herr: That was going to be my career. That was going to be my career, I think, yeah. One other thing, I think, one should mention about high school was that it was a public high school. I had been, thanks to my brother who had the money and who my mother admired tremendously because he was a successful businessman, we had something to do with society. He was in society.

01-00:38:37

Lage: Was that the term used?

01-00:38:40

Herr:

Oh, you know, you had the pages in the newspaper, the society, and there was a thing called cotillion, which is for younger people, which is a dance thing, and I had to go—before that I went to dance school. I remember going to dance school and having a little black suit, so I would go and learn how to bow to the girl and ask her to dance and parade around and learned how to waltz and fox trot. Then I got into cotillion, which put me up with this sort of level of students who were much better off than we were, that's for sure. And in cotillion, of course, the girls have dance cards and you fill in your name as you go. You go dressed in a tux, and they go in long dresses, and I'd never get the dances with the girls who were really popular, but there was a couple of girls that I did dance with. One was named Maribelle Tyree. I think her family was quite wealthy, but she was very shy. She was a small girl, very shy, and we became good friends. She and another girl, we'd play bridge together. We'd have foursomes. I forget this other girl's name, who came with a male friend [Pat Palm], and we'd have bridge at their place and at Maribelle's—and I would always feel kind of ashamed when they came to our house because it wasn't like these big fancy houses that these other people had.

01-00:40:00

Lage:

So there's a lot of awareness of your family's economic status.

01-00:40:03

Herr:

Oh yes, that's right, that's right.

[material deleted in editing]

[added in editing: "I did not have dates with Maribelle except for occasions involving members of the cotillion. For movies, dances at the high school, and parties with my regular friends I had dates with girls from Walnut Hills—Carlyle Miller, JoAnne O'Byrne, Lita (Perlita) Weber, and others. We did not "go steady" in my day."]

01-00:40:45

Herr:

What I was going to say about the school—the girls that were in cotillion disappeared at the ninth grade. They all went off to private school. So the girls that were left were either not of that class, or more specifically, they were mostly Jewish, because cotillion would not have Jews in it and the private school did not have Jews in it. So there were a lot of very intelligent Jewish people. Cincinnati has an old Jewish, German-Jewish community from the 1850s, [18]40s and [18]50s, I think. It didn't occur to me at all that they were Jewish until Hitler came along, and we became conscious of Hitler. We used to be called into assembly to listen to Hitler.

01-00:41:33

Lage:

Oh you did?

01-00:41:34

Herr: Yes. They would assemble us—they'd say, "He's going to make a speech." I think it was about the Czechoslovakia crisis or something like that.

01-00:41:39

Lage: And what was the context of it?

01-00:41:41

Herr: Well, that it just was a very important event, because it was being broadcast shortwave from Germany, or from Britain maybe, because you'd hear him, [imitates frenetic sound of Hitler's voice] and then there'd be this very gentle English voice which would say, "Der Führer wants to say that he has no claims against anybody which are unjustified." Then [imitates sound of Hitler's voice]—"The Fuhrer says that peace is the greatest thing that he has in his mind." And that's what—we'd listen to this and became aware, by then we were aware of this man and the fact that he was against the Jews, and then I became aware that these people that we were friends with in high school were Jews. And it was curious because it hadn't, the idea—it hadn't been made conscious to me or anything.

01-00:42:25

Lage: Right. Now were they more conscious of what was going on with Hitler?

01-00:42:29

Herr: Oh I suspect they were. I suspect they were. We didn't speak religion or anything like that.

01-00:42:34

Lage: Yes, but when your teacher, for instance, talked about the Spanish Civil War, did they also talk about the rise of fascism?

01-00:42:41

Herr: I'm sure she did, but I don't remember that she put Hitler into that context. I think Hitler came a couple of years later, in '38, sort of in there, but I'm always reminded of the fact that we were called into an assembly to listen to this, and it was a very crackly noise, you know, you couldn't make it out very clearly.

01-00:42:58

Lage: But was there a sense of foreboding about him?

01-00:43:02

Herr: Well, that this man is da[ngerous]—yeah, that maybe there is a war coming or that this is dangerous, obviously, this was—

01-00:43:09

Lage: So it wasn't—

01-00:43:10

Herr: Things were tough! It's the thirties, there was the Depression, my father, my parents were terribly anti-Roosevelt. They were very—

01-00:43:18

Lage: Tell me more about that.

01-00:43:19

Herr: Tell you more about that—well, I think it goes back before me, because they hated Wilson. They had to escape from Mexico because Wilson sent the troops into Veracruz. They may not have liked, being good business-oriented [people], they probably didn't like Democrats before that, but they certainly hated him, and when Roosevelt came along they hated him. They really did, and profoundly hated him.

01-00:43:41

Lage: When you say that—I've heard people say that and I wonder, how was it expressed—of him as a person? Or—

01-00:43:52

Herr: Yes, him as a person, him as a person—that *man* in the White House. And occasionally they'd listen to his fireside chats, but they didn't want to listen to him. They just thought he was ruining the country—that we would be out of this Depression if it wasn't for him. That was always the idea, you know, he's just keeping us in the Depression. And he organized the steel—all the steel warehouses had to belong to the NRA [National Recovery Administration] or at least they were all being governed by rules from the government and they hated that.

My first school I was in in Cincinnati, the teacher took a straw poll of the students before the election of '32, I think we were thirty-five, or something like that, in the class, and there was thirty-four for Hoover and one for Roosevelt. And my father said, "Oh good, he's going to win!" [laughter] And then it turned out he was—that was, of course, that was the year that the Gallup Poll said that Hoover was going to win, because they got all their information by telephones, and they didn't know that people who didn't have telephones voted. But in '36, that was really the stress, my father was terribly distressed—he felt that Roosevelt had just simply bought the votes of all these people with the WPA. He'd say, "All the blacks, blacks can't vote for a Democrat—the Republicans freed the blacks, how could they—" Or, the colored, as we called them then, "How would they vote—because he's buying them, he's buying them, he's giving them these jobs and buying them." We drove to school—

01-00:45:23

Lage: But what did they think about the fact that there were people who didn't have enough to eat.

01-00:45:32

Herr: Well, I think they thought it was exaggerated to a certain extent. We knew there were hoboes running around, and there was certainly a certain amount of charity going on, and he'd lost a lot of money on the stock market, there's no

question about that. Or he hadn't, because he never sold his stock, but it was gone way down.

01-00:45:51

Lage: This was your father?

01-00:45:52

Herr: My father, yeah.

01-00:45:53

Lage: And he probably—maybe a situation finding a new job was affected by the Depression.

01-00:45:59

Herr: He drove me to high school every morning, and I remember the driving to school the day after the election when Roosevelt was reelected and he was just saying, he said, "You know, this just isn't our country anymore. These people are not our people anymore, are they?" He was terribly distressed, yes. But then about—several years later he finally told me, he says "Well, you know—actually we haven't done too badly, have we, these last years?" [chuckling]

01-00:46:25

Lage: That's interesting. Was that after the war do you think?

01-00:46:26

Herr: No. That was before the war.

01-00:46:28

Lage: Before the war.

01-00:46:28

Herr: That was before I went off to Harvard, I think. But he suddenly, he came to realize, no, actually things aren't as bad as we thought they were going to be.

01-00:46:34

Lage: Well, that's an interesting background.

01-00:46:36

Herr: But I didn't—my first vote was for Dewey, against Roosevelt, in 1944 while I was still in the army. It was only later I got dissuaded by my Spanish wife, I think.

01-00:46:51

Lage: [chuckling] But yet you say you did have sympathy towards the Republic in the Spanish Civil War, it appears.

01-00:46:59

Herr: Oh—I don't know how my parents felt about it. My brother John who was more conservative even, I think, really felt that the Republic was Communist, and he bought this message that it was a Communist regime and we should be careful of it. I don't remember my parents really taking a side. I remember my

mother fighting furiously to keep Roosevelt from packing the Supreme Court. She wrote to every senator or something, we've got the correspondence in a box here. It's labeled—"FDR against the USA." [laughter]

01-00:47:33

Lage: Oh I love it! But your teacher, that told you about the Spanish Civil War, was she concerned about Franco?

01-00:47:42

Herr: Oh no, she was very much on the Republican side, oh yes, she was very liberal.

01-00:47:46

Lage: Was there any tension there between your home and school?

01-00:47:52

Herr: No, not really, not really.

01-00:47:53

Lage: They didn't.

01-00:47:54

Herr: I think the school stayed out of politics pretty carefully. I don't remember even what the politics were of my friends, particularly. Like maybe I probably didn't know consciously at that time that some of them were Democrats, but you know, most of the people in cotillion certainly would have been Republicans.

01-00:48:11

Lage: Sure. And if that vote stayed—thirty-four to one or whatever it was. [laughter]

01-00:48:20

Herr: Yes, but that was a different school, that was really a nice neighborhood of Cincinnati. And Cincinnati is a very Republican city. Ohio is pretty Republican, or was in those days.

01-00:48:31

Lage: Did you have a sense of being less well off? Was it embarrassing to you? Was your family really living in a—

01-00:48:41

Herr: Well, we were living in a small house that they rented, small by standards we think of now. It had three bedrooms upstairs and three rooms downstairs and a kitchen, or I guess two rooms and a kitchen, a big living room, dining room, kitchen, and upstairs three bedrooms and a bathroom—and that was it. And a small yard and clearly people, my brother John had a bigger house, but not that much bigger, but he was in with people who had very big houses, estates you would almost say, yes. So I say, when I brought Maribelle Tyree and her friends to the house I would be somewhat embarrassed. For my friends in high school, no, they were about the same level. Ed Miller was even a poorer, a

smaller house than mine, I think. We came home on the street car together and would go to each other's houses. His father was Jewish and his mother was Catholic. I discovered that and I'll tell you about that later. It comes in later.

01-00:49:38

Lage: It does come in. Okay, you remember when it comes in then. Well, should we talk about anything else in Cincinnati, Ohio? Or should we find out how you got to Harvard?

01-00:49:50

Herr: I think we've pretty much covered what I should talk about there. I told you about the interest in astronomy. I told you about doing fairly well in school.

01-00:50:03

Lage: Not just fairly well.

01-00:50:05

Herr: Yeah, pretty well. I guess if I think of something later, I'll come back to it. Go on.

01-00:50:14

Lage: I just thought we'd find out how you—

01-00:50:16

Herr: How I got into Harvard?

01-00:50:17

Lage: Yeah. Did you apply many places, or was it just Harvard?

01-00:50:25

Herr: You know I think it was just Harvard. But we took College Boards. We had to take College Boards, and that was a big issue, because Harvard had announced, I think it was ten \$1,000 scholarships that were supposed to cover your whole cost of your education there, around the country, and Ohio was in a certain area, and I applied for it and I didn't get it. It turned out later that somebody on the other side of the river from Cincinnati, in Covington, had got it, a young person. Eventually we learned that I had actually been the first candidate, but they decided that since I was so eager to go to Harvard that my father would pay for me anyway, so they gave it to this other person. My father was quite distressed, and it turned out, I discovered later, he was really very hard up to try and get me through Harvard, and it would have been very good for him. And furthermore, this boy, when he went to Harvard, didn't do any studying at all. He got four D's and a C, or something like that, and got kicked out at the end of the first year.

01-00:51:38

Lage: Oh my goodness!

01-00:51:39

Herr: So I got a hundred dollar scholarship for the next year as compensation.

01-00:51:45
Lage: When he got kicked out?

01-00:51:47
Herr: Yes.

01-00:51:52
Lage: Oh so it was on your father, but he didn't make you aware of that.

01-00:52:01
Herr: No, he didn't make me aware of that at the time. He never made me aware that in fact, that they were really struggling to put me through Harvard. I did get a job the second year at Harvard.

01-00:52:01
Lage: Let's just get some dates in here. I don't know if we've done that.

01-00:52:04
Herr: Okay.

01-00:52:04
Lage: It was '39 when you went to Harvard.

01-00:52:06
Herr: Thirty-nine that I went to Harvard, yes. Thirty-two we moved to Cincinnati, '33 I went into Walnut Hills and stayed six years, had Latin all those years.

01-00:52:14
Lage: So it was a high school and junior high. Or six-year—

01-00:52:18
Herr: Junior high and high school together, yes. I did, what else should I say—I was president of the student court.

01-00:52:26
Lage: Which was what?

01-00:52:29
Herr: Well, if the students did something wrong, the principal would send them to us to try them. It was a sort of a new—it was a liberal kind of school, yes, and I remember we had to try things. I remember once I had to make a speech to the assembly, 1500 of us, about students putting chewing gum in the drinking fountains so that they would squirt up in your face when you turned them on, and everybody laughing when I read this—that we had to do something about this!

01-00:53:01
Lage: That wasn't an easy speech to give.

01-00:53:02
Herr: No! What else, I was business manager for the student newspaper which is still going, *The Chatterbox*. I was quite attached to that school. I still am!

01-00:53:12
Lage: You still keep in touch if you know—

01-00:53:13
Herr: Oh I still do. We still give them money every year.

01-00:53:15
Lage: Oh you do?

01-00:53:16
Herr: Oh yes.

01-00:53:16
Lage: Isn't that nice.

01-00:53:17
Herr: They started raising money from the graduates.

01-00:53:19
Lage: They did, as a public school?

01-00:53:21
Herr: As a public school, and they've just built a new science building with the money they've gotten from their graduates.

01-00:53:26
Lage: Well, that's very good. Of course it was something of a special school.

01-00:53:31
Herr: It was a special school. It's considered one of the best schools in the country, and they have reunions out here. We go to the reunions out here and people come in their Mercedes and their—what is it—the other cars—

01-00:53:49
Lage: BMWs.

01-00:53:51
Herr: Yeah, well, I think of the ones with an L—what is it—Lexus. In any case, they come in fancy cars.

01-00:53:56
Lage: And do you go to them?

01-00:53:58
Herr: Oh yes, definitely, definitely.

01-00:54:00
Lage: And what kind of car do you go in?

01-00:54:02
Herr: Well, it's—actually it's an Acura [chuckling].

01-00:54:05

Lage: Okay, that's pretty nice. Okay, so how was Harvard. By this time you're really a Midwesterner.

01-00:54:15

Herr: Oh yes, I'm a private school person. We go to Harvard and you're suddenly divided between the people who come from private schools and the people who come from public schools.

01-00:54:22

Lage: You were public school, you misspoke.

01-00:54:23

Herr: I'm public school, public school, yes and they come from private schools and there is definitely a level at Harvard between where did you go to school.

01-00:54:29

Lage: So is that a question people immediately ask you?

01-00:54:33

Herr: No, but you become aware of it. So and so went to Exeter or so and so went to whatever it is, St. Marks, or something. And they all get the much better grades for the first year, or for a while, and then you discover that the people who come from the public schools, actually some of them are a good deal smarter and do better.

01-00:54:51

Lage: Yes, but they're maybe not quite as rigorously prepared?

01-00:54:56

Herr: They're not as rigorously prepared on how to write essays and things like that, yeah. I don't think they got as high scores on the College Boards. I did very well my first year at Harvard. I got straight A's, and I got another Harvard prize for that and that changed my career, that changed my career. I went to study physics. I went in with a major to do physics, with a sense of astronomy maybe at the end of it and took a course in world civilization, or European civilization, Western civ., which got me terribly excited! I'd never studied history of Europe or history of the Western—we'd had a required course in history of the United States, which was mostly learning the textbook so you could do well on the College Board, but this was—by the end—

01-00:55:45

Lage: And who was the teacher? Anybody that we would know?

01-00:55:47

Herr: Yes, oh yes, his name was Roger [B.] Merriman, Frisky Merriman.

01-00:55:51

Lage: Frisky?

01-00:55:51

Herr: Frisky Merriman. He was a great big man. He'd gone to Oxford and rowed in the Oxford crew, and he loved the navy.

01-00:56:00

Lage: And was he a talented lecturer?

01-00:56:03

Herr: He was a great lecturer.

01-00:56:05

Lage: Was it a big class?

01-00:56:05

Herr: It was a big class, almost everybody, it seemed, that took Western civ., or what did they call it, I forget the term they used for it—and he did the Middle Ages. He did the period up to the first half of the year, and he would have a long pointing stick and he'd hold it over his head and he'd say, "In those days, life was slow!! [louder] Slow!! Slow!!!" And you'd think, oh, I don't think it was as slow as he said, I think people really moved around a lot. But he got me very excited, and the reading was exciting, and by the end of the year I decided I wanted to do history instead of physics—although I did very well in physics. I was one of the top in physics. But—my first wife, Elena, was furious with the professor because he never tried to keep me in physics. She said, "Why didn't he keep you in physics? You would have done so much better."

01-00:56:52

Lage: Well. Maybe you wouldn't have enjoyed it as much.

01-00:56:56

Herr: Maybe I wouldn't have enjoyed it as much. So I became a history major.

01-00:57:00

Lage: So that very first year really kind of seemed important.

01-00:57:02

Herr: At the end of the first year, and that was the one course that I was not doing very well in. I was getting B's straight through, but at the end I guess my final exam was good enough so that the teaching assistant, or whatever you'd call them in those days, gave me an A, so I had four A's. I had math—it was calculus, no, I guess it was plane geometry followed by calculus, then history and physics and German. My German was pretty good at the end of the year.

01-00:57:31

Lage: Had you kept, I think maybe you told me this, but I just want to—had you taken Spanish in high school?

01-00:57:37

Herr: I took Spanish in high school.

01-00:57:38

Lage: So you were able to keep it up.

01-00:57:40

Herr: Yeah, I took Spanish, and I took Latin in high school.

01-00:57:42

Lage: And then German.

01-00:57:43

Herr: And then German in college, and then I think the second year I took French. I dropped the German, but my German stuck pretty much with me for quite a while.

01-00:57:54

Lage: I'm going to change the tape. It's almost up.

[End Audio File 1]

[Begin Audio File 2 02-27-2008.mp3]

02-00:00:01

Lage: Okay. We're back on. This is tape two with Richard Herr on February 27, 2008. Okay.

02-00:00:12

Herr: You were asking me about professors. The other professor I would want to mention is [Michael M.] Karpovich. He was my tutor. He was a Russian historian. I don't know if he'd escaped from Russia. He probably had. And I had tutorial with him. I think we met about once every two weeks for about three years, maybe, two or three years, and worked on different subjects and reading. I don't remember particularly learning anything specifically from him in that, except we developed papers.

02-00:00:48

Lage: Was it European history?

02-00:00:50

Herr: It was European history that I was always doing, yes. I had to take one required course in American history, which I took with Arthur Schlesinger, Sr. But it was very interesting, because he [Karpovich] never said anything about himself. Eventually I took his course in the history of Russia, and he talked a great deal about himself and what he'd been through in the period of the Revolution, and suddenly, this man who'd never said anything at all, quietly, when he gets two hundred people in front of him can talk about his life! I was very impressed by this, and I never thought he had any particular feeling for me until we met again in Paris, I guess it was 1950, well after the war, and he gave me this great hug! Very affectionate, and I said, "My goodness! He really remembers me!" [chuckling]

02-00:01:41

Lage: Yeah, isn't that interesting! So how did the tutorial system work?

02-00:01:45

Herr: Well, that was one of the ideas that Harvard had, was they were supposed to be imitating the Europeans some, so I think some tutorials, certainly later on, were done as groups, but in my time we had one on one with a member of the faculty. He was a fellow of the college, which was Eliot House, which was an elite college, I suppose you'd think, an elite house, and I was assigned to him.

02-00:02:09

Lage: And did he tell you what to read?

02-00:02:13

Herr: Oh yes. He suggested things to read. I said I was interested in reading some things in German, so we read a few things in German.

02-00:02:20

Lage: And then you'd discuss them.

02-00:02:21

Herr: And then we'd discuss them. And I don't know—all of this stuff, of course, me thinking that this was just sort of passing fancy, because I was—by then I was headed for being a newspaperman. When I was at Harvard, I was very impressed by my Uncle Jack, Larry, [Laurence L.] Winship who was editor of the *Globe* and—

02-00:02:42

Lage: Did you spend time with him?

02-00:02:44

Herr: I went down—I spent time out at his place in South Sudbury. I was a great bicyclist at that point, fairly much, and I'd bicycle out there. We can talk bicycling about something else, but he, I remember being invited to go to the *Globe* office and help on election nights because on the radio they didn't have the kind of information coming in, you know, that we do on the television now. People were telephoning in all the time to get—what are the election results, local election results, and so you'd be answering the phone and you'd have the things in front of you so you'd read them. That was one of the things that I did two or three times, I guess. But I also was very impressed by a man named Walter Lippman, who was a famous editorialist, and I wanted to do that. I decided that history was good background for that, so that was why I was being a history student. And that goes on for a while before I decide I give up on that. I'll talk—

02-00:03:53

Lage: Of course journalists, the war was developing. You must have been hearing about a lot of war correspondents.

02-00:03:58

Herr: Oh yes, the war came on—the summer of '41, which was before we got in the war, but the war was really going on. When I took my first history course back in '39-40, I remember writing home and saying, “Oh well, the French stopped the Germans before they got to Paris last time. They’ll do it again.” That was just about the time, it was just at the end of the first year, spring of '40, the Germans were invading and I was studying the history of the First World War. And of course they didn’t. But by '41, I was with two cousins of mine, two Winships, and I was very much impressed by them. They were something big—one of them, Steve Winship, lived upstairs from me and was terribly intelligent. He never studied but he got straight A’s. He came from a prep school.

02-00:04:54

Lage: Was he related to the *Boston Globe* [Winship]?

02-00:04:57

Herr: He was the son of the professor at Harvard, Stephen Winship. He then became a foreign service officer and was in Vietnam during the war. Some say he was head of CIA. I never found out whether he was or not.

02-00:05:15

Lage: That would be interesting to know.

02-00:05:16

Herr: Yeah. He’s dead now. He died last year. The other one was Tom Winship, who was a great skier.

02-00:05:26

Lage: And was also at Harvard?

02-00:05:27

Herr: He was also at Harvard; both of them were a year ahead of me. He was Jack Winship’s son. He was the son of the editor of the *Boston Globe*, eventually became editor of the *Boston Globe* himself, and he’s the one who really made it what it is now, Thomas Winship. He’s the one who got the Pentagon Papers published.

02-00:05:47

Lage: Oh really?

02-00:05:47

Herr: Yeah.

02-00:05:47

Lage: Now, did you keep in touch with him as a cousin?

02-00:05:50

Herr: Oh yes. We kept in touch more or less afterwards, some, not too much, but we’re always in touch with them, yes. I was at Tom’s wedding. I remember that, and was very much in touch with him. His wife, I don’t know if the

column, Ask Beth, means anything to you. It was a column for teenage children—

02-00:06:08

Lage: I *do* remember it.

02-00:06:09

Herr: It was in the newspaper, it was syndicated—that was Tom's wife [Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Winship].

02-00:06:12

Lage: I do remember it when my daughters were young.

02-00:06:16

Herr: Yes, so—and I kept in touch with them. I'd go up, we'd see them, of course we'd see them more when our girls were in Harvard. Where was I on that?

02-00:06:27

Lage: The two cousins.

02-00:06:28

Herr: Oh, we all went out and the three of us got jobs in the summer of, June of '41, at the Quincy shipyard. The Quincy shipyard is south of Boston, not very far, and it was building a great dry dock, big enough to take the largest warships, I guess. We were hired as carpenter's assistants, which meant that we carried lumber around, pieces of wood that they could put on the right places. They were building these great big forms that you could then pour concrete into to make the dry dock. It kept getting higher and higher, and we kept walking around. There was no protection at all. I don't think we even wore hardhats at that point. One of the events was that Tom fell off. He fell off when we were about four stories high, and we kept hearing about people falling off and getting killed. He fell off, and he got caught on a beam about ten feet down from where he'd fallen, so he just was hanging there on his stomach until they pulled him off. We lived at Steve's house south of Wellesley, and we'd drive back and forth. We drove back, and he was quite shaken up as you can imagine, because he would have, if it hadn't been for that piece of beam sticking out, he would have been killed!

02-00:07:53

Lage: And it probably didn't feel too good landing on it.

02-00:07:55

Herr: Probably didn't feel too good either. So we thought maybe we should quit and he said, "No, we can't quit. If I quit I'll never go up in a high spot again. I'll be scared of heights forever. I've got to go back." And so he went back the next day. I guess that's what made him editor of the *Boston Globe*.

02-00:08:09

Lage: Right, and able to print the Pentagon Papers.

- 02-00:08:11
Herr: Prepared to face off Kissinger on the phone!
- 02-00:08:14
Lage: Yeah! Did he become a liberal thinker politically?
- 02-00:08:20
Herr: Oh yes, they were all liberals. It was only my part of the family [who were conservative].
- 02-00:08:22
Lage: Oh I see, it was just your family.
- 02-00:08:23
Herr: Oh yes, all the Winships were Democrats.
- 02-00:08:25
Lage: And how did people feel about the coming of the war? Did you know, in a sense, that we were going to get in it? Obviously, we're building ships.
- 02-00:08:32
Herr: Well, we obviously were—of course, by then we were helping Britain. My mother was terribly Anglophile. We have the china that she bought to support England at the time. And by the fall—this was June of '41, after about a month, we were making a dollar an hour, yeah, a dollar an hour! It was just fantastic wages! You never could imagine it. I went back—they got rid of us after a month. They decided they didn't need so many people, and so then, at that point—this was something else—I decided to bicycle home and I didn't make it.
- 02-00:09:15
Lage: Home?
- 02-00:09:16
Herr: From Boston to Cincinnati.
- 02-00:09:18
Lage: That's quite a trip.
- 02-00:09:19
Herr: Because I'd been bicycling a great deal. There was a bicycle race from Harvard to Smith College, which I was part of, and I came in number four out of twenty-five or something like that.
- 02-00:09:31
Lage: So it was a major activity.
- 02-00:09:34
Herr: It was a major activity, yeah, and so I was going to—and I didn't get home, because I discovered that I didn't have enough money to get there. When I looked at my money and went to the railroad station and asked how much was

the train from here to Cincinnati, and they said it's, I forget, twenty-five dollars and something. I looked, and I had about \$25.60, so I said, "If I go another day, I won't have enough money to get on the train to get home, and I want to get home, so I'd better get home tonight!" So I got home with, I think, fifty cents in my pocket. But I'd already gotten past Albany.

02-00:10:06

Lage:

Gosh! That's—you don't hear about people riding, that kind of activity at that time period. Was that uncommon that someone would take off and—

02-00:10:18

Herr:

I see—well, I was part of what was called the Harvard Outing Club, which Steve was president of. I think he started it. Mostly it was skiing, we did skiing, and then there was a Harvard bicycle club, and they decided to have this race. They announced it several months in advance, and so I trained. I really trained. I'd bicycle out to Wellesley and back every afternoon, because I'd see a girl there. I had quite a lot of attachment with different girls during my college years, Radcliffe, but especially Wellesley. Tom had a good English bicycle, a nice light bicycle, which he finally lent me for the race, and that's what made it possible to get there. But there was somebody who was really a bicycle racer, and he came in first, an hour ahead before—

02-00:11:04

Lage:

Well, that makes number four look pretty good!

02-00:11:07

Herr:

Yeah—well, a lot of them didn't make it, didn't finish. I don't think more than ten finished.

02-00:11:14

Lage:

Now you say you were in Eliot House. How does one choose or get chosen to be in Eliot House?

02-00:11:23

Herr:

I think you applied for the different houses, and then I suppose the master chose the ones he wanted. Merriman was actually the master also, this professor who turned me on to history was also master of the house. So I was quite happy to go there.

02-00:11:32

Lage:

And does that mean you lived there? Or you'd eat there.

02-00:11:34

Herr:

Oh yes—oh, you don't know how we lived!

02-00:11:37

Lage:

No, tell me!

02-00:11:37

Herr:

[chuckling] Well, we each had our own private bedroom. My college roommate was Brian Kiely, who was also from Walnut Hills High School. We were very good friends. He was very quiet and we kept in touch with each other, and he just died a year and a half ago, but we've seen him until now, until just recently. And he'd have his room, I'd have my bedroom—actually there was a bathroom attached and he had to walk through my bedroom to get to the bathroom, but other than that we had a common room in between us, so we each had sort of our room with a desk in it and a room with sofas and things in the middle, a maid who came in and made our beds every day and cleaned the place once a week. At breakfast, luncheon, and dinner we were supposed to go with ties, at least at luncheon and dinner we'd go with ties. We'd get a little menu, and we'd have a waitress who'd come and take our order. The tables would be set with napkins and good tableware and you would order whatever was on the menu, as much as you wanted, and then they'd bring it to you, and they would take it off. So we were gentlemen, we were gentlemen.

02-00:12:43

Lage:

Yeah, and did the housing situation mix the private school and the public school students?

02-00:12:49

Herr:

Yes, they did, it did, but they usually—you know, they sort of stayed apart. I knew some of them, but basically the people I knew were not. It was also—there were—from Cincinnati, people who went to Harvard turned out to be largely Jewish. I think Brian went from Cincinnati with me, we were not, but the other two people I can think of right now, of our class, who went from Walnut Hills were Jewish. I'm still in touch with one of them—[Jay Ach]

02-00:13:13

Lage:

Now was there separation—

02-00:13:14

Herr:

Because Harvard wasn't as strict about keeping Jews out—as, for instance, Yale. If you went to Yale, you knew that you weren't Jewish, but Harvard allowed Jews in. Not as much as the University of Chicago, which had no limit. Apparently Harvard has some percentage limit that they didn't want to go beyond that.

02-00:13:30

Lage:

Now how was the treatment and intermixing and friendships?

02-00:13:36

Herr:

Oh that was quite—my Jewish friends, I think I had there at Harvard, yeah, I don't think there was much sense of distinction. I think there was more distinction that the people who really came from the private schools and had their own sort of little—and you got into clubs. If you got into a club, obviously, that was the place to—my brothers had been in clubs, you see, and

I always felt I should be in a club. I tried to get into the Lampoon, which runs, it's the humor magazine there, but you try out or you go to it, and what they do is, what you had to do was to go and get so many advertisements, so much money in advertisement. Eventually, when you got as much money as you were required to get, then they would vote on you, whether they would let you in or not.

02-00:14:22

Lage: And that was a club, not a—

02-00:14:24

Herr: That was a club. Well, it was a club, it also produced a journal, but it was private. You couldn't just go in. You had to be elected in. And so I did the whole thing to get the advertisements and all of that, and then I didn't get elected.

02-00:14:37

Lage: Do you have a sense why? I mean—was it to see if you—

02-00:14:40

Herr: Oh I think they just felt I wasn't that kind of person.

02-00:14:44

Lage: I see.

02-00:14:44

Herr: Yeah—that was, no, there was no commitment on their part that they were going to elect you. And I know my good friend, who became one of my other roommates, Bob Lacy [Frank R. Lacy], who's now up in Oregon, looking at me afterwards and saying, "Dick, why did you do anything so—such silly people as [they are], why did you want to be one of them?" [chuckling]

02-00:15:06

Lage: Were the clubs eating places? Or you ate at your house.

02-00:15:12

Herr: Well, you ate at your house because you had paid for that meal, but you could—they'd have events in the evening and dances and special parties. I don't know. I wasn't part of them, but you see, the private schools would feed into those, and the public schools like we were just didn't have that kind of connections.

02-00:15:27

Lage: I see. Oh, that's so interesting. Goodness. What about politics? Was it a very political atmosphere? Or—

02-00:15:34

Herr: No.

02-00:15:35

Lage: Or sense of—

02-00:15:36

Herr:

Not too much, I don't think. I didn't have a sense that professors were one side or the other, anything in politics, I don't think we—I took a course in economics, but I don't remember it being particularly directed toward any political orientation. I think we almost all were Republicans. That was my sense. That maybe—obviously my cousins weren't, but I had a sense when we—there was the great election campaign of Wendell Willkie in 1940, and Wendell Willkie went to Harvard. He came by in a car and there was tremendous—we looked out of our window and saw him go by and then cheered for him. He was my hero at that point. I'd been to his first speech in Indiana, drove with a friend of mine to hear him, because he was going to overthrow Roosevelt. We thought he was going to beat Roosevelt, but he didn't.

I should say that, well, about the war. The summer of '41, when we were actually doing that job at Quincy shipyards, is when Germany invaded Russia. I remember that very distinctly as something that happened at that particular moment, that they'd gone past the west of Europe and now were invading the east. And then, of course, in December they had Pearl Harbor, and I listened with my cousin Steve and other people in his room to Roosevelt's speech the next day in which he was calling for the declaration of war against the Japanese, and so by then we were in the war.

02-00:16:58

Lage:

And was that—most people agreed? You didn't have the—

02-00:17:01

Herr:

Oh absolutely, absolutely. Of course by then we all hated Hitler anyway. We were all on the side of Britain in the war while England was being bombed.

02-00:17:12

Lage:

And then but did you all know what it all meant for your futures?

02-00:17:16

Herr:

Well, after that it just became, they announced very shortly after that that we were going to have no holiday the next summer, and at some point, I could find out the date probably by looking at some old records, I enrolled in a thing called the enlisted reserve, in the army, and that would keep you in college until you graduated, but you're already enlisted in the army. It turned out to be very beneficial because they counted the G.I. Bill as of the date I enlisted in that. I spent a year at Harvard in the army as part of the army.

02-00:17:53

Lage:

I see, but you got credit.

02-00:17:54

Herr:

But I got credit for it, I got credit for it, so the next summer we didn't go home, we just went through—the fall session was in the summer and then the spring session was that fall and I graduated—we got out just after Christmas.

02-00:18:07

Lage: So you graduated six months early, basically.

02-00:18:08

Herr: Yeah, that's right, and went directly in the army. I know I took—I went back and took some more physics because I thought that's what they would want in the army. I took electricity and was terribly bored with it. [chuckling] I also learned the Morse code, and I became very good at the Morse code.

02-00:18:25

Lage: Did you need that in what you went in for?

02-00:18:27

Herr: Well, they thought they might need the Morse code. The Germans were sending their messages by Morse code, and I think we were too in the army.

02-00:18:34

Lage: Did you know you were going to be in the Signal Intelligence Service?

02-00:18:37

Herr: No, that was later, that came as I was inducted or shortly afterwards. But because I knew the Morse code when I was inducted I did very well on their I.Q. test, because one of the things was listening to things and seeing—is this the same as what you just heard before? And I could say, “No, that isn't quite the same.” So when I'd taken my I.Q. test somebody called me in and said, “You know, you've gotten the highest score here possible except for one other person, and he was Japanese. We're so happy that you got the—.” [laughter] Three hundred out of three hundred or something, and that was because I could listen to the Morse code.

02-00:19:16

Lage: Because you had trained yourself already.

02-00:19:18

Herr: That's right. Except for that I wouldn't have done it.

02-00:19:23

Lage: So tell me about what it was like to be a young man at that time and enlist in the war.

02-00:19:28

Herr: Well, you wanted to go. You wanted to get a degree, but obviously it was not a thing that you wanted to dodge. Certainly I didn't want to dodge it. I was given the choice. Because I was born in Mexico, I could have gotten out of it.

02-00:19:40

Lage: You could have!

02-00:19:40

Herr: I could have declared that I wanted to be a Mexican citizen rather than an American citizen—and it never occurred to me that I wouldn't want to be in

the war, you know, because I was asked that when I enlisted, they saw my thing, born in Mexico. “Are you sure you want to be an American citizen and join the [army]? I said, “Yes.”

02-00:19:56

Lage: And how about your parents? Were they—

02-00:19:57

Herr: Oh yes, I think they were very proud to have someone, I think my mother was very concerned, clearly, especially when they shipped me overseas, but she had a, she was a one-star mother. You had this little thing that you would put on the front of your house—a little—

02-00:20:11

Lage: To show that you were the parent.

02-00:20:14

Herr: To show that you’re a parent—

02-00:20:15

Lage: Your brothers were too old to go.

02-00:20:16

Herr: My brothers were too old. My older brother tried to get in the navy, and in his x-ray they discovered he had TB, so they sent him off to a sanitarium. He went to a sanitarium in Colorado all during the war, and all the letters I wrote home I sent a copy to him so that he would get—and that ended up with him being divorced, because he fell in love with his nurse.

02-00:20:39

Lage: Oh my! That must have been a family scandal.

02-00:20:44

Herr: That’s right.

02-00:20:45

Lage: Did your parents save these letters home?

02-00:20:49

Herr: Oh yes. I have—all my letters are here, yeah. That letter that you saw published about Buchenwald, that’s one of those letters.

02-00:20:56

Lage: Okay. So what did you do in the war? You’ve mentioned that it was important.

02-00:21:03

Herr: What did I do in the war.

02-00:21:04

Lage: Your time in the service was important to your future. How did it—

02-00:21:11

Herr: Yes. I got to Europe. Well, where do we start now.

02-00:21:17

Lage: How did you get into the Signal Intelligence Corps?

02-00:21:20

Herr: Well, they just assigned it to me, I guess, because I was intelligent. I went to basic training in Missouri and learned how to shoot a rifle. Actually, I'd learned how to shoot a rifle already in camp when I was—I got little badges from the NRA saying that I'm a sharpshooter [chuckling], because when I was in high school they sent me to summer camps in Michigan and North Carolina and one of the things you did in camp was learn how to shoot a .22 gun, .22-caliber gun. But I also learned it again in the army. And then they sent us to a training camp outside Washington, a place called Warrenton, Virginia—Vint Hill Farms Camp, where we learned how to break German codes. And that's because—partly because I knew German that they put me into the intelligence, I'd had some German. The people who got into this, who didn't have any German, who were intelligent, were put into this service—were sent off to do Japanese. That's where several of our, I think, if I'm not mistaken, Levenson, not Leo, but his father—

02-00:22:36

Lage: Joe.

02-00:22:39

Herr: Joe [Joseph R.] Levenson, Joe Levinson started on Japanese that way. And I know that Henry [F.] May also did that.

02-00:22:44

Lage: Bob [Robert J.] Brentano.

02-00:22:46

Herr: Did he also?

02-00:22:46

Lage: Also did.

02-00:22:48

Herr: See—they probably didn't know German! [chuckling]

02-00:22:49

Lage: Maybe that's it!

02-00:22:51

Herr: So I got German instead, and we were learning how to break a code called the Doppelkastenschlüssel which the Germans used for low-level messages. You'd have a little box over here where you put the message in, and then somehow you transferred it to a box over here where it came out in different letters, and each day the arrangement was different, so whatever they read over here, they could read back into the original, but you couldn't, and so

you'd spend your time figuring out—and they trained us in doing that. I wasn't very good at it. I didn't like crossword puzzles—but they kept me in it. That was outside Washington. That was a great summer, because I spent the summer weekends going into Washington, listening to good music, seeing good museums. I had a good girlfriend, who was already engaged, but her—

02-00:23:40

Lage: Her husband-to-be was overseas?

02-00:23:41

Herr: Her husband—her fiancé. I've seen her since too. She's living now in Massachusetts [Nan (Caroline) Cross Chase]. Then we were shipped abroad in October, given a leave to go home and see our families and sent on a train which ended up eventually in a shipping port. I forget the name of it, right across the river from New York City on the New Jersey side [Camp Shanks], put on a vast big steamer, the *Mauritania*, ten thousand of us loaded into the ship, which is a fantastic number. We were just crowded into rooms.

We were down where the baggage would be, we were in D-level which was, I guess, barely above water level. We could come up on deck, but we were down there for meals and down there for sleeping, and every so often they'd sound an alarm and you were supposed to put on your life preservers and get up on deck, so if the boat was sinking you'd get off, and the passageway up was so narrow and small that it took us forty-five minutes to get up on deck, so we realized, if anything hits this boat, we're just not going to be.

It went zigzagging all the way across the ocean. You could go out and watch the wake behind it back and forth. It landed at Liverpool, and I was, I guess, sent for a month to a camp near Birmingham and then down to London to join this Signal Intelligence Corps that we had, which was working closely with the British on breaking German codes, and since I wasn't very good at breaking codes, they moved me up to the office above it which was to decide what the messages meant once they'd been broken, which was very interesting.

02-00:25:30

Lage: It was more analytical? About meaning.

02-00:25:33

Herr: It was analytical, yes, mostly you spent a hell of a lot of time trying to find places on a map, because they mentioned a name and you'd say, "Where is this place?" But we were keeping a record of the German units across the channel because those were the ones we could listen to, and you would identify them and you'd say, "Oh no, this unit has to move, because the man who's sending the messages, Hans, is no longer there, he's over here." The Germans, of course, you were not supposed to put your name in, but there'd always be these slips, or the way they were sent that you could figure out what they were—

02-00:26:03

Lage: It's kind of like doing history, in a way, reconstructing.

02-00:26:08

Herr: Oh yes, it was very, very exciting, very interesting. The year—you can read about it in that thing I gave you, but the year I spent in London was one of the greatest years in my life. The life there, the getting to know the country and London during the war. The air raid bombs, the buzz bombs, the V-1 bombs, and then the V-2s eventually just came with no warning. Then we went on to Paris. As soon as Paris was liberated—it was liberated at the end of, I think it was the 20-something of August of '44, and we arrived in the first week of October, so it was about six weeks later.

02-00:26:46

Lage: Now why were you sent there?

02-00:26:47

Herr: Eisenhower moved his headquarters. We were attached to Eisenhower's headquarters. He moved his headquarters to Paris, and so we went along with him.

02-00:26:55

Lage: And you were continuing to break—

02-00:26:57

Herr: We continued to work on the German codes, yes, and curiously, we moved into the building—they must have known what was going on—they moved into the building that the German counterparts of us, listening to our codes, had been using! [laughter]

02-00:27:11

Lage: And you have to know they're doing the same thing.

02-00:27:13

Herr: Of course! Yes, so—and we were very good at some point, because we broke codes during the Normandy landings fairly well, and then they discovered the Germans were using the same codes the next month as the month before, because presumably they hadn't got their books in time, and so we were reading the messages as fast as they were sending them.

02-00:27:39

Lage: So you didn't have to break them anymore, you'd just—

02-00:27:41

Herr: No, you didn't have to break them, and that was really one of the reasons why we broke out of the Normandy beachhead as fast as we did, I think.

02-00:27:49

Lage: Now was this because, you say they weren't—why were they not able to change their codes?

02-00:27:55

Herr: Well, I suppose there was so much confusion. They hadn't expected the landings there, I don't think, or at least some of their units probably hadn't gotten their message—they had a book for each thirty days' worth of new code—new arrangement of the little box with what letter becomes what. And it was when somebody noticed, they said they broke the code again, in July, and said, "I think this is the same. I remember this code. I think I've done it before." And then they realized that they'd done it in June, and that they were using the same book. They must have been instructed—"Well, just use the same book over again from July."

02-00:28:31

Lage: Well, that's an interesting sidelight.

02-00:28:34

Herr: Yeah, yeah. We had very good officers, and we were quite friendly with the officers. That was the man who, I think I told you, sent me to Germany at the end was my captain in intelligence. My college roommate [clock chimes five in background] Brian Kiely, had been in ROTC, and I couldn't understand why he wanted to do ROTC, but he says, "Oh, you have no idea. There's a war coming, and it's so much more important to be an officer than an enlisted man." So he became a lieutenant in the artillery and he went all the through Guadalcanal and through the Philippines and through all the worst battles of the thing as an artillery officer, and I sat in London and Paris and eventually just outside Frankfurt. And I said, "It's great not to be an officer!" I became what they called a technician, T-3, I guess it was, yeah, staff—

02-00:29:31

Lage: I'll say that you were not without danger really, but maybe not comparable to the danger you'd have—

02-00:29:35

Herr: Not really—I mean, when we were in London when the bombs were falling, obviously, some people were getting killed in London, but I never felt any danger. Now in Paris, when there was the Battle of the Bulge, we were all given special arms to make sure we could defend our little building, which was a lovely French series of apartments facing the Bois de Boulogne, one apartment per story, terribly elegant, that the Germans had taken over, so we took over from them—and bathrooms, bathrooms with mirrors all the way around them [chuckling], which is not exactly what we appreciated!

02-00:30:12

Lage: Yeah! And where were you when the war ended? In Paris?

02-00:30:14

Herr: I was actually in Germany.

02-00:30:16

Lage: Oh you were in Germany by then.

02-00:30:17

Herr: I was in Germany. I was actually in Germany the day the war ended, yeah. I was beyond Dresden, beyond—oh I can't think of the name of the other town, a big town, [Leipzig] but in any case, I was there and they announced the end of the war, and I had gotten permission to go and see a friend of mine from Walnut Hills who was going to Yale, Bob Thede, and he was in the infantry. I knew which unit he was in and I had been assigned to the same headquarters of his division, I guess it was, and I got permission to go and visit him, because the war was effectively winding down. The Jeep that I was in was carrying the news that the war had ended. I suppose there were telephone calls that had gotten through before that, but—I went and saw him on the day that the war ended. We looked across the river, and the Russians were on the other side and we waved at them.

02-00:31:10

Lage: Oh my! That's very historic.

02-00:31:12

Herr: Yeah. It's—and I remember a photograph of a German woman crying, with a baby, holding the hands of a child, two women walking along with a child and crying.

02-00:31:22

Lage: A photograph.

02-00:31:25

Herr: A photograph. I took the photograph.

02-00:31:27

Lage: Oh—you *took* the photograph. I thought you said you saw it.

02-00:31:29

Herr: Yeah.

02-00:31:31

Lage: So how were you treated by the Germans? What was the relationship with—

02-00:31:34

Herr: Well, we weren't allowed to speak to them. We were not supposed to speak to the Germans because we were supposed to be punishing them, I think. Or at least we weren't—because for one, we were not supposed to know who was friendly and who wasn't friendly, so we weren't allowed to speak—we did, sometimes. I remember some Germans right there—Oh damn, why can't I think of the name of the town [Leipzig]. They came and said, "Don't go." Because they heard that the Russians were going to be moving forward along, and I think the Germans had let us rush in to keep the Russians back as far as possible, let us take as much territory as possible so the—

02-00:32:12

Lage: You think they—

02-00:32:13

Herr:

Oh, I think on purpose they more or less let us at the end of the war. They were trying to hold the Russians back and see if they could have a Germany occupied by the allies on the west, and they'd already made the Potsdam Agreement, I guess, had already been made where the lines were going to be. I guess that word got out, and I remember at one point some Germans there were asking, saying "Please don't go, don't go, for goodness sakes." I remember saying, "Oh that's all right. We'll sign the peace treaty and everybody will go home, and it'll all be over." [chuckling]

02-00:32:45

Lage:

They didn't know we were entering into the new Cold War.

02-00:32:48

Herr:

Yes, that's right. Let me say one thing about this period in the army, because it goes way back to something that's been running along here, and that was attitudes toward religion. I told you my friend Ed Miller had a Jewish father and a Catholic mother. When I was at Harvard, I was very interested in—history got me very interested in religion. The history of the Reformation really got me very excited. I remember writing my mother and talking about the differences, and she writing back and she says, "That's meaningless now, for goodness sakes. "How could you be a Congregationalist instead of a Presbyterian?" I think I said to her. She just can't see it makes any difference at all, but I was very interested, so I went to various churches and went to the various services. I went to Catholic churches. I even took Communion, which is obviously [something you're] not supposed to do since I was not a Catholic.

02-00:33:54

Lage:

This is while you're in—

02-00:33:55

Herr:

This is while I was at Harvard. And—

02-00:33:58

Lage:

Were you seeking something in a personal way? Or just observing—

02-00:34:02

Herr:

Well, I don't know. I don't know. I must have been thinking of something. I had been, when I came to Cincinnati—of course, I was not baptized, that's because I was in Mexico and they did not baptize me because I would have been Catholic. I was baptized as a Presbyterian in Cincinnati when I was fourteen. My father became an elder of the church, and so it was—my mother, they were, they felt church was good. My mother said she couldn't care less what the real beliefs were, but church was good. So I was trying them out. I got news, I guess, early on, obviously, because Ed Miller had gone off to the University of Cincinnati. He and I and about four other, five other, six other people, had been in a fraternity in the high school. It was a very small fraternity. It was a very unimportant fraternity, and we couldn't get recruits to go into, pledges to go in, so it eventually collapsed the year after we were

there, but he'd been in it with me and another good friend of mine, Jim Austin, who was Catholic, was part of it too, and we were all—Ed Miller went to University of Cincinnati and was pledged by a fraternity there. The day before he was to be—he went through the whole pledge period—the day he was to be inducted he went to the person and he says, “I don't know if you know it, but I probably should tell you, my father's Jewish.” And he says, “Your father can't be Jewish.” And he said, “Yes.” He says, “But you were in Chi Sigma Chi in high school, that's a Protestant fraternity.” And Ed said we didn't pay any attention to religion. So they came back the next morning and told him he couldn't be a member. And I got this news and I was outraged. You can't know how angry I was that Ed Miller had been tossed out of it because his father was Jewish. That was beginning to make me think about what is this religious thing about. Eventually, Ed pledged a Jewish fraternity, became very Jewish, married a Jewish woman, became almost Orthodox.

02-00:36:19

Lage: It had its effect on him.

02-00:36:19

Herr: Oh it had a tremendous effect on him. I saw him later and he said, “Oh, I really discovered who I am. I'm very happy.” So that was some of the background that takes me to the army time. The girl I liked—

02-00:36:33

Lage: I'm going to stop you one second and close that window. Okay, now, we're back on, this is—

02-00:36:46

Herr: I'd just talked about Ed Miller. In London, the girl I saw most, well, one of the two I saw most, was the daughter—had been at the school in Guanajuato, you know, the little private school?

02-00:37:12

Lage: That you'd known then.

02-00:37:13

Herr: That I had known then. I knew her brother better because he was, I think, in the same class I was, Jean-Jacques Keane. She was known simply as Soeurette, the little sister. I looked it up—her name was Marie-Christine Keane. They had moved back to England when we had moved to the States, because of the Depression, and were living outside London. I guess my parents had kept in touch, because I was put in touch with them. She was, I was, what, twenty-one, twenty-two? She was about eighteen or nineteen and her mother was French, her father was English. She was fluent in French, and she was working for the French, de Gaulle's group, in London.

02-00:38:06

Lage: In exile.

02-00:38:08

Herr: Well, they were fighting on the Allied side, what is it—the Free French, was that what they were called? In any case, she was coming into London regularly, and I would bicycle out to their place south of Croydon, and so we became good friends, and I think we liked each other quite a bit—I remember watching, sitting one afternoon after a long walk, watching a buzz bomb go by sort of in the valley beneath us, put-putt and then eventually crash—but she was Catholic. Her mother was Catholic, and she was very firmly Catholic. And that bothered me a great deal, because I had thought she might be somebody I'd like to marry, but I couldn't see myself—to marry a Catholic in those days you had to agree if you didn't become Catholic that your children would be brought up Catholic. So I just found it very hard to think I would have to do that.

02-00:39:08

Lage: And it would have been hard on your mother too.

02-00:39:11

Herr: It would have been hard on my mother too. It was hard on my mother, because the nurse that my brother fell in love with when he had tuberculosis was Catholic and he eventually married her. They had four children. He'd only had one child with his first wife. In any case, when I was shipped off to France—we were good friends. We hadn't really talked about anything, but I had thought coming back to England, if you could get back, I would like to go and see her again. But I had this trouble about the Catholic religion. So I thought a great deal about that and I eventually, when I was in this period and I was in Germany just at the end of the war, I wrote a piece about religion and decided that religion was fine, but churches were not. And I don't know where it's put away, I must have it put away somewhere—but I was very much concerned about it. And I said, "I think we should maintain Christmas. I think Christmas is a very good thing. I think some of these beliefs are very good. I wouldn't want to give up on them, but I can't see myself belonging to an organized church." And I think—they are—they do harm. That was my sense, I think. I'd have to find out the exact words I used.

02-00:40:22

Lage: This was something you wrote for yourself?

02-00:40:24

Herr: I wrote it for myself.

02-00:40:25

Lage: You didn't send it home.

02-00:40:26

Herr: No, I don't think I sent it to anybody, but I do think I have it put away somewhere.

02-00:40:29

Lage: And is it something that kind of sets your feelings—

02-00:40:33

Herr: It's still—I still feel the same way. I've felt this way, and I still, because we still have Christmas. And I can see that Jewish people who are very secular still have their Jewish rites, but I had this very strong feeling, which I guess I've maintained, that organized religion can be very harmful, which I felt at that time. I eventually ended up marrying a Spanish girl who had been baptized Catholic, but hated the Catholic church, so that was all right.

02-00:41:05

Lage: She had come to the same—

02-00:41:08

Herr: Yeah, well, she hated it because in Spain it's such a divided country basically on clerical/anti-clerical, and her parents, her father particularly, was very anti-clerical.

02-00:41:17

Lage: We'll get into that next time.

02-00:41:20

Herr: Okay.

02-00:41:20

Lage: I think this is a good place to stop.

02-00:41:22

Herr: That's a good place to stop.

02-00:41:23

Lage: It's 4:15 and we're kind of coming to the end of a thought.

02-00:41:27

Herr: We kind of covered the things.

[End Interview 1]

Interview #2: 3-07-2008

[Begin Audio File Herr 3 03-07-08.mp3]

03-00:00:00

Lage: Okay. Today is—I'm going to get it right this week—March 7, 2008. And this is the second session with Dick Herr, and I'm Ann Lage for The Bancroft Library. Now, we're on our second session. We left you in Germany.

03-00:00:27

Herr: That's right.

03-00:00:30

Lage: During the war, or just after the war.

03-00:00:31

Herr: Actually the war was still on when I went into Germany. I was there when peace was declared, whenever it was, when the Germans surrendered.

03-00:00:44

Lage: We were going to talk about Paris, but I thought you should just give a little bit about Germany.

03-00:00:48

Herr: Oh yes, I think so—I have a tremendous impression of what Germany was like—what a confused place it was. I mean, first of all you go through villages where nothing was happening, people seemed to be living ordinary lives, except there weren't many young men around. You'd go through a city, as we went through Kassel. I was just traveling with the messengers in a Jeep, and we went through Kassel, and suddenly, the outskirts seem fine, you get to the center and there's nothing there. And it didn't seem as if the Germans had ever pushed the rubble out of the way, so the Americans had to go through with bulldozers and clear the road to get through.

03-00:01:27

Lage: Now the rubble was a result of—

03-00:01:29

Herr: Of American bombing—or of British bombing. I imagine it was probably British, but everywhere you'd go there'd be people wandering. There'd be people pushing carts, or maybe occasionally on a bicycle, but just walking, just trying to get back to wherever they came from. All of these were displaced persons who—a lot of them women. Women, young people—or men, I suppose, that when we got to, as I say we went to Buchenwald concentration camp, I was there—one day we were allowed to go in it and Eisenhower left it open to American troops so they could see what it was like, and the people there were leaving.

03-00:02:06

Lage: The people who had been—

03-00:02:09

Herr: The prisoners, the prisoners—it was ten days since it had been freed, so many of them had already gone, but there was a—

03-00:02:15

Lage: But they were just heading off on their own.

03-00:02:17

Herr: There was a group of Russians that headed off, marching in formation. They must have gotten some kind of uniform from the SS troops that had been guarding it, or something. They had leather jackets on, and they were marching off. I don't know if they planned to march all the way to Russia, or what.

03-00:02:33

Lage: That's quite amazing that they would keep that unity.

03-00:02:36

Herr: That's right. And the French—there were some one- to two-and-a-half ton trucks that the Americans had lent the French, I guess, had given to them, but the French sent in trucks to pick up their prisoners, and they all headed off in these trucks and they were saying, [singing] “Auprès de ma blonde, q'uil fait bon, fait bon, fait bon, auprès de ma blonde, q'uil fait bon dormir.” But there were still people hanging around—I guess they had no place to go, but on those roads you just saw people wandering.

03-00:03:05

Lage: Now in Buchenwald, were there—was that mainly for prisoners of war?

03-00:03:11

Herr: No, Buchenwald was political prisoners basically. They weren't Jews—I mean, there may have some Jews there, but it was not an extermination camp in the way that Dachau was, or—

03-00:03:21

Lage: But these Russian and French must have—

03-00:03:25

Herr: Russian and French. I ran into a Spaniard there, a Spanish Republican, who had been picked up somewhere. I think originally it was opened to house the Communists that were arrested in 1933 when Hitler took power. But many of them had been there more than a year, although they had absolutely almost no food. About one slice of bread a day, and slept tremendously crowded in very small wooden barracks about one foot each on a big shelf that they all slept on, about three layers thick.

03-00:04:00

Lage: And somebody showed you through this.

03-00:04:02

Herr: There was a Polish prisoner who showed me through, and we spoke German to each other. I guess I wasn't the only one he was showing through, I mean, but he wanted to pick up some American soldiers who knew some German so he could explain it to them.

03-00:04:15

Lage: So he explained where they slept.

03-00:04:17

Herr: He explained where they had been executed. He showed us the furnaces where they had cremated the bodies and—they'd stood it back up in the way it had been before liberation so that they had the torture—well, places where they hung people by their hands for hours on end to punish them, or beat them over the back, and they'd all been recreated by them so that—dummies had been put out by these people to show what had happened, because they knew they were showing the place off now, to—

03-00:04:48

Lage: So the prisoners themselves.

03-00:04:49

Herr: So the prisoners themselves who were still there. The prisoners were still in their prison uniforms, these sort of pajama things with white and blue stripes on. You just couldn't imagine what it must have been like to live in a place or be housed in that place for a year or more, and some of them were. We saw some dead bodies. There was a pile of dead bodies there; I was told they'd died after the liberation. They'd just been in such poor shape. They were just skin and bones. It was terrible.

03-00:05:20

Lage: Was this more than you had bargained for? Did you expect this was going on?

03-00:05:25

Herr: Well, we knew that the camps existed, and I didn't have to go to it. I was supposed to be traveling on to the headquarters of the 10th Army Corps, but I just decided to spend a day off because nobody was really watching over me and go and see this camp because it had been opened. So I spent an extra day in Weimar. It's just outside Weimar—and went out to see it, came back, and then took off the next day. And as I said, then the next place we got to was Leipzig, which is where I was when the war ended. In fact, I was on the way to, I believe I said this last time, on the way to see my friend in the front line, just on that same day, so we went with the news, yeah. I assumed, always, that these people who were wandering were not Germans. They were all other people who had somehow got stuck in Germany.

03-00:06:20

Lage: Oh, you did. Did you know that for a fact? Or just—

03-00:06:23

Herr: No. We never spoke to them. We were driving by fast. But the sense was that the German people were either in their villages, or wherever they were supposed to be, or else they'd been taken care of. These were clearly people who were not being taken care of by anybody.

03-00:06:36

Lage: Well, did that experience shape you in any way that you can put your finger on in terms of, especially, your history?

03-00:06:47

Herr: In terms of my history? It shaped me in the sense that it took me a long time to want to go back to Germany, and in fact, I've hardly been back to Germany at all. It's been very hard for me to think of the Germans as nice people, I have to say, because we really were so angry at them, and such a sense of what is, of course, we felt it was all their fault. I was furious at how they'd treated the people in Buchenwald, but I had this inner resistance to going back to Germany. I've only been back twice, and one of them was about five years ago, and until then the other time was because the plane landed there on the way to Russia.

03-00:07:27

Lage: That doesn't count.

03-00:07:29

Herr: That doesn't count. Well, we were overnight there, two nights, I guess, in Berlin.

03-00:07:33

Lage: Do you think you might have studied German history in some way? Were you ever interested in that?

03-00:07:40

Herr: Some—maybe. I got very interested in French history, but I think I should have done better with German. I should have done better. As a result, I didn't keep my German up, and I've always regretted that I didn't. I don't read German as fluently as I should. That's probably because of my feelings about Germany at that time, yeah.

03-00:07:59

Lage: Well, I don't think you're unique in that for that generation. Okay, so how did you—

03-00:08:07

Herr: But I should say now, I think that there are, I've met some very nice German people, and I've kind of changed my mind about them. A good friend of ours in England married a German woman when he was stationed there as occupation forces, and she's a lovely person [Derek and Hedwig Lewis].

- 03-00:08:19
Lage: So, after the war you ended up in Paris. Do you want to talk more about Paris?
- 03-00:08:27
Herr: Let me say, yes, I don't think I talked about Paris before we went to Germany—
- 03-00:08:32
Lage: Right, not in anything you've said—
- 03-00:08:33
Herr: —or took us to Germany, because I spent a whole winter there.
- 03-00:08:38
Lage: As an intelligence officer—not officer.
- 03-00:08:40
Herr: Well, as an intelligence—not an officer, no. Technician, third grade, which means, the equivalent of a staff sergeant. I had a great year in London. I had a great year in Paris too. We had the same sort of situation, that you were free after six o'clock in the evening and didn't have to get back 'til midnight and had one day off in the weekend or sometime during the week, so I started learning French right away. I guess I'd picked up a couple of French books in England, because I did have a little French grammar in England, but I didn't have a French-English dictionary, and I couldn't find a French-English dictionary in the bookstore there. So I spent my time learning my French out of the *Petit Larousse*, the French dictionary, trying to understand what their definitions of their own words were in French and reading these little pamphlets that the Hachette series of literature—Racine, Molière, and, I guess, Chateaubriand and all these other[s] and eventually reading *Madame Bovary* which I found very hard going.
- 03-00:09:51
Lage: I would think so if you're just teaching yourself French.
- 03-00:09:54
Herr: That's right. Well, I'd had one year in high school—at Harvard, but it was a while back. But I had lots of nice tutors. I went out and met young French ladies. I had one French young girl, I think she was only eighteen, and she said she'd been a Communist, and she'd been in the Resistance, and she'd been in Normandy, and so she was very romantic for me, and we would go out and go to movies and have supper together and things like that, and she taught me French. It's one of these things—I'm reminded of what's her name in *Never on Sunday*—the Greek movie—Maria [means Melina]—
- 03-00:10:31
Lage: I want to say Mercouri or—[it is Melina Mercouri in *Never on Sunday*]

03-00:10:32

Herr: No, I can't think of her name. But in any case she said she learned all of her languages in bed. I wasn't in bed, but I learned my languages. [laughter]

03-00:10:37

Lage: Well, I noticed in the piece you gave me that you had written from London in '43-'44, there's an air of romance about it—and mystique.

03-00:10:49

Herr: Oh yes, oh yes—

03-00:10:50

Lage: And now as you talk about Paris—

03-00:10:52

Herr: Paris too—

03-00:10:53

Lage: You can hear this even more.

03-00:10:54

Herr: Well, this young girl—I remember, one incident I remember in particular, was we went to a movie together, and when we were there I gave her an orange and she put it in her pocket. And she saw me the next time, she said, “You know what you gave me? You gave me an orange! I thought it was an apple. I haven't seen an orange in five years.” [chuckling] So then she taught me how to *tutoyer*—I learned how to say *s'il te plaît* instead of *s'il vous plaît*.

03-00:11:19

Lage: All those things.

03-00:11:23

Herr: But then also, that was the time when I met Elena. One of the first things I did—I ran into a French girl—they liked to say hello to American soldiers, a young lady, and she was at the Sorbonne and she said, “Oh, but the Sorbonne is having a dance for American soldiers. We're inviting you—so won't you come?” This must have been—I got there in October, this must have been the end of October or early November of '44, so I went there and I thought I was going to have a date with her, but it turned out she had a boyfriend already, so she said, “But, oh, you know some Spanish. You told me you know some Spanish. There's a Spanish friend of mine over here whom I'd like you to meet.” So we went off, she was sitting on the side, and here was this Spanish woman, and she obviously introduced her and her name was Elena—and that's how I got to know her [Elena Fernández Mel].

03-00:12:08

Lage: Oh, so you met her on your first—

03-00:12:09

Herr: Right away. But I didn't have too much to do with her, I don't think, for about four or five months, or six months. Eventually I got more back in touch with

her and through her with a whole colony of Spanish—people who'd left Spain, young people, at the end of the war.

03-00:12:26

Lage: Now was this during this first period in Paris?

03-00:12:28

Herr: This was during the first period. This is while I'm still in the army.

03-00:12:30

Lage: I see.

03-00:12:30

Herr: Before I go off to Germany.

03-00:12:32

Lage: Okay, that's what I didn't understand.

03-00:12:38

Herr: She was there because there was an American group supporting Spanish refugees who was giving money to send people like her to school, because she'd been working in a factory in Normandy all during the war. She left Spain just at the end of the Spanish Civil War in February of '39 and had hoped to go to Mexico, but she and her parents could never find a boat that would take them, and eventually they got picked up by the French police, because they were not supposed to be on their own. They were supposed to be in camps and were put in a camp in Normandy and spent a winter there, a miserable winter and then eventually got jobs in the factory.

03-00:13:12

Lage: Now once they got jobs were they allowed to travel freely?

03-00:13:16

Herr: Oh, I don't know if they could travel much around France, and I don't know if they had much time to travel around. They were just making a living.

03-00:13:23

Lage: And then also there was occupation.

03-00:13:24

Herr: There was German occupation there, sure.

03-00:13:27

Lage: Yes, and how were they treated—

03-00:13:28

Herr: Well, I don't think the Germans paid any attention to them so long as they were working in the factory and producing—they were producing cloth in Lisieux, which is in Normandy, and I'm sure it was being produced for the German army as much as for anybody.

03-00:13:43

Lage: How uncomfortable it would make you.

03-00:13:46

Herr: When the war ended, then she discovered that she could get support from an American group to go to university, so she went off to Paris and eventually she rented a little two-room apartment there, and her parents came and joined her, which is when I met her.

03-00:14:02

Lage: And this American group, do you know what that was?

03-00:14:03

Herr: Oh there were various groups, I think, supporting the refugees of the Spanish Civil War who were opposed to Franco—so it would be a left-wing group of some kind. She eventually, I know, got in with a Communist group because she became—she went off to Prague to the First International Youth Congress, or something like that, which was organized by the Communists, and she went as a delegate of Spain.

03-00:14:32

Lage: Spain in exile then.

03-00:14:35

Herr: Well, of course, because it's not Franco's people, no. Franco was in control of Spain itself, but the Russians would certainly be recognizing the Spanish government in exile, which was in Mexico, but these people would be associated with it. I think there was even a Spanish-in-exile consulate that she would go to to get her documents.

03-00:14:57

Lage: So when did that occur, the Prague conference?

03-00:15:07

Herr: I would have said it was the spring of '45, but it may have been the fall of '45. I don't remember that exactly. It certainly was before we were married, but we weren't married until March of '46.

03-00:15:21

Lage: So that must have been one of the reasons you decided to go back.

03-00:15:25

Herr: Well, yes. I should talk about one event there, because there was, of course, the group I was with, none of us officers, but we were all college graduates, mostly from pretty good colleges. One of us, somehow, ran into a lady who invited a group of us to go to her house to learn French, which is one way I happened to learn French. She was a Madame Boussac. She must have been, well, in her sixties, I would say. She would sit in her bed, in her bedroom as if she was an invalid. I don't know if she was or not, but she liked that. And we would sit around her bed and she'd have a salon! And she would teach us how

to speak French, and she'd teach us French culture, and how French do behave, and how to speak to people, and if you say to a lady of her age, you don't say "*comment allez-vous?*" You say, "*mes hommages, madame.*" [chuckling] And that was very good for my French. It was also very interesting to learn—because her husband was very much henpecked. He'd come home from his work, and we'd be here with all these young men around her, and he'd be off in the living room polishing the floor.

03-00:16:30

Lage: *He* would be.

03-00:16:31

Herr: Yes. He was always polishing the floor.

03-00:16:33

Lage: She'd be in bed surrounded by young men.

03-00:16:35

Herr: That's right. He was polishing the floor with his foot on a pad of steel wool, and that was how they kept it shiny.

03-00:16:41

Lage: And what was her name?

03-00:16:41

Herr: Well, I don't know what her first name was—her last name was Boussac, B-o-u-s-s-a-c, [spells] I think. So that was—that was a strong memory, because when I went back to Paris eventually, I was going to spend about a week in her house because I didn't have a place to stay. Now that takes us to go over and away to Germany.

03-00:17:01

Lage: Right.

03-00:17:03

Herr: And when I was in Germany, we were stationed in Germany after the war in a place called Rüsselsheim, which I think I may have mentioned before. We were waiting for our numbers to come up to go home, but actually you couldn't go—they had to know how long you had served, what battles you had been in, and whatever, each gave you, added to the number of points you had. At the end of each month you'd come up, some new people would get ready to be qualified to go home, but you wouldn't necessarily be able to go home, because there wasn't enough shipping to go home.

So I decided I wouldn't wait to go home, I would just get out in Europe. There was a chance to go to England; you could apply to go to England to go to school at one of the universities there. As I recall, the place that I was thinking about was St. Andrew's in Scotland. I was very much attracted to that, and I was attracted partly because of my young lady friend in England, but I'd also

thought it would be very nice to go to France, to Paris, and go to the Sorbonne, and that was attractive because of Elena.

03-00:18:08

Lage: Your other young lady!

03-00:18:09

Herr: My other young lady. And you know my religious—the thing that I talked about last time came into this. I finally said I couldn't possibly marry Soeurette, because she would insist on our children being Catholic, and I did not want to bring up my children as Catholic. So I figured that I'd go to Paris instead.

03-00:18:26

Lage: And you knew Elena was anti-clerical.

03-00:18:28

Herr: I knew Elena—I wasn't particularly thinking about marrying Elena, but I didn't think that—I wasn't going to go to England. I liked the idea of going to the university in Paris at this point. So my number came up on the first of November, and I knew it was coming up, and my commanding officer—I think it was still Captain McIntyre—I talked to him about it and he said, "Well, if you can get permission to get discharged in Europe. Why not?"

He gave me permission to go to Paris, to the headquarters, Eisenhower's—it wouldn't have been Eisenhower's headquarters because we were already in Germany—but in any case, the people who were in charge of discharging or sending people back to the States were in Paris. So he gave me a permit to go by messenger, or whatever way, it would probably be on a Jeep again, to Paris and spend a couple of days there. I saw a woman captain, as I recall, and talked to her, and she said, "Well, why did you want—" "Well, I want to study. I'd been wanting to continue my university career, and I had, what seemed to me, qualifications to go to the university." I talked her into signing an order for my discharge in France. Not her name, but her name as General Dwight D. Eisenhower per so and so. So it was his order, and with this I went back to Germany, and when my number came up the first of November, then I arranged to go back to Paris and eventually from there to Le Havre, where the army unit was that was taking the soldiers and shipping them back to the States.

03-00:20:09

Lage: And you had to actually go.

03-00:20:11

Herr: They were discharging soldiers to go back to the States faster than they would be sent home normally if they agreed to sign up to come back. If you come back for another three-years' tour, you could get home, for I think two or three months and then come back. And they were discharging—as a result these people were discharged and reenlisted. So they were discharging people. They

had all the paperwork to discharge, and I got there and was put in a tent. I discovered soon there were two other soldiers with me who had similar orders to get discharged in France. One was going to work for Coca Cola and one was going to work for the *International Herald Tribune*, and I was going to go to the—

03-00:20:52

Lage: And they had their jobs all lined up.

03-00:20:54

Herr: And they had their jobs all lined up, and so they'd gotten these permits. But we weren't getting discharged. We stayed there, we must have stayed there ten days in the tent, and finally one of us went to the officer in command and said, "Well, look, we have these—." He looked at it and he says, "Well, yes, they're signed by General Eisenhower. There's nothing I can do about it. I have to *do* this." So they processed all our discharge papers and gave us a physical exam and said we were okay to get out and sent us off. I went off with two duffel bags full of blankets and shoes and uniforms and everything else you could think of, because they were worried about how I was going to take care of myself in this country—and off to Paris. And when I got to Paris—

[RH added in editing: "About ten days later General Eisenhower stopped the discharging of soldiers in Europe. So I was very lucky."]

03-00:21:37

Lage: Did they give you any money?

03-00:21:40

Herr: There was some discharge amount, maybe a month's salary, or two months. Not much money, no. Money had to come from home, although you'd have, pretty soon you'd be getting—I forget—I had already the G.I. Bill.

03-00:21:54

Lage: You mean that was already in—

03-00:21:55

Herr: That was already in place and I could get it, although it didn't come through for some time. But I used up about a year's value of it by going to the University of Paris, which I regretted later because I was getting a lot more money from it when I was in the States. My parents sent me clothes, but it took a couple of months for them to get there. So for a while I was running around in an army uniform with all my insignia off, and being looked at by American soldiers, "There goes another frog with American army clothes on!"

03-00:22:25

Lage: They thought you were French!

03-00:22:27

Herr: That's right! And I also used it, though, to get into the army mess unit, so I went and ate with the soldiers for a long time. It was one way of getting food without paying for it, but I went to stay at the American Church in Paris. The minister's name was Clayton [Edgar] Williams, and curiously, he had escaped from Paris when the Germans took over, and he'd found a place in the States to be a temporary minister, and it happened to be my parents' church in Cincinnati, same Presbyterian church. So he knew my family very well, and they knew him, and suddenly they discovered that he was back in Paris, and I was in Paris, and I'd met him, I guess, before I went even back into Germany. But I went and stayed in the church there, in one of the rooms upstairs, for about two or three months until he finally said it was time to move on, find another place to go. And I taught nursery-age children, took them out to play, because they had a little school for American children there.

03-00:23:30

Lage: At the church.

03-00:23:31

Herr: At the church. It's right on the river.

03-00:23:31

Lage: So that's how you supported yourself.

03-00:23:34

Herr: That's how I supported myself, in part, yeah. And took classes at the university, which was very cold. There was no heating in it. We were sitting around in overcoats taking notes.

03-00:23:45

Lage: But were the classes back on schedule? Or had they always been—

03-00:23:50

Herr: Well, they hadn't started—they didn't start on schedule. This was, of course, the second year now. They'd started in '44, so they were—but we didn't get going, I don't think, 'til mid-October—no, it couldn't have been that because I got in pretty much at the beginning. I didn't get there until mid-November. They were probably starting about Thanksgiving.

03-00:24:07

Lage: And were you enrolled as a regular student?

03-00:24:09

Herr: Yes, I was enrolled as a regular student, because they considered that a Harvard bachelor's degree was probably as good as a French *baccalauréat*, so I was qualified to go. I had a good high school degree.

03-00:24:20

Lage: Oh good! So what level were you—

03-00:24:25

Herr: So I took—well, I took, I was preparing a *licence*—that is, I was with the students preparing a *licence*, and for a *licence* you need four certificates or *certificats*.

03-00:24:35

Lage: Now what does it mean to prepare a *licence*?

03-00:24:37

Herr: Well, a *licence* is their first university-level degree. It's about the level of a master's here. You take four year-[long] courses, effectively, to get it. Or you can take as many as you want at the same time. They are called *certificat*, and in history, I think there's ancient, there's medieval, and there's modern and contemporary, and I studied for the modern and contemporary certificate. I think you'd have to have another one then, in some other field like geography. The French are very strong on geography and history being taught together, but I was only doing one. At the same time, I was doing a course, Civilization for the Foreigners, *Cours de Civilisation française pour les Étrangers*, or something like that, which is very good in teaching you literature and philosophy. I remember I read [Henri] Bergson there. Every afternoon we'd have classes in French, and I got pretty good in French, but their way of teaching French is the *dicté*. You know—she'd read something and you'd write it down. Then you'd find out if you'd spelled everything right, but you'd put all that—

03-00:25:46

Lage: Very traditional, it seems.

03-00:25:48

Herr: It was terribly traditional, but it's a very good way to learn a language. I took notes. I tried to take notes in the lectures in French. I wasn't trying to translate as I went along, but very poor French. But all the lectures were all mimeographed, automatically recorded. There was a stenographer at the front of every lecture, the big lectures, and was taking the notes, and then they would be published as—because the students couldn't all get into the lecture hall. If you wanted to go to—

03-00:26:18

Lage: Sort of like our Fybate notes later.

03-00:26:19

Herr: That's right, but these were verbatim notes [*polycopiés*]. They're excellent. I've used them for writing lectures! [chuckling] And if you wanted to actually go and listen to the lecture, you had to get there about half an hour early to get a seat, so many people just never did, they just prepared by reading the lectures and staying home, I suspect, not going to the university at all. At the end of the year then, they'd have written exams, and I'd say less than a quarter of the people passed the exam each year. They could spend two or three years trying to get one *certificat*. But I did pass, and I passed because, as I said,

most of the courses had duplicated things I'd already learned at Harvard, especially the one on nineteenth century.

03-00:27:09

Lage: How was it different? Was the teaching of history remarkably different at all?

03-00:27:20

Herr: I would say that it's different in the sense I'd had no papers to write of my own writing. If you wrote papers, there was a thing on the side, they had sort of a teaching assistant, somebody preparing probably a doctorate who would hold *cours pratiques*, I think they were called. You might get thirty people in the room and then he would—and he could assign something that you could write, and you'd get the documents and just write it, hand it in, and he would give it back and see if you got it right or not.

03-00:27:49

Lage: Write in that class.

03-00:27:51

Herr: Yeah, but—well, he'd take it home and give it back if you want, but it was not required and certainly, of the maybe 500 people who were signed up or 1000 signed up for the course, or something like that, maybe 200 or 300 would get in the lecture hall, I would say not more than a quarter of them actually went to the *cours pratique*. These people were sort of—going to the university was not actually a job that you expected to finish very soon in France.

03-00:28:19

Lage: I've had that impression about Spain *now*.

03-00:28:22

Herr: Well, that may be some of the same, yes, it's the same idea.

03-00:28:25

Lage: You just keep taking exams and taking exams.

03-00:28:29

Herr: But you didn't expect it—no, but Elena was doing a degree in Spanish literature, and she managed to get three out of the four certificates in two years, and the fourth she took the exam in, and she took it in—one of them was in American culture, because there were only three things in Spanish and she got that one. But she didn't get her Spanish literature course, she got—you had to get a grade of ten out of twenty to pass, and she got nine and a half, and she went to see the professor and he said, "Oh, that's all right. You take it over again in September and you'll get the ten." And she said, "Oh, I'm sorry, but I'm going with my husband to the States in July." And he said, "Oh, if I'd known that..." Presumably he would have given her the ten already, and she would have had her degree. So she never got the degree.

03-00:29:23

Lage: Isn't that too bad.

03-00:29:24

Herr: That is too bad. He says, “Oh that’s all right. You’ll take it in September and pass.” [chuckling]

03-00:29:29

Lage: Because that’s just what they expected.

03-00:29:31

Herr: That’s what they expected, yes. I took mine in the spring, and I passed the written exam, and so then having passed the written exam then you just went and looked at the list and orals were scheduled, and you’d go and see which day you’re scheduled for the oral. The written exam was just, you know, it wasn’t so much thinking. It was just responding to what you were supposed to have learned.

03-00:29:57

Lage: Not original thinking.

03-00:29:57

Herr: Not original thinking, no. I don’t think any of it was original thinking.

03-00:30:00

Lage: Not your perspective on—

03-00:30:01

Herr: No, no, no. It was just—what was the situation in Europe—I think one of the questions was, “What was the situation of nationalist movements in Europe at the end of the Prussian-Austrian War of 1866?” And so you had to go through every country and see exactly what the movements were, who were their leaders and this, that, and the other. And if you answered that you got it. And if you didn’t remember them all, you didn’t get it.

03-00:30:32

Lage: Very traditional.

03-00:30:33

Herr: Very traditional.

03-00:30:34

Lage: Based on memorization.

03-00:30:36

Herr: That’s right, that’s right. So then you go to the oral exam and there are, I think, three of us admitted at once to this room. There are three professors sitting up here on the stage, on the platform. It was a lecture hall, a small one, and in front of them there were two little piles of paper, little folded pieces of paper. And you would go up and you would pick a paper from one, and you’d pick a paper from the other, and those were the two questions you had to answer. And you went back, and you’d get fifteen minutes to prepare your answer.

I opened my two, and one of them said, “The role of France in the American Revolution.” And the other one said, “The French conquest of Algeria.” And that was all—I had to answer that or nothing! And I hadn’t prepared either—I didn’t know about either of them. I knew something about the American Revolution, but not much, because they said something—they said, “Oh, ah, it was the American, *‘L’américain!’* [rubbing his hands] Let’s see what he says!” So I said, “Oh, it was terribly important, without the French we could never have had our independence.” “Well, what are the details? Who was the commanding officer?” And I said, “Lafayette.” And they laughed, because Lafayette was only seventeen years old at that point. It was Rochambeau—I think it was Rochambeau, I don’t remember now, but in any case, but I said, “Oh but without the—the French navy kept the British from helping the British army at Yorktown, and thanks to that we won at Yorktown and we got our independence.” I think that was all I could remember.

They said, “What about the conquest of Algeria.” “Uh.” [chuckling] Well, I remember that they started as part of the revolution of 1830 and that it had something to do with the fact that the French consul to Algiers had been swatted with a flyswatter, or something—I forget the exact details, but it started before the revolution of 1830, and it started because, I guess, the French consul was insulted. And that’s all I knew. I didn’t know any of the battles, or when they’d done it, or when they’d taken—I just said, “Can you ask me anything else?” No, they’re not allowed to ask you anything else, about anything else, all the things I’d studied. That was it.

03-00:32:47

Lage: This entire sweep of time.

03-00:32:49

Herr: And then I left, and when they posted the results, I got a pass! [chuckling]

03-00:32:55

Lage: Do you think mostly based on your written—

03-00:32:58

Herr: I think just mostly based on the fact that I wasn’t going to be around very long.

03-00:33:00

Lage: Oh! They knew you weren’t going to be back.

03-00:33:02

Herr: That’s right.

03-00:33:03

Lage: Oh that’s funny. Was this—did you have any inklings of history as a future for you at this time?

03-00:33:11

Herr: No, it was just a way to get—I was preparing to be a newspaper reporter, because I had decided to be a newspaper reporter at this point, yes.

03-00:33:18

Lage: Did you have any professors you want to mention that made an impact?

03-00:33:25

Herr: At that time, well, I remember this, as I think it's [Pierre] Renouvin and [Augustin] Renaudet. Renouvin taught the course on nationalism, and what I remember about him was, I think, the fact that he had been gassed during the war, and you could hardly hear him. You had to listen very intently to hear his lectures. And Renaudet taught the eighteenth century, and it was the resistance of the parliaments to the absolutism of the king of France, and I found that stuck with me for a long time, because I still think it's one of the most important aspects of French history that I like to deal with—American historians, or the Americans, think the Supreme Court is an American invention, but actually I think to a good extent it was copied from the French parliaments who could resist the king and declare that his laws were not according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom. And that was what brought on the French Revolution in the end, which was, of course, just when we were writing our constitution.

So I remember those and I have the *polycopiés* of that, so I remember the things they've done. That was one of the questions I had to do on the written, was to take one of their declarations against the king and analyze it, an *explication de texte*—is the word, so you have to go through and explain what each word meant, and why it was used at this time, and all of that. I did that, I think, quite well, so that's why I passed the written—

03-00:35:03

Lage: Even in French, which is—

03-00:35:05

Herr: Oh in French, yeah.

03-00:35:07

Lage: Your French must have been very good by that time.

03-00:35:09

Herr: I also wrote at the beginning of each exam—“*Je suis américain*”—so that they'd know that my French was not supposed to be very good. [chuckling]

03-00:35:15

Lage: So they were probably impressed with how good it was.

03-00:35:18

Herr: Well, maybe, I don't know.

03-00:35:19

Lage:

Yeah. Well, interesting. Okay, well, tell more about the group of Spanish refugees that you got to know, and also courting and marrying Elena.

03-00:35:30

Herr:

All right. Well, through Elena I got to meet Spanish, mostly Spanish students at the Sorbonne. There must have been a good dozen of them that we were associated with. I remember they were all preparing to leave and go somewhere else, and with a career, when they could get out and get a degree. Elena was preparing to teach French in Latin America. Besides getting a degree in Spanish literature, she was taking a course in teaching French to foreigners. I forget the title of it, but in any case, their nickname was the *Maringouins*—which is, they were mosquitoes, a form of mosquito, and they were a very tight-knit group. Some of them were planning to go to Eastern Europe, I think. They weren't all, by any means, Spaniards in this group. But there were some Spaniards and they would be going, planned to teach, they might be teaching in a French lycée, because the French have lycées in other countries. It's one of the parts of their sense of being, *la culture rayonnante*, spreading light to the world.

So she was preparing that also and there were some others, but the other group, I forget what they were studying, but there was a family named Albiñana, they were attractive young men and they, I think, were headed to Venezuela. She had a good friend who'd already gone to Chile, and so she was expecting to go to South America. That was the future she was looking forward to. But I guess we got attracted to each other—I know we went off skiing with a group of people from the *Maringouins* at Christmas holiday time. We went to Chamonix, skied there for about a week, I guess.

And then after we came back, I guess in the next month or so, I decided I'd like to marry her. And that became a real process, because the French paperwork for marriage of foreigners in France was nothing if not complicated. You had to post the banns, that was part of the rules still. You had to post the banns in every place that you'd lived—I forget how long—in the last year or more, plus where you were born! So she was supposed to post them in Madrid, and I was supposed to post them in Guanajuato, Mexico—and then wait—they'd have to be up for three weeks so anybody could say whether you had a right to get married, you know.

03-00:38:20

Lage:

So posting the banns is announcing, basically.

03-00:38:24

Herr:

Announcing the fact that you're planning to be married. Now, I had lived in two different arrondissements of Paris since I'd got there, so I had to take this piece of paper that they filled out officially someplace, which said that we were planning to get married at such and such a time and post it in the *mairie*, the city hall of the arrondissement where I'd lived in this American church.

By then I was, now I was living already in the Cité Universitaire. I ended up moving to the Cité Universitaire when I was asked to leave the American church, having spent a week in Madame Boussac's house while I got permission to go the Cité Universitaire. Then I went to the Belgian house, and there I roomed with a young man from Slovakia, a Czechoslovak who was studying—

03-00:39:14

Lage: Oh! Very international community there.

03-00:39:15

Herr: Very international community, and he'd just come having spent the whole war, I think, in Vienna, because Slovakia was neutral and Hitler left it being neutral, not the Czech part, but Slovakia was a neutral country, and so he was not drafted and he'd been studying veterinary medicine. He came to Paris with a fellowship to study but knew no French. So we talked German, and I don't know what he learned, but he was going to his classes regularly! [Francis Hrudka] [chuckling]

03-00:39:40

Lage: And he was glad to room with you probably and be able to speak German.

03-00:39:44

Herr: We got along quite well. I was in touch with him while he was back in Slovakia, while I was in graduate school here at Chicago, then lost touch when the iron curtain came down, wrote him after the iron curtain was—1990, and about six months later got a reply from Canada. He'd escaped to Canada and was teaching at the university in Canada, so we got back in touch.

03-00:40:09

Lage: Well, that's very nice.

03-00:40:10

Herr: It was very nice. We went to see him, very moving. But in any case—that got me off the track of where I was posting the banns.

03-00:40:18

Lage: Did you actually post them—

03-00:40:21

Herr: Oh absolutely.

03-00:40:21

Lage: —in Mexico?

03-00:40:22

Herr: They had to be up and they had to be up for three weeks.

03-00:40:24

Lage: But I mean in Mexico.

03-00:40:24

Herr: Oh in Mexico, no—we had to go somewhere and get permission not to post them either in Madrid or Mexico because of—but that had to get somebody’s permission—some bureaucrat.

03-00:40:33

Lage: Very bureaucratic.

03-00:40:34

Herr: It was very—it was a while to get everything organized, and finally we got it all organized and we were married in the local *mairie* of her section, where she was, just behind the Sorbonne at the Mont Sainte-Geneviève, *Cinquième Arrondissement*, across from the Panthéon, the *mairie* is there. I guess there were about sixty of us couples were married the same morning, all stood up at the same time, and said the same thing at the same moment, and then all received our piece of paper saying that we were married. But Elena and I then went off and got married in the afternoon in the American Church in Paris because we thought that my parents would like it. So she was not, of course, this was a Protestant church, but her parents didn’t care if it was Protestant or anything, and she was prepared to do it to make my parents feel happy, because they weren’t even going to be around for the wedding or see my bride until months later.

03-00:41:28

Lage: Your parents didn’t come.

03-00:41:29

Herr: Oh no. No, you couldn’t get across the ocean at that point.

03-00:41:32

Lage: Yeah. Now how did your—so when, was this ’46?

03-00:41:36

Herr: This was March 2, 1946. We took our—

03-00:41:40

Lage: How did her parents feel about her marrying an American? Was she—

03-00:41:46

Herr: Oh, I think they were quite happy [chuckling]. After all, what was it—she was twenty-five by then and that was considered time to get married. Furthermore, I’d managed, at that point or shortly thereafter—her father was a jeweler, he was an expert in evaluating jewelry. He’d done it for the Spanish official pawn shop, the Monte de Piedad, but the only job he had there [in Paris] was in a rubber factory stirring hot tubs of molten rubber, and it was terrible for his health, eight hours a day. I managed to get him a job as night watchman at the American commissariate, the food place for the embassy, and so he was very happy with that. That saved his life, I think, because he was really in terrible shape from that job. He was already in his fifties.

03-00:42:36

Lage: Oh terrible.

03-00:42:37

Herr: So we got married and we went off to Mont Saint-Michel for our honeymoon in a very cold March snowy time there. And finished our degrees. That was when I really got to know the *Maringouins*, because they would go on camping trips. They went camping out in a place called La Chapelle en Serval—it was a small village, and they had great big open spaces around and we'd go out camping there. It had ponds and all—and I think of it because those were nice camping—nice overnight trips and singing and that sort of—and it's now the, what is it—the Charles de Gaulle Airport has taken over that area. I figure that, in the time of Versailles, Versailles got rid of three villages to make the palace for the king. I think the airport got rid of three or four villages to make an airport, so that's the difference between the twentieth century and the seventeenth century.

03-00:43:46

Lage: As you look back on that time, what do you think the importance of that time in France was to your development, particularly as a historian.

03-00:43:57

Herr: Well, it obviously made me eventually become a historian of France. That was what I was studying—the whole education at the Sorbonne was basically French history and French culture. And I got pretty good in French. We always spoke French, Elena and I.

03-00:44:11

Lage: Oh you did!

03-00:44:12

Herr: With her parents I spoke Spanish. I was not very good in Spanish at that point. It was very rusty, but her mother didn't know any French so I was learning my Spanish. But I think the first five years we were married, we spoke French.

03-00:44:24

Lage: Oh my. Not Spanish!

03-00:44:25

Herr: Yeah, no, not Spanish. We married in '46; we went to Spain in '50. Probably the year we were there, we were there a year and a half in '50 to '52 we turned to speaking Spanish and back here to speaking English.

03-00:44:41

Lage: How good was her English at that time?

03-00:44:44

Herr: She didn't know much English. She came to the States and learned English here. I think she took courses in English when we first got here.

03-00:44:52

Lage: How did your parents feel about your marrying a—

03-00:44:56

Herr: Well, they didn't protest. I think they were kind of disappointed. They sort of felt, I think, that maybe it was like marrying a Mexican, and you didn't think about marrying a Mexican.

03-00:45:07

Lage: Oh that's right, because they had those feelings.

03-00:45:09

Herr: They had those feelings, but they discovered that the Spaniards really looked like other Europeans, which was quite a surprise, maybe, to them. And they were practicing their Spanish with her, and so—but we lived, we moved into our parents' house. We got here in July in the States, and it was the end of July, came back on a troop ship that was bringing brides—the soldiers had gone home, but the brides had waited to come home, and we managed to get both of us on one of those ships. Soon after we got back to the States we discovered that Elena was pregnant, so we were living with my parents in what had been my bedroom as a child.

03-00:45:54

Lage: This must have been an odd feeling.

03-00:45:57

Herr: And looking for a place to live—there was no place to find housing right after the war. Housing was terribly scarce. And I had to get a job, and I was going to get a job as a reporter and go into journalism, and I discovered that there were no such jobs, or if there were, they started at twenty-five dollars a week, and I had a wife and I was expecting a baby, and twenty-five dollars a week wasn't going to carry us anywhere.

03-00:46:23

Lage: So you went to the local papers, I assume.

03-00:46:26

Herr: So I went to the local papers, yes, I went to the local papers, but then I had—my parents and my brothers were all convinced really where you had to go was into business, and I should really go into business. So there was this tremendous pressure to—my older brother was running his business and had made a fortune during the war, because it was a steel warehouse and steel was terribly needed during the war and it was all rationed anyway, so all you had to do was sit there and take the stuff in and send it out and fill the paperwork and take the profit. So he was a wealthy man by the end of the war. However, he was also, as I think I've said, he discovered that he had tuberculosis, so he spent most of the war [in a sanatorium]. He was back in Cincinnati by the time I got out of the army, or back from Paris, and I don't know if through his connections, or not, I found a job with the Baldwin Piano Company. It's a Cincinnati company. It's the big American piano company, and I knew

Spanish some, and I knew French, and I got a job at the export department. There were two of us. There was the export manager named Vizcarrondo, who was of Cuban origin, and he made me assistant export manager.

03-00:47:46

Lage: He gave you a good title!

03-00:47:47

Herr: That's right, and I had a secretary—and I made 150 dollars a month, which was a good bit better than twenty-five dollars a week. And my father said, "Oh, isn't that nice. That's what I got in my first job back in 1901."

03-00:48:01

Lage: Oh my! [laughter]

03-00:48:04

Herr: And after a month he raised it to 175 dollars.

03-00:48:07

Lage: Well, how was that as the going rate at the time?

03-00:48:12

Herr: Well, the real problem was housing. Because we finally found a place to rent in a house. It was outside Cincinnati along the river. It was Five Mile Road, which meant it was five miles, I guess, from the edge of Cincinnati, and we were in the attic, and I think we paid—we may have paid fifty dollars a month or sixty dollars a month rent, which seemed very high in those days.

03-00:48:35

Lage: Well, it is, with that salary especially.

03-00:48:37

Herr: That's right. And by then Charlie [Charles] had been born. He was born while we were still in my parents' house. I worked there, this would have been '47, and I guess I was there for about six months, and finally Elena kept pressing me, "You don't want to go into this business. What do you want to do?" I was spending my time filling out shipping orders, you know, and learning how to handle customs and putting pianos on trains or on boats or barges to go down to New Orleans. I took an evening course in business law to get myself ready for this, and she finally said, "Well, you know you have the G.I. Bill, and you can just go to graduate school and just learn, prepare for something."

By this time I decided what I was going to do was go in the foreign service. I'll go to the university and prepare for the foreign service, and history's as good as any other profession for that, it seemed to me. So I applied for graduate programs. I applied to various colleges—University of Michigan, I applied to Harvard, and I applied at the University of Chicago. I don't know if I remember other places. I was turned down by Harvard, but I was admitted at the other places. I wrote my professor at Harvard, Karpovich—which was the best place to go to—and he recommended Chicago. I learned later the reason I

hadn't gotten into Harvard was because, and I think he told me that, was because I said I wanted to go and study for an MA, and they only wanted to take people who were preparing for a PhD. Chicago didn't have that restriction on it, so I got into Chicago, and then I discovered that after all I might as well keep on going for a PhD.

We had to wait for Elena to be naturalized before I could apply for the foreign service, because they did not take people with foreign wives. And she didn't have Spanish citizenship. She'd lost her citizenship when she married me. Franco had reestablished an old law which said a wife has to be the same nationality as her husband, and so when she married a foreigner they took her passport away, or at least it wasn't valid with a married name, so she had a passport from the French government which was given to stateless people. They had a lot of stateless people in France who'd escaped from all sorts of places, and it was a long foldout thing, about this long in green with a photograph on it, so you could put all the different places that you'd been in it, and that's what she came to the States in. Then we waited for her to get American citizenship, but the rule was that wives of veterans could get naturalized in three years, normally it was five years, but we still had to wait the three years, and since we'd come in the summer of '47, no '46, so it had to be '49, yeah. I thought it was a good thing to go to graduate school. She talked me into it—

03-00:51:56

Lage: It was sort of a waiting thing.

03-00:51:57

Herr: That was not exactly what my parents thought I should be doing.

03-00:51:59

Lage: They liked business.

03-00:52:01

Herr: She was really being a very bad influence, I'm sure, my mother felt [chuckling].

03-00:52:03

Lage: It's funny that they were so unfriendly to the idea of the academic world.

03-00:52:11

Herr: Well, they weren't openly unfriendly but I could feel what was going on and certainly they felt the career—because my brother had made so much money in business, and my other brother was doing fairly well, although, he'd started in New York in a stock brokerage and eventually moved out—they amalgamated the two brokerage houses and he lost his job, so during the war he went and worked in a factory at [R.G.] LeTourneau, to work his way up. LeTourneau makes tractors and earth-moving machinery in Peoria, Illinois, and he went to Peoria with his family and eventually to Texas where they had a factory in Longview, Texas. But he also believed that the way up was to get

into—he became treasurer of, I don't know how far up he got in that company—he moved to Cincinnati eventually and became treasurer of a local paper factory [Fox Paper Company], and they were doing all right. They knew that teaching didn't pay anything, that was the main thing they kept thinking; there's just no future here. But the State Department, I think, was okay. I think they thought that that was a good way to go. By the time I'd been in the university two of the three years, I think, I decided that I really liked the life.

03-00:53:16

Lage: The academic life.

03-00:53:18

Herr: The academic life, yeah.

03-00:53:19

Lage: What did you like about it?

03-00:53:23

Herr: I just enjoyed being at the university. It seemed like a nice community, a nice spirit, nice sort of things that you did. I didn't do any teaching, because at the University of Chicago, you weren't allowed to do any teaching.

03-00:53:36

Lage: No TAs.

03-00:53:37

Herr: No TAs, they have their own—[Robert M.] Hutchins had created a separate college at the University of Chicago, which gave a BA degree, effectively, at the end of the sophomore year by the college, because they took people in at the end of your sophomore high school year. He was trying to move the thing down, so you had this college that taught people and gave degrees when you were about twenty years old, but they had their own teaching staff, and they were very proud of this. They did not use graduate students.

So there was no teaching, but I did get a—well, let's see, I worked with Louis Gottschalk, who did the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, and he and I got along very well. He was a quiet person, but he was a very good teacher in terms of getting to write well. His teaching, and I think the teaching at the time was what you would call positivist history. You got the facts, and you related the facts, and you learned how to make sure that you had the facts—how to get documents out of the archives, and furthermore, you know, if you don't have two witnesses to any event, it never took place, that sort of thing.

03-00:54:53

Lage: Right. Triangulating.

03-00:54:55

Herr: That's right—it wasn't—it was more or less political-diplomatic history, but it was exact. You had to know exactly how things happened. You didn't go in—

the idea of writing the history of women, or something like that, would, never have entered into their heads.

03-00:55:11

Lage: But I get the idea that he was interested in the history of ideas.

03-00:55:13

Herr: He was interested in the history of ideas—that he was.

03-00:55:15

Lage: Now that seems a little more fuzzy—

03-00:55:17

Herr: But his big undertaking was to write a biography of Lafayette. He'd written a biography of [Jean-Paul] Marat, who was the French revolutionary radical leader, and now he was writing a biography of Lafayette, and he'd collected all that you could possibly get. He had file cabinets full of the papers that he'd collected. All of, as many of Lafayette's letters he knew of, but every letter that Lafayette ever wrote has been saved by somebody because it was Lafayette, and he'd gotten all of these papers, and all of these documents, and all the local newspapers. He was one of the people who introduced microfilm.

03-00:55:51

Lage: I see. I wondered how he had, if there weren't the copy machines—

03-00:55:55

Herr: He microfilmed all of the French revolutionary newspapers. There was some—I don't know if it was before the war. It may have been in Paris, there was a World's Fair, I guess it was, before the war in '37 in Paris, and they were just introducing microfilm, and it was said that he wanted to show people how to do it, and so he convinced them—well, instead of just microfilming the same piece of paper over time and time again, do something new all the time. So he managed to get them to take all the French revolutionary newspapers out of the Bibliothèque Nationale and microfilm them as they were demonstrating how this was done.

03-00:56:31

Lage: And that was a new—

03-00:56:32

Herr: That was a new thing. So we had at the University of Chicago, the French revolutionary newspapers, but that was the kind of writing he was doing. His history of ideas, even that was pretty factual. I wouldn't say he was a bad historian, he was a good historian, but that was his kind of history. One of the things I—

03-00:56:53

Lage: And the kind of history of the time, wouldn't you say?

03-00:56:54

Herr: That's right. That's right. One person who influenced me there, tremendously, was a Frenchman whom I'd already had as one of the teachers at my course on French civilization in Paris whose name was Daniel Mornet.

03-00:57:07

Lage: Oh!

03-00:57:09

Herr: He was a big name in French literature—

03-00:57:12

Lage: And you'd had him in Paris.

03-00:57:13

Herr: He had been one of the lecturers at this little course on French civilization, but he came as a visiting professor to Chicago. I guess in the French Department, because he was basically a professor of literature, but his big work had been the intellectual origins of the French Revolution, in which he'd been through all of the writings, and all of the different forms of communication before the Revolution. Before that he'd written about Rousseau. He'd written a biography of Rousseau. He'd written a biography of Diderot and had written about the sciences of nature in the French Enlightenment, because he was very interested in nature, himself. He loved nature. He was a little man; he'd fought in the First World War. I took his course, and I got to know him fairly well, and I was very impressed by him. That was the kind of history I wanted to do. It was kind of factual intellectual history.

03-00:58:07

Lage: I'm going to stop you here. I'm sorry, I know it's the middle of a thought, but we're running out [of tape].

[End Audio File 3]

[Begin Audio File 4 03-07-2008.mp3]

04-00:00:01

Lage: Okay. We're back on, tape four of our second interview here. When we cut off a minute ago, you were talking about coming to the realization that you liked the factual intellectual history.

04-00:00:23

Herr: Yes, actually I was talking about Daniel Mornet as the professor. Another professor I liked very much was a man named J.A.O. Larsen, who taught ancient history. I had to take—I think we had to take five areas of history for the PhD, and I did three in history of Europe since the Renaissance, and one in philosophy, history of philosophy, and one in ancient history. The person I studied ancient history [with] was a very well known historian of ancient Rome named J.A.O. Larsen. He may have had Norwegian antecedents, I don't know, but he taught me how to read documents very closely, especially in

inscriptions, and I used some of my Latin from high school and got very fascinated with ancient history. If I hadn't already done so much work in late modern Europe, I might have wanted to switch into ancient history, but it was too late by then. One of the things that happened in graduate school, which was a very strong impact on me was that I was hired—we had to make our own living, that is—

04-00:01:40

Lage: They didn't support you.

04-00:01:40

Herr: We had the G.I. Bill, we had the G.I. Bill, but that didn't pay all our expenses. I think it was ninety dollars a month for a while, and then it became 120 dollars a month with a child. We had, after an initial period living in a basement in Chicago, we were moved into graduate student housing on the Midway. I think that was 45 dollars a month, but even so, we needed to make some extra money. I know Elena—

04-00:02:07

Lage: And was Elena in school too?

04-00:02:09

Herr: Elena—yeah, Elena started a degree program there too in comparative literature, so we were both getting degrees. She worked for a while in the library, as I recall, and I got a job working for the *Journal of Modern History*, which is published at the University of Chicago, proofreading, basically, the proofs for the articles. After I'd been at it for a few months, the professor who was editor, [S. William] Halperin, who's a historian of Italy, had a heart attack and went out of commission. And suddenly I was just running the whole show in the office there, because there was nobody else, nobody else was appointed to take his place. There were expecting him to come back, I guess.

So for, I would say, six months, I had pretty much sole command of the *Journal of Modern History*, and what you had to do—you got articles in, you sent them out for people to read them and give opinions on them, and that wasn't too hard to do. You had books come in and you sent them out to reviewers. You had a list of people who were potential reviewers and that wasn't too hard to do. But Halperin had sent out many more books to review than he possibly had space to publish the reviews, so when I got there, we were maybe a year and a half behind schedule on publishing reviews. Some authors complained that it took too long to get their reviews out, but I looked through all of these, and I said, "The only way you can do this is to cut them down." And so I took it upon myself to go through these book reviews and just cut out about a third of each one, edit them, edit them.

04-00:04:04

Lage: And did you do this and then return them for checking by the author?

04-00:04:09

Herr: No, no, no, no. You didn't. Once the review was in, they just published it, and the funny thing was nobody complained! Except one person, one professor at the University of Michigan complained bitterly that I had changed his review, but everybody else, I guess, was so glad to have it out they didn't even notice that it had been changed! [chuckling] And then I learned, the other thing I learned, the sense of that, was how important publication was for promotion, because people whose articles had been accepted were also not getting published in time—would write these plaintive letters saying they're up for promotion and they need to get this article, or something, and I suddenly realized, my God—here is a real center of power!

04-00:04:49

Lage: Yes, I'll say, plus you were responsible for getting people their jobs!

04-00:04:56

Herr: That's right. So I suddenly realized the thing to do in this profession is to publish. And nobody told me that. Nobody at the—

04-00:05:04

Lage: You mean that wasn't part of your training.

04-00:05:05

Herr: No, that wasn't part of the training at all. It was a sort of a career, you were expected to write things and probably they got published. Furthermore, I thought that Gottschalk published books, and he was getting lots of money for them. And then I discovered later you don't get money from publishing university books, you maybe get a few hundred dollars, but you don't make a fortune with them.

04-00:05:25

Lage: You mean textbooks.

04-00:05:25

Herr: Well, no, just ordinary books—the dissertation, or something like when you publish your dissertation, you don't get a fortune from it.

04-00:05:27

Lage: Just ordinary books. No. No. No, right.

04-00:05:33

Herr: You're lucky if you get a job, what you get is a promotion.

04-00:05:34

Lage: So the education wasn't too, it wasn't practically oriented at all.

04-00:05:39

Herr: I'm not saying it wasn't practically oriented, no. But the education at the *Journal of Modern History* was very practically oriented. I suddenly realized what counted.

04-00:05:50

Lage:

Were you also asked to edit the articles that were submitted?

04-00:05:57

Herr:

I may have—the university press had an editor also. I certainly edited the reviews. I don't remember going through the articles particularly and editing them. No, I don't touch them, I don't think. I was not—I certainly didn't try cutting any article. And basically, I was supposed to be a proofreader, but after about six months, they decided that Halperin wasn't coming back very soon, and they named a woman, Margaret Maddox, who has been a research assistant for Louis Gottschalk to take over and run it, and I was eased out, in a sense. But I had this great moment of power as a graduate student. [chuckling]

04-00:06:40

Lage:

Now was she a professor?

04-00:06:42

Herr:

I don't think she was, no, I don't think she had a permanent appointment. She was around the department a lot. She helped Gottschalk write his books. In fact, she got her name on with his on the last book he published, the last biography of Lafayette. Four volumes of Lafayette got him only into the French Revolution, and he went until—1834, I think, he died. So it became clear to Gottschalk that he was never going to finish, and he felt terribly about it because he'd been given so much money to do it and he had all this research done. So he got Margaret Maddox to help him with the last volume, but I think that only got him about 1793, or something like that, so it never got him through the French Revolution.

04-00:07:29

Lage:

Oh, so he never—now where did he get the money to do it?

04-00:07:32

Herr:

I have no idea where his grants came from. I suspect the Social Science Research Council, or—

04-00:07:40

Lage:

I just wouldn't think some of those groups would have been so active at the time as—

04-00:07:45

Herr:

Oh, there was money.

04-00:07:46

Lage:

There was money.

04-00:07:47

Herr:

There was money, I think. He was very well known in France. He may have gotten some money from France. He got the Légion d'Honneur for his work. But I don't think the French government gave money to foreigners to do

things, I think—there were a few research funds. Maybe the university had research funds for him.

04-00:08:02

Lage: Were there any professors there that helped you model your own role as a professor? The way they taught, or the way they related to graduates?

04-00:08:14

Herr: Well, I suppose, certainly Gottschalk taught me how to do seminars, and be careful—I've always been very diligent about correcting the English of my students, graduate students, and he was insistent on form. You couldn't begin a sentence with "However," and you couldn't split an infinitive, and every paragraph had to have a topic sentence. That was very—and he would go through your papers that you turned in and correct them for that. And I think I learned from that. I still find it very hard to begin a sentence with "However."

04-00:08:54

Lage: [chuckling] And was he himself a good writer?

04-00:08:57

Herr: Yes. Yes his writing was very good. It was—I don't suppose it sparkled in some ways, but it was very good writing. I liked his writing.

04-00:09:07

Lage: And what about the fellow graduate students? What type of people were they or where were they from?

04-00:09:14

Herr: Well, two of my fellow graduate students had been in the army with me in the same unit, curiously.

04-00:09:19

Lage: That's unusual.

04-00:09:19

Herr: Dick Simons and Ed Tannenbaum had also been in the signal intelligence group in Europe.

04-00:09:25

Lage: Had you—is that just coincidence?

04-00:09:27

Herr: That was just coincidence, I think. Dick Simons had married a French woman, and Elena and she became very good friends, because they both, I think her—she's still alive, she's still in Washington. Dick Simons is dead, but we saw her just last spring, yeah, Madeleine Simons. She came from Normandy. Others—I haven't kept in touch with the other graduate students. I can think of them, but I don't think we, I don't think they all got good jobs in teaching. In fact, when we got out there were no jobs. There was a dearth of candidates for jobs in 1947, and by 1952, everybody who'd gone in with the G.I. Bill was

getting a degree and was on the market. But that was after I got back from Spain, so we can take that up later.

04-00:10:24

Lage: Now was there a definite time when you decided you wouldn't do the foreign service?

04-00:10:29

Herr: Yes, I think as I said, I decided at some point, I don't remember the exact chronological date, but it came to me that what I learned about the foreign service, and I saw—I had a cousin in it—that they were moving every three years from one place to another, and this wasn't—the idea—you weren't going to go to the places that you really wanted to be. So I, and as I say, I decided this was really a very pleasant life, and I decided I'd take it—and I hadn't, at that point, realized how much you would likely have to—and I didn't think I was all that good, either. I thought, well, I'll go to a nice college and I'll have a nice, quiet life. When it came time to write the dissertation, or plan for it, I wanted to do French Revolution, which is what I'd always done and which I studied with Louis Gottschalk.

04-00:11:16

Lage: And did you want to do an intellectual history?

04-00:11:19

Herr: I probably—I certainly was influenced by Mornet and his intellectual [history]. Gottschalk had done intellectual history too. I don't know if I had a specific idea what I would do on the French Revolution, but when I talked with him about it he said—I was always amused by this—he said, "It's all been done. There's nothing left to do on the French Revolution. But you know Spanish, why don't you work on Spain and the French at the time of the French Revolution?" And he said, "I think I can get you some money for that so you can go." By then, Elena's parents had left Paris and gone back to Spain. In fact, they went first to Brazil and hated it there, so they went back to Spain because Franco gave an amnesty to everybody who did not have some kind of criminal record, and they were back in Spain.

04-00:12:11

Lage: Was that a difficult decision for them, do you know?

04-00:12:13

Herr: I suspect it was, or they would have gone back earlier, because they were in Paris, eventually the job that I'd found for my father-in-law ended. The army left, and he was without a job. He had cousins, or half brothers, half siblings in Brazil. His father, I guess his mother had died and his father had gone to Brazil. Whether he'd gone with the first wife or not, or married her, I don't know, but in any case, he had some children in Brazil who were a good deal younger than my father-in-law, but they were in touch, and they invited him to come to São Paulo. He went to São Paulo and expected to go into the jewelry business and discovered he didn't like it, and his wife didn't like it. She'd

been in France all this time not knowing any French, and now she was in Brazil not knowing any Portuguese, and I'm sure she pressed him to go back to Spain. And he obviously would feel much more at home in Spain. So they went back, I guess about 1949. This is 1950, now, that we were talking about.

But we needed a passport for Elena, because she did not want to go to Spain with her stateless passport, as a Republican refugee, so we were waiting out the three years anyway. And we went to get her naturalization, and it turned out that—well, that your husband has to be an American citizen. And I said, “I am an American citizen.” They said, “Oh what's the proof? You were born in Mexico.” And I said, “Oh but my parents are—I've got a passport.” And I got the passport—when I got out of the army they gave me a passport in Paris. “That doesn't count. Passports aren't very good evidence of citizenship.”

So—I said, “But my parents were,” and I had the document, or my parents had the document that they'd signed in Mexico, in Spanish, declaring me to be an American citizen, a son of—not being a naturalized Mexican. I produced that, and they said, “But why is your father an American citizen?” I said, “He was born in Indiana, in Indianapolis, and he's an American citizen.” And they said, “Oh, can he bring his birth certificate?” So I wrote my father for a birth certificate and he says, “No, there is no birth certificate. Indiana wasn't keeping records of births when I was born.” Which is true—they started a state recording system after he was born in 1877. But he had his passports going back to 1901, and he produced some of them and took them in, and they looked and said, “No, passports aren't evidence.” This was the judiciary department, or whatever it is, that does naturalization. They said, “The State Department is very careless about passports. We never trust them.”

So my father was getting more and more furious. “If somebody who was eighteen years old when he was born can testify that he was born there, that's enough.” Well, he was now seventy-three, I think. So he needed somebody who was ninety years old who had known him when he was born. He actually had a cousin in Chicago whom he knew, but she was only in her eighties. And my father was getting furious—“What do you mean! They're not accepting me as an American citizen!” [chuckling]

04-00:15:46

Lage:

That's really a bizarre tale.

04-00:15:47

Herr:

It was a bizarre tale. So finally, he wrote a letter to our senator, Robert Taft, who was a big figure in the Republican Party, and about four days later we got a letter saying, “It's all been approved. You can come in and get this.” [chuckling] So the letter to the senator just took care of it, and we went in and we got her naturalized, and then we got the passport and we could go off to Spain.

04-00:16:13

Lage: And you'd have to get yourself, almost, declared official!

04-00:16:16

Herr: Well, I had a passport, was able to renew the passport. The State Department wasn't making any problems. I suppose now if I had to prove I'm an American citizen, I still couldn't!

04-00:16:23

Lage: Yes, you still couldn't! Oh my!

04-00:16:27

Herr: No, and so I guess that gets us—

04-00:16:28

Lage: That gets us to Spain. But is there anything else to say about Chicago? About the kind of history, or—

04-00:16:35

Herr: Well, I've talked about the—I was interested in intellectual history. I was interested in ancient history. My first article, but it wasn't written until after I got back from Spain, maybe it was—it was a term paper. One of the things we had to do for the graduate program was write an analysis, or if you want, a review of the work of some historian, of some person. And I chose Daniel Mornet, so I wrote a critical analysis of his works and his life and actually went back to the nineteenth century where his origins were, and eventually it became my first article. I got it published in the *Journal of Modern History* after I got back from Spain, and it gave me an in to a job. [chuckling]

04-00:17:31

Lage: Your first publication; you'd learned.

04-00:17:33

Herr: That's right. That's right. It's still a good article. It's been used by [Robert] Darnton at Princeton; he knew it and he said, "Oh my, that was a good article, yes."

04-00:17:44

Lage: Did you base it at all on interviewing him or—

04-00:17:48

Herr: Partly, yes, but mostly just reading all his works and, of course, listening to him. I don't remember that we had a specific session sitting down and interviewing him, but I certainly talked about—he was, [Gustave] Lanson was his professor, and Lanson had been a big figure in French university circles at the end of the nineteenth century, beginning of the twentieth century. I just had this sort of a picture that I put it in—I'm still very—felt that this was my French history coming in. I think we can cover that. I think that's about enough.

04-00:18:29

Lage: Okay. That sounds good. So off to Spain—and how was that funded?

04-00:18:36

Herr: I got a fellow[ship]—well, I still had the G.I. Bill for about another year and a half, I think. You had the G.I. Bill for as many years as you'd been in the army plus one, is my recollection. I'd started being in the army while I was still a student at Harvard, for the last year at Harvard I was—that all counted, so I had about—I was in the army for what, two and a half years, almost three, and then four at Harvard, and then another one—that makes me five years, so I had about five years, but I'd used up one in Paris, which I felt later that I'd wasted it. So I had about four years. I guess I had about a year and a half left when we went to Spain.

04-00:19:18

Lage: So it didn't take you too long at Chicago.

04-00:19:21

Herr: I went in in January of '48. I took my orals in the spring of '50—but we went the whole year round.

04-00:19:32

Lage: Oh you did.

04-00:19:32

Herr: Because you wouldn't—if you didn't go the whole year round you didn't get the money for the summer from the G.I. Bill.

04-00:19:38

Lage: I see.

04-00:19:38

Herr: And they had a four-quarter system, so the only break we had was in September. We had about a three-week holiday. A couple of years we went up to Wisconsin, to a place called Lake Baraboo where we had a little cabin. But spring of '50 I took my orals. I didn't get distinction. Apparently they argued for a long time and decided that I didn't get distinction because I had done something about the Reformation that the Reformation professor didn't like.

We went off in the summer. I think we went, it must have been about July of '50 that we went to Spain. We got there, her parents were there, they'd found us a—no, they hadn't found us a place to live. We found that ourselves after we got there. We went and we stayed in their very tiny apartment that they'd found. Then we found, eventually, an attic apartment which we rented for the horrible sum, we thought, of twenty-five dollars a month. But that was, for Spaniards, that was a very high rent to be paying. This woman had invested in this building, and it was keeping her alive, I think! I'd go every month to pay her, personally, the Spanish equivalent of twenty-five dollars.

I was getting my money cheap because Elena's father was dealing in watches for somebody who was importing Swiss watches, and it was very convenient for them to have dollars, so my dollars went into a Swiss bank account, and my father-in-law would turn up with Spanish pesetas to give me in return, at a much better exchange rate than I got officially. He got them, he said it went through Portugal somehow, but it went through the Jesuits.

04-00:21:26

Lage: This is very complicated.

04-00:21:29

Herr: [chuckling] Yes. So we had this—and we not only had an apartment with a view, a small view, but we had a maid! The maid was only three dollars a month.

04-00:21:42

Lage: That was 1950.

04-00:21:44

Herr: And we did have a fellowship. I did have a fellowship from the university, which I think was 1200 dollars for the year, but then when I stayed on for another year, at the end of it, he told me I should stay on a little longer and finish the work I was doing, and then I think I only had 900 dollars. And by then, as I recall, the G.I. Bill was getting very tight.

04-00:22:07

Lage: Had you focused in on your topic by then?

04-00:22:10

Herr: Yes. I was going to talk about the French influence on Spain, political influence, and I think, by then—I'd never studied any Spanish history. Nobody at the University of Chicago had—well, that's not quite correct. There was a very famous historian of Spain at the University of Chicago. His name is Hamilton, Earl [J.] Hamilton, who had studied price history in Spain from the Middle Ages to 1800. He became a very—

04-00:22:47

Lage: Price history?

04-00:22:47

Herr: The history of prices. He was an economic historian. He was in the Economics Department. I think actually he was on his own, because the University of Chicago had these special professors who weren't under any department. But he was famous for having done the history of prices in Spain from 1500 to 1650, and then from 1650 to 1800. This was used by economic historians to show about price inflation and the effect of the American gold on the European economy. He was, probably, the best known historian or person at the University of Chicago in that area, in the history field, very well known in France, very well known in Spain.

04-00:23:36

Lage: As an economic historian.

04-00:23:37

Herr: As an economic historian. I'd never studied with him. I hadn't ever heard of him until Gottschalk told me I should go and talk to him because he probably knows something about Spain. So I went to talk to him and it was a very curious interview. I don't think he thought the history of French ideas in Spain was at all of interest to anybody! So he never asked me anything about it. He just started talking to me in Spanish, and so we had a conversation in Spanish, and the next thing I know, he suddenly switches without interruption and starts to talk to me in French, then we have a conversation in French for a while, then finally suddenly he switches to German. And I do the best I can in German, and when I got up to leave, I say if he had any recommendations for me. And he says, "Yes. You should improve your German." [chuckling]

04-00:24:20

Lage: That's a great interview!

04-00:24:21

Herr: And I don't think I ever saw him again or had any contact with him. But I've certainly read his book and used his book, and it became part of the staples of the things I've taught. So I got to Spain, going to do the research on the impact of France on Spain, and I assumed it went in with Napoleon, because Napoleon went into Spain in 1808, that's why we just had a conference on the 200th anniversary of that. ["The End of the Old Regime in the Iberian World," UC Berkeley, February 8-9, 2008] And I looked at the—the first thing I simply sat down, was to read things in Spanish. I had a nice little dictionary. I wasn't allowed to take books into the library, but they let me take a dictionary in, so I'd take my dictionary, and then I read the Spanish historians, which I'd never read at all. I had no knowledge of anything, so I spent, I think, at least a month or two simply sitting in the national library reading the historians of Spain, including somebody named [Marcelino] Menéndez Pelayo, who was a very reactionary Catholic historian, and hated the eighteenth century, and hated French thought, and hated the Enlightenment. So I learned about all the people whom he hated and the Spanish people who had gotten French ideas.

04-00:25:34

Lage: Did the history [in Spain at that time] tend to be more, what shall I say, ideological like that? Was he typical or not?

04-00:25:42

Herr: Oh yes, in the Franco time it would have been quite typical. Yes. He was idolized by Franco. At the time, when Franco took over Spain in 1939, a great number of the faculty at the universities left, or had gone already, and they filled them up with new people, quite ideologically chosen. One of the forces involved, there was a thing, a Catholic organization called Opus Dei who had great influence on whom would be named, and in fact, appointed faculties.

Not only were they ideological, I don't think they even worked at all. They hardly held their classes. The first thing I did there was to go and sign up for classes in history at the University of Madrid, and it was quite a ways out on a streetcar to get there, so it wasted a good morning to go. There was one on contemporary history, and I went there a couple of times and finally discovered the professor wasn't in residence and that nobody had said anything.

And then the other one was on modern history, which began in the sixteenth century, and I went to listen to the lectures in that case, and he talked about the founding of the University of Alcalá, which was founded by the Archbishop Cisneros, who was the inquisitor general for Ferdinand and Isabella. He started talking about the founding of it, and the {unintelligible} and then I kept going back, and each time the lecture was still about it. I suppose he was writing a book on it, but that's the only—I'd been there for about two weeks, and the last time I went he was talking about the laundry lists of the students. I went to see him—"Are you going to get beyond this to a later period?" And he says, "Oh—maybe eventually."

04-00:27:29

Lage:

This is not a very good—

04-00:27:31

Herr:

So I decided this was a waste of time. It wasn't getting me anything to help at all with the eighteenth century or the Napoleonic period, so I stopped going to the university and sat in the library and read Spanish histories and then started reading these people whom the histories had spoken about. I read about, learned that the Spaniards had had their own reaction against Napoleon, and that some people had supported him, and the majority had opposed him. Among those who'd opposed him were liberal Spaniards, who organized a meeting of the parliament called the Cortes at Cádiz and drew up a constitution in opposition to the French-imposed constitution. And I must have spoken to someone in the library. I, in fact, probably I met the librarian at some point, and he said, "Well, you know, we have a collection of materials from that period that's not been used."

04-00:28:29

Lage:

Just what a historian wants!

04-00:28:31

Herr:

That's right. So, he introduced me to the man who was in charge of what was called *varios*, which you would now call, I suppose, pamphlets, or non-books. And this man was in this room all by himself. This room had cabinets, two levels of cabinets. There was one level, and then up a staircase, all the way around, there were other ones that you'd open up. He'd opened them up and inside it was just tied up bundles of pamphlets, and the only identification each had on the outside was what reign they had been written under, whether it was Ferdinand VII, or Charles IV, or Isabel II, or whatever. That was the

only identification, and you just to open each one up and look at it, and say, “Oh yes, this is about 1821, yes, most of these are, yes, some of them are duplicates.” They’d all been stamped, received 1868, tied up—the bundles had never been opened since 1868.

04-00:29:26

Lage: Amazing.

04-00:29:28

Herr: So I sat there, I guess, oh a good six months, going through all of the ones that seemed to be Ferdinand VII and looking at the ones that were published in Cádiz and in Spain between 1810 and 1813 or 14, or 1808, whatever it was, and taking copious notes on them. There was no Xerox, you just had to copy it out verbatim.

04-00:29:50

Lage: By hand.

04-00:29:51

Herr: By hand, and so I have these long—each one has a 3 by 5 card with the title and everything, and then the notes—I’d been taught how to take notes at the University of Chicago. You fold your paper over and take a note on one side, and then you turn the top over and turn the bottom side, and if you need the second half of the sheet then you can use it—otherwise you use a paper cutter to cut the sheet so you only have a half size sheet. So I have all those done the proper way, and carefully proofread, and I went through, oh hundreds of these pamphlets and took notes on them. Some of them were duplicates. Some of them didn’t seem very relevant to what I was thinking about, but I did catalog every bundle. I think I went through about a hundred bundles, or I forget, it went up to 160, but I don’t think I took them all. Some of them I got—I realized they were later on in the reign. And I went back eight years later to look some of them up again, and said, “Oh, but I know what bundle,” and they said, “Oh, we’ve untied all those bundles and mixed them all up. We can’t find that for you even possibly. We’re planning to catalog them some day.”

04-00:31:02

Lage: You must have been terribly frustrated!

04-00:31:05

Herr: Oh, I was. Fortunately, I’d had a couple of them Xeroxed, and one of them became a publication of mine, of the author who was a Spanish priest who supported the constitution although it abolished the Inquisition. When Napoleon fell and the reaction came in, why, this priest was persecuted by the Inquisition. He eventually wrote his memoirs, part of which were published, but he also had written a pamphlet, a sermon in support of the constitution, and I turned that into a publication in Spain with a republication of his memoirs, which had not been published since 1920 in a journal, with an introduction.

04-00:31:52

Lage: And it was published in Spain, you say?

04-00:31:54

Herr: It was published in Spain, yeah. But I would not have been able to do that if I hadn't had the Xerox of that—

04-00:31:59

Lage: Now how did you Xerox that? Were there Xerox—

04-00:32:02

Herr: Oh it wasn't Xerox, I'm sorry, microfilm.

04-00:32:04

Lage: Oh you microfilmed.

04-00:32:04

Herr: Microfilmed, yeah. I couldn't do it myself. There was a microfilm office at the library, and you'd send it and he'd microfilm things for you. So I spent—I didn't do much writing before I came back. I mostly did research. I did some research in the national archives, where I got the papers of the Inquisition on the period; the Inquisition published a list of all these pamphlets that they thought were to be condemned, and I looked through the list of the ones I'd found, and I'd found a good number of them, but not all of them, some of them never turned up.

04-00:32:45

Lage: So were you developing a theme as you saw these?

04-00:32:47

Herr: Well, my theme—I discovered that yes, what I realized was that it wasn't Napoleon that brought these liberal ideas into Spain, they'd been there long before. So I kept going back, and eventually went back into the eighteenth century and into the period before the French Revolution to write an introductory chapter—and looked at the writings then and the books that had been translated from French and the journals. They'd begun to have some journals by the 1780s, 1770s-1780s, and those turned out to be extremely interesting on what they were publishing, past history of Spain, and book reviews of foreign books and things like that. Although the books would be condemned, somehow they'd get into the—I'm not sure they were actually reviewing books that were condemned, but there were a lot of things about France and writings about France, which was going to be the introductory chapter of my book, and I was going to start with the French Revolution. I realized it was really the impact of the French Revolution that counted, not Napoleon.

So when I wrote my dissertation, and I started way at the back about 1750 with this long introductory chapter which turned out to be about three chapters long, I guess, and then the impact of the French Revolution, part of which I'd used out of the archives of the Inquisition, because they were looking for

papers coming in from the French Revolution and trying to ban them. I turned in my—I did some writing, I guess, but came back and did more writing at the University of Chicago in the summer of '52, came back in January and was there for about two quarters, and—I can't have finished it, because I went away without a degree. I didn't get my degree until '54, but eventually Gottschalk told me I'd written enough and just stop, because I'd written 400 pages.

04-00:34:46

Lage: Just stop! Don't finish the story. So you stopped at 400 pages?

04-00:34:50

Herr: That's right. So I stopped in 1795. I think it was finished as far as '95, and I got the degree on that while I was at Yale. But I discovered that Spain had really its own kind of enlightenment.

04-00:35:06

Lage: And was it very much influenced by France? It sounds like that.

04-00:35:10

Herr: Well, I'd read a lot of papers and things from France, but it curiously was not influenced by the anti-clerical aspect of French—they were influenced by Jansenism, which is a French movement, but the Jansenism they were influenced by came much more from Italy, and it was really an opposition to Rome, what you would call a national church feeling, that is, it would be more like what in France you would call Gallicanism—the desire to control their own church rather than have it controlled from Rome.

It involved a great sense of purifying the church, getting rid of a lot of excess ceremony. They [the Spanish Jansenists] didn't like a lot of the ceremonies. There was much too much parading and, what shall I say, show, rather than, they felt, a true religious feeling. It was quite, almost Protestant in their feeling, the Spanish Jansenists—priests like my man whose memoirs I published. He was of that kind. And that was rather different from the situation in France, although, they admired very much the French Civil Constitution of the Clergy, because that took over the church for France away from the Pope, and they would try to do something, but that would be banned by the Inquisition in Spain, information on that. The Inquisition was not Jansenist. It was pursuing Jansenists.

I don't know what else to add to that except that they had—there was a big conflict, which is all dealt with in my dissertation, which became my first book. Before the French Revolution, because there was an encyclopedia published in France, not Diderot's encyclopedia, the second one which was called the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, it means methodical encyclopedia, and it had articles by subject rather than simply alphabetically. When it got to geography, I guess, and it had the article on Spain, it was very scornful of Spain, and that upset the Spanish liberals very much, because they'd admired

what was going on in France until they got this thing that said how bad Spain was and that Spain was nothing but a land of the Inquisition and darkness and everything, and they said they don't know what's going on in Spain. So they were reacting already against this French—creating their own sort of national sense of identity in their enlightenment. I think we should talk in Spain about what Spain was like.

04-00:37:55

Lage:

I do too. Now are you getting tired? We can—

04-00:38:01

Herr:

Well, how much do you think we should go on?

04-00:38:03

Lage:

I think it's kind of—there are some diminishing returns when you go on too long. We can start up—

04-00:38:09

Herr:

Okay. If you don't think we're cutting—

04-00:38:14

Lage:

I'm going to—[turns tape off]

Interview #3: 3-13-2008

[Begin Audio File Herr 5 03-13-08.mp3]

05-00:00:00

Lage: Okay. We're on now, and it's March 13, 2008. This is the third interview with Dick Herr. Last time we talked about Spain, but mainly in relation to your research during that '50-'51 trip.

05-00:00:22

Herr: That's right.

05-00:00:23

Lage: So you were going to talk something about what you observed in Spain from your—

05-00:00:24

Herr: Yeah, I could say something about that, I think, because it was an oppressive atmosphere, is my recollection of it. It was oppressive—

05-00:00:34

Lage: Oppressive?

05-00:00:32

Herr: Oppressive, yes. Elena, my wife, had been to a school in the thirties, a high school which was a somewhat publicly funded, somewhat private high school that was created by the Spanish liberals, by the descendants of what was known as the Institución Libre de Enseñanza. It was an Instituto Escuela, it was called, and they had branches in Valencia and Barcelona. The day after, more or less, after Franco conquered Madrid in 1939, he closed that school.

05-00:01:14

Lage: It was in Madrid and Valencia?

05-00:01:16

Herr: It was in Madrid—the one she went to was in Madrid. They had lovely buildings that had been built by the Rockefeller Foundation money.

05-00:01:18

Lage: Oh! So it must have had quite a reputation as a liberal—

05-00:01:24

Herr: It had a very strong reputation, yes. And so was its founding inspiration, the Institución Libre. It was said that the Opus Dei, which is a strong religious group funded by the papacy, was founded in Spain to fight that Institución Libre de Enseñanza, so it was really considered an enemy by the people on the religious right. And her friends, her high school friends, some of them were still around. Some of them had left and gone to other places, South America. But that was the community we got into, and they felt very alienated. They were called reds, by the Spaniards, officially; for them, they were reds, they

were *rojos*, and they'd lost their jobs. Some of them were trying to get back into activity. They had difficulty getting into the university positions. One of them told how he had been offered a job in Madrid if he would join the Opus Dei, and he said he didn't want to so they said that he had to find a job in the provinces, in León.

But the woman who had been the leading figure in that school, Jimena Menéndez Pidal, who was the daughter of a famous medievalist, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, had decided to found her own little school, so that her son would have some kind of good education, and she founded a small school called Estudio and put it into a building that was owned by an American group, the institute—what's it called—the International Institute for Girls in Spain. It was founded by a religious group, a missionary group, in Boston back in 1895.

05-00:03:13

Lage:

A Protestant missionary group?

05-00:03:12

Herr:

By a private missionary group, yeah. Basically aimed at—I think it came out of the women's colleges in New England. It was aimed at educating Spanish women so they could go to the university. And so they let Jimena's school, Estudio, use their rooms because they didn't have much to do during this period. We had relations cut off with Spain officially. Our son Charles, who was then three, I guess, or four, went to their earliest class, and we got in touch with the people there, so our children have since then all gone to Estudio. The older ones, Elena's children, went to the Estudio when it was still in the building of the International Institute, and the younger ones went to a new, very fancy building they'd built on the outskirts of Madrid with money from their own graduates in the 1960s.

05-00:04:16

Lage:

And did it have to kind of be quiet?

05-00:04:18

Herr:

Well, yes. There was no coeducation allowed in Spain, at this time, at the high school level. You could at the university, but they had boys and girls in this school, so they had a girls' entrance and a boys' entrance in different doors to the building, and they would get together in classrooms afterwards. There was a warning bell if anybody came that looked official—they'd all skittle over so the girls were all in one classroom and the boys were in other classrooms, so it looked like they weren't having coeducation. But they were.

That was the society we were in—that was one level of the society, and as I say, they were looking back to the old days of the Republic. It was sort of their ideal. My father-in-law, who's a jeweler, appraiser, had gone back. He couldn't get his job back at the official pawn shop, the Monte de Piedad, and he was dealing in, I think I said this, in watches. But I had a lot of connections

with him. Every day, his group, the people he knew, would meet for drinks at 1:00 in a little bar in central Madrid just off the Puerta del Sol and do unofficial business among themselves there, drink wine for about an hour and then go home for lunch. I always went to these gatherings. He always invited me, so I got to know a lot of this sort of small merchant community of Madrid. There you felt, really, this sense of tension. I know that some of them—people did wear special costumes that were put on to show that they'd made a *voto* to religion, they'd just wear the same colored shirt all day long and not change their clothes. You could see them always wearing their *voto* shirt.

05-00:06:14

Lage: Now what did it show?

05-00:06:09

Herr: Well, it showed that he'd made a promise, a promise to do something religious, a religious promise, that he would not do something or other—I don't know what the actual promise he might have made, but—

05-00:06:25

Lage: But was this a political—

05-00:06:29

Herr: But it was the political evidence that he was being religious.

05-00:06:32

Lage: I see.

05-00:06:33

Herr: That he was okay, and he could be then with people who were considered maybe not very safe and this would protect him.

05-00:06:42

Lage: And did your father-in-law—

05-00:06:40

Herr: No. He didn't have anything to do with that. He would have nothing to do with the church of any kind.

05-00:06:46

Lage: Because he was pretty anti-clerical, I think you said.

05-00:06:48

Herr: Oh he was terribly anti-clerical, yes, he would not do that. But I remember being taken aside by people, and whispering, and then they'd say, "Watch that man over there. I think he's an agent. Don't say anything right now." And then they'd take me aside and say, "Don't believe that we all like Franco, because we don't all like Franco, but don't say anything!" [chuckling]

05-00:07:05

Lage: Yeah, so there was a lot of fear.

05-00:07:06

Herr: There was a lot of fear, there was a lot of anxiety, yeah.

05-00:07:08

Lage: Well, there was a lot of killing, wasn't there?

05-00:07:11

Herr: It was also a very sexist community at that point, because Elena, we'd taken bicycles with us from France, and she used to take our son to his school on a bicycle by the seat at the back, and she'd get tremendous comments from the men on the street at riding on a bicycle—"Look! We can see your legs."

You just realized that you were in a different society, a different community, and that it was—that is a story I should tell. I wrote a letter to the senator in charge of the Foreign Relations Committee, I forget his name now, he was from Maine, but there were a lot of newspaper articles coming out in Spain about how everybody in the United States liked Franco. We were, in fact, at that point working toward the 1953 treaty with Franco, and so the people were saying that Franco is safe because France has Communists, Italy has Communists—it's during the Korean War—if Russia attacks Europe, and they were afraid it might, Spain will stand up against them because Franco is so much opposed to them. So I wrote this letter saying, "There are just people here waiting for—as they called him, Uncle Whiskers, to come, so they can rise up against Franco. Don't believe this that—" And I had somebody take it and mail it from France, so that it wouldn't get caught in the mail somehow—a letter being addressed to an American senator might easily have gotten opened. And I got a letter back from him and his comment was—"It was thinking like yours that lost China to the Communists."

05-00:08:44

Lage: Oh my.

05-00:08:46

Herr: So obviously it wasn't getting across to them that Franco might not be as safe as they thought, or at least that Spain might not be as safe as they thought.

05-00:08:56

Lage: And then they recognized Spain shortly thereafter.

05-00:08:59

Herr: Well, yeah, we made a treaty with Spain. We made the agreement in 1953, reopened diplomatic relations which had been cut off after the Second World War.

05-00:09:10

Lage: Now in this—as you were living there—you were studying the past, but were you also keeping notes on the conditions.

05-00:09:16

Herr:

Oh I was taking, yes, I kept a lot of clippings from newspapers, because the newspapers, curiously, they were still writing articles about the great heroes of the Second World War—and they were the Germans and the Italian fighters. This great Italian aviator or this German leader, and so on, and so forth. Sunday supplement sort of things. I'd kept a lot of those. We went on a trip to Paris, because we went and picked up my mother and father. They came and visited us in Spain. They bought a car in Paris, and we drove down to Madrid with them, and while we were gone our maid cleaned up the apartment for them and threw away all my clippings. She said, "Oh you just had all those newspaper things. I just threw them out." [chuckling]

05-00:09:56

Lage:

Oh dear. Maybe they're all digitized now.

05-00:09:57

Herr:

I suspect if you went back to the newspapers in those days and researched some, you could certainly find them. But it was—I was curious. I had them nice at hand, and I could use them, and I've never gone back to try and remake them, no.

05-00:10:03

Lage:

Well, were there other things that you want to mention, how they may have—

05-00:10:12

Herr:

I think that pretty well covers that period. Or—you could go into greater detail. But it was certainly a divided society, and we lived with the *rojos*—oh, that was another thing I could say, that I went to see somebody in the embassy once for the same mission, to tell them, "Look, don't think that all the reports you're getting from your officials here are correct. That there are, in fact, lots of people who do not like Franco and would love to see the government change." And I think he was sort of the political attaché, whom I was speaking to, and he said, "You know, this is very interesting. We never got to talk to people like that. I've never had reports like this, because we don't get to meet these people."

05-00:10:58

Lage:

They'd talk just to the upper classes?

05-00:10:58

Herr:

Well, they talked to the people presented to them by the government, the relations, yeah. And I guess other people didn't want to be seen going into the American embassy, because that might be dangerous.

05-00:11:09

Lage:

Sure.

05-00:11:09

Herr:

And besides, they're not going to go and volunteer on their own to talk about their group. They didn't want to betray anybody. When I came back to the

States, I was actually interviewed by the CIA, or by somebody for about four days on what I knew about Spain [RH added in editing: “Two afternoons is more accurate”], and all the people, and I didn’t—I think I kept people’s names to myself, but I certainly told them all of the people I’d known. We had a maid who said she was just waiting for Uncle Whiskers to arrive, and she said, “I have my list of the people that I’m going to get.” And she meant to kill.

05-00:11:39

Lage: Now she was talking about Uncle Sam.

05-00:11:42

Herr: This was our maid who worked for us.

05-00:11:48

Lage: I know, but Uncle Whiskers was—

05-00:11:50

Herr: Uncle Whiskers is Stalin.

05-00:11:50

Lage: Oh Stalin! I didn’t get that.

05-00:11:49

Herr: Yes.

05-00:11:55

Lage: I was thinking of Uncle Sam.

05-00:11:54

Herr: No, Uncle Whiskers was Stalin, *Tío Bigotes*.

05-00:12:02

Lage: Ah, so she wanted to—

05-00:12:00

Herr: She was waiting for *Tío Bigotes* to cross the Pyrenees, and she says, “And I have my list of the people that I have to get.”

05-00:12:12

Lage: Wow, that’s interesting.

05-00:12:12

Herr: That’s the sort of thing I could tell the CIA.

05-00:12:15

Lage: What did you have—what sense did you have of what the CIA was trying to—

05-00:12:19

Herr: Well, they—I suppose they just wanted to know as much as they could about Spain, and certainly about the opposition groups in Spain and what the

sentiment was. They had, I think, quite honestly thought if they could only get a group together that made sense, they might try and replace Franco, or oppose him, but then couldn't get any group they would trust, because with the opposition, the exiles, were divided really, between the pro-Communists, and the Republicans who were against the Communists. And I think probably the government was afraid of the pro-Communists getting control of Spain, as they had been already during the Civil War.

05-00:13:02

Lage: That was their primary concern.

05-00:13:04

Herr: Yeah, and so the treaty with Franco—it gave us bases there, air bases and a naval base, and that was what the United States was interested in. I think—the one thing that Truman held out for, Franco wanted an agreement that would say that we'd send only Catholic soldiers, and—

05-00:13:29

Lage: Truman wanted?

05-00:13:31

Herr: No Truman resisted that. He said we would not make a treaty—he said our soldiers just had to go with the members in the army.

05-00:13:32

Lage: Franco—

05-00:13:40

Herr: They were—maybe not so much Franco as, I think it was the Bishop of Seville who was quite important, Segura, as I recall, his name is, really did not want Protestants coming into Spain, and there was some negotiation. Apparently one of the pressure points they were trying to get was to make the Americans send only Catholic soldiers.

05-00:13:55

Lage: That would be—

05-00:14:03

Herr: This is all without documentation on my part. It's probably rumor, what I've heard, but that's certainly the story that was around then.

05-00:14:10

Lage: Yeah, interesting. Were there many scholars in Spain doing research like yourself?

05-00:14:15

Herr: We had a very good friend—yes, I think there were people going over. Two in literature that I can think of. One was Elias [L.] Rivers, who later got a job at Johns Hopkins. I can't think of the name of the other one. He ended up in Texas, but we were working in the archives together and knew each other

[John Dowling]. We have a nice New Year's Eve photograph at a nice restaurant, all dressed formally. In those days, you took your tux with you.

05-00:14:50

Lage: Yeah, interesting. So let's get you back to the States, and the next thing is Yale.

05-00:14:57

Herr: The next thing is Yale—getting a job is the next thing, finish up my dissertation. And let me tell you, 1952 was no time to be looking for a job, because all the people who'd gone in with the G.I. Bill were now getting their degrees, their PhDs, and looking for jobs, and suddenly all the younger people were off fighting in Korea. They'd started taking people off, so they didn't need teachers.

05-00:15:21

Lage: Oh, there weren't as many students.

05-00:15:22

Herr: There weren't as many students, and there were plenty of people looking for jobs. I remember that summer, when I was looking for a job, there were two openings that I remember that I applied for, that I could apply for. One was in a small college in North Dakota, and the other was a Lutheran school in Ohio, and I think that they wrote letters back saying something to the effect that they'd had 500 applicants, and they were looking for people with publications and teaching experience, and I just didn't qualify. Luckily for me, somebody from Yale went through the University of Chicago and saw my professor, Gottschalk, and said, "Well, actually we're looking for someone who can do Latin American history." And he said, "Well, I don't know, I have somebody who's working on the history of Spain." And they said, "Maybe that's close enough." So that's why they took me. They just wanted someone who would teach their freshman course.

05-00:16:10

Lage: In Latin American history.

05-00:16:12

Herr: Well, no, this was actually in the general Western civ course, but then you teach your own little section of your own little seminar, and that was to be in Latin American history. I ended up teaching a course on Spain in Spanish America during the colonial period up to 1870, I guess.

05-00:16:33

Lage: So at least you were able to modify it to include—

05-00:16:37

Herr: Oh yes, I included Spain, and in fact, I probably did more on Spain than Latin America. The Latin American historian at Chicago [J. Fred Rippy], I went to see him about this and he says, "Oh well, all you need is two books." And he

told me, one is by [Hubert] Herring and the other one was by [Bailey W.] Diffie and they are on the colonial period in Latin America, and he says, “Just put them under the table and that’s all you need.” [laughter]

05-00:17:00

Lage: Oh that was good! That’s wonderful. Had you had Latin American—

05-00:17:06

Herr: No, and I didn’t have—

05-00:17:02

Lage: Just, but you spoke—

05-00:17:07

Herr: And then when I got to Yale, after a year, they said, “Well, you know, we really do need a Latin Americanist if you’d start thinking about making that your field.” And then my recollection was that I said to them, I said, “That’s such a different area. I’m really a historian of France primarily, and Spain is sort of the secondary, and I’m a historian of Europe. To go into Latin America is an entirely different world with different ethnic groups, and I just can’t make that—so unless you can promise me a position—they said, “Oh well, no, we can’t promise you the position.” So I said, “Well, thank you, no.” And then the person who actually got it later, whose name was Mario Rodríguez, who was one of our PhDs here; I think he was one of Engel Sluiter’s PhDs. He said they took him aside and they said, “Well, we don’t understand this man. We offered him the job in Latin American history, and he turned it down.” [chuckling]

05-00:17:50

Lage: What was Yale like? Can you either contrast it with Chicago? Or—

05-00:17:57

Herr: What was Yale like?

05-00:17:59

Lage: —later with Berkeley.

05-00:18:01

Herr: Well—oh it’s quite different from any of those because it really was a high-level eastern college. I mean, the college was important and the graduate program was important too, but where Yale had its emphasis was on college teaching.

05-00:18:19

Lage: On the undergraduate.

05-00:18:15

Herr: On the undergraduates, yeah. They have the colleges—in Harvard they called them houses, built in the thirties. I became a fellow of one of the colleges after, I guess, the first year or so, which meant that I could go to their lunch

and have lunch with the students regularly, or with the other members of the faculty. I always taught small undergraduate seminars. My one on Spain and Spanish America was small, and then later on I had other seminars, but the emphasis was on your undergraduate teaching, and our chairman would call us in each year and compare our enrollment with the current year with the enrollment from last year and see if you're going up or going down.

05-00:19:00

Lage: To see how popular your courses were?

05-00:19:05

Herr: To see how popular you were.

05-00:19:07

Lage: How interesting.

05-00:19:03

Herr: There was—the main teaching was actually the Western civ course, and that was a wonderful course.

05-00:19:18

Lage: But still small?

05-00:19:20

Herr: The sections we had were small. It was a big course, but there were about eight of us, instructors. The label was instructor and the salary was little. We started at \$3,000 a year, and it was very clear that it was a revolving door. It was not a tenure-track job at all. So I think I had two sections. There were about fifteen students in the section, and there were probably eight of us as well as the two professors, so we were probably ten people. I think the course itself probably had 250 people, which was, for Yale, was a fairly large course.

05-00:19:53

Lage: But they didn't turn these small sections over to their graduate students.

05-00:19:57

Herr: No. They did not allow—they were very proud of the fact that they did not use graduate students to teach. They used regular instructors. Actually you just happened to be graduate students from someplace else, but it meant that we got some teaching experience, which I couldn't at Chicago because they had the same rule.

05-00:20:18

Lage: Oh, that's right.

05-00:20:19

Herr: They'd look at Harvard and say, "Well, Harvard uses its graduate students, but we don't. We have regular instructors." And of course, we didn't have our PhDs yet, any of us.

05-00:20:29

Lage: So the implication was that if you had been in Latin America, then they would consider you for a tenure track.

05-00:20:35

Herr: They would consider you eventually for promotion. There was no such thing as tenure track, because tenure track implies that there is a regular slot open if you're good enough to go up. And at a place like Yale then, or Harvard, there were no places open. They just had a limited number of tenured faculty, and until somebody retired, nobody else could be promoted. There wasn't the kind of expansion that was going on here.

05-00:21:00

Lage: Now was the ambience in the department—were you swept up into department? Or were you a separate—

05-00:21:06

Herr: We were sort of a separate—well, for instance, we always called all the tenured faculty Mr. So and So. And they, of course, would call us by our first names. So there was, definitely, a different level. There was no question about it.

05-00:21:15

Lage: Well, I've read about the sherry hours and a formality of dress. Was that—

05-00:21:25

Herr: Yeah, of course, you always taught with—well, here in the sixties you taught with a necktie. I think it was really after the seventies that we started, some of the younger people took off their neckties. I always taught with a necktie here. Of course, then, the students really considered you faculty. For them you were a faculty person. They didn't call you by the first name either. I was Mr. Herr to them.

05-00:21:44

Lage: And they were—

05-00:21:49

Herr: They were Mr. So and So to me, yeah.

05-00:21:47

Lage: Well, that was true here in the sixties, too.

05-00:21:48

Herr: Was it?

05-00:21:54

Lage: Right, yes, I remember well.

05-00:21:58

Herr: But this course—I think of it because we taught out of a book. There were lectures, but we taught out of a book of collected documents that they had

prepared—Mendenhall, Henning, and Ford were the three authors. Tom Mendenhall was the head of the course. That has stuck with me—a lot of my history teaching since then has been based on these very good sources that they got, medieval documents, arguments during the reformation, legal documents during the English Civil War, and all that, the French Revolution. They had a tremendously good collection of documents they'd worked up, and they taught us how to use them, because they [teachers at other colleges] asked, "How do people use them?" "Oh, we ask our students to read them." No, we didn't just ask our students to read them. We had to go to get together beforehand and indicate how we were going to use these documents to bring out certain points. So I annotated those. I used them for seven years and annotated them very carefully, and they've stuck with me. I keep quoting them in various things, in fact, my present book that I hope is going to get published is—a lot of it, the original documents, the citations, started out by being taught at that point.

05-00:23:13

Lage: Did you also use them in your teaching here?

05-00:23:14

Herr: For my lectures, yeah. Some of them I used as handouts, yeah.

05-00:23:23

Lage: But is that a good way to teach, do you think? Asking students to analyze—

05-00:23:26

Herr: Well, we didn't do it the same way here, no, because—at Yale I used to, yeah, I think we could give them documents to read, but usually, I think, [here] we gave them longer things, like a full book to look at.

05-00:23:42

Lage: Or sometimes there's compilations of documents that professors—

05-00:23:40

Herr: No, I've never used that here, but I've used it myself. It was a very focused thing, because you would look at the English Civil War on the basis of these documents, you know, and it meant a lot of close reading by the students. I don't think you could have enforced it here at that level probably.

05-00:24:09

Lage: It probably works best in that small seminar setting.

05-00:24:08

Herr: You had a longer time to work with the students, yeah.

05-00:24:13

Lage: Well, did that experience at Yale leave other—that sounds like a lasting effect on you. Are there other—

05-00:24:20

Herr: Yeah, well, I've tried—I considered myself a historian of France and of modern Europe, and I was asking them—they wanted me to develop, I guess, a course in Latin American history—I don't know if it ever came to that formal a request, but I saw that there was a course that they lacked a professor for, an instructor—it was in modern Europe, Europe since 1815, and I requested after—why don't they let me teach it. So I did get to teach the lecture course. That was the first time I'd had a lecture course. I modeled myself on the person I'd had at Harvard, who was William [L.] Langer, who was full of information. So my lectures were full of information—I'd put on the board ten names and some events and this, that, and the other, and then lecture around them. And I think the students found that very tedious and tiresome, and I didn't have the kind of reputation that Langer had, so I did not get that great a reputation as a teacher.

05-00:25:30

Lage: Did you get—

05-00:25:31

Herr: But I learned a lot! My great thing about these years at Yale is that I learned all the material of the western civ course; I learned the material about Latin America and the Latin American revolutions at the time of the French Revolution and afterwards. I learned my Spanish history, and then I did all my lectures on Europe since 1815, so I had a tremendous amount of breadth of information and—teach it—

05-00:26:00

Lage: Just ready for a job to open up!

05-00:26:01

Herr: Just ready for a job to open up, yes.

05-00:26:03

Lage: Why don't you talk a bit about coming to Berkeley for that year, in the mid-fifties—

05-00:26:06

Herr: All right. Yes. Let me take something else first.

05-00:26:14

Lage: Okay.

05-00:26:16

Herr: Because when we went to Yale, we went with very little money. And the first year we were there we had now one son and Elena was pregnant, so our second son was born in that first year. We hired a Quonset hut to live in, you know, one of these round things.

05-00:26:39

Lage: Left over from the war years?

05-00:26:40

Herr:

No, it had been built by a railway engineer, somebody who drove railway engines, for his son who had come back from the war, and he had applied to go to Yale, and he thought he was going to go to Yale. I guess he had gotten married, so his father built him this little hut on his back yard, and then his son didn't get admitted to Yale. So he had it to rent, and so we discovered this rental announcement and went and hired it. It was in New Haven, and it cost twenty-five dollars a month, which was just about what we could afford.

We realized we didn't want to stay there permanently, so we hunted for a house and found one twenty miles away in a place called Madison. It was an 1820s house which was in pretty dilapidated condition. It had been in the hands of an immigrant family from Yugoslavia for some fifty years, had been sold, and now was being sold again. We got it, I think, for 3,500 dollars—no, I take that back, we got it for 9,000 dollars with four acres. My father put up \$3,500 so we could get it, so we could get a mortgage [4 percent mortgage for veterans].

But that brought us into a conflict with the community, because this house was at a crossroads, and in front of the house, going around the corner of the crossroads there had been a shortcut made over the years, many years, by cars, and the deeds did not specify the boundaries of the property. They simply said they went up to the highway on the north and the highway on the east, and so it turned out the local neighbors decided that we shouldn't get the little triangle that had been cut off.

05-00:28:33

Lage:

But you were aware that this originally had been part of the property? Even though the deed—

05-00:28:38

Herr:

Well, the deed—we got the deed, and the way it was explained to us we assumed that we had that property out beyond this shortcut which went about five feet away from our front door.

05-00:28:43

Lage:

Oh, that close.

05-00:28:48

Herr:

Oh yeah, it was very close. It was as close as you are to me—well, call this eight feet [chuckling]. But then you had the steps in between. We'd understood that we had that piece of property, but then the neighbors said, "No, no, you don't have that piece of property." And we said, "Oh yes, we do." I forget how the conflict actually developed, but we put out a sign—no, the city came and put a sign out just smack in front of our door. As soon as you walked out the door there was this sign saying "Green Hill Park, Property Town of Madison." And we put up a sign, but not an equally big sign, but with a small sign in the middle saying "Private Property, Keep Out." And then

the newspapers got this and you could see these two signs, one is next to the other.

We went to court. We talked to our lawyer, who was a very nice person, a Yale graduate, in New Haven, and decided to take—the question was, what did it mean when it said the property goes up to the Green Hill Road on the north side and Horse Pond Road on the east side. Or it doesn't even say the names, it just says to the highway on the north and the highway on the east. I spent time in Hartford at the old registers looking at the deeds going all the way back to the eighteenth century when it was described as going to a certain tree and to a certain rock. But it always said it was north and east was this.

Well, the argument of the town was that on this little triangle there had been a schoolhouse. There had been a one-room schoolhouse from the eighteenth century to 1921, and so, of course, it was public property. Well, as a matter of fact, and it was fairly well known, that many little schoolhouses, rural schoolhouses had not been on public property, they'd just borrowed the land from the owner that it was put on, it was assumed that it would go back to the owner when the school was taken off. It took us seven years to finally solve this problem, but meanwhile, in 19—before I came out to Berkeley, in 1965, there was a hurricane that hit Connecticut.

05-00:31:05

Lage:

No wait—'55.

05-00:31:11

Herr:

Fifty-five, sorry, '55, that hit Connecticut, and we were in our house, and we'd been remaking this house. We had to take out many old beams that were rotten and put in new beams. We tore down—there were two barns, we tore one down to get the beams to put in the house, big oak beams like this that we'd saw and could put in the right place. Elena and I did almost all the work ourselves, put in electricity, put in heating, put in plumbing. It hadn't been plumbed—it had been plumbed all over, because the toilet was in one corner and there was a bathtub off in another room over here and some sinks up here, and we tried to get them all together and make two bathrooms. But this hurricane drenched us with a tremendous amount of water. It went right through the clapboards and soaked the wall, and outside it filled up the road in front of the door, so it was a great big puddle, tremendous.

05-00:32:08

Lage:

The land in question became a puddle?

05-00:32:10

Herr:

Well, the land in question kept the puddle from going out to the main road, and the town crew came out to get rid of that water, because trucks were driving through there, and so they started digging this great big trench right through what we considered our property, to the main road, and Elena who was rather fiery, yes, went out and said, "I'm not going to let them do it." So

she went out with a shovel and started shoveling the dirt back in the trench that they were digging. So then I went out to help her, and I got quite angry at them and I tore their sign out that said Green Hill Park and tossed it in their truck, and they called the police. The police came and they said that we were disturbing the work of this crew, which we were, and Elena said—oh, at one point one of the men had come up to Elena and she said, “You come close to me, and I’ll hit you with a shovel.” So when the police came, he said, “That woman hit me with a shovel.” And she said, “I want him taken to a doctor to see.” Well, he was taken to a doctor and came out with a bandage.

And we realized, suddenly, how this, in a sense, what a corrupt sort of organization a small town could be, because these people knew this was our property from the beginning, so we were arrested. We were on our way to Berkeley at that point, within about two weeks, had to go and stand trial. Our lawyer says, “Don’t plead not guilty, because they will certainly prove that you’re guilty. They’ve got five witnesses and you don’t have any.” So he said, just plead nolo contendere, and they can’t use it to sue you afterwards, because they’ll sue you, certainly, for the damages to this man’s face, you know, because they’ll have their five witnesses. So we pled nolo con[tendere].

05-00:34:06

Lage:

So he understood how it was happening.

05-00:34:06

Herr:

Oh, he understood what was happening, and so we pled nolo contendere, and then the judge accused us for having—I guess I’d sworn at the men at one point, and I swore, and he said, “You can’t be doing that. I’ll have to fine you and give you a police record.” So we were fined ten dollars each and had a record for a misdemeanor. And on those grounds we came out to California, leaving the house.

05-00:34:28

Lage:

So you became fugitives, almost.

05-00:34:34

Herr:

We almost came off as fugitives. Now, we were asked to come—I think this is interesting for the History Department. The reason we came to California in 1955 was because the Berkeley History Department was developing itself, I think Professor [Carl] Bridenbaugh was in charge, then, of bringing in new people. They had hired two new professors, one from Harvard and one from Yale. From Harvard, it was Franklin [L.] Ford, and Yale, it was Leonard Krieger. Both of these had been assistant professors at their college. In both cases the department had recommended them for promotion, and in both cases the university said there is no opening, so we can’t keep them. And so Berkeley hired them both, and then when the history departments heard this, used this, they went to their administration and said these people are being taken away from us by Berkeley, do you really want to lose them? So in both

cases they got their promotion, and Berkeley was furious! And I know that the chairman, I think it was probably Delmer Brown at that point—

05-00:35:43

Lage: I don't think that early it would have been Delmer Brown—no, he didn't—well—

05-00:35:49

Herr: Yeah he would have been—it might have been Jim [James F.] King?

05-00:35:44

Lage: He was there, but I think it may have been Jim King.

05-00:35:45

Herr: I think Jim King was here when I came in 1960, but I don't know who the chairman was—I would have thought it was Delmer, but maybe in '55—

05-00:35:53

Lage: We can look it up. [King was chair, 1954-1956, and Brown 1958-1962.]

05-00:35:58

Herr: We can certainly look it up. In any case, they called up our chairman and said, "You have to send somebody to teach the courses, because we've got the courses listed." And so our chairman and his—I'm blanking on his name right now, he was a historian of Africa [Harry Rudin], called me up and said, "You have a wonderful opportunity to go to Berkeley." I said, "We can't go out to Berkeley. We've got a house torn apart that's got no floor on the first floor, and we can't leave." And he said, "Oh, but you really have to go. You really should do this." So we were sort of talked into going to Berkeley. And we had to find someone who could rent a house which didn't have half the—the main living room had no floor! So you had to walk around the kitchen outside, and I forget whether there was a bathtub in it or not at that point. I forget what we rented it for, but it was something that would keep somebody in it over the winter, and came out here with a car that we paid 125 dollars for, because we didn't have a big enough car to take two children.

05-00:36:54

Lage: Oh, so you had to buy a new car.

05-00:36:59

Herr: Well, we bought a 1942 Dodge station wagon, one of these lovely old wooden Dodge station wagons, which had two breakdowns on the way out here [chuckling].

05-00:37:09

Lage: And your two children.

05-00:37:11

Herr: And two children, yes. We got as far as—somewhere between St. Louis and Denver and parked the car in front of a place to have lunch, I think, at an

angle, and when we came out it wouldn't go backwards. It just wouldn't go backwards, there was no way to get it to go backwards. The only way we could get it was to go over the sidewalk and come out this way, but there were cars in the way, so we went and tried to find everybody who owned those cars—could they move their cars so we could get—one woman was not very happy because she was under the dryer in a hairdresser.

05-00:37:43

Lage: Oh how funny!

05-00:37:45

Herr: But we did get the car and drove it all the way to Denver.

05-00:37:49

Lage: And then were careful not to have to back up.

05-00:37:45

Herr: When we finally got to Denver, we drove into the motel and forgot and just drove it straight in, so we had to have it pushed out, but there we got it fixed. So we spent—I guess—my brother was living in Denver at that point, my older brother [John], and we were going to visit him. I think we stayed a couple of days, so my garage found a piece to replace that part of the transmission that wasn't working and sent us on our way. Crossing the Rocky Mountains, the carburetor gave out and we had to call somebody to come and fix the carburetor. I remember when we finally got to Berkeley, we parked on Hearst Street, just in front of what's now the journalism building, you know the little—

05-00:38:33

Lage: Right by the North Gate.

05-00:38:38

Herr: Because we rented a house across the street from that. Where Etcheverry Hall is now there was a lovely brown shingle three-story house. Each floor was a flat, and through our very old friend of the family, Florence Minard, who's a well-known figure here in Berkeley, or was then, she'd gotten us this rental from a woman who'd gone off to teach somewhere else and wanted someone reliable to rent her little flat upstairs, so we rented across there. We parked the car across the street from there, and as we parked it, the steering gear broke, so we had it sitting there for a couple of weeks.

05-00:39:15

Lage: You just made it.

05-00:39:20

Herr: We just made it. And then we discovered I could turn the car to go left, but not right. So I found a garage that would take it, and then I had to plan the trip I could get from where it was to this other garage, which was on the other side of Ashby, or close to Ashby I guess, the building is still there, by only going left.

05-00:39:43

Lage: Oh, this is very good.

05-00:39:40

Herr: So that was our getting here.

05-00:39:45

Lage: Yes, and what did Berkeley seem like to you?

05-00:39:47

Herr: Berkeley was very different, because first of all, you called the professors by their first name. There was none of this mister stuff. I had a very big load—because now I had to teach two *new* courses. I was to teach one semester of seventeenth century Europe and the second semester of eighteenth century Europe, and I hadn't done those periods. I'd been doing 1815 to the present, and I was given the full course on the history of Spain and Portugal going back to pre-Roman times.

05-00:40:22

Lage: So you were teaching three classes.

05-00:40:23

Herr: I was teaching six new lectures a week, plus the seminar.

05-00:40:27

Lage: Were they paying you more than Yale did?

05-00:40:30

Herr: I had a higher title. I was called acting assistant professor. There must have been somewhat more money, yes. It was probably about \$4,000 or \$4,500.

05-00:40:36

Lage: Still not a huge sum.

05-00:40:38

Herr: No. What I remember is just working very hard. The curious thing about teaching—I had these three lectures on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday at nine were on Europe from the seventeenth century or the eighteenth century, and then at 1 o'clock I had to do Spain and Portugal. I would work very late at night on the early ones. I'd maybe go to bed at one or two o'clock in the morning. I have very dense lecture notes and very carefully done, and I learned a great deal. Then between ten and one, I would prepare the other lectures, so I'd get a book and read rapidly and go into the second one and just recite what I'd just read. I was much more popular in the second one than in the first one.

05-00:41:27

Lage: Isn't that funny—but you knew some about Spain, you'd taught it and you'd read about it.

05-00:41:30

Herr: Well, I did know some about Spain, I did know some about Spain, yes, but I hadn't lectured. It's one thing to teach a seminar and just have certain things that you read and teach with the students, and another to actually have to give an—

05-00:41:40

Lage: Give an overview.

05-00:41:41

Herr: Talk for forty-five minutes.

05-00:41:43

Lage: Were they large lecture classes?

05-00:41:47

Herr: The one on Europe was probably forty or fifty, fifty—it wasn't a large thing. It wasn't a Western survey, it was really for history majors, and I don't think that early modern Europe—

05-00:41:58

Lage: You didn't have TAs.

05-00:41:59

Herr: —was that exciting for them. And the other one—I don't think the Spain and Portugal was very large, there was probably twenty-five, I would have to go back and look at records to know the exact number, but what I do remember was how they liked my teaching much better when I was much more informal, because that's all I could be!

05-00:42:18

Lage: It's probably a good lesson right there.

05-00:42:20

Herr: That's right, yeah.

05-00:42:22

Lage: You said one of them led you to the book that you did on Tocqueville later, one of your classes.

05-00:42:26

Herr: That was my graduate seminar. I had a graduate seminar in French history, and I don't remember what the other readings were, but I do know I remember that we did that, and we talked about it a great deal, and I got fascinated with the book. People did research papers for me on those. One of them eventually led to his dissertation. I can't think of his name, because he didn't write with me. I only stayed here for one year, but I did get some people started, and that was a great experience. The whole thing was a very great experience for me. I enjoyed it in that way.

05-00:43:01

Lage: Did you connect with any of the younger professors at the time?

05-00:43:04

Herr: I connected with Gene Brucker and Bob Brentano quite a lot. I think they were sort of the group I felt close to and I—

05-00:43:13

Lage: They were more your age?

05-00:43:13

Herr: That's right, and I certainly was very much taken in by what they called Boltonians, if you want—Jim King and Engel Sluiter and—[Lawrence] Kinnaird wasn't, I guess, a Latin Americanist, but he was very friendly to me. This was his house at the time—we're in it now.

05-00:43:36

Lage: He lived here.

05-00:43:37

Herr: He lived here, yeah, and he was very proud of it. I never got invited to it, though, so I didn't see it. [chuckling]

05-00:43:39

Lage: Did you get invited to departmental affairs? Parties, or were you—

05-00:43:45

Herr: Yes, I'm sure I did. I don't particularly—we got to know people quite well. I know one of the things that they told us afterwards, because apparently there was real tension, apparently, in the department. I learned later, of course, that Ray Sontag was backing me and Bridenbaugh was, at that point, backing Bill Bouwsma—they were thinking about for the jobs that hadn't been taken by Lenny Krieger and Franklin Ford. But when we left, in this fancy little apartment facing on the campus, we invited the people from the faculty to our house for a farewell cocktail party, so to speak, and a number of them came, and they said a number of times that it was the first time they'd been together at a social event for a long time, because they hadn't been going to each other's—

05-00:44:45

Lage: Because there had been these tensions.

05-00:44:48

Herr: Because there was that kind of tension, yeah. And the other event I recall was I was asked to give a lecture—maybe Jim King was the chairman, because I remember he came by and asked if he could read my dissertation, and I said sure. I spent the year, besides these six lectures, rewriting my dissertation. I'd gotten the degree in '54 and Franklin Baumer at Yale had looked at it and said, "It needs a little social background. It's just an intellectual picture of what was happening in Spain." So I spent the year here—it's got a great

library for that—reading the eighteenth century travelers to Spain, French travelers, English travelers, a man named Townsend from Clare Hall, Cambridge, and worked up two chapters on the economy of Spain and the society of Spain in the eighteenth century, which became one of the critical parts of the book when it was finally published, I think what people liked most, so that was what was going on here for me. That was what I did on Tuesday and Thursday.

05-00:45:57

Lage: So you found the library helpful.

05-00:45:59

Herr: The library here has a great collection in Spanish history, and I was asked to give a talk to the faculty, to the history faculty on what I was doing. I said sure, and so—the talk was in the little log cabin.

05-00:46:13

Lage: Oh, in Senior Men's Hall.

05-00:46:14

Herr: The Senior Men's Hall, yes, I spoke and they all listened and asked me questions on this, that, and the other. And I thought that was very nice of them.

05-00:46:25

Lage: Did you speak on your dissertation?

05-00:46:26

Herr: I spoke on my dissertation, yes, on the impact of the French Revolution on Spain, which was what it was about, and then when it was all over, they said goodbye, and we said goodbye, and we took our car which had now been fixed—

05-00:46:42

Lage: The same car.

05-00:46:43

Herr: The same car—it had developed mushrooms during the winter from the rain in the wooden ceiling, and that had been fixed, too, by some place down on the other side of Oakland. We drove back, a lovely drive back through the southern—we went through Arizona and New Mexico, Texas. We went to New Orleans. We went to Florida. We went up through Charleston and Mount Vernon and eventually got back to New Haven, and I went to see my chairman and his first words were, “Oh, it's too bad they didn't hire you.” No, in fact, he said, “It's too bad the vote went against you.” And I said, “What vote?” And he said, “Well, didn't you understand? Oh yes, they voted on whether they were going to hire you or not.”

05-00:47:26

Lage: And you never were—

05-00:47:26

Herr: I never was told anything about it.

05-00:47:28

Lage: That's a very odd way to go about doing a personnel action.

05-00:47:34

Herr: That's right. No, I was never—they'd asked, apparently that's why they had my dissertation, so they could all look at it, and that's why I had to give my talk, and I've learned—later, maybe it was from Bridenbaugh or somebody, they were divided between whether it was to be me or Bill Bouwsma. Bridenbaugh wanted Bouwsma and Sontag wanted me, and the department was—eventually they hired me three years later.

05-00:47:53

Lage: Did you have much of a relationship with Sontag? Or get to know him?

05-00:47:59

Herr: Yes—I never went to his house as I recall. You know the person whose house I went to—was his name Hicks? He was a famous—

05-00:48:12

Lage: John [D.] Hicks.

05-00:48:12

Herr: Yes, a famous historian of the United States. [a telephone is ringing in the background] There was a big party for the department there at his house, and I remember going to that. I think we went to the house of—what's his name, the historian of California who committed suicide. I can't think of his name right now [Walton Bean]. I have to go back and look, but in any case, I think he had us to his house too. But not much that way. One person we had very good relations with was the son of the woman who ran the school in Spain, Madrid—Menéndez Pidal's son, Diego Catalán. Her husband's name was Catalán. He was the grandson of the great medievalist, and he was here.

05-00:49:12

Lage: At Berkeley.

05-00:49:12

Herr: At Berkeley as a visiting professor from Spain. He was younger than us, but Elena had known him as a student, as a child, and he was here with his wife and first child, and we had a lot to do together. We traveled; we went around in the Dodge station wagon, the *rubia* as they called it in Spanish, "*Es una rubia.*" That's a blonde. We went to Yosemite. I think we went down to Santa Barbara, so we had a very close community, and that was very useful being good friends afterwards.

05-00:49:43

Lage: How did you like the communities? Madison, which you didn't seem too happy with, versus Berkeley.

05-00:49:45

Herr: Oh we liked Madison. We liked our house very much. Here? We weren't thinking about staying.

05-00:49:55

Lage: Yeah. You didn't have that sense at all.

05-00:49:55

Herr: We were just visitors. We were just visitors, yeah.

05-00:49:59

Lage: Back in Madison, did you like—

05-00:50:00

Herr: We did—one place that we did go to, and this was curious, we went down to see my father's two sisters in Pasadena, and we went to Disneyworld.

05-00:50:19

Lage: Disneyland.

05-00:50:19

Herr: Disneyland, Disneyland, yes. It had just opened.

05-00:50:22

Lage: Which was new.

05-00:50:23

Herr: It had just opened the year before. It was just opened the year before, and we took these two ladies, my two aunts and one of their husbands to see it, and they had a great time. We all had a great time going out to Disneyland. As I said, it was just beginning. They knew it was something to go to, and one of my aunts had lost two sons. One had died in a fire, and one had died in an automobile accident. And she apparently got turned on because we now had two little boys, and so they put us into their will, or put them into their will when they died. In fact, all of their nephews, or grand-nephews, whatever they were, but not the grand-nieces, which got my brothers' daughters kind of upset! I guess that sort of covers the time. No—you wanted to ask about the panty raid.

05-00:51:22

Lage: Yeah, the panty raid, and what that told you about the Berkeley campus in the mid-fifties, what did you—

05-00:51:29

Herr: Well, it was—clearly—fraternities, sororities, basketball, or mostly football, I think, in those days, were very important events. The co-eds were distinctly co-eds, they were girls, they were women, there was a sense of that as there was at Yale. The thing about Yale was often the students disappeared on Thursday afternoon and didn't get back until sometime Monday, because there were no girl's colleges around Yale, so they were all up at Smith or Vassar or someplace like that, and they'd all come back and spend their time

explaining to each other how much they'd got accomplished or whom they'd seen while they were gone. [chuckling] And here you had some of that sense too. There were—I didn't get the sense that studying was all that important to a lot of the undergraduates, but I'm not sure it was at Yale either for some of them. In any case, it must have been in May of '56, and this would surely be in the records—it was one of these days where it gets very hot in May sometimes, you get this eastern wind that comes in, and it happened at that point and students got outside in what was then the fraternity row up on Piedmont.

05-00:52:55

Lage: Piedmont. Still is, I would say.

05-00:52:57

Herr: Still is, yes, still is. And started throwing water balloons at each other, and then eventually started throwing water balloons at passing cars and especially if they were *décapotable*, if they were, what do you call them—convertibles. And from that it led to attacking other people, and I don't know how it started as a panty raid, but by the evening it had gotten to the point where the crowds of young men were invading the women's dormitories, the sororities, and seizing underwear. And this was—the panty raid is something had been known about it, it isn't as if they'd suddenly invented it.

05-00:53:44

Lage: Yeah, it was a rite of—

05-00:53:47

Herr: It was a rite of passage. I don't know—but instead of calling in the police, the administration, I guess, decided just to fence the place—let them have it. Let them have their fun. The Berkeley police started telling the cars not to go in the area, and other cars were directed around the campus so that they didn't go through Gayley Road there. And it got—we were living in our little house here, and there was a women's residence behind it which we could see out our house, and you could see lights going on and people rushing up and down and things going out. It eventually ended apparently, because the women took it unto themselves just to stop it, you know, and some fraternities decided this had gone far enough. Furthermore, people had come in from outside, high school students, and it had become really quite violent and the women, some women protected their place, apparently, by heating their irons for ironing and holding them out, threatening anybody to come in to get burned. I guess by midnight it had quieted down.

05-00:54:49

Lage: And it did carry over to the north side?

05-00:55:06

Herr: Oh it carried over to the north side, here, to the residences over here. That's what we could see, but when you walked out the next morning, there was just women's underwear everywhere. Pieces of clothing hanging on trees and

thrown up there. And girls had lost a tremendous amount—and not only clothing, but they'd lost watches and they'd had their rooms ransacked. Clark Kerr was chancellor then, and he tried to explain this is what happens sometimes in riots, and he was explaining this is not all that serious. I think some of the sororities probably got upset with how he handled it.

05-00:55:49

Lage: It's interesting.

05-00:55:49

Herr: But they gathered—people said, well bring in all the clothing. So people collected all this clothing and took it to the police station in the bottom of Sproul Hall, and the police station put out tables and they put out—

05-00:56:00

Lage: You could come and get it.

05-00:56:01

Herr: One table for bras, and one table for socks, stockings, and this, that, and the other, and girls would just come and look, see if they could find anything that would fit them, because they'd lost all of their underwear.

05-00:56:10

Lage: Did people take it as a joke? Or were some people upset about it?

05-00:56:13

Herr: I think a lot of people were upset about it.

05-00:56:18

Lage: Was there any violence in terms of rape or anything like that?

05-00:56:20

Herr: No, but there were some stories about women being stripped, but I think that was just stories that were put out because it's the sort of thing that people would say. No, I don't get the sense that any woman was actually raped.

05-00:56:32

Lage: It was just—less than ten years later we had the FSM.

05-00:56:36

Herr: That's right. This is really the sandbox attitude of the undergraduates, yes, that fun is a panty raid.

05-00:56:44

Lage: Right. And also the way the university dealt with it if they did have this kind of hands off—

05-00:56:48

Herr: That's right. Yeah, they weren't going to bring in police on this, no.

05-00:56:50

Lage: [chuckling] Interesting. Okay. Anything else to say about that time?

05-00:56:55

Herr: I think we should move on.

05-00:56:57

Lage: I think we can move on, and then you're back—

05-00:57:06

Herr: Back at Yale.

05-00:57:07

Lage: Did you ever resolve your problem with the house? Or how did it get resolved?

05-00:57:11

Herr: Eventually it came to trial, about '58 or '59, and we went to court and our lawyer was very good. There is a photograph, and I have it—some of the neighbors were on our side. It was curious, because you'd really feel that there was a lower class and an upper class and the upper class, or at least the old folks, the old people, they weren't very much more upper class than any of the others, but they were old timers. They were the people who got elected to the office, because the woman living across from us who was really one of the instigators of this, she was the widow of the first selectmen, he's a famous first [selectman]. Mr. Kelsey, his name was. She was the one who was working on everyone to get this.

There were people who had been themselves hurt by this society, and one of them came and brought us some photographs of the little schoolhouse. She'd been there as a child, and so she'd kept these little postcards. One of the postcards actually showed this little road, this cutoff, as it was before the schoolhouse went in 1921, so it was about 1915 or somewhere, 1920. Mrs. Muezer, the widow of the man who'd owned it for fifty years, was brought in as a witness by the town to say that she'd always thought that it was town property. I think somebody said that they kept their animals out there. They had, they'd kept their cows out there. She says, "Oh yes, we kept our cows out there, but we knew it was public property."

So our lawyer brought out this little postcard which showed the schoolhouse and this little one-track road going beside the main house and said, "Is this what it looked like when you were there." And she said, "Oh yes, it looked just like that." And the lawyer handed it to the judge and said, "This is what the road, this is what they call—." And the judge says, "Is this what you're calling the highway?" And the town lawyer had to say, "Yes." Well of course it wasn't—but that was what won the case for us, it was clearly that it was not a highway.

05-00:59:27

Lage: It was just a little dirt path.

05-00:59:33

Herr: The description had been out to the boundary to the highway back to the nineteenth century, and this was just a sort of a one-track thing that was running through. There was no highway, so we won the case.

05-00:59:39

Lage: Okay. I'm going to stop you right there.

[Begin Audio File Herr 6 03-13-08.mp3]

06-00:00:02

Lage: We're back on again. Tape six, I believe this is, continuing our third session. Just to wind up your discussion about the home in Connecticut, and the problems you had with the town. This had an impact, you said, on your scholarship.

06-00:00:21

Herr: This had a very big impact on us, yes. I think we really, both of us, learned what it was to be the underdog in a social situation or in a political situation. We were the outsiders and we weren't peasants, but I could understand what it would have been like to be a peasant with a lord over you with no way of fighting him. Fortunately, we had a way of fighting him. We were looked on as outsiders. We had newspaper articles about this, and one of the interesting, amusing articles was from, I think, a Bridgeport newspaper which I never saw, but it was told to me and it started out, the report on our event with the police saying, "Mexican-born Yale professor and his Spanish wife were hot as two tamales yesterday afternoon." [laughter] So you could see that they were attaching the outside, the foreign sort of element to this. We were foreigners, we were coming in, and they were going to handle this properly. From the American thing, you could think of what foreigners must have suffered in this country, but I attached very much to what you feel in a European situation where there are the lords and there are the underlings, not necessarily serfs, but peasants. And I got much more interested in that kind of history as a result of this.

06-00:01:42

Lage: Now, what kind would it be?

06-00:01:45

Herr: Well, it'd be—I don't know exactly when I started, but I got very interested in social anthropology, that is people who go and study peasant communities. A number of them have gone to Spain. I was very taken with Pitt-Rivers's book called, *The People of the Sierra*, where he studied a village in Spain in the beginning of the 1950s.

06-00:02:05

Lage: Now, what was that name again?

06-00:02:07

Herr: Pitt-Rivers. It's hyphenated. Julian, I think, his first name is. He was an English—it's a very well-known book, and he was what they call, a structural-functional anthropologist, which they aren't now, but I was quite taken with the way he tried to analyze how communities protect themselves from the outside world. I, about this same time, I got fascinated with Marc Bloch, who was a historian of French rural community, and so the sense of moving out of a city and being part of a rural community and being interested in a rural community, I think I could take back to my experiences in Madison.

06-00:02:48

Lage: In Madison, more so than your experiences—

06-00:02:51

Herr: And the old social structure of the inner people and the outer people, and how the inside people protect themselves and protect their community against the outside by dominating the outside element.

06-00:03:06

Lage: Now did that affect your—

06-00:03:08

Herr: It's going to be part of my book that I write about Spain. In the sixties, I signed a contract by Prentice-Hall to write a history of Spain in a collection they called *Modern Nations in Historical Perspective*. I think you've looked at the book. The rural community there, at the end of it, I use this, very much an anthropological approach, to try and explain why Spain has not been a steady, stable political community. And I take that back, really, to lessons, at least the inspiration, to what I got out of my struggles in Madison.

06-00:03:46

Lage: Isn't that interesting, yeah. And did you connect with anthropologists here at Berkeley who had been in Spain? Weren't there a couple who did some work—

06-00:03:55

Herr: Well, Stanley Brandes, but he was one of my students eventually. I was on his dissertation committee, and he followed me to Spain, in a sense, and he went to places that I already had been to, which we can talk about when I go back to Spain.

06-00:04:09

Lage: Okay, we'll pick that up later.

06-00:04:10

Herr: Yeah, but it did—intellectual history had been my thing up 'til then.

06-00:04:17

Lage: And didn't George Foster also do a time in Spain?

06-00:04:21

Herr: George Foster did do something on Spain. He was more a Latin Americanist. The Geography Department here, yes, oh I'm so bad with names, the man who worked on California grasses [James Parsons]—a student of Carl Sauer, I guess, but George Foster had been in Spain. He wrote an article about pigs and acorns. I didn't know them too well. I didn't—

06-00:04:51

Lage: You didn't.

06-00:04:52

Herr: No. I kind of went by myself at that point. And it would be more through the fact that I got interested in the *Annales* School in France through Marc Bloch and through reading—there was somebody who was here in Berkeley in 1955 [whose topic was] the Mediterranean world—

06-00:05:20

Lage: I had this in my notes, but now I've forgotten it also. The man who visited who was a famous *Annaliste*.

06-00:05:42

Herr: He came and he was sort of the heir of the *Annales* School, of Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvres.

06-00:05:48

Lage: [Fernand] Braudel.

06-00:05:48

Herr: Braudel. That's right. He came to Berkeley while I was here in 1955, and I managed to be invited to the lunch because I could speak French, and not everybody in the department could speak French. And Braudel could not speak English, which was typical of the period. The French scholars just did not know English at that time, and they didn't think English was a very important area of scholarship.

06-00:06:13

Lage: They didn't care what the American scholars were doing, it seems.

06-00:06:16

Herr: No, I don't think so. Except for one—and that was Earl Hamilton, whom I think I've mentioned earlier, he'd done this long price study of Spain.

06-00:06:25

Lage: Oh you did, yes.

06-00:06:26

Herr: That was the sort of thing that really went over big with the *Annales* School, all these figures about how prices had gone up and down in various fields and areas, materials, since the Middle Ages.

06-00:06:38

Lage: So it was very fact oriented, not as theoretical as you think of the French getting into later.

06-00:06:46

Herr: Well, I wouldn't say it was just theoretical. It was—the *conjoncture* is the word they kept—they were looking for the *conjoncture*—how things came together, and how things came together often could be in the form of curves of population or of prices. They weren't particularly interested in individuals. Pierre Vilar, whom I got to know quite well, is a historian of Catalonia, and he died about four years ago in '98 or '99. He wrote his history of Catalonia from the Middle Ages to 1800. I'm not sure the name of a king ever appears in it.

06-00:07:30

Lage: But was he interested in the common people?

06-00:07:33

Herr: Interested in the common people, interested in the economy, interested in how the town's population moved from one area to another.

06-00:07:39

Lage: Was he interested in the culture?

06-00:07:41

Herr: He was interested in the culture. He was interested in the opposition to Castile. But as I say, very few names appear—maybe the name of a merchant here and there, but no political figures really. And that was very much the *Annales* sense of approach, I would say. Braudel's book has—the third section is about Philip II at the end of the sixteenth century, and it's probably, people think the weakest part of the book was when he has to talk about politics and what the kings were doing.

06-00:08:13

Lage: Yes, so did that affect you as you were turning your dissertation into a book?

06-00:08:20

Herr: No, by then—my dissertation came out as a book in '58. I had worked up this section on the society and economy when I was here at Berkeley, and I think that was very important for it. I think that's what really made it go over, along with the Enlightenment, my picture of the Enlightenment. It would be later, in the sixties, when I got a chance, when I started writing my book on Spain, because in the late fifties at Yale I was trying to become a historian of France still, and I was writing my book on Tocqueville. That was going to make me a historian of France. I went to the founding meeting of the Society for French Historical Studies, which was held at Cornell about 1957 or '58. I drove from Yale, picked up a historian of the French Revolution, Beatrice Hyslop, in New York City, and we drove up to Ithaca and then back. Bob [Robert R.] Palmer was there and all the leading figures in French history were there, and I was trying to be a historian of France, but Yale didn't want me as a historian of France. I taught the graduate course in French history, a seminar. But they

wanted somebody like Bob Palmer, they were after Bob Palmer, and I learned that—

06-00:09:41

Lage: Now why—when you say somebody like Bob Palmer—more established?

06-00:09:44

Herr: Well, he's a famous—he was a big figure.

06-00:09:46

Lage: Yeah, more established.

06-00:09:47

Herr: More established, well, no, probably, I mean he was—

06-00:09:50

Lage: Not a different kind of history.

06-00:09:52

Herr: They wanted the name. They wanted somebody who was going to teach undergraduates and draw in large crowds, because they had had a man—the man who taught these people who'd developed this course that I liked so much, the Mendenhall and Ford, as I recall, his name was Allison [John M. S. Allison]. He'd been a historian of France at Yale and he was the great undergraduate lecturer in the thirties. He'd draw in crowds, talking about the great events in French history. He wrote a book—I think his only publication was a short biography of Joan of Arc, but they'd look back to him as the kind of man they wanted as a historian of France. [RH added in editing: "This is incorrect. He published several books on eighteenth and nineteenth century France."]

The curious thing was when they were developing this book of readings of documents there was a famous lecture he gave about a document in the Middle Ages which illustrated all the features of feudalism, with a treaty of something or other—I don't remember the name. But in any case it was a famous treaty, and it had the king's arrangements with his vassals, and then the vassals' arrangements with their own vassals, and eventually those vassals' arrangements with their serfs. All in one document—and it was such a beautiful thing to teach, because you could teach the whole history of feudalism in that one document. So this was going to be part of their book, and they looked for it, and they looked for it, and they finally decided he'd invented it.

06-00:11:15

Lage: Oh no!

06-00:11:16

Herr: And this was the man they were trying to replace.

06-00:11:18

Lage: Oh how interesting. [chuckling]

06-00:11:20

Herr: So I did not fit into their category. But as I say, I was trying to be a historian of France at that point.

06-00:11:29

Lage: Now how did you end up at Berkeley as an associate professor.

06-00:11:33

Herr: Well, eventually, I think Ray Sontag got the people to invite me to come there. They were looking for a historian of Spain. It was the only place in the country that was—there was no point in trying to be a historian of Spain. There were no jobs.

06-00:11:45

Lage: Is that why you wanted to be a historian of France?

06-00:11:47

Herr: Oh sure. That was the only place that a job could be. I could try to convince people that writing about the impact of the French Revolution on Spain was really French history, and I was offered, I think I was sort of offered a job in Manitoba. I was asked if I'd be interested and I said, "I think it's going to be very cold up there." And the man said, "Oh, it's not cold." And I said, "Yes, winter must be terrible." He said, "No, it's not cold at all. It's not any colder than Florida. Just don't go outdoors!"

06-00:12:13

Lage: That's a great response. So—Berkeley—

06-00:12:18

Herr: But in any case I came to Berkeley. I got the offer—

06-00:12:19

Lage: Who approached you? Who made the offer?

06-00:12:22

Herr: I think it was Jim King, as I recall. They offered me the position in 1959. I had applied for and gotten a Guggenheim. I got the Guggenheim because of a man at Yale named Henri Peyre, who was the leading figure in French literature. He was a famous person, and he was on the committee of the Guggenheim. I'd vaguely learned through him that the History Department had not given me a very good recommendation, at least not Hajo Holborn, who was the leading European historian, but he pushed them and said yes.

So I'd gotten a Guggenheim. Yale gives support to people, because the Guggenheim was not enough to live on for one year. I don't know if it is now, but it wasn't then. So it was always filled out by the university. Yale would have filled it out, but I wasn't staying at Yale because I got an offer from

California. I went to the chairman and presented it and said, “This is an offer as an associate professor with tenure. Would Yale match it?” By this time I was an assistant professor. I had been made an assistant professor when I taught the graduate course, and he announced that no, but they could offer me a second term assistant professor and they would consider me in three years. I said I couldn’t take that risk, because it was too, there had been about ten of us there and none of us had gotten tenure except Lenny Krieger, who was the man who had gotten the offer from California.

So then I couldn’t get any money from Yale, because I wasn’t going to be on their staff, so I called Berkeley, and they had the same rules and they said, “No, you’re not on our faculty either, yet. You won’t be on our faculty until you come here, so we can’t give you any support. So I was left without any of this additional support. Fortunately, I managed to get an extra 1,000 dollars from the Social Science Research Council, and that took us to Spain.

06-00:14:21

Lage: For a whole year.

06-00:14:22

Herr: So we went to Spain between the two, between leaving Yale and coming here, and kept our house in Madison, which we kept for three years and drove back every summer for the holidays. We liked it, in fact, we kept on working on some of it, I think so we could really sell it better.

06-00:14:37

Lage: I see. Okay. Well, let’s talk a little bit about what you found at Berkeley and what kind of history was being done, what kind of department it was.

06-00:14:50

Herr: What kind of work was being done—well, one thing was it was much more informal than Yale had been. I really enjoyed teaching here, and I immediately became a graduate advisor. I arrived and the next day, I think, I was advising graduate students, which was quite a jump.

06-00:15:11

Lage: That was a big jump from—

06-00:15:12

Herr: And I had the course in the history of Spain and Portugal, and I had a graduate seminar. I don’t know if I was also—yes, I guess I was also teaching still the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of Europe. But I was basically still trying to be a historian of France. There was nobody here who was a real going historian of France. I looked at my list of PhDs, and five of my six first PhDs were in French history. Some of them had been already there when I got there. I had one in Spanish history and five in French history, and in the end, I think, I had four PhDs in Spanish and Portuguese history, and maybe eight in French history.

You couldn't have a seminar in Spanish history, really. I never had my seminars directed to any particular event except maybe Western Europe in the modern period including, usually, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I don't know when I started structuring them that way, but I got to the point where I thought, the real purpose of this seminar is to get a student started on a dissertation, so I'd ask the students what they wanted to work on and let them introduce the other members of the seminar into their subject by providing reading that the other students would be required to do, each one in turn as they would report each week, and then develop their own seminar paper. I would guide them, but I wasn't going to say that this seminar is going to be on eighteenth-century France, although a number of the people worked on eighteenth-century France—

06-00:17:12

Lage: Or a certain topic that might—

06-00:17:14

Herr: Or a certain topic, and that remained my pattern all the way through my graduate [seminars].

06-00:17:17

Lage: Now was that because it was good teaching? Or because there weren't too many—

06-00:17:20

Herr: Well, it was—I hope it wasn't bad teaching, but I think it was also because it was, I thought more useful to the students to develop their own interest at that point. One of my students did a dissertation on Italian history. I inherited one from Hans Rosenberg, who was working on Prussian history, Prussian agricultural history. I did the areas where people weren't—if there was somebody in—I worked with people in French history, but in intellectual history they ended up working with Martin Malia. Jeremy Popkin, who worked with me who—his dissertation director was Martin Malia. One of my dissertations was on the French World's Fair of 1900 [Richard Mandell]. One was on historical writing [Robert Woito]—it was quite all over the place. I learned a lot this way too.

06-00:18:25

Lage: Yeah, that's more interesting for you.

06-00:18:27

Herr: Yeah, it was. The thing I remember about the sixties, at this time, and because of my own experience at Yale—the horrible struggle to get tenure that the assistant professors had. Berkeley was almost treating its assistant professors, although they were FTEs in a tenure-track job, as if they were just revolving doors also, a revolving door.

My best friend in these first couple of years I was here was named [Werner] Tom Angress. He was in German history, and we had offices next door to

each other on the bottom level of Dwinelle, which is not history's area any more. He was trying to get tenure. He finished his dissertation on the German Communist Party after the First World War, and I was on the tenure committee. Then that was something new to me, was to be voting about whether people were going to get tenure or not. I was an associate professor. And he was turned down. I was very distraught by the fact that this person whom I thought of so highly—and then I remember the talk at the meeting in which one of our faculty—who maybe I won't say—said, "Oh, it's just a very thin stream that he's writing here. It isn't really very rich and thick," and so on. And he didn't get tenure. He eventually ended up at SUNY Stony Brook. In French history we had a whole series of people that just didn't get tenure.

06-00:20:15

Lage:

And did you feel they were doing worthwhile scholarship? Or could you see the reasoning.

06-00:20:23

Herr:

My sense, as I look back on it, was that the people, the attitude of the department was almost this—well, we'll take them on, and if they make it we'll keep them, and if not, they can get a job. Because there were jobs available in the sixties. So that it was no sense that we should make sure that these people are good enough to stay, if we hire them.

In French history we had—one case was Dick Kuisel. I was actually the chair to the committee that brought him—that would be late in the sixties. He was at University of Illinois and clearly on a tenure-track job there. Our opening did not offer him tenure, because we didn't have that kind of opening to offer, so we hired him on the top level of assistant professor and we said, "In two years you'll come up for tenure and you're pretty sure of getting tenure." When he came up two years later or maybe it was the next year, I was away in Europe and he was turned down. He was distraught. You can understand. He'd given up a tenure-track job at the University of Illinois to come out here on the understanding that he was going to get tenure after two years, and then he was voted down by the department. He also ended up at Stony Brook.

But we had Gerry Cavanaugh, he was here in eighteenth-century France, French Revolutionary period. He got turned down, but he managed to find himself a job teaching, I think, in UGIS [Undergraduate and Interdisciplinary Studies, College of Letters and Science, UC Berkeley], or in one of those areas up there. There was another—Friar Calhoun was somebody else who wasn't—this is all around the end of the sixties, maybe the first two years of the seventies. But they were just coming in and out.

06-00:22:19

Lage:

Well, they were doing an awful lot of hiring, for one thing.

06-00:22:22

Herr:

Yes. And we had the same thing in Latin American history. I remember one person, [James R.] Scobie [at Berkeley 1959-1964], his name is. He had written a book on Argentina, late-nineteenth-century Argentina. I chaired the committee that judged him, recommended him for promotion, and we recommended him for promotion. Woodrow Borah had just been moved into the department at that point. He'd been in Speech and been kept out, I think, by Bolton, because he was Jewish, but they decided to bring him in. And he was on the committee, but I was the chair, and the three of us—I forget who the third person was—signed the report to go forward, and when we came to the department meeting, Woodrow very, more or less, retracted what he said about the report, and said, “Well, he’s really not all that good, you know.” And the department voted against him. He ended up at the University of Indiana.

There was another—Bob Paden was another one. I don’t know, I think we turned him down. He ended up at Brown. Bill McGreevy [1965-1971], I guess his name was, another one got turned down in Latin America—they were just coming in and out. It was very distressing.

06-00:23:41

Lage:

Yes. It must have, I would think—they talk about it being a period of good morale, but I can’t see how that would be, considering—

06-00:23:48

Herr:

Well, that depends on what level you are in the department. I remember worrying about Roger Hahn, and thinking he might not make tenure. He did make tenure. Some people did make tenure. He made tenure. Oh—Indian history, not—gosh, I’m blanking.

06-00:24:18

Lage:

I should have brought my list.

06-00:24:18

Herr:

You should have brought your list. I should have it in front of me. It’s over in the other room there. But in any case, I was worried about him too, and his name will come to me [Gene Irschick]. I think of this sense of really suffering for these people, because I felt that, and of course, very happy when people did make tenure, but sad about it—and of course, that was all going to change in the seventies.

06-00:24:42

Lage:

Now let me just say—well, let’s continue that thought. Why does it all change in the seventies?

06-00:24:52

Herr:

I think the department itself realized that it shouldn’t be doing this. Maybe some of these people who had been going through the tenure struggle themselves changed their attitude. Maybe they—I don’t know, I don’t know.

But in the seventies, clearly, there were no jobs available, and it was really harder to push somebody out, because you knew they weren't going to have a job. But look in French history—then we brought in people who we wanted to keep. We wanted to keep Bob [Robert O.] Paxton; we wanted to keep Lynn Hunt. I chaired the Lynn Hunt search. We wanted to keep—oh, *The Return of Martin Guerre*—

06-00:25:41

Lage: Oh, Natalie Davis.

06-00:25:43

Herr: Natalie Davis, yes. We brought them out here. They were people we would keep.

06-00:25:47

Lage: They were also women.

06-00:25:50

Herr: They were also women.

06-00:25:51

Lage: These two that you just mentioned.

06-00:25:53

Herr: Two of them—not Bob Paxton.

06-00:25:54

Lage: Which was new.

06-00:25:55

Herr: Bob Paxton went off to—they all left of their own accord. We still had the trouble with the French history. We brought in Tulio Halperín [Donghi] and that really solved the problem in Latin American [history]. But another person we'd lost in Latin American history was David Brading. David Brading did his dissertation on, his book, merchants and miners in Mexico in the eighteenth century. Woodrow Borah wanted to keep him. When we came to the department meeting, and I suppose Woodrow was the chair of our committee, he was turned down once because he hadn't finished his book, it was just all sloppy. He came up a year later; he decided to stay around and come up again. He came up again. He had a pretty much of a finished book, but the department at that point voted in favor and there was one more in favor than against. People against still said, "He's not going to write good history." He's become the outstanding Latin American historian of Britain, and he's at Cambridge. He's been at Cambridge—he was a Cambridge undergraduate in England. When he left, then Woodrow brought in Tulio and that's—the whole atmosphere changed. We don't fire people anymore, but the sixties were that way.

06-00:27:23

Lage: Now, in the sixties, do you recall the tenor of the discussions? Was it about their books and how well written they were?

06-00:27:30

Herr: Oh yes, it was about their books.

06-00:27:31

Lage: And the quality of their thinking?

06-00:27:32

Herr: It was about their books, almost exclusively I'd say, it was about their books.

06-00:27:37

Lage: Not about their teaching.

06-00:27:38

Herr: Not about their teaching. The teaching is going to come in because of the Free Speech Movement. Yeah, that's going to be considered. But before that, tenure was considered whether you were good enough to stay here so that you can—well, if you're good enough to go to Harvard you could stay, sort of thing.

06-00:27:56

Lage: Well, did you feel that the discussion of the books was fair? Did you see different—

06-00:28:03

Herr: I didn't think—well, in the case of Scobie, whose report I chaired, I thought the book was fine. I thought it was a good book. Woodrow eventually said, well, I remember him saying, "There's nothing new in it. There's nothing new in it. It's all been said by," the great geographer whose name I mentioned earlier.

06-00:28:30

Lage: Sauer?

06-00:28:31

Herr: Sauer, Carl Sauer. And I couldn't—so I went looking at all of Carl Sauer's writings, and he hadn't written anything at all on this subject. So I thought that was unfair, but he was dropped. There was somebody in ancient history who was dropped, too, and I can't think of him at all [William G. Sinnigen]. I wasn't involved with that, but there was this sense of a revolving door here.

One of the curious things about it, with the department at that time, I thought was interesting in the case of David Brading—we had a great squash culture. Almost everybody—all the men anyway, and there were all men anyway, played squash. A lot of them played squash. And people who you wouldn't think of as playing squash now, Irv Scheiner you wouldn't think of as a squash player, but he was playing squash. Ira Lapidus—of course Middlekauff

was very good. Gunther Barth was very good. Dick Abrams is very good. I was in the lower middle range. Tom Metcalf I used to play with and—Gene Irschick is the name of the person I was trying to get promoted. Gene Irschick and I used to play. And one of the comments that was made when we didn't hire David Brading was, "He should have been playing squash. He would have been kept."

06-00:29:52

Lage: Now that's not the quality of the book!

06-00:29:55

Herr: No. That's not the quality of the book.

06-00:29:57

Lage: That's sort of the old-boy network.

06-00:29:58

Herr: That's right, yeah.

06-00:30:04

Lage: Did the Europeanists keep together and the Asianists and the Americanists? Or was it all across—

06-00:30:13

Herr: Well, of course, at committee meetings we're always all together. At tenure meetings we're always together. Clearly, when we were considering somebody for promotion it was—the Europeanists were working on their own. I think there was always an outside member of the committee who sort of represented the rest of the department. There'd usually be three people on a committee. But yes—although I was, because of doing Spanish history, I was often involved with the Latin American aspect of it. Yeah. Not the United States, no.

06-00:30:46

Lage: Now how did it change when they did start to hire women? I know that's skipping ahead beyond the sixties, but since we're talking about the department and the culture of the department.

06-00:30:56

Herr: Well, I think by the—we had a lot of good women graduate students. My first PhD in Spanish history was a woman, Nancy Rosenblatt. Her husband was a scientist—I forget which field—she eventually came here because Rosenblatt was here. But he went off, he got a job at Pennsylvania State University, and she couldn't teach because you had this rule, that you couldn't hire both a husband and a wife. So she did some teaching, informally, or as a substitute or something like that, but it was really a distress that this woman, who was really very good, couldn't teach at her job. I think they moved out to Arizona at one point, and then she died very soon of cancer. She must have died in her forties or late thirties. It was very sad. I had two women who did dissertations

in French history—three in the end [Ellie Nower, Erna Olafson, Roberta Pollock Seid].

06-00:31:59

Lage: Now were these in the seventies? Or earlier.

06-00:32:01

Herr: No, these were in the sixties. [RH added in editing: “Wrong. The three women got their PhDs in 1975, 1980, and 1982. They started in the sixties.”]

06-00:32:01

Lage: In the sixties.

06-00:32:02

Herr: In the sixties. There were good women doing very good work in the sixties, and you had the sense—and they were very upset that they were not being considered, because I remember one of them, Orysia Karapinka, who is now still teaching, I think, at the University of Pittsburgh, telling me that Ray Sontag had told her that—“Why are you doing this? You should get married and have children.” This was my dear friend, Ray Sontag. So that was a whole generation—I think our younger generation of teachers had just come in, but at Yale I had, at the Yale graduate program when I was teaching in it, I think I had only one woman graduate student. They were all men. But here we had women.

06-00:32:43

Lage: Did the women also—were they distressed that there weren’t any women professors? Because there weren’t until Natalie Davis’s [appointment in 1971.]

06-00:32:51

Herr: Oh, I suspect that they were. It wasn’t a thing that you talked to—by the end of the sixties you would be talking, because the women’s lib movement was really going by the end of the sixties. And we had one woman who went—I can’t think of her name [Adrienne Koch]. She was in American history. She went off to Washington, as I recall. And I remember Ken Stamp saying he couldn’t stand her. [chuckling] But by the seventies, I think, we were aware that there were good women. We were trying to place our own women graduate students for one thing, of course. So that you wanted people to think that they could and when Natalie Davis and Lynn Hunt came in, and eventually we got, for Brazil we had Linda Lewin. I chaired that committee, and we had two rival presentations—another person who was a male graduate student from Stanford—and the department hired Linda.

06-00:33:44

Lage: Was there talk about, we need to hire women?

06-00:33:48

Herr: Oh, by then, of course, there was in the whole university, I think.

- 06-00:33:51
Lage: Of course—there was the HEW action at Berkeley.
- 06-00:33:52
Herr: But by then, no—one of my graduate students, who while I was away in Spain moved over to Natalie Davis, never got a job and he was absolutely convinced that it was because we were only hiring women. I had another graduate student, who was in French history, a man [Thomas Beck], and he had a great deal of trouble getting hired, and he felt also it was because now everybody's trying to hire women. This would be about 1970, yeah. So they felt that there was—
- 06-00:34:22
Lage: That they were being discriminated—
- 06-00:34:23
Herr: There was reverse discrimination, yes.
- 06-00:34:26
Lage: It gets very—touchy.
- 06-00:34:30
Herr: It gets very touchy, yes, yes. I think I always backed the women. I backed my women graduate students. I don't think I ever treated them differently. They might think differently, but I was always quite impressed by them and was quite supportive.
- 06-00:34:47
Lage: Natalie Davis—I did not do a very long interview with her, but she tells about a very unpleasant tenure committee meeting.
- 06-00:34:56
Herr: Here.
- 06-00:34:57
Lage: Here, having to do with a retrograde male professor who just didn't want to consider women.
- 06-00:35:07
Herr: Well, that could be. I was probably there. I don't remember that specific term, but I can understand that she would. But she was always supportive of men.
- 06-00:35:21
Lage: Okay. Well, how did being here change *your* history? Or did it? Did you—
- 06-00:35:33
Herr: One of the things that came out, and I don't know if it's changed my history or not—actually, I finished, my book on Tocqueville got published and that was what got me—

06-00:35:41

Lage: On Tocqueville.

06-00:35:41

Herr: On Tocqueville. That got published in '62 and I got my—the first book got me the job here. It was David Landes who chaired the committee that brought me here, and he quite liked it. They were looking, as I say, for somebody in Spanish history, because they'd had somebody in Spanish history regularly, sort of traditionally. I had an offer from the University of Pennsylvania.

06-00:36:07

Lage: All of a sudden it opened up a bit.

06-00:36:09

Herr: And that was—I had been to New York during the time at Yale between '56 and '60, '59, with a man named Arthur Whitaker, who was a historian of Latin America at the University of Pennsylvania, and was hired by the Council on Foreign Relations to, or subsidized, to write a book on Spain and the defense of the West. This was the whole issue of whether Franco was a reliable ally. He had money to bring consultants together. I guess we went about once a month to New York City to meet, and he'd write a chapter and then we'd all get together and discuss it. Some of these people were in the military, some of these people were in the State Department, I think, and he brought me in from Yale because I'd been in Spain, and I guess he knew I'd just finished this book on Spanish history. And that was a good experience.

06-00:37:05

Lage: Not too many professors.

06-00:37:08

Herr: No, they weren't really professors so much. They were people in all kinds of areas. I didn't keep in touch with them afterwards, but I do remember uniforms and people in the Council of Foreign Relations who were sort of State Department-types. And he then got me the offer to go to Pennsylvania, I think about 1962 or '63. And Elena and I decided we just didn't want to—we wanted to go back East because we wanted to go back to our house in Madison that we were still working on, but Philadelphia seemed a little bit too far to spend the weekends in Connecticut.

06-00:37:48

Lage: You were really attached to your place.

06-00:37:50

Herr: Oh very much, very much, yes. So we turned it down, but that and the fact that I had a new book got me the full professorship. That was in '63 or '64.

06-00:38:02

Lage: The full professorship already.

06-00:38:04

Herr:

Yeah. I was an associate professor for three years, and then I was made a full professor. But during that period I had signed a contract, after getting the Tocqueville book out, to write a book on the history of Spain. I think I said that earlier this afternoon. And that almost changed my thinking. I was giving these regular lectures on the history of Spain. It was my course. It was quite popular. I had some people from Spain, graduate students or undergraduates and people that came in or were just sort of here, who came and listened to it and quite liked what I talked about because they'd never had any of this kind of history of Spain. They said, "They just don't teach Spain this way in Spain." So I decided I'd take up this contract and write this—Spain in historical perspective, and that gave me a new commission, and that's when I began to bring in all my anthropological concerns and—

06-00:39:02

Lage:

And such a wide time span.

06-00:39:04

Herr:

That's right. So—and my interest in the history of art. A lot of things came together that were changing me at that point and making it much broader. I've always tried to avoid writing the same history twice, because Tocqueville is quite different—it's about individualist thinking as opposed to the Enlightenment in Spain, and then this was going to be a study, really, of why Spain was such a, should we say, unmodern and ungovernable country. And my explanation was to try and find it in the current terms and not in something that happened in the Middle Ages.

06-00:39:40

Lage:

Or not the Spanish character.

06-00:39:43

Herr:

Not the Spanish character, that's right. I find the Spanish character rather like other people's characters.

06-00:39:47

Lage:

The British seem to like that argument about the Spanish character.

06-00:39:54

Herr:

Yes. I think it's ingrained in the British. I think they still think of Spain as a rival. That's true in their writing, I think, as I've read their books—Raymond Carr's great big history of Spain from 1808 to 1945, I guess it came out in the Oxford history series on modern history. I reviewed it—oh, it was about a six-page review, but I finally said, you know what the real problem was is he doesn't think that the Spaniards are like English people, so that's why they fail.

06-00:40:27

Lage:

Did you get a reaction to that? To your judgment?

06-00:40:32

Herr: To my judgment? I don't think he wrote to me for some time. [chuckling] We never became very good friends, but I don't think that was the reason. He'd also written a review of my book, which was not negative too much either. Mine wasn't really all that negative, I just said, I had to say that it had this theme running through it that you could see.

06-00:40:54

Lage: I was looking at a review of *your* book, and at the same time they were reviewing a Spaniard's book—now I've forgotten his name, it begins with an M—.

06-00:41:06

Herr: Oh well, I don't know which review this is. I don't remember.

06-00:41:09

Lage: Well, it's an old review of your book when it first came out.

06-00:41:12

Herr: In Spanish? Or in English?

06-00:41:14

Lage: English. It was a British reviewer. And it was the Spanish author [Salvador de Madariaga] who used these arguments about the Spanish character to explain—

06-00:41:29

Herr: Oh? You may know something that I don't.

06-00:41:30

Lage: [chuckling] I'll bring it next time.

06-00:41:32

Herr: Yes, yes.

06-00:41:33

Lage: Interesting.

06-00:41:36

Herr: Not Maraval—the reviewer—no. I don't know. There was a Spaniard named José Antonio Maraval, who was quite influential and important at the University of Madrid, who read my book when it came out in Spanish and liked it very much. And that's what really has made my career in Spain, because he put it on his reading list and then everybody all around Spain put it on their reading lists because it was a Spanish translation.

06-00:41:58

Lage: And how did it happen to get translated?

06-00:42:03

Herr: Oh, one of the companies—it was published by Princeton, and Princeton said they'd had this offer from, I guess it was, Aguilar was the name of the company, which is a big publishing house in Madrid, to translate it. And I insisted that Elena translate it, and she made a very good translation, because the translations coming out in Spain of English books were just terrible, very sloppy, very incorrect. She worked about three years, two years, anyway, here, while we were here after 1960, doing the translation. I remember her telling me how bad my English was, sometimes! [chuckling] "You can't say that in English that way!"

06-00:42:45

Lage: That's good.

06-00:42:46

Herr: And I would say, "Yes, I can." But it was a good translation and it went over very well in Spain.

06-00:42:51

Lage: That's gratifying, I would think, to write about—

06-00:42:55

Herr: Oh yeah, that's good—I've always been very—if she hadn't done that good translation, I wouldn't be nearly as well known in Spain. My friend Diego [Catalán], whom—I said was here in the fifties, who is the grandson of Menéndez Pidal—when that book came out in Spanish, he took it to his grandfather, and his grandfather took it to a couple of colleagues, and they got me admitted to the Academy of History as a corresponding member, so I felt very proud of these connections, because it was three important Spanish scholars [Ramón Carande, Julio Caro Baroja].

06-00:43:30

Lage: Yeah. This is really making you a historian of Spain.

06-00:43:33

Herr: That was making me—oh I'm much better known in Spain than in this country as a result of this, yes.

06-00:43:37

Lage: And when you mention that the students from Spain who were taking your classes liked them because there was nothing like that.

06-00:43:43

Herr: Yeah, that's right.

06-00:43:44

Lage: What was different?

06-00:43:47

Herr: Well—what was different. I was trying to analyze what happened—well, for one thing I just talked about the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. And in

Spain they stopped talking when they lose their empire, more or less, in the courses. And then I was trying to explain what had happened here, and I wasn't just saying, "This is a bad situation—and first there's one prime minister, and then there's another prime minister, and then there's an assassination," and this, that, and the other, but I had—

06-00:44:11

Lage: Trying to give causality and understanding.

06-00:44:16

Herr: And understanding. I had the three themes that run through it, the agricultural theme, there's the anti-clericalism as a motivating force, and the regionalism—Catalonia and the Basques against the center.

06-00:44:31

Lage: So they weren't used to that kind of analysis of their own country.

06-00:44:33

Herr: No, that's right.

06-00:44:34

Lage: And, of course, Franco was still—was that—

06-00:44:35

Herr: Franco was still there. When my book out—my book finally came out in 1971, and it couldn't be translated into Spanish. I tried to get it translated in Mexico, but they didn't find a translator. It was finally translated after Franco died. And it wasn't that I said very great bad things, except that I explained that he was still a continuation of an oligarchy that had been there and was holding the people down because of its control of the village communities, which is what—my argument goes back to Madison, Connecticut, yes.

06-00:45:07

Lage: That's right. Okay. I think we should stop now, because it's 4:30.

06-00:45:11

Herr: Is it? You know we're not going to cover this in another two sessions at the rate you're going.

06-00:45:17

Lage: Well, we'll do the best we can! Let me close.

Interview #4: 3-19-2008

[Begin Audio File Herr 7 03-19-08.mp3]

07-00:00:01

Lage: Okay. We are on again and this is our fourth session with Richard Herr on March 19, 2008.

07-00:00:15

Herr: It's the fourth session?

07-00:00:15

Lage: Fourth session. This is tape seven.

07-00:00:17

Herr: Oh my—I thought it was third. Okay.

07-00:00:24

Lage: Okay. Last time, we covered the department in the sixties, and then we wanted to talk about Spain this time, start out with your time in Spain in the sixties. In fact, we're going back to '59, since that was your first visit. So let's do that and find out something about your research and writing in Spain and your observations in Spain during the sixties. Okay. So start with that.

07-00:00:56

Herr: Start with that. Well, I think I did mention the fact that I had the problem of getting money to go to Spain in '59, but I didn't say much about what we actually did there. I went back—I'd finished my first book, and it was published in '58. It was on Spain, on the Enlightenment and the impact of the revolution, and it ended in 1800. I intended, and I said in the introduction to it, that it was going to have a second volume which was going to carry it out through the Napoleonic invasion and the Restoration.

07-00:01:30

Lage: But again focusing on the Enlightenment.

07-00:01:33

Herr: Well, focusing on the breakdown of the old regime, yes. It's not just the thought, but politics and the political structure—to a certain extent the economy too. When I got involved in doing the research on it and writing about it, I came aware that one of the important events that had taken place was that before Napoleon invaded Spain in 1808, the crown, the king of Spain had organized a sale of properties belonging to the church to cover the financial difficulties that the country was in, particularly because the British Navy had cut off any arrival of funds, most of the arrival of funds from America, and that this had not been ever discussed or talked about.

The sale of church property, what they call in Spanish, *desamortización*, went on through the nineteenth century, and it has been a key item of history of the nineteenth century. It's seen as a big change in the society of the time, and the

creation of a bourgeois society, that is the Marxist approach to it, which I disagree with. But nobody had said anything about the fact that it wasn't started by the liberals in 1820 or in 1836, but it actually had been started by the king, back in 1798. And furthermore, that it was a big issue in the opposition to Napoleon, because his brother Joseph continued this policy and the rising against them stopped the sale of church properties.

These were technically called, what should we say, charitable properties. They weren't things like churches and the lands belonging to the church, but they belonged to lots of endowments that the church carried out. Hospitals were run by the church, many forms of welfare, and that was what was being sold off.

07-00:03:32

Lage:

So the hospitals were being sold? Or the land they were on?

07-00:03:35

Herr:

No just—just the basis of their income. The properties that they were endowed with—where they got their money.

07-00:03:43

Lage:

Had they been given to the church over the years?

07-00:03:45

Herr:

Yes, they'd been given to the church for hundreds of years. People who were dying on their death bed had made an endowment to the church for a particular—for a confraternity maybe, or for what they called an *obra pia*, a pious work to support, what should I say—orphans or—

07-00:04:10

Lage:

And help them get to heaven, maybe.

07-00:04:12

Herr:

Oh, it helped the person who gave the money! Oh, definitely. It was a way to buy good points in heaven.

07-00:04:20

Lage:

Was it [the sale] seen as an anti-clerical act?

07-00:04:24

Herr:

By the clergy it was. But the pope approved it, eventually, because the king needed the money and the—well, the pope was, at the time, partly under the control of the French also. But in any case, many of the clergy approved of it. The king promised to pay them 3 percent interest on the value of the properties when they were sold. They were sold at auction, and the problem was, of course, that then the king ran out of money and couldn't pay them the 3 percent, so they actually lost the income. This was going to be a problem for social welfare in Spain in the nineteenth century, because most of the social welfare had been conducted by these organizations. There was no such thing as a welfare state.

In any case, it was very much in the air in the early 1800s when Napoleon came in, and I thought I should work on it. And I began looking around for documents. I couldn't find many documents. No historian had mentioned it. The encyclopedia [*Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* "Espasa-Calpe"] had mentioned it as one of the parts of the legislation, but nobody had taken it up. I looked in various archives, and then I looked in the notarial archives of Madrid to see what happened in Madrid and discovered that the notary of Madrid had actually been empowered or been given the job of recording all of the sales throughout Spain. I went, and the man in charge of the archives, the archivist, said, "Oh my Lord, those volumes—yes we have 165 volumes," or something like that. Some large number of volumes. He says, "It's the biggest collection we have. Nobody has ever looked at them." [chuckling]

07-00:06:04

Lage:

That's something that makes the historians—

07-00:06:09

Herr:

Yes. So I—it must have been about January when I turned this up, and I spent the rest of the year largely working in that archive and deciding how to handle all of these. First I said, well I'll—I decided I couldn't look at everything, but I'd try and look at the sales in eight provinces, and when I'd done that for about a month, I realized that was too much, so eventually I cut it down to two provinces. But I thought it would be nice to know what had happened throughout the country, so I managed to get the microfilm technician at the national library to come over and Xerox all the indexes of these, because the indexes—that was something that we then used later on.

But the interesting thing was that the archive was only open three hours in the afternoon, I think, from 5 to 8. So I had all the morning, and before going to the archive I ended up going to a coffee shop for what they called in Spanish a *tertulia*, a little coffee session with intellectuals, in a thing called the Café León, which had been famous already in the thirties. It was the Café Lyon in the thirties, but they changed the name to León because it sounded too French, under Franco. A man named [Antonio Rodríguez] Moñino was running it. Moñino then became—eventually was hired here as one of our faculty, but [there] he could not—he was *persona non grata*. He did not have a university job. I don't know where he got his income from. He probably wrote reviews and things like that. But every afternoon at four, there'd be about eight of us who would get around a table at this thing and have a cup of coffee and talk about events and things going on. I remember one of them was a clergyman who was—and I can't think of his name. He was the most important historian of bullfighting, and he was also the national librarian, and I could easily, I suppose, look up his name [RH added in editing: "Padre José López de Toro was the subdirector of the Biblioteca Nacional. José María Cossio was the expert on bullfighting. My memory confused two persons."]. Another one was a man who looked very much like Hemingway, and everybody was mistaking him for Hemingway. He'd go around looking like Hemingway—had his beard

cut just like Hemingway. [RH added in editing: “Kenneth Vanderford. My thanks to the fine memory of my colleague John Polt for these identifications.”]

07-00:08:10

Lage: Was he American?

07-00:08:11

Herr: He was not a Spaniard. I think he was Dutch, and he was working on last names, no, first names of people baptized in Venezuela—to study the changing popularity of first names across the centuries. That *tertulia* was a famous *tertulia* that I was part of at that point. After—they would go at five, no—that’s right from five to six I was free, because the other thing started at 6 to 8, so from 5 to 6 I went to the Prado Museum because it was very near the notarial archive, and I spent many afternoons just going through the whole museum, got it very much inside my mind and became very much—the history of Spanish art became part of my repertoire in lectures.

07-00:09:03

Lage: Did you incorporate that into your books at all?

07-00:09:06

Herr: Not too much. I mentioned one or two pictures in it. I incorporate some of it into my book that is now, I hope, coming out, at the beginning of it. But no—but I did very much in my lectures on Spain. There would always be a lecture or two on Spanish art. And also, it eventually got me very interested in contemporary Spanish art, which is what we have a collection of here in this house.

07-00:09:34

Lage: The man who came here, Moñino, did he come to the Spanish Department?

07-00:09:39

Herr: Yes, he came in the Spanish Department, and unfortunately got cancer very soon and only stayed here for a couple of years. He’d been a great bibliographer. He was very well known here by the people in the department here; I guess [José Fernández] Montesinos knew him. They wanted to bring him here so he’d have a livelihood, I think, partly.

07-00:10:04

Lage: And he had been a Republican?

07-00:10:08

Herr: He certainly was anti-Franco.

07-00:10:09

Lage: Anti-Franco.

07-00:10:10

Herr: I suppose he was a Republican. I think everybody, more or less, was a Republican, yes. Certainly the people who were around the department here. Montesinos, of course, had been—his brother-in-law had been mayor of Granada, was that it—*alcalde*. He was very much connected with the García Lorca family. One of the things that Moñino did besides this afternoon thing—he had Saturday evening dinners, which Elena and I would go to, and one of the key figures there was García Lorca's sister Isabel, who was not married, and I discovered the Spanish custom—you kiss the hand of a married woman, but you do not kiss the hand of a non-married woman. So all the wives would get their hands kissed, but Isabel García Lorca would not get her hand kissed, and I thought that was very unfortunate.

07-00:11:07

Lage: So they did kiss hands, not cheeks.

07-00:11:10

Herr: Oh yes, not cheeks, no, you'd come in—yes. [chuckling]

07-00:11:15

Lage: Well, this must have been a really kind of exciting society to get swept up in.

07-00:11:19

Herr: Oh yes, oh yes. We seemed to be getting—and then of course, Jimena Menéndez Pidal who ran the school that our children went to was a very central intellectual. At some point, but I think it was not 'til the next visit, I started going to a different *tertulia*, which was before lunch at the *Revista de Occidente*, which was José Ortega y Gasset's journal. He was dead, but his son was running it. So I got to know José Ortega Spottorno, his name was, and there was an intellectual group there, so that you got involved with José Ortega's daughter Soledad Ortega [Spottorno], who is still a powerful figure in Spain now.

07-00:12:02

Lage: Have you written any of your reflections of these?

07-00:12:06

Herr: No, no. This is new. [chuckling]

07-00:12:08

Lage: Well, I'm thinking about what you wrote from London and—that during the war you were writing.

07-00:12:15

Herr: No, no. I was much too busy taking notes.

07-00:12:16

Lage: That's right. You were taking notes about it. It's not too late!

07-00:12:21

Herr: Well—you're taking it down for me!

07-00:12:23

Lage: I am, right. Okay. Well, tell me more.

07-00:12:26

Herr: Well, I think we can stop there for that one, because I came back with this tremendous amount of material.

07-00:12:32

Lage: And how did you record it?

07-00:12:34

Herr: Just by hand.

07-00:12:35

Lage: Just by hand on—

07-00:12:36

Herr: Everything had to be done by hand.

07-00:12:38

Lage: On—index cards?

07-00:12:39

Herr: On great big—well, actually on sheets that accountants use to keep—bookkeeping sheets that you could buy in large quantities at the book store. They're out there—I was just looking at them this morning to recall my memory of it. For each sale I'd have a line, and I'd go through it. It had columns in it—this is who bought it, this is what kind of land it was, how big it was, how much the price was, and so on.

07-00:13:01

Lage: And you only had two hours a day to work on it.

07-00:13:03

Herr: Two hours a day—at the beginning. Eventually the archivist allowed me to stay longer. He got somebody who would come in and watch over me, whom I paid. So I stayed another couple of hours, and I got very fast at turning leaves with my fingers to make sure I was—because I was only doing two provinces, and I had to go through all of the volumes to see which one—just turn up this province and then I'd take the notes on it. So I had the mornings to do other work and I did other research, probably, at the national archives. And I also toured the provinces then, for the first time with a car. Elena and I went around and looked at them.

07-00:13:40

Lage: With the children?

07-00:13:44

Herr: I imagine they must have been with us. I don't remember. But perhaps not. I don't think we did more than one or two days at a time. [microphone rubbing sound and then Herr's recording level is much diminished]

07-00:13:52

Lage: So you actually looked at this land that you were—

07-00:13:55

Herr: Oh yes, and the villages that I was talking about. When I came back, then I had all of this material and decided to use—nobody was using computers. In fact, I wasn't using computers at that point. I was using IBM machines. I had a graduate student, [Alan] Neal Galpern take on and start punching out all of these sales that I'd recorded—it was about 8 or 9,000, I guess, and all the details up so we could run them through a card sorter.

07-00:14:30

Lage: So these were those little cards like we used to enroll with.

07-00:14:33

Herr: Those little cards. Sixty columns, yeah, sixty-column IBM cards, and you'd sort them out on the IBM computers up in the Survey Research Center, and they'd drop in the little boxes. So you'd have the name and all the information about what he bought. Then the card sorter would put them in alphabetical order. You'd have to keep running them through, because first you'd run column one through, and then column two through, and then column three through. Eventually you'd have it alphabetized, and then you could print it out and you could go through and check it.

That was rather innovative at that time for historians. People were beginning to use computers and little tapes, but I was still in the period in which I was still using IBM card sorters. If you study the history of computers, you realize that IBM was resisting introducing computers, as such, and putting the material directly into the computers. They thought that the future was in the IBM cards—and of course IBM cards hung around for a long time. It was only about—oh, in the seventies, when I started having all of my material on a tape.

07-00:15:40

Lage: You got in on it right at the beginning.

07-00:15:43

Herr: Yes. I sorted them, I tried to figure out—and then you, of course, discover that the same person's name might be spelled various ways, so you spent a long time after you got it all sorted and alphabetized to see if the man who's down here really should be up there because they've changed his name in some way. And I had that to get. Also—I don't know if you know Betsey Scheiner.

07-00:16:06

Lage: I don't know her, but she was Irv Scheiner's wife, first wife?

07-00:16:09

Herr: You know about her. Well, Betsey Scheiner was one of my research assistants. She was going through this for the whole of the country and started to put down on a map all of the villages in which there had been a sale, with a

great big map I had on my wall. She put colored pins in depending on what was—I still have the map. It's in there. She worked about a year, and did one year's worth of sales, so we gave up on that and decided to, after that, simply to total them by hand.

07-00:16:39

Lage: Now you've got a GIS treatment of it.

07-00:16:42

Herr: GIS meaning what?

07-00:16:45

Lage: Geographic Information Systems.

07-00:16:47

Herr: I suppose you would.

07-00:16:48

Lage: Overlay—it's like overlaid maps, but it's all in the computer.

07-00:16:51

Herr: I suppose you would. You certainly would. I didn't have that. My next research assistant, John Levenson, I think, did that probably after we came back in '64.

07-00:17:01

Lage: Was John Levenson related—

07-00:17:04

Herr: He was—yes, Joe Levenson's cousin.

07-00:17:06

Lage: His cousin.

07-00:17:06

Herr: He was a graduate student in history and a lifelong friend. He's now—he never finished his dissertation. It was going to be on Spanish history, and he ended up doing a master of social welfare, I think, and works just outside Philadelphia. But we go and see him fairly regularly, and he comes here because he still has friends in Berkeley.

07-00:17:27

Lage: And did you get funding for these research assistants? Did you have—you had—

07-00:17:31

Herr: Yes, you would get—you had grants from the research—

07-00:17:37

Lage: Did you have to raise money? Or did the—

07-00:17:39

Herr: No, the department or or else the—I think it was the dean of social science who had research funds that he could give. The actual charge for the machines, the card sorters, I don't know—it was done up in the old Survey Research Center, which was destroyed to make the new business school. They may have charged us by the hour for using them. I don't remember. It couldn't have been very much. But I did a lot of that work myself. I punched a lot of cards myself, too.

07-00:18:10

Lage: It's so different from writing intellectual history, writing about Tocqueville.

07-00:18:15

Herr: That's right. It's very different. It's completely different. I learned how to do Fortran programming, and later on, by '69 and '70, I was teaching graduate students how to do Fortran programming.

Well, we went back in '64. I had my first sabbatical, and I got support then from the SSRC—

07-00:18:40

Lage: Social Science Research Council.

07-00:18:43

Herr: Social Science Research Council. That's right. I remember Charlie Sellers was on the committee that approved me, and he got mad at me, and he said, "Well, of course we approved your thing, but you didn't ask for enough money!" [chuckling] So I went off with what I thought was enough money to carry us through a year in Spain.

07-00:18:57

Lage: It didn't cost so much to live in Spain then.

07-00:18:59

Herr: No, it didn't cost very much to live in Spain then. One of the most expensive things was our boys' school, which did have a fairly high tuition because it was a private school. But that year, I decided to work on the two provinces. I had all the data about them and all the names of the people who'd bought land there.

07-00:19:23

Lage: Is this Jaén and Salamanca?

07-00:19:24

Herr: This is Jaén and Salamanca. (It was amusing, because our daughter, Sarah, looked at it once—we have two daughters, Sarah and Jane, and they would see either S or J. And she said, "Why are you writing about Sarah and Jane?") I decided that it wasn't just enough to look at the sales. I had to look at the history of these two provinces, and that there was this very good information

back in the 1750s, when they'd done a cadastre, a *catastro*, of all of the towns in Castile.

07-00:19:59

Lage: Now you're going to have to explain *catastro*.

07-00:20:01

Herr: A *catastro* is a survey—it's a census basically of the people, everyone's property—including the livestock, everyone's income from crafts, at least as estimated—they'd say so many reales per day, and he works 180 days a year, or something like that. And if you had an animal, how much it was worth, how much money it brought in per day. And it was done in about four years for the whole of Castile, and you wonder—they really did have a very powerful bureaucracy in Spain. I chose seven towns which were very different; three in Jaén and four in Salamanca. And I spent that year, a lot of the time, in the two provinces by myself with the family back in Madrid.

07-00:20:55

Lage: With the family back—

07-00:20:56

Herr: In Madrid.

07-00:20:57

Lage: Oh, they stayed.

07-00:20:58

Herr: Yeah—Elena and Charlie and Winnie [Winship]—they in school and she enjoying life, I think. And her parents who were there. I had some very modest old-fashioned hotels that I could sleep in, where the toilet was down at the end of the hall. I remember the one in Jaén, which was just—everything was around a big courtyard with a roof over the top, and you'd hear everybody coming back and forth. But you wouldn't spend too much of the time in the hotel anyway. Most of it was—as long as the archive was open, I'd spend it in the archive.

07-00:21:36

Lage: Did you find any groups of companions or people—

07-00:21:41

Herr: I got to know the people that I worked with there quite well. There was one couple in Jaén I particularly got fond of. I should try and remember their name now. They were high school teachers, which meant that they were high quality teachers, in a different town from the capital Jaén, where I was, there was a town called Baeza. They took me around and told me the history of the province, showed me the area, told me about the culture of the province, taught me how to speak in an Andalusian accent, and what the difference is and what it means. And you have to really realize and it's understood—it's not just dropping the last s—you make a different sound. They took us—I remember them taking me to distant mountains and taking me into a place

where they said Queen Isabella had lunch here one afternoon [chuckling]. In the Montes de Cazorla, the forest, which is a place that Franco went to hunt wild goats.

The people at the archive—I had to sit in the archive—the records I wanted, which was this cadastre for that province—they'd been lost. There was a catalog of them in Madrid, and they said they didn't exist. But it turned out they did exist. They just happened to be in the basement of the finance ministry office in Jaén, and somebody knew about them, and so they let me go down there. But they couldn't let me in the archives by myself, because I was a foreigner, so they had a civil guard sit with me all the time I was taking my notes. I had a little hanging light hanging down like this, a bare lamp, over a little table, and I'd put these books out and take my notes all day long in this office. So the guy just—

07-00:23:26

Lage: You didn't have to pay him.

07-00:23:27

Herr: No, I didn't have to pay him. I didn't have to pay him, but I had lots of nice conversations with him. He came from a rural family, and he told me a great deal about the society and the family there, and I got quite friendly with him. A lot of this I've said in the introduction to that book, but not in this kind of detail. But outside our window, because it was in the basement, there was a grate up there, and outside the window was where the gypsies gathered, and you'd have these gypsies chattering away up there all the time I was taking my notes, and occasionally singing. It was quite an experience.

Salamanca was a different kind of experience. It's a very different kind of community. It's very small villages, whereas Jaén is fairly large communities. In Salamanca, and in Jaén too, I looked for the records of the churches. In Jaén they didn't have any. I don't know if they'd—what I wanted was the money that the church had collected as tithes, or not the money, the crops that the church had collected as tithes from the farmers, because that would tell me how large a crop they'd had.

07-00:24:33

Lage: Before this disentanglement.

07-00:24:35

Herr: Before this disentanglement, yes, back in the 1750s, or actually about 1780s, which is when the bishops put in the rule that they had to keep a record of the tithes, not only the whole community, but individually—how much each peasant paid. They didn't have them in Jaén, partly because they never kept them. What they did in Jaén was they would contract out the collecting of the tithes to somebody who was paid a fixed sum and then would collect as much as he could and take the profit or the margin that he got over it. But in Salamanca, and these are small villages—they might have had a couple of

hundred people living in them, they did keep a record. The priest—not the priest—there was a man in charge of the tithes called the *cillero*, and he kept a record of what each person had paid, of each kind of crop, every year all down for about—and some of them had been preserved. I knew that one had been preserved, because somebody had written about it [La Maa]. I went there, got to be very friendly with the priest, because I'd go out from Salamanca in my little car—no, by then it was '74, we had the big car, we had a Mercedes, that impressed the local people very much that I was driving around in this. It was the smallest Mercedes, a 190. But I'd drive out and park outside his home and go in, and he'd bring out this book, and I would copy all of these things right across, twenty-five tithe payments from '88 and then '89 and then '90.

07-00:26:09

Lage:

So he had this book from the 1700s.

07-00:26:11

Herr:

That's right. Well, they had other books too, but this was the one I wanted because it had the record—I could tell the structure of the town from what the people were putting in.

07-00:26:22

Lage:

Now was the tithing because they were working on church land?

07-00:26:26

Herr:

No, no. Everybody had to pay tithes.

07-00:26:28

Lage:

Everybody—it was required.

07-00:26:29

Herr:

It was just required. It was just collected, the tithe—the church got a tithe from every, yes. Everybody was, obviously, baptized in the church. Everybody was a member of the church, and everybody that farmed was required to pay tithes. The people who didn't farm got out, more or less, scot free. They didn't have to pay so much. They were supposed to give something else to the church, but there wasn't any record of how much they would. In this particular town, half the community were muleteers, they'd carry grain and other forms of material around the country, and they had their own confraternity, so they probably put money in to keep that going, as a contribution to the church, but they didn't have to pay a tithe. They might have—if they'd had sheep, they might have had to pay—sheep born each year, they would have to pay maybe one out of every ten sheep.

07-00:27:25

Lage:

This is quite a—I would think it would be difficult to keep a record of everybody's product and collect a tithe.

07-00:27:34

Herr:

Well, they turned it in—it was the 15th of August, it was the Virgin of—the Virgin de la—I forget which—there are two virgins, one is July and one is

August, and this is the August one and that was when tithes were collected all the way around Spain, on that day. You bring it in and you put it—you bring in your ten bushels, or whatever it is, if you've gotten a hundred, and put them down there, and the *cillero* would take hold of them. He had a special grain storage where he'd put them, and he would record it.

07-00:28:03

Lage:

Did you have any reason to think that the peasants might have not recorded accurately what their income might have been?

07-00:28:10

Herr:

All the peasants were standing around watching each other. I think that it would have been pretty hard to cheat much—and this is a small community and very knowing of each other. No, I think that it was pretty accurate.

07-00:28:21

Lage:

You thought of that, anyway.

07-00:28:23

Herr:

Oh yes. If it wasn't, there was nothing I could do about it. That's the information I used. But this priest, Jerónimo Pablos, his name was, I think—his name is in the introduction to my book—he would wonder—why are you interested in all this information? But it's nice of you to come. And one day I came and he said, "Oh I'm so glad you came. I was in town yesterday, and I had lunch." The nuns had a place where visiting priests could come and have lunch, and he'd come and had lunch and he'd left his wallet. Could I go back to get his wallet? So I drove all the way back down; it was about twelve miles, maybe, ten miles. And I knocked at this—I'd never knocked at a convent door before, this nun opened and I said, Don Jerónimo Pablos says he's left—she says, "Oh yes, oh, he's so forgetful," she said, "he's such an old man." So I went back with his wallet.

07-00:29:23

Lage:

No telephone.

07-00:29:25

Herr:

Of course not. Electricity probably was there by then in this particular community. I can think of another place—because I went around looking for all of the possible churches to see where else they had these tithe records. Very few of them had them. I couldn't go to all of them, because you'd go into one of them, and you'd say to the priest, knock and, "I'm trying to do this research, and I'm trying to see if by any chance you have the *tazmía*," as it's called, "of the eighteenth century." And he'd say, "Oh there are lots of books upstairs. I've never looked at them. "So," he said, "well, let's go up and look." So then we started going up to this attic and here were these books lined up on shelves, and some of them go back to the sixteenth century, baptismal records and burial records, and so on. And he'd pull one out and he'd say, "Oh look at this—how interesting this is." And I'd say, "That isn't what I want. Can we keep on looking." "Oh well, wait! We have to look at this one." So you'd

spend the whole day with a priest looking through his—and not find anything. I had a number of occasions—

07-00:30:25

Lage: But you can't rush that kind of interchange.

07-00:30:27

Herr: No, you can't rush that. Occasionally, you'd find a priest who said, "Do you have permission from the bishop?" And I'd say, "No." He says, "Oh well, then I can't let you do it." But most of them said, "No, these are in my charge. You can do whatever you want, if you want to look at it." I found two others—did I? Yes. I found two others, and I went and copied those out by hand also. One of them was up in a mountain town. Another priest in a nearby town said, "No, we don't have them here, but I think I know that up in this other town there is one, and I've been up there. I used to be in charge of the whole community." And he took me up there and introduced me to the mayor, and the mayor took me into the church and lo and behold, there it was. So I got an inn nearby. [brief interruption]

07-00:31:19

Lage: All right. We're back on after this little interruption.

07-00:31:20

Herr: So this priest took me to this town that's named El Mirón. It's now in the province of Ávila, but then was in the province of Salamanca. It's in a mountain village, and introduced me to the mayor and his wife. The mayor was the mayor, and the wife was the schoolteacher. And they welcomed me. I found an inn near by—the nearest town of any size, which was called the *cabeza de partido*, the county capital [Piedrahito], and would drive out there and spend the day and take notes in their living room, dining room, kitchen, whatever you want to call it, the one room, at a little round table, which would have a shelf at the bottom holding a brazier (*brasero*), and you'd have a little coal fire there, and you'd have blankets covering it [the table and your legs]. So your feet—

07-00:32:19

Lage: Because it was cold.

07-00:32:20

Herr: Your feet would be quite warm, but the rest of you would be quite chilly.

07-00:32:23

Lage: Was this in the sierra?

07-00:32:25

Herr: This was in the sierra, yes, in the Sierra de Gredos. I got quite attached to this couple. They were obviously—at least if they weren't pro-Franco they didn't say—no, they were pro-Franco, because they talked about the Reds—the Reds. There was a nearby town which had cloth mills in it [Bejar], and they'd say, oh yes—that's a big town, there are Reds there.

07-00:32:54

Lage: Oh, Reds.

07-00:32:54

Herr: Reds, yes. *Rojos*. This experience is really very much behind what I wrote about in my *Modern Spain*, trying to understand what happened and discovering how different the rural world was from the city world.

07-00:33:10

Lage: Their view of life.

07-00:33:15

Herr: Yes—as a view of life and view of politics and the power of the church, for one thing, at least—

07-00:33:22

Lage: They were still very—

07-00:33:22

Herr: Implicit power, because he was an *alcalde*, and he was then an *autoridad*, he was an authority. If you struck an authority—that was a much more serious crime than just hitting anybody ordinarily on the street.

07-00:33:35

Lage: Right. So there was a strong authoritarian—

07-00:33:38

Herr: Oh yes. A strong sense. I may have mentioned talking to somebody, “Oh yes, he’s in jail. Well, he hit an authority.” *Una autoridad*.

07-00:33:44

Lage: And was there a close interrelationship between the *alcalde* and the priest?

07-00:33:48

Herr: The priest—they obviously knew each other and probably were good friends, yes. I don’t think I saw them together but that once.

07-00:33:54

Lage: Did you see that in the family structure too? This authoritarian style?

07-00:34:03

Herr: Oh I’m sure it was there. I’m not sure that it was too much different from the city. I’m thinking more now about El Sotillo, the town that my wife’s grandmother came from, where we’d know the families better, because you know, in this sort of situation, I knew the priest or I knew the *alcalde*. I didn’t really get much into the community, but I could see how when the priest arrived from outside, all of the women came out and kissed his hand, or kissed his ring. He came from another village—oh yes, they’d all rush out and kiss his ring. And this sort of obeisance was very powerful.

I remember another time, I didn't see the priest—I got to a town where there was no inn or anything like that and had to spend the night. There would be a local bar, and the bartender says, we'll put you up. So they put me up in some kind of spare bedroom, and it was right over the quarters where all the goats were kept, so all night long I listened to the goats' bells ringing as they were trying to get food or something.

07-00:35:03

Lage:

And that was quite common, then, wasn't it? That animals would be on the ground floor.

07-00:35:09

Herr:

Oh sure, that's right. These were actually outside my window, but in a little courtyard there. I got a lot of original food. I got some very strong drink, because they would really make—*orujo*, as it was called, which is what's the most powerful part of the thing you could get out of distilling the wine.

07-00:35:28

Lage:

What was it called?

07-00:35:30

Herr:

Orujo.

07-00:35:31

Lage:

Orujo.

07-00:35:32

Herr:

O-r-u-j-o, [spells] Orujo. So that's very much my introduction into contemporary Spanish society, was doing the research for this book on these eighteenth-century church records. And that's what I wanted to talk about.

07-00:35:50

Lage:

That's really fascinating.

07-00:35:51

Herr:

When I went back in '69, well, I came back here, and then I had to take all of this information about these villages, the eighteenth-century villages that I got out of the cadastres, which I got in the archives in Salamanca's town and Jaén town—and even working in those archives, you were working with people who—they were just putting the provincial archives in order, to a great extent, around Spain and opening them up and hadn't been through and catalogued too much. And I got, there I got a great deal of support from the archivists and a man named [Antonio] Moreno in Salamanca, whose wife was the official archivist [Petra Calzada]. She'd gotten the job. He was a lawyer, but he was fascinated, so he knew more about the archive than she did. He was very helpful to me.

07-00:36:39

Lage:

It sounds as if they were quite welcoming to a foreigner.

07-00:36:42

Herr: Oh they were very welcoming. I remember working in Simancas. Simancas has the national archives for that period, the financial records, which hadn't been transferred to Madrid and still haven't. They're still—if you work on that period, basically you work in Simancas. It was a small town.

07-00:37:01

Lage: And where was it?

07-00:37:03

Herr: Well, near Valladolid. It's in Old Castile. It had then been created by the government—a *residencia de investigadores*, a residence for investigators, for researchers, where I spent about a week living there and going every day to the archive which was across a road and up a hill in an old castle. Philip II had put it there. There I got to know the priest of the local town fairly well, but I really horrified him, because I wasn't a Catholic and I was writing the history of Spain without being a Catholic and that didn't seem fair to him, as if I was not going to be able to present a good, honest picture of Spain.

07-00:37:45

Lage: So he had this discussion with you.

07-00:37:47

Herr: Oh yes, oh yes. In fact, he tried to convert me. He really thought if he could work some miracle, I would come around, yes.

07-00:37:54

Lage: Did you get close to a man like that? Did you really have some good conversations?

07-00:37:59

Herr: Oh sure. We'd have good conversations. Yes, no, it was—they didn't have many people to talk to either, believe me!

07-00:38:06

Lage: They were probably thrilled to have you come up in your Mercedes.

07-00:38:08

Herr: [chuckling] Well, I think that probably stayed at the *residencia*.

07-00:38:13

Lage: Did you get the feeling that life hadn't changed too much since the period you were studying? Or had there been some pretty significant—

07-00:38:21

Herr: It was still pretty, as I say, I think, in the introduction to the book—it was still pretty close to the country that Unamuno saw at the end of the nineteenth century, and that he said looked like the Roman towns that he was sure were just the same as they'd been in Roman days. They were still plowing with oxen. There weren't any tractors yet—and harvesting with sickles. When—oh, what do you call it when you get the grain out of the stalks. [threshing]

07-00:38:52

Lage: Beating.

07-00:38:54

Herr: Beating—well, it wasn't—this was done with a sledge that they would run around on an the *eras*, it was called, a round paved, where they'd take their oxen and put this sledge behind it and just drive it around and around. I've got photographs of that. That all changed. It was just beginning to change in '64, when I was doing this.

07-00:39:13

Lage: You went at the perfect time.

07-00:39:11

Herr: Yeah. And it's all disappeared. There's nothing like it. I remember one woman in my inn in Piedrahita when I was going to El Mirón—a traveling salesman was coming through and electricity had come in. I remember this peasant woman being talked to by a man who was trying to sell her a refrigerator, and she was very interested in it, yes, maybe she'd be the first in the village to have a refrigerator. I was told about one person who horrified people, but that had been maybe a generation earlier. She'd horrified people by putting in a bath tub. And they said, "Oh—she put in a bath tub. She must be really dirty." [chuckling]

07-00:39:54

Lage: And they didn't have televisions yet, I'm guessing.

07-00:39:57

Herr: They had television, and they might have it—some villages had it in the town hall. Nobody had it in their homes, although this—

07-00:40:07

Lage: Or maybe in a bar?

07-00:40:08

Herr: In a bar, they might have. I do remember that at Simancas, where the archive was, they had a lot of electric signs outside of people's houses with a television announcing a television. I forget the name of the television. And I said, "These people have televisions?" "Oh no. They don't have televisions. The company offered them free if they'd put them outside their doors."

07-00:40:30

Lage: Really quite remarkable. Now, did you pick your seven towns because they were the ones that had these records?

07-00:40:39

Herr: Three of them were. Yes, those three in Salamanca I picked because they had these records. The other one I picked because it wasn't hardly a town—it was a great big estate [Pedrollén]. It was legally a different jurisdiction, so it was considered a town, but it had only about twelve people living in it at the time

in the eighteenth century. There's nothing now but a big estate, so there was nothing to look at now except the records in Salamanca itself. But I thought we needed one, because there were large estates in Salamanca, and I wanted something to compare with these villages which had lots of small farmers.

07-00:41:14

Lage: And what about in Jaén?

07-00:41:16

Herr: In Jaén? There were no church records, so I just picked towns that had the best records for the eighteenth century in the cadastre, that weren't too large. I couldn't handle a town of 3,000 households, but I could handle a town of six or seven hundred households, which meant about 1700, 1800 people.

07-00:41:37

Lage: And in a way you're kind of learning what you can handle.

07-00:41:40

Herr: That's right.

07-00:41:41

Lage: It was such new territory to get into this gathering—

07-00:41:43

Herr: Oh, it was very different. Nobody had done any of this. I still don't think anybody has ever done this, and I'm not sure that anybody has even read what I've done, because it's so different from what people have been interested in.

07-00:41:53

Lage: Now when you say nobody's read it, surely—

07-00:41:56

Herr: Well, they have been reading it, but—they got fascinated by *desamortización*, that is, the sale of the church properties, because already had been taken up by the Marxists, and they'd accused it of making a modern bourgeois Spain. My—

07-00:42:12

Lage: The Marxists felt that that made—

07-00:42:15

Herr: That it changed from a feudal country to a bourgeois country, which is the transition that Marxism was always looking for. How do you pass from feudalism to capitalism?

07-00:42:26

Lage: But they put it all in the nineteenth century.

07-00:42:28

Herr: For Spain, they basically put it in the nineteenth century, and they said that one of the major things was this sale of the properties that had belonged to the

church—and the towns. By the middle of the nineteenth century, they were selling town properties as well. And they said that's what made the—it was all bought up by the coming-up bourgeoisie. My conclusions, which I think have been more accepted now, is that, on the contrary, the people who bought it up were the people who had land already, including a lot of peasants. It had nothing to do with being new bourgeois. In these small villages, the peasants really bought a lot of the land of the local church.

07-00:43:06

Lage: The land that they had been working.

07-00:43:08

Herr: The land that they'd been renting and working. Yeah, because the church rented it to them. I found records of the church rentals, especially the convents. They'd all been confiscated in 1837 when they abolished the convents and were in the archives. So you'd go back and see how much they were renting them for, which was very interesting, because you'd find out how much they were paying in tithes, so you'd know how big their harvest is, and then you could see the church records and see how much they actually paid in rent, and so you could figure out how much they had. But then you knew they had to feed their animals, they had to feed themselves. They didn't have much, but they weren't poor. I decided that they really were not starving. That's why when the sale of church properties came along, they really had quite a bit of capital they could buy the properties with.

07-00:43:49

Lage: So it did convert a renting class into an owner class, to a certain extent.

07-00:43:54

Herr: That's right, that's right. When we went back—by then I'm married to Valerie, and we went back in '69, I'd done a lot of these calculations here, but between '65 and '69, I spent a lot of the time with the Muscatine Committee, which we'll talk about later. So I hadn't done too much. I was going back to write this all up, and we went to see her family in England, and then drove the same Mercedes, which has been across the ocean three times—

07-00:44:22

Lage: Oh! Do you still have it?

07-00:44:24

Herr: We still have it.

07-00:44:25

Lage: Oh, quite a car.

07-00:44:26

Herr: [chuckling] Yes. And we've driven across the Pyrenees in a snowstorm.

07-00:44:33

Lage: Which route?

07-00:44:35

Herr: Near Andorra from Toulouse down south through to Barcelona but through Vic, I guess it was, and we eventually got to Madrid. I'd given as my address, the American Express office in Madrid, and we parked outside a well-known bar, El Gijón, left the car there and went and got the mail and came back and discovered the car had been broken into and all my material had been stolen. The reason it was stolen was I'd kept it inside the car, instead of in the trunk, because I took it out every night at every hotel we went to so it wouldn't get stolen during the night, and here it was in the middle of the day and they'd broken in.

07-00:45:28

Lage: And something that would be of no value to anyone else.

07-00:45:30

Herr: Nobody—but, of course, they thought that a great, big suitcase is sure to be valuable. They took some books with them, and everything. The police said, "Oh, we'll find these people." Then I went down with the car to—

07-00:45:40

Lage: You must have been hysterical.

07-00:45:41

Herr: Oh it was terrible. It was terrible. Fortunately, I'd put a lot of stuff on computer here by then, or on IBM cards. That was not lost. But the notes that I'd taken, the year that I'd been in Madrid before, on all that material, were gone, a lot of them anyway. And it was very sad. It was very distressing, you can imagine. We went to the police with the car, downtown, and they took the fingerprints and looked at it, and they finally said, "This isn't one of our criminals. We can't find it." "Este no es uno de los nuestros." [chuckling]

07-00:46:18

Lage: That's very funny. I didn't know that you could know—

07-00:46:20

Herr: "This is somebody from outside Madrid," they said, "this isn't one of ours."

07-00:46:24

Lage: Because they knew all of the fingerprints.

07-00:46:25

Herr: They knew them. Yes.

07-00:46:26

Lage: Then you didn't have much hope.

07-00:46:29

Herr: Then we didn't have much hope. We tried to—

07-00:46:32

Lage: Except that somebody might just toss it on the—

07-00:46:33

Herr:

Well, I had a good friend named Gonzalo Anes, and he said, “Well, you’ll advertise, we’ll walk around, somebody’ll turn it up. They’re not going to get rid of this.” It never turned up. We went and looked at the second-hand bookstores, to see if anybody turned in the books. One of the things I had done in ’64 to ’65, while I was sitting in these hotels in Salamanca and in Jaén, was to read an enormous three-volume work by Pierre Vilar, who’s the great French historian of Catalonia, and he’d published his *La Catalogne dans L’Espagne Moderne*, and I read it from beginning to end sitting in the evening after supper in a café. Oh, it must have been several thousand pages of detailed material. And I had taken it back with me in the suitcase, and it was gone. So—well, that’ll turn up in some second-hand bookstore, but it didn’t—and furthermore, it was out of print. I managed finally to get some of it replaced, but all my marginal notes that I’d taken disappeared.

07-00:47:27

Lage:

Oh, what a loss.

07-00:47:30

Herr:

So Valerie and I went around to the same archives all over again. Instead of writing up my book, I spent another year doing the research and went to Jaén and to Salamanca.

07-00:47:43

Lage:

And this was ’69.

07-00:47:44

Herr:

That was ’69. In Jaén one time—we were driving—terrible roads. You can’t imagine what the roads were like back in those days. There was one road that was on the map. It was a big red line which looked like it was good, so we went there and said we’d go back to Jaén across this road here. We got onto it, and it was nothing but ruts and everything, and if we kept on going—we said, “Well, do we want to turn now? It’s getting dark already.” It did get dark and we finally pulled into the town at the other end of the road, and we got in, went to the town and they said, “Oh, you’ve come.” We said, “Yes.” They said, “How did you get here?” We said, “We came on that road there.” They said, “You came across that road? I don’t see how you got through!”
[chuckling]

Another time we were driving on a road, and there was a big rock in the middle of it. Valerie was driving, and I said, “Look out for that rock.” And so she turned the car and flipped the rock up with the wheel, and it burst the oil tank in bottom of the car, and we got out and here was the oil coming out. So—I guess it was a Saturday. Eventually two men came along. They were coming home from plowing with two mules, and they pulled the car with them to the nearest town and we stopped there. They said, “Yes, somebody can fix that, but it won’t be ‘til Monday, and we’ll have to take the car down to this

bigger town by the river, the Guadalquivir—Andujar.” This was in Arjona that we were. “But, stay here.”

So we enjoyed Sunday there, and then they took us out and showed us the local olive oil mill and explained how it worked. We got a sense of the olive oil culture—and how it was taken care of. It was very interesting. You got this real sense of the local communities this way. And on Monday morning they dragged our car down to this village. And the man, he took it out and ground a new piece, made a new thing, and sent it off. He was grinding an axle for a truck that had broken. In those days everything could be repaired in Spain, because all of these things, somebody had to be able to do them. So the Mercedes now has a new tank.

07-00:49:49

Lage:

You didn't have to go to a Mercedes dealer.

07-00:49:50

Herr:

No. No Mercedes dealer.

07-00:49:52

Lage:

[chuckling] That's pretty funny. Now, I think you did mention to me another time that when you went back to the archives for the second round of research, you actually knew to look for some different things.

07-00:50:13

Herr:

That's right. We went through much of the same material, but we turned up interesting information that I'd neglected to take note of, that hadn't meant anything to me at the time. That's right. And Valerie did a lot of the—

07-00:50:24

Lage:

Well, like what kind of a thing had you—you'd come to know the country better?

07-00:50:28

Herr:

Well, laws—this actually, I think more likely it had been in the Madrid archive, because we went through and picked up a lot of the legislation the second time that I hadn't paid any attention to the first time, which made me understand much better how these sales were carried out and what was going on, what the needs of the crown were. At this point I'm very vague on exactly what I did get that was new, but I do remember going and saying, “Oh my goodness, I should have noticed this, but I didn't.” The second time I got a lot of microfilm, so it was all on microfilm. I could come back here and blow up the microfilm in those days.

07-00:51:04

Lage:

You had somebody microfilm it.

07-00:51:08

Herr: Yes, I did some of my own. I took a 35mm camera, and in Jaén I microfilmed some of the archive myself. It wasn't very good. It was very fuzzy. My microfilming was not very successful.

But in the archive in Madrid they did have an official microfilm service, which they would not have had in the provincial archives. They were beginning to get—by '70 you could get Xerox, and so you could get some things Xeroxed. So I came back after that and eventually got the thing written by '85, but I spent most of the next years working on these seven towns and on the general thing. It took me a year each, a whole year writing just to cover each of the towns, because I had to compare what the church owned in the cadastre in 1753 or '54 with what was sold in 1789, and who got it and how that changed the structure of the town. It was a lot of detailed comparison to make sure—is this the piece of property that is listed here that's being sold here? And how much was it—

07-00:52:14

Lage: But there was also the interpretive part.

07-00:52:15

Herr: Oh yes. Well, I hope so.

07-00:52:17

Lage: Now, let me ask you about—you mentioned the Marxist interpretation. Had you had a feeling that wasn't right when you went into your research? Or were you—

07-00:52:32

Herr: I was—I don't think I was ever too taken with the Marxist interpretation of the bourgeois revolution. The French revolution was, of course, the classical bourgeois revolution, and it has been pretty well discredited around this time. I wasn't involved, myself, with that, that has been a political revolution, a man named—at Duke University—darn, I can't remember his name [George V. Taylor], but in any case, he argued at that point that it's really a political revolution, it wasn't a class war. I do recall when I wrote my first book that I do mention bourgeois—use the word bourgeoisie, I think, in Spain in the eighteenth century, which I would not use now.

07-00:53:34

Lage: Because you don't think there was a bourgeoisie?

07-00:53:37

Herr: I don't think it's a meaningful term. As I argue in my book—capitalism was in Spain since the sixteenth century, for these people were farming to sell and make a profit, and they were still doing it in the nineteenth century. That didn't change. In fact, you couldn't have kept any urban community going if you hadn't been able to buy and sell—

07-00:53:59

Lage: They were buying and selling.

07-00:53:59

Herr: If you couldn't buy materials from the farmers in the countryside. But—no, one of the key, what shall I say, theories or points that I make in my Spain book is that the ruling elite is pretty much the same. It changes as it gets new people into it—not only in Spain, I think people were saying that about the British. After all, the British capitalists or manufacturers bought into the nobility, got a title of some kind, and this was happening in Spain as well.

So it isn't as if there were one class being pushed out and another class coming in. I make that point in detail with this sense that in the countryside the peasants also got land out of it. The people who didn't have any money, the working class, which there was—the *bracero* class—agricultural laborers were pretty poor in the eighteenth century. They were going to be pretty poor in the nineteenth century and getting poorer because the population keeps growing.

But there is not—the structure of property changes, but the structure of society doesn't change all that much. And it doesn't really change until the Franco period. And it's really under Franco that it changes, and that's why you have a good democracy now, which was hard to put in in the 1930s.

07-00:55:36

Lage: So you see a lot of continuity, really.

07-00:55:38

Herr: Oh yes. Right through the period—my conclusion at the end of the book is that there is a critical period in Spanish history which runs from the eighteenth century through to the Franco period, when Spain is divided between urban and rural society, and the wealthy class of Spain has its power because it has this rural society that can back it up, that it gets its wealth from and that it can get its soldiers from.

07-00:56:05

Lage: And that have an outlook that is similar.

07-00:56:10

Herr: That—yeah, that is not—it's divorced from the urban community. They just don't understand the urban people. That is breaking down by the 1930s, but it hasn't broken down yet, and is really broken down under Franco, for one reason because a tremendous number of people leave the countryside and go to northern European countries as laborers—France, Germany, to a certain extent, England, and come back with a different position and permit the countryside to break out of this very marginal existence, because it gets rid of the excess population.

- 07-00:56:51
Lage: Did you see any of that happening as you were touring the countryside?
- 07-00:56:55
Herr: Oh yeah—people were going out of the countryside and then coming back. There was one festival—
- 07-00:56:59
Lage: And building a big house—
- 07-00:57:01
Herr: They weren't building big houses yet, but they were—no, most of them were not coming really back to stay yet. They were just leaving in the sixties.
- 07-00:57:08
Lage: I see. Visiting.
- 07-00:57:11
Herr: But they were leaving, very definitely. Some going not so much far away, but locally, to Madrid or Barcelona.
- 07-00:57:24
Lage: You bring up in that book [*Rural Change and Royal Finances in Spain at the End of the Old Regime*, 1989] Malthus and Ricardo. How did you pick these couple of people to—
- 07-00:57:32
Herr: Yes, what is my thought train—
- 07-00:57:35
Lage: To use, should we say—are you using them? Or—
- 07-00:57:41
Herr: I'm saying—gosh, I have to recall my argument there.
- 07-00:57:45
Lage: Think a minute and I'll change this.
- 07-00:57:47
Herr: All right. I'll have to go back and read that chapter. [chuckling]
- [Begin Audio File Herr 8 03-19-08.mp3]
- 08-00:00:00
Lage: Okay. We're continuing our fourth session here with tape eight, and I just asked you about this question—but we realized that maybe some of that is better found out in the book. [chuckling] So we're going on—you had a couple more recollections that you wanted to talk about.

08-00:00:23

Herr:

Well, I just wanted to say that one of the recollections that I had with this countryside is the *guardia civil*, the civil guard, which was always looked upon as the enemies of everybody. Most people were kind of worried about them, and certainly the people that I knew in the city, they don't have to worry about the civil guard, because it was a rural police force. But I know coming back, I guess it was from the place in the hills there, El Mirón, once, that there were these two civil guards walking along and I stopped in the Mercedes and asked them if they would like a ride. They were young men, and they said they'd be delighted to have a ride. So I picked them up and they got in the back seat of the Mercedes and they sat back and they said, "¡*Qué lujo!* What luxury! Have you ever been in a car like this? Nobody in the village will believe that we've been in a car like this!"

08-00:01:12

Lage:

You made friends wherever you went.

08-00:01:15

Herr:

Yes, but the Mercedes was—it impressed people, and it did very well on those Spanish roads.

08-00:01:22

Lage:

Your Spanish must have been awfully good by this time. The last time—

08-00:01:27

Herr:

My Spanish was pretty good, and yes, when I went back in '75 and was for two years in Madrid as the director of the Education Abroad Program, finally, one of our two—I don't want to call them secretaries, one was the administrator and the other was probably the secretary, in any case, we got to be very good friends. She finally told me once, she said, "You know, your Spanish is very good, but you do have to learn to use the subjunctive." So I have corrected myself. I'm much better with the subjunctive now than I was then. But I always had a good accent because of my upbringing in Mexico. Occasionally they could say, "Yes. We can hear the Mexican accent in your voice." But that's very nice. I can give lectures in Spanish with no problem.

08-00:02:12

Lage:

Yes. And talking to all these people in the village.

08-00:02:15

Herr:

Oh yes, oh yes, and learning how to speak Andaluz! [chuckling]

08-00:02:23

Lage:

You wanted to talk a little bit about your association with the Department of Demography that ties into this book.

08-00:02:27

Herr:

Yes, that ties into this. When I got back—first of all, Valerie is a demographer, and she'd been helping me on the research the year we were there, in '88-'89 for six months when we'd lost my—

08-00:02:40

Lage: Sixty-eight.

08-00:02:42

Herr: Sixty-eight. Sorry, '68. You're right. When I'd lost my notes. She went through a great deal of the demographic information that I'd had and that we were picking up and analyzed it, and helped me that way.

08-00:02:59

Lage: Let me just interrupt briefly. In what way was she a demographer?

08-00:03:05

Herr: In what way was she a demographer—when I met Valerie in '66 here, she had just come from University of Birmingham, where she had been working on studies of rural population in the Cotswolds in England. She'd come here to work with Kingsley Davis. She'd been recommended by the person she was working with, David Eversley, who'd been here as a visitor the year before, and David, I guess, recommended her to Kingsley Davis, and he offered her a job, and she came over with her husband, who was a secondary school teacher in England, but I think had been given time off, and was a mathematician.

She had studied statistics and was a statistician in economics, so she came in and was attached to the Demography Department here, temporarily, eventually got an MA in demography here. Then they did not continue her, so she got a PhD in geography, working on the demography of the settlements of northern Spain, the Basque Asturias area.

So I had somewhat associated with her, and I had collected a lot of demographic information in the '63-'64 time there. I went through the census records of 1786-'87—had never been published, just the totals for each province. But the village returns were in the national academy of history there, the Royal Academy of History, so I went through—there's about 900 villages in Salamanca and 75 or so in Jaén. I went through and took down all the demographic data, by hand again, because that was the only way you could do it, for all of these villages and came back and was putting that onto the computer too in the late sixties. By then, it was—no, there were still IBM cards, I'm pretty sure.

One of my graduate students used part of the Salamanca data for a term paper, and she herself then got interested in demography and finished her dissertation on the population of Cornwall—farmers—the mining population of Cornwall. This was Sheila McArthur, and she's the person who introduced Valerie and me, because she had worked with David Eversley when he was here.

So I was interested in the demography of the time, and when we came back, I guess in '69—I wanted the date and I can't find it in my biobib—but I was given six months' leave with pay to study statistics and demography, by the department, and I took two statistics courses, the same statistics course taught

by two different professors for different sections. They taught them very differently. One was theoretical and the other was practical.

I worked with Kingsley Davis in a graduate seminar in historical demography. I didn't do a paper, but I sat in on it and became interested. On the basis of this, I was able to, as I say, teach a quantitative history course in the department, which became known as History 284 and came and went, I guess, by now. But I had a number of graduate students whom I taught some demography, some demographic theory, some statistical theory, and how to do punch card research, and several of them turned out dissertations, although not with me.

08-00:07:00

Lage: And what exactly is demography?

08-00:07:05

Herr: What is demography? Demography is the study of population. It's the study of—if somebody says, "In the year 2050, 30 percent of the population in California is going to be Latino," that's a demographer. He's calculated the birth rates and the death rates and the migration rates. But they go into all sorts of other things, as what effect does the introduction of birth control have on the structure of families, and things like that. It's a version of sociology, but it's specifically directed at population. Births, deaths, and migration are the three factors.

08-00:07:44

Lage: So once you had all the population data, it helped you pull out who—

08-00:07:48

Herr: They have population pyramids of a village—how many people are aged one to five, six to nine, or whatever, and going on up, and what does the shape of that pyramid or beehive tell us about what's going on in that village. That's what I could do with this—it was rather rough demography, population data they had in 1787, because they had big age groups, I think it's one to seven, seven to sixteen, sixteen to twenty-five, twenty-five to forty, forty to fifty, and above fifty, married, single, and widowed. That's how they were calculated. And then also they said how many people were farmers and how many people were priests, and so on.

08-00:08:39

Lage: So it helped you analyze all that data you collected.

08-00:08:42

Herr: Oh yes, it could tell me much about what was happening in the town and what was happening in the region. Then the Demography Department—Kingsley Davis was a professor of sociology, but his wife, Judith Blake Davis, was head of the Demography Department. There was a good deal of infighting in the Demography Department at the time. They brought in people—Nathan Keyfitz came, stayed for several years. He was on Valerie's dissertation

committee and then went to Harvard. Eventually, because it was a small department and they were having so much trouble hiring and keeping people, they abolished it.

08-00:09:27

Lage: Do you remember when they did that? They don't often demolish departments.

08-00:09:32

Herr: They don't often demolish departments, but they did. They abolished it. I would have said about '73, but I don't know the exact date. Then the person who restored it—Gene Hammel is the man who was primarily responsible for getting it restored, who worked on it, but they wanted people around the campus who would support them, sign petitions and things like that, and I was always included in that group, and I became associated with these people in that way.

The big book I have on rural change has some demographic analysis in it. I'm no great demographer—in fact, I was quite amused by some of the historical demography that Kingsley Davis was doing, because he was analyzing birth rates in the nineteenth century or growth rates to four decimal points, and then he would say at one point, "Well, of course, the censuses aren't correct to more than 3 percent." So how could you get a solution that was down to four decimal points if you're off at the second decimal point in the first place?

08-00:10:43

Lage: That's an interesting question. I would think he would have thought of it.

08-00:10:45

Herr: Well, I don't think I would have dared asked him [chuckling].

08-00:10:49

Lage: So that was one of your [occasions of] cross-departmental thinking.

08-00:10:54

Herr: Yes, when I've gone to Cambridge now, since '95, I've gotten in touch with the Cambridge group there. I think I already knew Peter Laslett, because I'd met him through the demography group here, you see, and then I got in touch with the people in England who were in touch with demography and social history. My relations in Cambridge are now with the Cambridge Group in the History of Population and Social Structures, it's called, which was founded by Peter Laslett, who was this—

08-00:11:31

Lage: Now was this kind of work of interest to others in the History Department?

08-00:11:38

Herr: I don't think they were doing much of the same thing, no. No, I don't have a sense of having much connection with the people in the department on this.

08-00:11:46

Lage: Did you have anybody in the department who read your work as you were working on it or before you published it?

08-00:11:57

Herr: No, no. I didn't. Not this particular part on Spain, I didn't. The person who had written most for that was David Ringrose in San Diego. He's a historian of Spain and an economic historian, so I gave things to him to read, and he would have comments on it. And I don't remember—

08-00:12:22

Lage: Now does he have any association with Berkeley?

08-00:12:23

Herr: He came and taught for the two years I was away in Spain in '75 to '77 for the Education Abroad Program. He came and taught my course for one semester, or one, I suppose, a quarter, maybe two quarters. It was a quarter system then. That was one of the things that was going back and forth at this time, was from semesters to quarters and back, and I had been involved with some of that planning.

08-00:12:45

Lage: Okay. Well, anything else to say about this aspect of your work?

08-00:12:51

Herr: I think we can leave it at that point, now, because we've covered it pretty thoroughly, but it's very different from what I came out of—my graduate work—

08-00:13:04

Lage: Intellectual history.

08-00:13:04

Herr: Yes, my political—

08-00:13:08

Lage: And interest in France.

08-00:13:08

Herr: That's right, that's right. And it became my big piece. I published one article out of it, based on it, in '71 in Spain, which was sort of a condensed version of what this great big book is going to be, at least the first part of it, and that became quite well known too. That really took on the issue—I became controversial in Spain, because the leading historian of the *desamortización* in Spain, [Francisco] Tomás y Valiente, has been a professor at Salamanca and then moved to Madrid—he was very much in the Marxist line that this is really the creation of the bourgeoisie and there was a debate between us—public and then published, on the effect of it. So—

08-00:13:55

Lage: On the effect of *desamortización*.

08-00:13:57

Herr: Of the *desamortización* on the social structure of the country.

08-00:14:00

Lage: Oh that's interesting. So, you had a public debate or a written one.

08-00:14:04

Herr: Well, it was written, but I think we also spoke—at one conference we spoke at the same time and had disagreed with each other, yes. He became a very good friend, and about five years ago he was assassinated by the Basques because he became head of the Supreme Court. He was a historian of law, Tomás y Valiente, he was the head of—it's a revolving position, it's not for life as it is here, but he was in charge of it when they made some decision that went against the Basque—

08-00:14:40

Lage: ETA.

08-00:14:42

Herr: Yeah, the ETA, and they came in and shot him, and I was very sad, horrified, because he was a lovely person.

08-00:14:52

Lage: Were you accepted as a person who had—especially after your book came out—you had supported the thesis.

08-00:15:06

Herr: The problem with my book when it came out was the only thing they were interested in was when I talked about *desamortización*. This whole structure of the villages, which was, I thought, the very creative thing about it was how many people were living at a certain standard at each occupation, in particular in Jaén, and also in Salamanca, and how well off the peasants were. That's fallen flat, because that isn't what the people were interested in. They were interested in what happened to this land, and who got it. That part, they've taken up, which comes through gradually in it but is much more concentrated in the 1971 article, so that's what people stay and look at, it's about a sixty-five page—

08-00:15:52

Lage: I would think they would just use your book also as a source of all this information.

08-00:15:56

Herr: You'd think so, you'd think so.

08-00:15:57

Lage: And if they wanted to analyze it some other way, they could.

08-00:15:59

Herr: Well, some day they will.

08-00:16:02

Lage: Yeah, I think so.

08-00:16:04

Herr: Some day they will.

08-00:16:05

Lage: It's really a tour de force. Don't you feel that way?

08-00:16:10

Herr: It was. It was a big thing. Out there sitting in the dining room are all the notes I took out this morning because I was trying to remember when I did what when. So I have all these notes on this—I say, my goodness, did I really do all that?

08-00:16:26

Lage: Yes. And you say nobody reads it. Okay. Well, are you—do you need a break? Or should we move on?

08-00:16:29

Herr: Let's have a break and make some tea.

08-00:16:31

Lage: Okay. We're back on after a bit of a break here. We decided to leave Spain and come back to Berkeley in the sixties. A lot's known about FSM and all of that, so we don't have to go into what happened, but I want to know your take on it and how you were involved and how you thought it affected the campus and the department.

08-00:16:57

Herr: Well, before the FSM broke, I knew something about the tensions around here. I guess I'd read about the [Caryl] Chessman case, does that mean anything?

08-00:17:07

Lage: Oh, yes.

08-00:17:07

Herr: Well, I'd even heard about that before I came to Berkeley. I remember being in Spain in '59 and talking about it, the fact that this man was going to be executed because he'd had oral sex with a girl in a car, and they were horrified, and I, curiously, I wasn't at that time. In fact, I supported the death penalty in those days, which I don't anymore. But when we came back in '64, of course in the fall of '64 was when the Free Speech Movement developed.

08-00:17:39

Lage: Right, just after you—

08-00:17:39

Herr: Just after we got back. We must have got back about August and so we fell in the midst of this. I had a graduate seminar, and several of my students were

quite involved with this movement at the time. I know Bob Richheimer, who I think was doing Latin American history, and John Levenson, whom I've mentioned already as one of my research assistants, Erna Olafson [Hellerstein], who had also been one of my research assistants and was in my seminar. They were all supporters of the FSM, and before the famous sit-in, so it was very much—there was a lot of tension already.

What I remember about my role was that the night that the people sat in Sproul Hall and were going to be pulled out in the morning, that evening the History Department had a department meeting, and I remember speaking in support of what the students were doing, which wasn't, I guess, the universal opinion in the department. So I guess I was sort of typed as someone who supported the FSM.

The next morning when—my son [Charles] was then seventeen, was a freshman. He'd come back from Spain. He'd unfortunately been in Spain his senior year in high school, so that was the year we were there, and he was in the Spanish high school there, but he took his College Boards and didn't do too well as a result of—he took a College Board in German while he was trying to get his Spanish back, and his grades weren't so good, so he did not get into any of the eastern colleges that he applied to. But he—

08-00:19:26

Lage:

He tried for Harvard, probably, family tradition.

08-00:19:28

Herr:

He tried for Harvard. That's right, and he did not get accepted. So he came to Berkeley. When I went to campus on the morning, I forget the exact date of that morning when the people were pulling the people out of Sproul Hall, but it was early December, three or four, I found him walking home with a sleeping bag, because we lived then right above the campus on La Loma in the first block, 1731, which is an old brown shingle house now between two large apartment complexes. Then there was only one complex at that point, but that was the house we'd bought in '61, and so it was a block from the campus. He was coming back and I asked what was he doing. He said, "Oh, they sent me home because they didn't want to have me get arrested, because I'm not eighteen."

08-00:20:19

Lage:

So he'd spent the night there.

08-00:20:21

Herr:

So he'd spent the night in Sproul Hall, and I went back and saw what was going on, and I spent that day, I guess, in the History Department and on campus, tremendously impressed by how well organized the Free Speech Movement people were. It seemed to me that they knew much better what was going on than anybody on the faculty or in the administration. They had

walkie-talkies, and they would tell when the police were coming this way and when the police were coming that way, and they had everybody organized.

There were a lot of people out raising money, because by then, of course, the people who'd sat in were arrested. They weren't there. These were their supporters who were still outside. But they knew what was going on. The money that was collected, in cans or boxes, or whatever—somehow at the end of the day I became one of three people to be in charge of it. It was Chuck Muscatine and I and Henry Nash Smith, who was a professor of English, well known.

08-00:21:17

Lage: So they turned it over to you?

08-00:21:18

Herr: No, the three of us went down with this money, to the city hall, or to the police station—I guess it was the police station, and negotiated paying bail for these students with the money we had. What we negotiated with a bail bondsman named Barrish, and I always kept his little card, I still have it, his advertisement says, “Don't perish in jail. Go to Barrish for bail.” [chuckling] If you give him 10 percent, he puts up the full amount that's wanted. I think it was 500 dollars per student, and there were—I forget how many—over a hundred, but we had enough money to give him 10 percent of the total bail, which then, of course, he kept. That was his profit on the day.

08-00:22:10

Lage: That's right. That doesn't come back to you.

08-00:22:12

Herr: That doesn't come back, but it did get the students out the next day, one of whom was my student John Levenson and the other, I think [Robert] Richheimer was also one of them.

08-00:22:20

Lage: Tell me why you were in favor of what the students were doing. Do you remember your thinking at the time?

08-00:22:32

Herr: Well, I thought they did have a proper argument, that they should be able to have political meetings and speak up on campus. I guess I've always been sort of on the left on things like that. I'm much more so than, for instance, than Valerie. Maybe it's Elena's influence that got me broken from the Republican background that I grew up in. I guess I'd supported the opposition to HUAC. I'd felt the sting of McCarthy back in the fifties at Yale. I remember one student coming up to me, because one of our readings in this survey of Western civilization was readings in Marx's *Das Kapital*, and he came up and he said, “Don't you think it might be dangerous for us to be reading this?” That was the attitude that was around in McCarthy's day. I said, “No, I don't think so. I think we can read it and study it.” But there you are. I'd been a

strong supporter of Stevenson against Eisenhower, so I guess that was why I took the side of the students. I thought that the students in my seminar were very responsible people.

08-00:23:40

Lage: And they had discussed some of these things in class or outside?

08-00:23:45

Herr: Oh sure. The questions about—after all, it was in favor of black liberation that it originally started out. They were protesting the policies of, I guess, it was the *Oakland Tribune* on opposition to—well, you've got the history of it somewhere else, but in any case, yeah. But black liberation was very much involved. I'd been involved with that and was interested in that in the fifties. The Little Rock opening of the high school to black students—that was—I was very much moved by it and emotionally involved with that.

08-00:24:26

Lage: So you saw the connection there—civil liberties and civil [rights].

08-00:24:30

Herr: Yeah. I didn't ever take very much of an active part in the movement after that. I wasn't involved with all the negotiations in the faculty of what kind of motion should be put forward to the Academic Senate or anything. My big moment was in going out with this money to get these people out of jail.

08-00:24:47

Lage: Didn't you tell me you were vice-chair of the department at that time?

08-00:24:55

Herr: Yes, I would have been. I was vice-chair in charge of graduate studies, graduate advisors. We had meetings. Henry May was chairman. I was one of the vice-chairmen, and Joe Levenson was the other. We used to meet weekly during this whole fall and, I guess, on into the spring for lunch, on, I forget what day, Tuesday or Wednesday, at the Durant Hotel. We'd always start out with two martinis.

08-00:25:24

Lage: [chuckling] It was necessary?

08-00:25:27

Herr: No. It was what you did in those days. It was really quite nice. I still like martinis very much. But—and Henry was much more conservative than either Joe or I was on this matter of the students and sort of worried about what was happening to the university.

08-00:25:44

Lage: So this would be discussed.

08-00:25:47

Herr: That's right. Somehow, I guess, I impressed [William B.] Bill Fretter, who was then dean of letters and science, because he got me involved that way with the Muscatine Committee. But that was my—the other time when I had any problem with the student upheavals was later on in the Cambodia crisis, which was 1970. I wasn't here for the—

08-00:26:15

Lage: The Third World strike, I think.

08-00:26:19

Herr: No, that was later. That would have been later.

08-00:26:20

Lage: I think that was '69.

08-00:26:21

Herr: Was the Third world Strike '68-'69?

08-00:26:23

Lage: Yes, and you were in Spain, weren't you?

08-00:26:26

Herr: I was in Spain for the—People's Park.

08-00:26:33

Lage: I think that was '69.

08-00:26:33

Herr: Sixty-nine—yes, I was in Spain at that point. We came back at the end of that, but then '70 was Cambodia, then it was Kent State.

08-00:26:42

Lage: And what do you recall about that?

08-00:26:45

Herr: What I recall about that was we had a strike on campus, closed all the classes. We were pressed not to teach on campus, and I didn't teach on campus. I taught in here—Valerie and I had bought this house by then, and I was teaching History 4, it was one of the series that was put in with the change from semesters to quarters, so I did the last quarter, which was the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. And—

08-00:27:20

Lage: Which is a big lecture class.

08-00:27:22

Herr: It was a big lecture class. We had the meetings, actually, in this living room, and people outside the doors there and also in what's now the entryway there, because there was a window between this room and that room at that time. I divided—I gave the same lecture three times a week, and the people were

assigned which sections came at which time, and they sat on the floor here. There weren't enough chairs, so they sat on the floor here and I would stand by the fireplace there and give the lecture. So that went on for that spring.

I also taught what was called a 103, which meant a senior seminar. I remember doing that sitting outside on the lawn. That was all graded Pass/Not Pass. I suspect that both classes were graded Pass/Not Pass. People weren't giving grades, they were just—but the students who wanted to come could come, and a lot of people came.

One event that spring, I remember, there was a lot of fighting on campus, or at least police activity and student activity. I'd agreed to meet one of the graduate students whose dissertation I was on the committee for—her name is now Ellen Huppert, I forget what her maiden name was then. But she was working with Carl Schorske on French intellectual history, I forget the exact subject. But we'd agreed that she'd come and discuss her dissertation with me in my office on a specific day at a specific time, and I went to meet her there.

It turned out that there was a lot of activity on campus that day between students and well, protesters, if you want to call it, and police. We sat and there was tear gas around. I got in the room and eventually she came. "How did you get in," I said, "Because there's police all over the place?" She said, "Oh, I snuck around the back. I know how to get into Dwinelle from the back side." My office faced on the walk that comes down from the Campanile, faced on the Life Sciences Building, and we sat in there and discussed this and outside there was a fight going on between the police—between, I guess they were the state police, they called them the blue meanies in those days—

08-00:29:44

Lage:

Those were the Oakland [Alameda County] sheriffs, I think.

08-00:29:46

Herr:

Well, that was the Oakland sheriffs, the blue meanies—well, in any case, they were the blue meanies. They were coming up toward the Campanile, and the students were massed at the Campanile up there, and the people down here were shooting tear gas at them, and those up there were rolling things down against the police.

And I remember seeing—we sat there watching, then we watched going by the front of my window there, down in that thing, two large manhole covers that someone had gotten and rolled down and the police dodged them and kept marching up. The next thing that came down was a truck, with nobody in it. They'd found—there had been some, some pickup truck had been parked up by the library and the students had managed to turn it around and head it down the walk. This pickup truck ran off this course just in front of my office where there's a lamp post, and ran into the lamp post and knocked the lamp post over, but that's what stopped it. I think after that the police managed to get the

students out of the way, but we ended up our conversation and kept the window tightly closed because of the tear gas. She went on her way and I went on my way.

08-00:30:52

Lage: It's amazing!

08-00:30:53

Herr: But when I came back the next morning—there was, my window had been broken and somebody had taken a piece of that lamp post that had been crushed and thrown it through the window. So it's still sitting there. It's still in the office—it's got a little plaque on it, and it's now David Hollinger's office. He's got it there—"This piece was thrown through this"—and it's got the date on it, "the window at this time."

08-00:31:15

Lage: Do you think that was in 1971?

08-00:31:22

Herr: My recollection—wasn't Cambodia '70? I thought it was '70. That's the same year as the Kent State police shooting on the Kent State campus.

08-00:31:31

Lage: We'll check the dates [The invasion of Cambodia and the Kent State shooting were in May of 1970.]

08-00:31:33

Herr: That's my experience of that kind of activity.

08-00:31:35

Lage: That's very dramatic. Now how did you feel about that? The tone had changed from FSM.

08-00:31:46

Herr: Well, of course, we were furious. By then we were all anti-Vietnam War. There's a nice photograph we have of Historians for Peace, with this great march that was in San Francisco. I forget the date, but I have a photograph with Bob Brentano and Carroll Brentano and me and Gerry Caspary and, I think, Tom Bisson holding up a sign saying "Historians for Peace." And Gerry has a little sign saying, "Pax Nunc." [chuckling]

08-00:32:17

Lage: That's good!

08-00:32:22

Herr: So that was why we would be opposed to—

08-00:32:26

Lage: But how did you feel—

08-00:32:26

Herr: We didn't like Governor Reagan. I think that he dumped tear gas on the students on the campus, and he'd been probably responsible for the fighting about the People's Park. I was very much upset by the taking over of People's Park and knocking down all the houses to make it, because there were some very nice Berkeley houses there.

08-00:32:48

Lage: Yeah, people kind of forget that part.

08-00:32:50

Herr: Charlie Sellers owned one of them.

08-00:32:52

Lage: Oh I didn't know that.

08-00:32:53

Herr: Yeah. I think that's where he was living. I don't know if he owned it—I think that's where he was living, yeah. And they took it over because they were going to put up dormitories, is my recollection. It seemed a pity just to knock down attractive Berkeley homes.

08-00:33:07

Lage: Then they didn't need dormitories, because the students said they wanted to live off campus.

08-00:33:11

Herr: Well, they couldn't ever put them up because of the fight over People's Park. I think they had intended to use it for at least several years, but they never could quite carry it out.

08-00:33:20

Lage: Well, there were a lot of social and cultural shifts.

08-00:33:24

Herr: Well, we could go over—this takes us into the Muscatine Committee, I think.

08-00:33:29

Lage: Right.

08-00:33:29

Herr: Because that came right after—that was a result of the Free Speech Movement. As I said—Bill Fretter somehow decided, I think, to have me appointed one of the members of it. It was quite a—it was a committee that was to—I forget the official title of it.

08-00:33:49

Lage: Select Committee on Education.

08-00:33:51

Herr: The Select Committee on Education, that's right.

08-00:33:53

Lage:

And was that a committee of the Academic Senate or a committee of L&S?

08-00:33:57

Herr:

Yes—no it was Academic Senate, because it had people from the engineering schools. It had George Pimentel from chemistry—or maybe it was just chemistry—but in any case, Vermeulen, Ted Vermeulen, I think he was in one of the engineering schools, Rod Park who later became vice-chancellor, in botany, Charlie Muscatine, Leo Lowenthal in sociology, a very distinguished person, Peter Scott.

08-00:34:39

Lage:

Peter Dale Scott.

08-00:34:40

Herr:

Peter Dale Scott, yeah, and maybe somebody else I've forgotten—oh [David] Krech, Krech, the psychologist. We were appointed to rethink the educational structure of the campus. We were just given carte blanche, and Muscatine was a very energetic director of it. We had a number of meetings regularly. He had set up committees under us. We went off, once anyway, to Lake Tahoe for a long session by ourselves, and another time down to Carmel because Leo Lowenthal had a house near there and we went to his place for a retreat, and discussed every conceivable level you could think of—TAs, admissions, faculty promotions, instruction of courses—

08-00:35:42

Lage:

Did you draw in any experts on education, or thinkers about—

08-00:35:52

Herr:

We were adequately educated, we thought. I think Krech was probably—

08-00:35:56

Lage:

I didn't mean to—

08-00:35:57

Herr:

That's right.

08-00:35:59

Lage:

—suggest that you weren't.

08-00:36:01

Herr:

But I took on the job—I don't know, if I guess I volunteered for it or not, I took on the job of describing the Berkeley students. So my research—and it turned out to be a chapter in the report called, "The Berkeley Students." That would have been the summer of '65. Elena had gone off to Paris with my two sons. We were not on too good terms at that point, and so she'd gone off for a holiday with them, and so I was alone and I spent my time—we talked, I met a lot of undergraduates and had them talk about themselves and discussed the university. I remember them wanting to teach me what young people were

interested [in] at this point. I went with a couple of women students to see the Beatles picture—what is it called—

08-00:36:55

Lage: *Yellow Submarine?*

08-00:36:56

Herr: No, it was the next one, I think—it was *Help. Help*—and they used this to explain. They said, “Well, if you want to know what the students are about, you have to go and see the Beatles.” And so I went. I also collected a lot of records of that period, of Dylan Thomas [means Bob Dylan], and the woman singer—what’s her name—Diaz, isn’t it—

08-00:37:20

Lage: Not Janis Joplin.

08-00:37:21

Herr: No, no—Hispanic—I thought her name was Diaz. I can’t think of her name, but in any case [Joan Baez] I collected, and we have them there, the old LPs. We set up some committees of students who studied admissions and studied things like that.

08-00:37:40

Lage: So you had students feeding into this.

08-00:37:42

Herr: Feeding into this and turned out this chapter. My chapter really was—I think it starts out saying that the university—“There’s a missing community,” I said. “Berkeley, as an undergraduate college, does not have the kind of community to it that other colleges do, normal four-year colleges do.” I then analyzed why—they come and go, they take five years, they come at different times, there’s no graduating—you can’t think you’re going to belong to a graduating class, because people who came in with you aren’t graduating at the same time you’re graduating, and that they’re not associated—they don’t feel part of a community when they’re at the university. That was the point I was making there, and that the FSM provided this community feeling that they’d never had, which is what gave it its strength, is what my argument ran.

08-00:38:36

Lage: This was a good argument.

08-00:38:37

Herr: And that became sort of the keynote for the report, which said that somehow, well, the students felt the university was a machine. That’s what Mario Savio had said, “It’s just a machine and we have to stop it.” That it was a machine—

08-00:38:57

Lage: You can’t staple [spindle], fold, or mutilate—when they were talking about those [IBM] cards.

08-00:39:00

Herr: That's right.

08-00:39:00

Lage: Remember that? The cards you used in your research.

08-00:39:02

Herr: That's right, that's right. Sure. That the students turned in every year for every class. All my grades were on the IBM cards that they turned in—that it was producing people for this hypocritical society which was racist. They weren't talking quite yet about the Vietnam War, but a year later they were.

08-00:39:29

Lage: So that spoke—you seem to think that that wasn't the problem.

08-00:39:35

Herr: Oh, that was definitely a problem, and in a sense, one of the major points of the Muscatine Report was how to get the students back in touch with the university and make them feel that it was part of them. I'd made the point that they were very ambiguous about this, because they don't want the university to be a machine producing cogs for this society, but they want the university to produce their kind of society, so they want to use it too. They don't want it to be separated from the problems of the world, or at least the agenda of the world.

So one of the points of the report was how to get them to understand the purpose of the university was not, somehow, to reform the world, but to develop knowledge and maturity in the students. And its focus then, and much of it is on how to get the faculty back in touch with the students and the students with the faculty. I know, for instance, one of the recommendations was that for promotions there should be a report on the teaching of the person, which had not been done before.

08-00:40:45

Lage: Which was unheard of!

08-00:40:47

Herr: That's right, it had not been done. Now it's taken so much for granted. Students have to turn reports in on every course, and these are read and considered and put into the report that's sent on for promotion, for a merit increase or a promotion of rank, but that was something that came out of that. We put through the Pass/Not Pass concept. There had never been courses without grades, which had meant that students had not been very adventuresome in their choice of courses, because they wanted to make sure that they were getting good grades, so this would give them a chance to take a course without having to worry about the grade. It didn't go into the grade point average. Student-initiated courses were introduced—if you got a faculty person who would back it. I don't know if that's still done much. That was done quite a bit in the seventies.

08-00:41:41

Lage: I think it's still done.

08-00:41:44

Herr: There was also much talk about admissions. They had forty-some odd recommendations, and I don't remember all of them, but they had included that. One of the recommendations was to set up a committee of Letters and Science to reconsider the undergraduate program in Letters and Science, which they did not want to do in this report. My own recollection of that chapter that I wrote was that I'd made it more radical than many of the committee wanted, and so it was toned down quite a bit.

08-00:42:18

Lage: Oh, they toned it down in the final presentation.

08-00:42:21

Herr: Yeah, in the final book. It's not what I'd written. They took out paragraphs in which I'd specified student criticisms of the faculty and things like that.

08-00:42:31

Lage: O, that's interesting.

08-00:42:33

Herr: Yeah—so as to not make it look quite so radical. In any case, but that was my contribution. Other sections were being studied by other people, and their ideas were being put forward, and we'd all get together and discuss them.

08-00:42:42

Lage: And did you all pretty much agree on the final outcome?

08-00:42:50

Herr: Well, that was—all but George Pimentel. George Pimentel was always more conservative. I guess he's physics [chemistry]. I know he worked on the structure of the stratosphere, sent up very high balloons—but he objected to the whole sense that we should be catering to what the students want. He said, "The purpose of the university is not to do what the students want. The purpose of the university—we're a great university because we do great research, and we support great scholars, and we should not interfere with that."

We kept toning down some of our recommendations for him, and we would have passed them without him, and when we got done, he refused to sign the document and wrote his own report in which he defended the present university against radical changes in it, which kind of got us angry, because we thought if we had known that he was going to do that, we wouldn't have toned down the report in the first [place].

08-00:43:54

Lage: So he affected the recommendations of your report.

08-00:43:55

Herr: That's right. It went through to the Academic Senate, and the Academic Senate, I think, met several times and considered each of the recommendations. Chuck Muscatine was very good about pushing them through. He's really a powerful person. I hope you have him as one of your—

08-00:44:11

Lage: Yes.

08-00:44:12

Herr: You do. Okay. And—it got passed. It was a great event. It was a great achievement.

Well, then they set up this committee to review the undergraduate program in Letters and Science, and they made me chairman of the committee, which I guess, again, was Bill Fretter's work. There were five on it at first, but we ended up being only three, because one of them resigned and one of them got ill. It was Fred Reif, who's a mathematician and Cyril Birch who is Chinese literature, and myself. I guess we had administrative support. We had a lot of meetings with a lot of people.

At that point I sat down and read a great deal about educational theory. I read the Harvard report of 1946, or whatever it was that sat up the core courses. There'd been a report at Columbia University. There'd been a lot of writing about higher education. I got some sense of the history of universities and colleges and high schools in this country, and devoted, I guess, about a year of my life to just getting this committee through. I think I had time off from the History Department, or at least part-time off.

We produced our report, which focused, as I look back on it, the major focus was on trying to break down the separation between breadth requirements and major requirements—the breadth requirements being something that was instituted by the university or by the college, and the major requirements being instituted by the departments. And we put forward the idea of inner and outer breadth—inner breadth being breadth that's related to your own major in your departments, but you should have some of that as well as this outer breadth requiring people in humanities to do social science and physical science and biological science.

08-00:46:40

Lage: So it would require, say someone in history, to take anthropology.

08-00:46:42

Herr: Something like that, yeah, which is the recommendation I'd already put through as director of the graduate program in history. I'd been quite involved with creating the graduate program. I guess it was about this same time, or must have been just about this same time.

08-00:46:58

Lage: Some of the same thinking.

08-00:46:59

Herr: Some of the same thinking. And we realized at that point that we needed some special kinds of courses for this, so that the people in literature could have courses which were not in their department, but were for inner breadth as we'd called it, and recommended the creation of UGIS—Undergraduate Interdisciplinary Studies, that's right. To provide these courses for inner breadth. We also pushed the idea that you had to have at least two years of a language. That there's no point in studying a language unless you got good enough to be able to use it. And we had other sorts of requirements, and we were fighting against a growing tide, at that point.

08-00:47:52

Lage: Of the tide to have fewer requirements?

08-00:47:54

Herr: The requirement, yes, to have absolutely fewer requirements. To leave the students quite free to do what they wanted. One of the recommendations that was being put forward at that time was that you shouldn't have any requirements at all, except you get 120 units, which was then quarter units, and you get a degree and you do anything you want. Bill Fretter was rather interested by that. It didn't go against his grain either. He said, "Well, why not, what would be wrong with it? Let the students just decide what they want to study and come out with it." So I was given a chance at a meeting in the Greek Theater to get up and talk about what we were recommending and put forward.

08-00:48:31

Lage: To the students?

08-00:48:33

Herr: To the students, yes, and I guess the faculty were there too. I did that. I have a photograph of me talking with Mario Savio after it. He'd come up to talk to me about it, or something, and it was in the *Daily Cal*, I think, or else in the local paper. It's clipped away, and I don't know what it came from. But when the committee actually met, the L & S committee met, not many people came. I tried to get people interested, in the History Department. Nobody in the History Department turned up. I said, "This is important."

08-00:49:02

Lage: Now what was the L & S committee? A committee of the whole—

08-00:49:04

Herr: Well—a committee of the whole—yes, they were just meeting to approve this or disapprove it, and so it went down by one vote.

08-00:49:11

Lage: Oh by one vote only!

08-00:49:12

Herr: Yeah. But it was a very small meeting—it was probably about thirty-five people.

08-00:49:18

Lage: Out of several hundred.

08-00:49:20

Herr: Yes, yes. So I was very dejected after that. It really knocked me out.

08-00:49:27

Lage: It's a beautiful little report. Nicely written. Did you write it?

08-00:49:33

Herr: Well, the three of us did, I guess. I must have written good sections of it. But it happened, as they pointed out, was a number of the recommendations were actually put forward by the administration independently of having had a college vote on it.

08-00:49:49

Lage: So somebody read it.

08-00:49:50

Herr: Oh, somebody read it, yeah.

08-00:49:52

Lage: And that was put forth. Was the two-year language requirement recommended?

08-00:49:56

Herr: Two years in language, yes. There were people who wanted to abolish the language requirement, and it was being abolished in other colleges. The whole sense of having requirements was really going against the ethos of the time, especially—

08-00:50:19

Lage: It seems to fit in with the FSM, the idea of the students—

08-00:50:22

Herr: That's right. Probably it fitted in—it did not fit in with what the Muscatine report was about, which was to get the students, although there was—

08-00:50:33

Lage: So you think you're—

08-00:50:34

Herr: I think I was probably more conservative than what the Muscatine Report would have had in mind. And I certainly did not have the kind of clout that Muscatine had to come and get, or even get people interested enough to come to a meeting. But that was, a good part of my life for those two years was that Muscatine Committee and then the Herr Committee.

08-00:50:58

Lage: When did it actually come out?

08-00:51:03

Herr: I think it was '67. One thing that did happen after that, and I should comment on it—Bill Fretter asked me if I'd become an assistant dean, and I'd said I did not want to at that point. I wanted to get back to my own research and writing. And I was never offered another job like that, so I never got into administration. I missed out on my chance, because I obviously was headed for bigger things if I'd wanted to go into—

08-00:51:31

Lage: Well, would you have liked that? Or do you prefer research and writing?

08-00:51:34

Herr: Well, you know, I'd had all that research I'd done in Spain that I just was neglecting all these—I did have research assistants working for me, but I wasn't getting anything done. I'd also managed to get a divorce. You know, one of the things about Berkeley then was—it was, I suppose, part of the growing women's lib movement, what should I say, sort of a critique of marriage that was very active, and it certainly was around the history—

08-00:52:05

Lage: In this period of the sixties?

08-00:52:06

Herr: The sixties, yes. It was certainly in the History Department. I think particularly of George Stocking, who was a historian in our department, but his specialty was the history of anthropology. He and his wife Mina [Wilhelmina] had gotten divorced, and Mina became a good friend of Elena's. I think she kind of gave Elena a push in that direction, which I don't think was too hard because she'd had a rough time of it.

She'd planned—she hadn't wanted to leave France to come to the States. She wanted to go to Latin America somewhere. She had a very good friend who went to Chile. She'd prepared to teach French abroad, which meant for her in Latin America and probably would have gotten a job in a French lycée abroad, but she came here instead. In graduate school she did do a degree. She worked on her PhD in comparative literature, but when I went to Yale, she decided to do high school teaching and got herself a credential in Connecticut and got herself a very good job teaching French and Spanish at the high school in the next town, which was a fairly wealthy town, Guilford, Connecticut.

She had to give that up to come out here, and when she got out here, she discovered her Connecticut credential wasn't good in California. The question was—did she want to do a credential here? She decided to finish her dissertation, and so the first years that we were here, between '60 to '64, she was working on her dissertation. She also translated my book at that time.

08-00:53:53

Lage: Yes, and she made trips to Spain with you.

08-00:53:57

Herr: Well, in '64 she did, when we went back. But she'd given up her career to go—and she never was happy in Berkeley. There was a faculty member—I think his name was Finkelstein [Jacob J. Finkelstein] in Near Eastern languages, who got a job at Yale, and his wife had a good position here. I forget where. But I remember Elena and she becoming good friends, and she more or less, Elena more or less telling her, “You don't have to go to Yale, you know, you've got your career. Why don't you stay here?”

08-00:54:27

Lage: To Yale? Or to Berkeley.

08-00:54:29

Herr: No—this woman—Finkelstein was on the faculty at Berkeley, and he got a job at Yale, and he decided to take the job at Yale. I think that's his name. I may have mistaken—but I think that's right. And the question was—should his wife—his wife was going to have to give up her career so as to go and join him, keep with him. Elena was very much, I remember, very much concerned about this, in talking with her, so almost saying that she didn't have to.

In any case, by the time we came back from Spain, in '64, her father had died, just after we got back. He was a very good friend of mine. I loved her father very much. He'd been the person who'd shown me how to live in Spain and behave properly—wipe your mouth before you drink a glass of wine so that you don't get your lipstick on the glass or that sort of thing, and how do you speak to people. I was very fond of him. But in any case, his death—she went back for the funeral and she came back clearly very upset, and so that triggered something, I think, that was already very much in the air.

Before the academic year was over—and that must have been about December, we were pretty well broken apart. She went off to France with the two kids. I stayed here and worked on the Muscatine Committee. She came back in the fall, but by Christmas time we decided that we shouldn't live together anymore. So we got a divorce, and Mina Stocking was her witness to say—you know, in those days you had to prove that I had been cruel.

08-00:56:09

Lage: Oh you did.

08-00:56:11

Herr: Yeah. Oh yes, because you couldn't just get [a no-fault divorce].

08-00:56:14

Lage: I thought it had changed by then.

08-00:56:18

Herr: No, no. The courts still required some proof of, what should I say—cruelty, cruelty, yes. So Mina went and bore witness to the fact how cruel I'd been to Elena.

08-00:56:26

Lage: Oh that's very hard.

08-00:56:28

Herr: Yeah. I went back a year later. This was '66, the spring of '66 that we went to the court—I mean, she went to the court. I didn't go. I didn't defend it. I didn't even have a lawyer. We just made an arrangement. I went back in '67 while she was already living in Paris. Out of the cost of buying back my retirement from Yale and half of the value of the car, why she got herself an apartment in Paris, and I went back and helped her fix it up in '67, but then it became very clear that we weren't going to resume the marriage. By then I'd already met Valerie, and in '68 Valerie and I were married. Valerie and her husband had been divorced in the meanwhile. Valerie was working on her degree in demography.

08-00:57:31

Lage: Well, we should stop for various reasons.

08-00:57:34

Herr: We should stop.

08-00:57:35

Lage: Next time I want you to tell me a little bit more about Valerie.

08-00:57:39

Herr: Okay, because I think we've said what we had to say about the FSM and my reading there. I think we've done the sixties pretty thoroughly.

08-00:57:48

Lage: We have.

08-00:57:50

Herr: That being the sort of critical era that one wants to talk about.

Interview #5: 4-04-2008

[Begin Audio File Herr 9 04-04-08.mp3]

09-00:00:00

Lage: Okay, we're on again and this is our fifth and most likely our final session. We're starting on tape nine with our oral history with Richard Herr for the Department of History Series. Okay, now you have helped with this outline today, greatly, and kind of know where you want to go. We ended last time talking about—you had married Valerie. At some point, I hope you tie in here your new family and your marriage to Valerie along with your life in the seventies and eighties. And you were going to try to—

09-00:00:38

Herr: Okay, well, actually we can start out with the first visit afterwards to—well, we went to Spain. I think I told you about going to Spain with her and losing my notes, and she helped me tremendously on that.

09-00:00:48

Lage: Yes, you did.

09-00:00:50

Herr: That was at that point when Charlie decided to drop out of college here and go off to New York, and I lost touch with him for about three years and then finally got back in touch with him, and he was working for the city of New York running a mimeograph machine for the mayor, I think, making very little money and getting involved in protest movements. He became fairly high in the United States Socialist Party—

09-00:01:19

Lage: Oh he did?

09-00:01:20

Herr: One of the board on it, I think. He was quite involved.

09-00:01:25

Lage: And this grew out—we've talked about this off the tape, grew out of his involvement here at Berkeley in the Free Speech Movement.

09-00:01:30

Herr: I think it grew out of his involvement here at Berkeley, yeah. He met a woman there and she, I guess, took him in when he first got to New York [Betsy Goldsmith]. They lived together sixteen years and eventually got married and now have a child [David] who's off in Hampshire College. So it's been a long time for him in New York. He got his degree. He got a PhD in psychology.

09-00:01:52

Lage: You say he graduated finally from Hunter.

09-00:01:54

Herr: He graduated from Hunter finally, because he dropped out of here. Then after that he applied and got into a good program at Columbia, got himself a PhD there and got a job with one of the city hospitals in New York. It's not Rensselaer, I forget the name, but in any case, he's still there with them [Gouverneur Hospital]. He's in charge of the psychology staff and gives some courses and has also got involved in his own clients and now has a psychoanalytic degree as well, so he's become very much a New Yorker, still pretty much on the left, yeah. [chuckling]

09-00:02:30

Lage: Well, we had discussed how it wasn't easy to grow up in the sixties in Berkeley.

09-00:02:35

Herr: No, it certainly wasn't easy. And of course, my other son, when Elena and I were divorced, he went off to Switzerland. We put him in a private school that was run for the League of Nations, had been founded for the League of Nations as the International School in Geneva. He got his degree there. It was—

09-00:02:53

Lage: And was he the younger son?

09-00:02:56

Herr: He was the younger son. He went to high school there, came back here and all his grades there were Bs and something like that, and so he couldn't get into any good colleges here, but somebody at Santa Cruz recognized—"Oh that school—a B at that school. That's a darn good grade!" So he got into Santa Cruz and got his degree there in biology and got himself a PhD at Harvard and has gone on to a great career in that field and married a lovely girl from Switzerland [Nourie Hernandez], and they're now in Switzerland.

09-00:03:22

Lage: Oh they live in Switzerland.

09-00:03:23

Herr: They live in Switzerland as of two years ago. For many years they were at Cold Spring Harbor in Long Island. So you can be quite happy with him, but yeah, they had trouble. [clock chimes two] It was a problem growing up in the sixties.

09-00:03:34

Lage: Yeah, yeah, you're right.

09-00:03:37

Herr: But in any case, Valerie and I went off to Spain again in '91. She was working on a PhD here.

09-00:03:45

Lage: You must mean—

09-00:03:49

Herr: Seventy-one, sorry, '71. She was working on a degree here. She started out in demography and then they did not continue her. That's a family story—so she moved into geography. In '71 she'd already taken her orals and was ready for a doctorate and got a good grant from the NEH, National Endowment—no, it was NIH. In any case, she got a good grant that helped us go in '71. By then we had our first child, Sarah, and we went off to Madrid, and I stayed in our little apartment there much of the time, and I remember my experiences of babysitting this, well, what was she—about six months old girl, in a little go-cart out in the public park in Madrid. I was there with my little daughter, and everybody else—a little child was there with a nurse in uniform. [chuckling] I kind of stood out. We stood out.

09-00:04:49

Lage: Was that more child-caring than you had done for your first family? Your boys?

09-00:04:55

Herr: Oh, I'd done quite a bit of child-caring when we were graduate school with Charlie at the University of Chicago. We used to trade the baby in the stroller as we changed classes, because we couldn't have classes at the same time, but we could have classes an hour apart or right after each other, and we would meet each other. So we did quite a lot of—

09-00:05:13

Lage: You were a modern dad for both of them.

09-00:05:14

Herr: A modern dad, that's right. And Valerie went off at that point and left me with Sarah and the maid who came in during the day, for a week, while she did her research up in northern Spain, in Bilbao. And I remember I had this little girl who cried, and cried, and cried. And I couldn't get her to sleep. I'd stay up at night and try to sing to her or something like that. And when Valerie got back she looked and she says, "Oh look! She has a tooth!" And the maid said, "Oh yes, I knew she had a tooth." "Well, why didn't you tell my husband? That was the problem he was having." [chuckling]

09-00:05:43

Lage: [chuckling] Well, that's a good experience.

09-00:05:46

Herr: Yes. So from then on, in a way, during the seventies and the early eighties, anyway, my life was almost more in Spain than in Berkeley.

09-00:05:58

Lage: I see that from just looking at the dates here.

09-00:06:02

Herr: In '73—

09-00:06:03

Lage: At least half the time, maybe more than half.

09-00:06:05

Herr: Yes, and I was doing a little research. I was writing up my—mostly I was writing, and it took me a long time to write this book.

09-00:06:10

Lage: This is the *Rural Change* book.

09-00:06:12

Herr: This is the *Rural Change and Royal Finances* book, and I was in touch with people in Spain, but in '73 it was, yes, I was invited to go to France, to Paris, to the École Normale Supérieure en Sciences Sociales, which had previously been called the Sixième Section, which is the group that I'd tried to introduce our students to, that's sort of the outgrowth of the Annales school.

09-00:06:39

Lage: I see. And how did you get invited to that? How does that happen?

09-00:06:44

Herr: I don't remember whether I applied—how it came about, but I did get the—I don't know if I knew Le Roy Ladurie already at that point. I may have met him. I know when I was there in '73 we became very good friends and his wife.

09-00:06:58

Lage: Now tell me about your relationship with him.

09-00:07:02

Herr: Are we getting the noise of a dog on the—

09-00:07:05

Lage: Oh it doesn't matter—is that your dog?

09-00:07:08

Herr: I think it is! He objects to hearing us upstairs and not being allowed to be here.

09-00:07:13

Lage: Right! [chuckling]

09-00:07:14

Herr: We may have to break off. [howling continues]

09-00:07:20

Lage: It's fairly faint. It adds the human touch.

09-00:07:24

Herr: It adds the human touch to it. Okay. No—we went with a little girl and that was a very good experience in getting in touch with the French community. I got to know a man named Pierre Vilar, who was the leading historian of Catalonia in France and probably the world.

09-00:07:40

Lage: Was he a Catalanian?

09-00:07:42

Herr: No. He's French, but he went as a student of history to Catalonia before the Second Republic and has been there, was very devoted to Catalonia. I'd met him in Russia in 1970 when I went to the conference in well, Leningrad, at that point, as part of the International Economic History Society, gave a paper there on quantitative methods in history.

09-00:08:10

Lage: Oh, you did. Now, you hadn't mentioned that.

09-00:08:13

Herr: I hadn't mentioned that.

09-00:08:14

Lage: That's quite interesting.

09-00:08:14

Herr: And we got to be good friends, and he and then his children, his son. I'm still a very good friend of his son. He died in 2003, but we have been good friends.

09-00:08:27

Lage: Now these two men—did your history get influenced by them? Or what kind of a—

09-00:08:35

Herr: I'm sure I was influenced by Le Roy Ladurie, because I liked his *Peasants of Languedoc*, and also his Montaignou book, which I taught quite regularly, as a study of society, not politics, but society, and of course, Pierre Vilar was also that way too.

09-00:08:53

Lage: And does Pierre Vilar have a Marxist approach?

09-00:08:58

Herr: Yes. He was a strong Marxist. He was sort of a rival for Braudel, and in fact, I think he succeeded Braudel, no, I don't know—they worked together, but they worked in different lines and with a certain amount of, I think, slight rivalry. But he was a big figure in Spain.

Then from there we went on that summer to Spain.

09-00:09:26

Lage: So let me just ask you—in Paris, were you teaching? Was that the—

09-00:09:30

Herr: I was a *directeur d'études associé*, was what they called it, a director of studies, but I don't remember directing anybody in anything. I think they just let me do research, and I could do research in the archives there and perhaps some writing and practice, get my French back up, and enjoy Paris. We did enjoy Paris very much. At that point we had a car. Valerie had bought a car with her grant in 1971 and we kept it for about fifteen years garaged in England near her family's place. We had it when went to Europe, yes.

09-00:10:06

Lage: That's very nice.

09-00:10:07

Herr: And then I went back in '75 to Spain as director of the Education Abroad Program, and experienced the whole end of the Franco regime and the transition to democracy. That was a very exciting and tense period. It was something—I ended up thinking about it and speaking about it and eventually writing about it and looking at it much more as somebody who experienced it with the people than as a student of the political maneuvering that was going on, which much of the writing about it at the time was, well, oh the Communists were doing this and the Socialists were doing this and the Franco people were doing this and this and how they were talking to each other. That was sort of up above where we were living, at the level of the people, and sensing the tremendous tensions that everybody felt at the time about what is going to happen. Is the army going to let this—the Franco regime fall apart? Or are they going to step in and take over.

09-00:11:08

Lage: And what was the general feeling in society, did you think? Was it deeply divided?

09-00:11:13

Herr: Oh I think most everybody wanted the transition at that point. I'm sure there were people that stuck by Franco and that said, "We lived better with Franco." That became the motto—"Vivíamos mejor con Franco." Because it was also a period of tremendous economic tension, depression. You remember—the oil crisis came in '73, and so the economies of these countries, to a great extent, fell apart in the next five years.

09-00:11:39

Lage: Having nothing to do with Franco's death.

09-00:11:42

Herr: Having nothing to do with Franco's death, but obviously it all fitted together into some sense of great tension and anxiety. I remember going to the—there was one period when they had the terrorists, I guess they were called, had kidnapped a leading general [Antonio María de Oriol] and had him hidden.

Nobody knew where he was. I forget what else happened that week. Oh—then some, yes, some people came in and shot four Communist lawyers in their office, killed them one evening. That was about a week later, and there was a tremendous sense of—my God, this place is going to fall apart and blow apart. And I went, the morning after that assassination, to—we’d called the students off for that day, I think, to the secretary’s home, our administrator, Carmen Usobiaga. We talked and she offered me coffee, and when she tried to pour the coffee she couldn’t get it in the cup. Her hand was shaking so much it went all over the table—it was just that sort of feeling of, my God, what is going to happen.

09-00:12:45

Lage:

And as director of EAP, you had a certain responsibility.

09-00:12:49

Herr:

Then I had that trouble of handling all these students. We had summer sessions in San Sebastián—the program starts with a month of what they called introduction—outside of Madrid. We take—we have our own teachers and we’d take them up there and they’d listen to Spanish lectures and get sort of adjusted to going to a Spanish university. But San Sebastián was the center of Basque opposition to Franco, and so while we were up there they were street fighting and barricades and Civil Guards marching against the rioters—more or less the same things we’d had in Berkeley in the sixties.

09-00:13:28

Lage:

Well, you were well prepared then.

09-00:13:30

Herr:

Well—but I was concerned about the students. I remember this one time there was a fight going on in the street, and I [was] walking along, and I saw one of our young women students watching! And I said, “For God’s sake, get out of here!” And so she ducked into a restaurant which was on the main street there, and I went inside the restaurant and I looked around, and there she was, standing at the window of the restaurant with a camera taking pictures. And I said, “For goodness sakes, get away from that glass window.” You don’t know what’ll happen.

I had a phone call from a family who was terribly—wondering what had happened to their daughter, because they hadn’t heard from her for a month, and they were sure that something had happened to her. I said, “Oh I don’t know. I saw her this morning.” They said, “You saw her this morning?” I said, “Yes.” “Oh thank God,” they said, “she’s all right!” The news coming out of Spain was very frightening for the parents, yes. And the school was being shut—we had riot police at the university. We had rubber bullets being shot around. I had to try and keep the students away at the critical moments, but there was a certain amount of tension.

09-00:14:37

Lage: Was this action in the street people who—who were they?

09-00:14:44

Herr: People who wanted the change. In a sense it was the more radical people. I don't think they were particularly Communists or anything. They were mostly younger people. I think students in Spain, like students here—students in Spain had resisted Franco throughout the sixties and gotten arrested and put in jail, and one of their people had come here and studies with me—Joaquín Arango, had been something of a figure among the students in the sixties. He came here and was working on his PhD in the seventies.

09-00:15:10

Lage: So they took this opportunity—

09-00:15:13

Herr: They took this opportunity to march. I'm sure the labor unions were involved with it.

09-00:15:17

Lage: And then the Basque separatists.

09-00:15:19

Herr: And then the marching on the streets and, of course, then the police would face them and try to stop them. The police were still in the hands of the government. For two years, more or less, the government was still the same Franco government. The big figure that was helping keep things covered up, I think, was the king, the new, young king, and he chose the new prime minister that—what's his name—Adolfo Suárez, who had been a Franco person but realized that they had to make a change and was working for getting a new constitution with a democratic system.

But it was not at all clear that they were going to get this through without some kind of fighting, because—how do you overthrow the old one? He did it by managing to get them really to approve of changes which then permitted votes, which permitted a new legislature to come in. It was really quite a tactical achievement. But there were deaths in Spain. There were deaths up in Vitoria, I remember the workers there. There was a lot of unemployment. It was just a real hard time, and you know you feel now, suddenly that this is different from other times in history.

09-00:16:25

Lage: That was an exciting time to be there.

09-00:16:27

Herr: Well, it was. We had the students. We had Thanksgiving parties for the students, and we had them—they ate lamb instead of turkey—I said, “If you eat in Spain, you have to eat lamb.” And we'd go to a good restaurant and have lamb dinner, and then we'd have them all over to our house for drinks afterwards. There's one recollection—I know that—of course we'd have the

staff there too, and one of these students came up to me and he said, “Carmen wants a *cenicero*. I don’t know how to make a *cenicero*.” A *cenicero* is an ash tray! [chuckling]

It was a good time. In the same time, Valerie was finishing her dissertation. She got her PhD in those two years, and I got some work done.

09-00:17:15

Lage:

Right. And her topic was—

09-00:17:19

Herr:

And I got some work done. I got involved with the faculty there. I got involved—I was a member of the Academy of History, but now I could go every week to their meetings, so I got to know quite a few of the people in the historical profession. José Antonio Maraval who had sort of pushed my book and made me famous in Spain, in that sense, he invited me to give a lecture at his course, and so I gave something about the Spanish Enlightenment. I forget what it was, but I just sat down on his desk in front of the class and lectured for an hour without any notes, and later on Carmen, our administrator, came up to me and she said, “Professor Maraval said it’s the best lecture he’d ever heard!” [chuckling]

09-00:18:05

Lage:

Well, that’s quite a compliment.

09-00:18:05

Herr:

I think my lectures were—they’re more lively here than they were in Spain. The way of approaching—

09-00:18:12

Lage:

Oh, you mean the professors here try to be more lively?

09-00:18:15

Herr:

Well, that’s right. I think so, yes. I think that was part of it. But in any case, it was—I got to know him, then I became very good friends with, well, I’d known him already—Gonzalo Anes. He’s now president of the Academy of History, but he was a professor and—whom else would I have met? Oh—I guess, well, Felipe Ruiz [Martín]. Felipe Ruiz died a few years ago. He was a wonderful economic historian. A gentleman. A real gentleman. I felt sort of incorporated into the body of the Spanish academic world as a result of those two years there.

09-00:18:53

Lage:

Very much so, it seems. And was there any sense of ownership of Spanish history? Like why are you as a foreigner studying our land?

09-00:19:07

Herr:

No, no—the contrary. I think they clearly quite appreciated me. For one thing, my history of Spain is much more—what shall I say—sympathetic than a lot of foreign histories of Spain. And my first book, which Elena had translated

and which Maraval pushed and became on everybody's reading list, it seemed, around Spain, made me welcome, made me accepted, yes.

I remember—I should bring in—one of the things that I was involved with in those years was a thing called the International Institute for Girls in Spain, which had been—I think I mentioned it once before—it had been founded in the late 1890s by the wife of a Protestant American missionary [Alice Gordon Gulick]. But it had been a place where the school for our children was and had been and still was at that point. I gave lectures there. I gave a lecture on the anniversary of the 200 years of the American independence, July 1776, in which I compared Spain and the United States in that period, and I said the radical country was Spain and the conservative country was the United States—I made this argument in this lecture, which never got published. The book was about to be published, and for some reason they never finished getting the money for it.

09-00:20:37

Lage: That's an interesting thought right there.

09-00:20:40

Herr: Well, I said that—their king, Charles III, who's my favorite king, was pushing more radical ideas than what the American Revolution was doing in terms of society and things like that.

09-00:20:51

Lage: Interesting. Now that was—

09-00:20:55

Herr: Then I wrote this [the post-Franco transition] up in a book—finally it got into—I never got around to it until after 2000, and I hoped I would get it into publication. It's now an addition to my little history of Spain and published in Spanish, but not here because the Cal press [UC Press] said they couldn't afford to publish it. So that's a disappointment, but—that tells this whole story of what it was like to move through these years. [RH added in editing: "This is the epilogue to my *Historical Interpretation of Modern Spain*, which is now on the Web."]

09-00:21:26

Lage: You mentioned that Valerie was director of—was it that same institute?

09-00:21:31

Herr: That same institute. When we went back again in '79, she was director.

09-00:21:35

Lage: And this is—what grades does it involve?

09-00:21:42

Herr: Originally it was made to prepare young Spanish women for universities, so it would be high school age. By the time we were there, the only teaching that was being done was at a school that they'd given their building over to,

effectively, which was not the institute itself, this was Estudio, it was Jimena Menéndez Pidal's school.

09-00:22:05

Lage: Where your boys went.

09-00:22:08

Herr: Where my boys went. By the time we got there in '75, they'd already built themselves a new, much bigger building outside on the outskirts of Madrid, and our two girls went there, with the same teaching staff, the same traditional sense of we've got to get the popular knowledge of Spanish art and Spanish popular life and also get us ready for universities. It was a good school.

09-00:22:36

Lage: But it was elementary too.

09-00:22:37

Herr: But what the Institute did was it gave these rooms to American education-abroad programs. So mostly it was being filled with American students working for NYU, as I recall, there must have been about six or seven groups. Valerie would remember all of them, and they would—the students weren't housed there, but their classes were given there.

09-00:22:59

Lage: I see—in Spanish? Classes in Spanish?

09-00:23:06

Herr: I'm pretty sure they were all being given in Spanish, yes. They had a series of Spanish intellectuals who were not favored by the government who would—authors, very well distinguished authors would come and give lectures and give classes and earn a living that way. It had been very useful during the Franco period, because it had been a place where people could come and speak fairly freely. Spaniards would come and give a lecture there which they could not be allowed to give elsewhere.

There was a Spanish Nobel prize winner who was a professor at Columbia, but he was Spanish [Severo Ochoa]. There were some lectures given in his honor at that point. I can't think of his name right now, including [Gregorio] Marañón, who was a very big figure intellectually in Spain, honoring him and in effect saying, the only way a Spaniard could get a Nobel prize is to go abroad. And that's because we don't permit things like this to go on here. It was very critical of the government, and that was given there.

The people who ran it—the board which was located in Boston, was largely made up, or at least strongly under the hands of Spanish refugees who hated Franco, and they saw this as a way of keeping the spirit alive of the Republic. And by 1980 they'd felt that it has done its job—now we have a democracy. There's nothing more for us to do here, and Valerie was, in a sense, expected to be the last director. And her job was to go and organize the sale of the

building or do something with it. We can use the money to send American students over with fellowships and this, that, and the other.

The Spanish group—they had their own little group of *asesores* there—a little council. They thought that was quite wrong, and that there was really quite a lot that could still be done by spreading American methods and American ideas into Spain at this critical time of getting a new democracy going.

Valerie did not cooperate with the wishes of the board to sell the building. She didn't go and see all the people she was supposed to see. She spent her time seeing banks to see if she couldn't raise money to get it, because there was a problem with finances. She got some—Banco de Bilbao, she met the director there and various others. She also had to struggle with the fact that the building was in terrible shape and they had to redo the electricity because it wasn't up to code.

It was a hard year, and I worked with her to a certain extent on that. I certainly was very much emotionally involved, and we had all kinds of plans about what we could do with this building and how we could make it a center for American visitors to Spain and tie it in much more closely with the Spanish universities than it was tied in. Eventually, we got—one member we knew at one of the banks, a younger man, who gave us a dinner and invited the president of the board, who was Edmund King at Princeton, to come. He said, "We can't give you two million dollars, but I can organize for you to get the income from two million dollars, and that should be able to keep you going."

09-00:26:33

Lage:

This is Edmund King?

09-00:26:34

Herr:

No this was this—what was his name, it was actually, no he was a young man—he was the grandson of Marañón, I think his name was also Gregorio Marañón, and the bank was the Banco de Urquijo, which was a Basque bank, and investment bank, and he said, "It won't be our bank, but I think I can get banks together to do this and it'd be very useful." This was about June and we were about to leave, and so Edmund King went back to Princeton or to New York where the boards were meeting, and we never heard from them. So I finally asked Marañón, about two months later, what's going on. He says, "We never heard from them." I said, "Oh, should I write to them?" He says, "No, if they can't answer my offer after two months, I'm not interested anymore." So they never got that.

09-00:27:32

Lage:

That's too bad.

09-00:27:33

Herr:

On the other hand they—

09-00:27:33

Lage: So did it fold?

09-00:27:34

Herr: No. It didn't fold. They didn't sell it. Valerie didn't go to sign the documents the right day, or something like that. But she didn't get the job again. They sent somebody else.

09-00:27:43

Lage: Passive resister.

09-00:27:44

Herr: Who actually pulled it up pretty well—a professor from Duke [Richard Predmore] who took over. It's still going, but it's never taken off the way we wanted to. I got on the board in '97, and was on it for three years and worked very hard. I went to Spain and spent time there and organized an arrangement so that we would develop a course with the three universities there on economic history. Friends of mine, Gabriel Tortella and Pepe [José] Morilla, I guess, and others, and I took it to the board. They'd suggested that it would be very nice if we had more contact with Spanish universities, but the board said no, that might cause more problems than help. So I decided to get out. I wanted to make it a center for visiting Americans. It's still just renting its rooms to visiting education abroad programs.

09-00:28:42

Lage: So it doesn't have a very proactive—

09-00:28:45

Herr: No, it doesn't have a very good name in Spain these days. It had a tremendous name in Spain in the sixties and seventies.

09-00:28:54

Lage: Well, it had a real role, I would think.

09-00:28:56

Herr: It did. That's too bad, but you win some and you lose some.

09-00:29:00

Lage: Where is it actually located?

09-00:29:02

Herr: Well, it's in a beautiful building. It's now become a historic building in Spain. It was built in 1905. It's on the Avenida Miguel Ángel—Michaelangelo—Miguel Ángel 8. And it would now be considered quite central. In 1905 it was in the good residential suburb, so to speak, not quite suburb, but in any case, it's very near the Castellana. It's only about three blocks from the American embassy.

09-00:29:37

Lage: Well, that's an interesting tale that lasted over—

09-00:29:39

Herr: It's been very much a part of my life, and we fought very hard, Valerie and I, both of us.

09-00:29:43

Lage: Since the fifties you were involved with it.

09-00:29:46

Herr: That's right. Yeah.

09-00:29:47

Lage: Okay.

09-00:29:49

Herr: So that was the '79-'80, and all of that time, of course, I was sitting back while she was running all these things, I was writing my book. I kept on writing my book. It was a very slow thing to keep going and going to the Academy of History and being a part of the intellectual world there.

09-00:30:11

Lage: And were you on sabbatical all these different times?

09-00:30:16

Herr: I was on sabbatical that time. Of course, the first two times in '75-'77 I was education abroad, so I was hired by the university and actually building up sabbatical time, that's why I could go off in '79 on a sabbatical.

09-00:30:27

Lage: Do you have any thoughts about the EAP program? Were you happy about it overall?

09-00:30:34

Herr: Oh I think it's a great program, yes. It's a hard program to keep going because it's hard to get somebody who's willing to go away for two years, and it's certainly hard to get somebody to go away for two years if his wife has a job here. As more and more wives have jobs, it's hard to staff it.

09-00:30:51

Lage: Now they have—

09-00:30:54

Herr: Educationally it was not as good as they would have had with the same courses here. That's quite true. In Madrid the problem there was that during the sixties, this university was closed so much because of student strikes and then the government closing of the universities in response, that the University of California and several other universities got together and set up their own program—in the university buildings, but with their own teachers who contracted not to go on strike and to keep it open. If the university was closed they would keep on giving courses. And we still had that going when I was there. One of the things I pushed was that I made it so all the students had to

take one course that was actually a Spanish course, which had not been going on for about ten years, they'd just had these other rules.

09-00:31:42

Lage: Oh, I see. It was actually a course offered by the Spanish university.

09-00:31:44

Herr: A course offered by the Spanish university, and so then I had to hire TAs to help them.

09-00:31:49

Lage: Because their Spanish wasn't good enough?

09-00:31:51

Herr: Their Spanish wasn't—just sitting and taking real lectures of this group and knowing what you're supposed to do, and it's very much more a factual exam than you would have gotten in our exams. Although I suspect that was true with the—what was it called—the consortium, we called it the American Consortium. It had—it was the University of California, the State University of California. We had—NYU, I think, was part of it. We had several—about six different universities were funding this program.

09-00:32:23

Lage: This special program apart—

09-00:32:25

Herr: But we had the largest number of students. We had about sixty students.

09-00:32:27

Lage: But you hired Spanish professors.

09-00:32:29

Herr: We hired Spanish non-tenured professors, *penenes* as they were called—*profesores no numerarios*. And so I initiated this thing, and then I had to go and find courses where the professor would be willing to have these students come in and know that they were there. So I got to know professors that way too about it—so that the students would identify certain courses that they go to. One of them went to a math course and it was okay, but then you'd have to find somebody, a Spanish graduate student who was prepared to at least give them some help if necessary, and that cost some money too.

09-00:33:09

Lage: I wonder if they're still helping them in that way now?

09-00:33:11

Herr: I don't know what they're doing now. They have many more students in Spain. Spain is a bargain for the Education Abroad Program, because the universities charge them virtually nothing, although for the universities, they see it as a good source of income. But the tuition is way below what it is here, but the students pay American tuition and our university pays Spanish rates.

Now they have students in three universities in Madrid, also in Barcelona, and also in Granada. When I was there, there was just one in the University of Madrid and one in Barcelona, which I was also in charge of, but we had a visiting director who was from the University of Illinois there, so I would go up to Barcelona about four or five times, where he was also having a lot of trouble, so there was a lot to see and watch there.

09-00:33:56

Lage:

Very interesting. Okay. Anything else about that period of time observing the end of the Franco regime?

09-00:34:03

Herr:

Well, I was very impressed by what they achieved, and I sort of felt that it validated what I'd said in my book, that Spaniards are like other people, and that it was a pure historical accident that they had the dictatorship and that they were quite prepared, at the end of my book I said, this was in '69, that they were quite prepared to be like a modern Western country. So I say, I feel that it validated my own interpretation.

I was happy—one of the interesting things was among our staff that taught these courses, and so on, the death of Franco meant that they had to decide what their politics were. All their politics had been was—they don't like Franco. Now whom do we choose in his place, or *what* do we choose, and they had this existential experience of—am I a Socialist? We haven't grown up being anybody, except an anti-Franco thinker.

09-00:35:05

Lage:

Yeah—an opposition.

09-00:35:06

Herr:

An opposition, that's right. And I remember one husband and wife who—the husband, I think was a strong Communist and the wife wanted to be a Socialist and there they were—"I'm not going to be a Communist!"

09-00:35:22

Lage:

That's a very interesting observation.

09-00:35:25

Herr:

It's a very interesting thing, in that suddenly there were various forms of socialism and it was very touch and go as to what kind of government they would ever really have, and could they pull it together, because Adolfo Suárez was no Socialist, and he was voted out in '82. The government that succeeded him. When it went Socialist—the government went Socialist for the first time since '36. That was a very exciting experience to see how a country comes together and creates a new—and of course, in '81, the king stopped a takeover of the—

09-00:36:01

Lage:

Oh—is that much later—

09-00:36:03

Herr: [Antonio] Tejero coming into the parliament with his civil guard, ordering them, essentially, to abolish the constitution and the king going on television and telling the army to stay by the constitution; that's what you're there for, and it held up overnight, but that was a tense moment. That was—

09-00:36:23

Lage: Now were you there at that point?

09-00:36:24

Herr: No. By then we were back here. We left in '80, so I watched that on television, but I could see what was going on, and I would be in touch with people there.

I think that, for the moment, winds up—because then after that I'm going to get involved with Spain—

09-00:36:46

Lage: From here.

09-00:36:47

Herr: But from here. Yeah.

09-00:36:48

Lage: Okay, well, let's move into Berkeley. Back to Berkeley then.

09-00:36:51

Herr: That's right.

09-00:36:52

Lage: And we'll go back in time a little bit. As you mentioned, there was sort of a shift in your relationship.

09-00:36:59

Herr: There was. When I went away in '75 to the EAP, I think I had ten students writing dissertations with me. It was a terrible time to get jobs. Students were not getting jobs in history—[a dog begins howling again in the background]—oh, Winchester—stop howling! [chuckling]

I guess most of them were writing on French history. Three were writing on Spanish history. I didn't get much communication with them, and when I came back two years later, I only knew where two of them were. They had just gotten out. They quit.

09-00:37:44

Lage: Just disappeared.

09-00:37:45

Herr: They just disappeared.

09-00:37:47

Lage: Was it the job situation? Or was it having you go off—

09-00:37:49

Herr: The job situation primarily. There were no jobs. There were really no jobs, there were no jobs, so that I had—I think my total PhDs that I actually completed were fifteen.

09-00:38:01

Lage: In your whole career.

09-00:38:03

Herr: In my whole career. All but one of them were people who had started before 1975. Ten of them had gotten their degree before 1975, and then four more got their degree after I got back, but they'd already been advanced in working on the PhD. The only one who later came in was Paloma Fernández [Pérez], who came after '85, I guess, and got her degree about 1990.

09-00:38:29

Lage: And was she Spanish?

09-00:38:31

Herr: She is Spanish. She's back now as a professor at the University of Barcelona. So in a sense I lost that kind of contact that I'd had directing theses.

09-00:38:40

Lage: Now, do you attribute it solely to the job market? Or was it a shifting interest of students?

09-00:38:44

Herr: Well, I think, obviously, if I hadn't gone away—they might have—I'm sure not having your professor there is a blow to someone, even if I was in mail contact with them, but I wasn't seeing them.

09-00:38:56

Lage: Yeah, and it wasn't like email contact today.

09-00:38:59

Herr: It's not like email contact either, no, it was mail. And then there was so much going on in Spain, that I guess I wasn't focusing enough on them, but in any case, that was my experience. I finally saw one of them in the barbershop right down here, and I said, "Oh, here you are!" He says, "Oh yes, I'm in law school. I forgot to tell you." [chuckling]

09-00:39:21

Lage: Well, he probably made a good career choice.

09-00:39:23

Herr: A good choice. That's right, that's right, that's right. No, one of my PhDs, Ellie Nower, hunted for jobs. She finally went and got a job in Louisiana, outside New Orleans. She's Jewish from New York, and she had a rough time

there with the local—it's a small community place. Eventually she got out. Another woman, Erna Olafson [Hellerstein] took a degree after getting her PhD. She did it in psychology, and she's been working with child violence, family violence. So they've gone off and done other things, but they just didn't go on in history. It was a very hard time for history graduate students at that point.

09-00:40:07

Lage:

And did it continue through the eighties? That same situation?

09-00:40:11

Herr:

By the end of the eighties, I think, it was different. And by the end of the eighties, actually, I already got a new group of Spanish students doing graduate work in Spanish history. But I was forced to get out in '91 because of my age. At that point you still had to get out at seventy. And I got out at sixty-nine, because they offered a VERIP, which was a better retirement. I think there were five students who were sort of working with me but hadn't gotten very far along. One of them had gotten quite far along—that's Ruth MacKay, but as an emeritus professor, I think you weren't expected to bring a new student in. You might have completed someone who was already working with you. So they all went off and got their degrees with someone else. I think Ruth MacKay got it with Tom Brady. Some of the others went with Peter Sahllins—Lisa Cody and some of the others.

But my teaching was—I had very interesting teaching. My graduate teaching—I did seminars in graduate reading in agricultural history. I got a new one going. I didn't do quantitative history anymore, because we had Jan deVries here who was much more qualified than I to do that. And I gradually moved on to one on nationalism and national identity, which were following my own ideas of what was going on. I developed the introductory course for entering graduate students. We introduced a new course for the graduate students, a survey of history of the various countries, and I had the first half of late modern Europe.

09-00:41:54

Lage:

Now you mean all graduate students took—

09-00:41:59

Herr:

In history, who were going into late modern Europe would have this introductory course instead of just taking specific courses in different countries. So I tried to develop that. That had been done—I think something similar had been done by giving them lots of books to read, and the people read lots of books. I developed it rather differently because I thought that what you should do is experience the different kinds of history that are being written. So I would have ten weeks, I'd have one week on this subject, and I'd try and select very key articles that had been written recently.

09-00:42:35

Lage: Of different approaches to history?

09-00:42:37

Herr: That's right. Of this particular kind—economic history, intellectual history, political history, well—I think I even had a section on women's history, something—it was just coming in about that time.

09-00:42:50

Lage: What about cultural history? That seems to be the time when cultural history was—

09-00:42:53

Herr: Well, all right, if you want to put working class history—there are all kinds of things. I'd have to go back and look at my—review. But I remember doing quite a lot of reading around and trying to get all of these different areas, and then having somebody in the department who was specializing in that area come in and be at that lecture, at that two-hour seminar meeting. And I'd have one student—I'd have a series of books, but instead of having everybody read all these books, I'd have one student read the book and have to write a book review of it and also select several pages for the other students to have to read, so they could read that and then read his book review and criticize his book review and get knowledge of the book without having to read the whole book. So it worked quite well. I think a lot of students were quite happy with that, and it went for several years.

09-00:43:41

Lage: Was this part of—I think at one point you mentioned certain adjustments to the graduate program. Is this part of that thrust?

09-00:43:52

Herr: Well, I think my impact on the graduate program—I may have had some along this period. I think I had a lot more in the sixties when I was director of graduate—chairman of the graduate advisors committee. So I think—I did have a sense somehow that I was [not] having too much of a big role in the department.

09-00:44:13

Lage: A sense that you were not.

09-00:44:15

Herr: I was not. I felt quite different, as if I was doing my thing, and I think I was doing it quite well, but I was certainly not key in what was going on in the department.

09-00:44:25

Lage: Who was key in those years?

09-00:44:27

Herr: Well, I think Gene Brucker was. I think Bill Bouwsma was. I think all these people—Nick Riasanovsky, I guess, had been chair earlier on, but if you think of all the people whose names you've been—Bob Brentano was a big, was a chairman of the department—all the people you're doing the histories of are the ones that were—

09-00:44:50

Lage: Yeah, right. Now did you feel kind of excluded? Or was this by choice or—

09-00:44:53

Herr: Well, I kind of thought that I might someday be the chair. I looked forward to it, but I think by the time it got to be where there might be, they'd run out of everybody else then you were moving on to the next generation. I think that when I thought I might get it, it was Jan deVries who was chosen at that point—was it? I don't know. In any case I never got it. And I've been in and out of the department so much, I guess I'm not so surprised.

09-00:45:17

Lage: Because of your—

09-00:45:18

Herr: Moving back and forth.

09-00:45:20

Lage: Being out of the country so—

09-00:45:22

Herr: Yeah. That's right. I did push, I think I started pushing more Spanish studies during that period. Let me go back a second though, because I think what I'm really focusing on was undergraduate teaching to a great extent, and the course that I was developing was this—under the quarter system we developed a new series of courses on western civilization in three quarters. We didn't go off the quarter system, I don't think, until the mid-eighties. I forget the exact date.

But in any case I had the fourth segment—History 4A, B, C, D and I had D, which was the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I enjoyed that very much. I know I developed the use of music and art quite a bit in it. My opening lecture would be on comparing the building of Versailles with the building of the Eiffel Tower, and the significance of the two buildings. We had lots of slides on that and the actual technology. I'd play Lully's *Te Deum* for Louis XIV, and then I compared it with Wagner's—what is it—the people hammering away in the *Valkyrie*, I guess it is. That was enjoyable. One of my lectures was comparing the *Disasters of War* of Goya with Shelley's *Frankenstein* and the *Sinfonie Fantastique* and putting them all to show the change from the Enlightenment to the Romantic period. That was an enjoyable course. And actually it's out of that course that most of my recent writing has come, so it was very formative for me.

09-00:47:20

Lage: Interesting—the teaching feeds into your writing.

09-00:47:25

Herr: That's right, and not being just stuck with Spanish history—because I was always teaching the Spanish history course right straight through. But that was part of my concentration during these years, and working with TAs on that subject, TAs in different fields and getting weekly meetings and talking about how do you teach Dickens's *Hard Times* or Voltaire's *Candide* and getting my own ideas about the meaning of both of these and these other books and *Frankenstein*.

09-00:47:58

Lage: It was really a broad approach, much more so than—

09-00:48:01

Herr: Yes, it was, and it was a very creative, I thought, at least innovative—for me it was doing a lot for me. It took me back almost to my Yale days doing the survey course at Yale which was so exciting for me.

09-00:48:13

Lage: Now you say—was this world civilization rather than Western?

09-00:48:17

Herr: No, this was Western civ. World civilization came later. World civilization came when I got a grant from the chancellor. The chancellor had a competition for innovative teaching, and I proposed mine, which was to be a world civilization course.

09-00:48:35

Lage: And what made you want to do that?

09-00:48:38

Herr: I thought we needed it. I'd felt that somehow we were getting too specialized, I suppose. I've always somehow felt that way, and so I put in my project, and I didn't get the prize, but I did get funding. So they funded the course, and it involved my doing lectures—there were two halves to it, and the first half was to go to the Middle Ages from the ancient times. I got Bob Brentano to volunteer to do that, and then Jeff Riegel in Chinese language study. I took over the charge of the period after the Middle Ages. I would start with the Black Death, but basically you're supposed to start with Columbus.

09-00:49:33

Lage: But why did you start with the Black Death instead of Columbus?

09-00:49:38

Herr: Because I thought that set up—really the take off of Europe starts after that. Columbus just sort of fits into it, but he didn't create it. By then Europe was recovering and ready to expand. One lecture, half a lecture, when you have five lectures that you're going to give or ten, you're not concentrating much

on the details. But there are very good pictures, very good pictures that you could use of the art, of the sense of resurrection and what the Middle Ages, and even the early modern period, how important, how this fear of hell was for them. I could show slides of these poor people going off to hell and to eternity and the devils that are poking them in the fire. And you know they really thought that was it. Of course. Because Columbus—the Spaniards, they went off to America to save them from that terrible fate and make them Christians. It was not that they were intolerant or anything, they really believed that they were saving them from, maybe not hell, because they would not have had the chance of being—but at least not getting to heaven. In any case—but there was real—in any case, I did that part.

09-00:50:53

Lage:

They liked the gold too, however. They liked the gold also.

09-00:50:58

Herr:

Well, they certainly liked the gold too, especially the kings and queens. [chuckling] That's true. No, they liked that also. But you have to have both motives involved. In any case, I would do the lectures on Europe, and I would do the lectures on the expansion of Europe and its contact with the rest of the world, but then I'd have visitors come in and do, actually, lectures on the different parts of the world. We had five parts—we had Japan, we had China, we had India, we had Africa, and we had Latin America. And I didn't include the United States because I figured they'd all had to learn too much about that anyway, and I didn't include Russia either because there was too much on it going on—those are the two I left out. I had a panoply of people—great—

09-00:51:36

Lage:

Who did you have come in?

09-00:51:38

Herr:

Well, it was a great thrill, because it wasn't just history. It was civilization. I had—most of the stars in our department had lectured for me at one point or another. I know that Fred Wakeman and Wen-hsin Yeh and David Johnson did China for me. And I know that Beth Berry and Irv Scheiner and [Andrew] Barshay have done Japan for me. But I also had Jim Cahill come in and do Chinese art, and I had Cyril Birch come in and do Chinese literature. And Cyril Birch was a great figure. I had people—Siddiq came in and did the Middle East. He's in political science, I think, Muhammad Siddiq. Bill Shack did Africa, as an anthropologist, he did Africa. Of course Tabitha Kanogo was giving African course lectures for me. Whom else can I think of—Bridget Connelly? I don't know if you even knew Bridget Connelly. She was stuck in the speech department, but she was a student of the culture of North Africa. She gave wonderful lectures on North Africa. It was a great course, and I'd managed from the budget that I had to be able to give them an honorarium, which was not very easy—

09-00:53:14

Lage: I see. I was wondering if it was hard to get people to come in and give these lectures.

09-00:53:17

Herr: Well, it wasn't much of an honorarium. I think it was a hundred dollars, but at least you felt that you were getting something for it.

09-00:53:23

Lage: And then what else did your funding pay for? For slides and things like that?

09-00:53:28

Herr: Well, it wasn't that much funding.

09-00:53:30

Lage: [chuckling] It wasn't.

09-00:53:32

Herr: No. But I'm trying to think—because when one of the—I had very good TAs. I had TAs from various departments too, because I had to—Kristie Foell came from the German department and did European literature and music to a certain extent. Vincent Farrar was an anthropologist; he was an African American anthropologist, and he'd give the lectures on Africa some of the time, was also one of my TAs. So it was a great group of TAs, and we'd have one meeting, obviously a TA meeting in an evening. It was in an evening, it wasn't in the afternoon, with dinner. They paid for that—that was something that the funding paid for. We had high school teachers come and join us.

09-00:54:18

Lage: Oh, now that's very creative too.

09-00:54:20

Herr: So that they got the books given to them that the students were given. That was part of the funding, and the word went out around some—local teachers from all over the Bay Area—we got about, oh ten or fifteen TAs would come as well as the high school teachers.

09-00:54:39

Lage: Now did they come to the class also?

09-00:54:41

Herr: No, they just came to the briefing session.

09-00:54:44

Lage: I see.

09-00:54:45

Herr: But they would hear—if Fred Wakeman was giving the lectures that week, they would hear him talk about the reading that we had and what he was talking about, and then they would do the reading which was the same reading

the students would get here. So it was a way of trying to expand to the community the, well, some of the advantages of the university.

09-00:55:04

Lage: Now did you conceive of all this when you wrote it up to apply for the chancellor's money?

09-00:55:10

Herr: I don't remember whether I put that in or not. But when we had the money—I may have—I'd have to look at the budget.

09-00:55:17

Lage: What made you think in that direction? Not that many university people do.

09-00:55:21

Herr: Well, except for the fact that I had two students always at Berkeley High—two children. Well, my younger son went to high school in Geneva, but my two daughters here both went through Berkeley High. Valerie was PTA president of Berkeley High. And—we'll get that in a second, but that was one of the motivations. I think I was always interested in what was going on in the high school and what we could do here. And then—we had a very nice—do you know Paula Gillett? Paula Gillett, she's now just retired from being a professor at San Jose [San Jose State University]. She was getting her PhD in history, but she was working around the university with public relations with high schools, and perhaps because I knew her, and she'd been a student, and she had a seminar with me. She talked me into this. It might have been her idea.

09-00:56:16

Lage: And maybe helped arrange.

09-00:56:18

Herr: She's the one who arranged—she was the one who got out the word and brought these people in and got it all worked out. She administered it.

09-00:56:23

Lage: It's a great conception.

09-00:56:25

Herr: It worked wonderfully. We did it for six years.

09-00:56:27

Lage: Oh six years this was! What years were they now, about?

09-00:56:33

Herr: From '77 to '93, I think.

09-00:56:35

Lage: '87.

09-00:56:36

Herr: Eighty-seven to '93.

09-00:56:39

Lage: And then that was when the Getty—

09-00:56:44

Herr: That was when—yes, Ann Getty turned up. Have I told this story?

09-00:56:48

Lage: Not on tape.

09-00:56:49

Herr: [chuckling] Not on tape. It must have been about the third year, and I'd run out of the money that the chancellor, I was running out of money. In any case—I had this woman who appeared in my section, because I always taught a section as well as doing a lecture and that would give me a sense of what you had to do with the students to make the contact, because part of my job lecturing in it was to try to tie these lectures from these other people into the main course and show how they fitted into a general story.

But this attractive red-headed woman, oh maybe in her forties, came into my class and asked if she could audit my section, and I said, "Oh, of course." And then I gave an assignment to criticize something and she turned in a paper! I said, "I thought you were auditing." And she said, "I am. If you don't want to read it, you don't have to." I said, "Oh no, no. If you wrote a paper, I'll read it." So I read her paper and I gave it back, and I gave this paper a B. And she looked at it—and she got a B. And I told her how to rewrite it—I gave sections, how do you rewrite this and turn it in and get a different grade. All of them—they could always turn in the paper, and I would give them a different grade. I wouldn't give them the top grade they had earned the second time because they'd already have—I'd give them an A- instead of an A. But in any case, she turned it in and got an A- the second time.

At the midterm I was called in by the chairman, the secretary, I forget who it was at that point—our chairman's secretary and said that, "The provost wants to know what section Mrs. Getty is in." This girl's name was Ann Gordon. I had Ann Gordon in my class. They said, "Oh yes, Mrs. Getty." I said, "Mrs. Getty, I don't know anything about Mrs. Getty." There was an elderly woman who was sitting in the back of the class sometimes. It must be that woman. And they said, "No, no. She's actually sitting in some section." [chuckling] So suddenly I realized—it's that red-headed girl that's in my class! So, I didn't say anything to her. I just suddenly realized, oh, this is Ann Getty.

Toward the end of the course, about the last class or next to last, I said, "Well, this may be the last time this is given, because we're running out of money. The funding of this is finished." But then there were some oohs and cheers and something like that, and something should be done and this, that, and the other. And then I was notified that Ann Getty had gone to the chancellor and

asked, “How much money do you need to keep it going?” And he got an answer back to her something like that. I said, “Oh, I think we need \$45,000 for next year, or something.” She said, oh, and took out her checkbook and wrote a check. [chuckling]

09-00:59:39

Lage: That’s lovely!

09-00:59:41

Herr: And then at the end of this—I guess it was that same year. At the end of the session, I had a dinner here for the TAs, and I asked her if she’d like to come. And I still didn’t call her anything but Miss Gordon, or something like that. And she said, “Yes. Can I bring my husband?” By then I knew who she was—somehow it had come out that we knew who each other was. They came to dinner here, and he came up and he brought six bottles of wine for us and sat here, and I remember Vincent Farrar, who was my black TA, sitting next to Ann Getty and Ann Getty said, “Oh, of course, my father owned the Getty Oil Company.” And he looked at her and he says, “Oh, my father worked for them!”

09-01:00:38

Lage: That’s great. I have to stop this because it’s running out.

09-01:00:39

Herr: Okay.

[Begin Audio File Herr 10 04-04-08.mp3]

10-00:00:00

Lage: Okay. We’re back with our tape ten continuing our fifth session here. We just finished talking about the world civilization course. It’s not necessarily related, but I wanted to ask you—here we are in the seventies and eighties—my perception is that there were changes in the History Department.

10-00:00:29

Herr: Well, there were certainly changes in the staff of the History Department, and that brings to mind—there was a strike. Well, there were various Third World strikes or—I don’t specifically remember women’s liberation strikes, but in any case, I remember some time when I was lecturing toward the end of the world civilization course, there was a question as to whether there would be—the TAs would meet or not because of this TA strike and the fact that the campus was upset because there were not enough women and minority members of the faculties.

I took a little time to respond to that, and I’d looked up in the History Department—and you know they said, “The History Department has only 25 percent women faculty at this point.” And I looked up and I came in and I said, “Well, you know, as a matter of fact, of the faculty that have been appointed since 1970, there are an equal number of men and women in the

History Department. So it's just a question of waiting for the old men to get out before it really comes over—and for the minorities, it's just very difficult. People go off to places that—we had good faculty members, African American ones, at least one I can think of, get a much better offer from a place like Princeton than Berkeley could hold—

10-00:01:56

Lage: You mean people that you tried to recruit.

10-00:01:59

Herr: Well, or that were already here and went off, because all kinds of colleges were trying to get hold of good minority faculty.

10-00:02:09

Lage: A lot of competition.

10-00:02:10

Herr: Yes.

10-00:02:11

Lage: Did you feel that the department made that effort?

10-00:02:15

Herr: Oh I think they were quite upset—I can't think of the name of the man who went to Princeton [Al Raboteau]. They were quite upset, but—you know, the eastern universities, if they really want to hire somebody they can really give a tremendously good offer. In any case, I remember making that point and going through it and then explaining that I'd always, of course, been very much in favor of expanding, especially toward women, because I had two wives with PhDs who didn't get the jobs that they wanted, and daughters I hoped would do well.

10-00:02:50

Lage: Yes. You had a lot of women graduate students it sounded like.

10-00:02:53

Herr: I had a lot of women graduate students. I probably had—probably half of my graduate students were women, yes.

10-00:03:00

Lage: Were they interested in different kinds of topics? The topics in history expanded greatly in those years, it seems.

10-00:03:09

Herr: Well, Erna Hellerstein, it was by that time, she'd started out as Erna Olafson, did her dissertation on French women in the mid-nineteenth century, and she was—her husband was a doctor and she was very much, her dissertation touched on how medical thinking about women in the nineteenth century kept them from becoming involved in public pursuits—kept them in the house and made them feel that they were second—particularly unfitted for public jobs. I

think that was the only one quite that way. One was Roberta Seid, Roberta Pollock who became Roberta Seid. She wrote about the costumes of peasants in France, and how that changed in the nineteenth century as a result of industrialization. She particularly worked about women's costumes and how—this one town that she studied in the Pyrenees, the women were especially chosen in Paris because of their costume, and they would be brought there and had to wear this particular peasant costume with the children when they took them out to the parks.

10-00:04:27

Lage: Now that was not a topic you would have had at the University of Chicago.

10-00:04:32

Herr: No, it certainly wasn't.

10-00:04:34

Lage: I don't mean place—but it was time.

10-00:04:37

Herr: Paloma Fernández, who's back in Spain teaching now, she'd worked on families of merchants in Cádiz in the eighteenth century—merchants, and she'd worked very much on how the women ran the businesses when the men were going off to America to drum up business, and be gone or maybe never come back and stay there. So they'd be left running the business, and that was very much her subject. So there was always a certain sense, yes, I think, among the women, that their topic was somewhat different from what the men would be working on.

10-00:05:10

Lage: Right. Now, in the department itself, was there tension about—there also were changes in approach.

10-00:05:17

Herr: I don't—as I say—you keep mentioning the word tension. I wasn't—I'm sure that there was some tension among certain people, but if it was, it was blowing by me.

10-00:05:28

Lage: Okay! That's important to know. Were faculty meetings, tenure committee meetings memorable in any way?

10-00:05:36

Herr: No. I think by then most—the appointment meetings were memorable. I remember the appointment meeting for Linda Lewin, and that was also the tenure meeting for Susanna Barrows, both of them women.

10-00:05:58

Lage: At the same time.

10-00:05:59

Herr: At the same time. Both of them women, and in a sense the rival that the people were holding up were men, and both times it was the woman who got the job.

10-00:06:06

Lage: And was it a case of affirmative action?

10-00:06:10

Herr: Oh no, no, no. I don't think so. No, no. It was really quite honest and it was in that sense—of course, I don't think affirmative action is dishonest, but I mean I say it was just on the quality of the work, not because of any pressure that we felt that we had to hire a woman, no. I don't think we—I never sensed the feeling that, of course, we would like to get women in, and we should be doing that, and we were doing it, but I think we rated always the people equally. I did feel that among the graduate students. I had one graduate student, Tom Beck, who went all over the place trying to get a job in the early seventies, and often it was a woman who was hired in place of him, and he was really bitter about the fact that this was counter-discrimination, if you want.

Another one of my graduate students, when I was gone to Spain—one of them [Larry Carlson] went over and worked with Natalie Davis instead—and he felt that he never got a job, and he got out of the profession entirely. But he was very angry about women. I think the graduate students felt it more than we did in the faculty.

10-00:07:11

Lage: That's interesting.

10-00:07:12

Herr: And Valerie got her PhD, she came here, back after her PhD. There was a job in geography which she applied for, and she didn't get it. With that, she felt there was some sense that they shouldn't hire a wife of a member of the faculty.

10-00:07:29

Lage: Or sometimes your own graduates, too.

10-00:07:33

Herr: Yeah. And then she was one of their own graduates, that's right. After we came back in 1980, after she'd been director of the institute in Madrid, she got a part-time job at Santa Cruz and went down there two days a week, I think, for four years. But not all the quarters, just part of the year. That was on soft money and it never turned in—she applied a couple of times to a job there, but never got hired. Then we go away in 1984, which I should get back to. After that, when she came back in 1985, there was no more soft money for her. So they didn't have another position. And at that point, she was fifty, and she applied for all kinds of business jobs around the Bay Area and got turned

down for all of them. So she was really feeling quite bitter at that point. It's been hard. Both of my wives have suffered in search of a career, and not getting what they wanted.

10-00:08:43

Lage: Okay, let's see if there's any—

10-00:08:47

Herr: I think we got on to my—attention on my Spanish studies here.

10-00:08:52

Lage: Unless you want to do the NEH seminars first.

10-00:08:56

Herr: Oh, yeah, we could do that.

10-00:08:58

Lage: How did you get involved in those and what are they?

10-00:09:02

Herr: What are the NEH seminars? The NEH has—I think it still does—a program of summer seminars for college teachers at leading universities. Applicants are college teachers from places which presumably do not have very good libraries, and very much chance to do much research. They issue an invitation to apply to run a seminar. Berkeley had quite a few of them. The years I was running them there must have been two or three other people doing the same sort of thing here. You make a proposal of what you want to have your course deal with and what qualifications you have for it. Twice I applied to teach a seminar in agricultural history and rural history, and got it and got fascinating students. They're not students, they're teachers that come in, working on their own projects. They have to present something of their own, but I sort of lead them through reading.

10-00:10:11

Lage: What was your motivation for doing it?

10-00:10:16

Herr: Well, partly, it's financial. You get paid quite well. But it gave me a chance to develop my own thinking on these topics, which after all were part of my research interest. I did get very interested in agricultural history, beyond the fact that I was writing about the Spanish disentailment and village structures. So I read a great deal about other—American and English and French and German agricultural developments—Dutch, Dutch are important. That would be the sort of subject you would talk about, study. One of the readings I remember was on the Dust Bowl, and how we'd gotten involved in the Dust Bowl, and what the agricultural failings of the country were that created the situation where you'd have the Dust Bowl—the fact that you were applying different kinds of agriculture in a place that doesn't really ecologically accept it. So those two seminars. Then I had two more after I came back in 1985. And by then I'd changed the subject. And that was critical in my own

thinking, because the first one was obviously coming out of the book that I was writing on Spain, and working very hard on.

10-00:11:34

Lage: —on rural change.

10-00:11:36

Herr: On rural change, yeah. The next one was really on identity and community spirit, the two of them, in which I took an idea which had come out of my 4D, my World Civilization teaching. I had decided that the Enlightenment really is the great turning point in western culture, certainly since the Renaissance. It had perceived two new ways of thinking about how to motivate societies. I got this out of reading Montesquieu and my lecturing in 4D. I'd had quotations from Montesquieu and Rousseau and Adam Smith, of how this all fit together, this sense of developing idea of individuality, individualism, and also community identity, as opposed to religious identity. So I was taking that through to modern times in these two seminars, which became the theme for my book that I finished several years ago, and I'm still trying to get published. It's called *Honor and Virtue*, those being the terms that Montesquieu applied to the spirit of individual initiative and the spirit of community.

10-00:12:49

Lage: Oh, so honor equals individual initiative—

10-00:12:55

Herr: Honor is sort of the old-fashioned noble sense of honor—it means titles. It continues to exist. It exists in the Legion of Honor in France, it exists in the Congressional Medal of Honor, and that sort of thing. It's a way of motivating people to serve their community by advancing themselves.

10-00:13:18

Lage: I see, so that's the individualism.

10-00:13:24

Herr: That's the individualism. And of course Adam Smith turns it around and says, "Well, what you get isn't honor. It's money." But that's how communities work, it's because people are striving to improve their economic status, and there's the invisible hand that's directing it all in the right direction. So that's really the inspiration of the second part of my academic and historical career, is this sense that comes out, not of my research on Spain, but out of my teaching of western civilization.

10-00:13:58

Lage: Oh that's very interesting. And then refined in these seminars.

10-00:14:02

Herr: Refined in these seminars, with very interesting people. One of them, of course, the second seminar on agricultural history, I thought the papers were good enough that we could try and get them published.

10-00:14:13

Lage: And you did.

10-00:14:15

Herr: We did. I made them work harder on them, and it took a while to find a publisher. Cal Press didn't want to—I eventually found that the University of Iowa Press in Ames has a series in agricultural history, and they took it. [*Themes in the Rural History of the Western World*, 1993]

10-00:14:32

Lage: And the identities work was also published, was it not? [*Iberian Identity: Essays on the Nature of Identity in Portugal and Spain*, 1989]

10-00:14:36

Herr: That was published by Cal [in an International and Area Studies Series. I was editor of both of these books.] Then, I wound up going to Cambridge in '84—is that what we turn to next? I forget.

10-00:14:49

Lage: No—Portuguese and Spanish studies, next.

10-00:14:51

Herr: Oh, that's right.

10-00:15:52

Lage: Then we'll do Cambridge. Although if it fits better here. . .

10-00:14:57

Herr: It does fit better here, perhaps, since we've already got up on this topic, because the reason I went to Cambridge—I applied to the Guggenheim—

10-00:15:07

Lage: That was '84-'85.

10-00:15:09

Herr: That's right. It's '84-'85. I applied to Guggenheim for a second fellowship, and the project was this project about developing the idea of individualism and community.

10-00:15:20

Lage: And what had been your first fellowship?

10-00:15:22

Herr: To work on Spain. That actually ended up a book on rural change, but it was supposed to be to finish up my dissertation which never got finished—to do the Napoleonic period, but I got sidetracked when I discovered how important an aspect this sale of church properties was.

10-00:15:41

Lage: Right, so that was back quite a ways.

10-00:15:44

Herr: Yeah. So the two Guggenheims really reflected two series of interests of mine.

10-00:15:50

Lage: Yeah, very much so.

10-00:15:52

Herr: And I got it, and I applied to various colleges in Cambridge and Oxford. Because we'd been going to Spain regularly, and we'd been to Spain so much we decided it might be nice to see an English university, and it gave Valerie a chance to go back to England. People here, Tom Bisson, I think Jan deVries already had been to—what is it—Corpus Christi—no, the big Oxford college—

10-00:16:31

Lage: I have this in my notes somewhere. All Souls?

10-00:16:41

Herr: All Souls, yes. All Souls. There's a great novel in Spanish by somebody who was there [Javier Marías], and he called it, *Todas las Almas*. That's the title of his book, it's All Souls. That was the place to go and a big place to get to and I applied there. I also applied in Cambridge to a new college that—I guess, David Keightley had been there. I don't know if somebody else—but in any case, he suggested it. That was Clare Hall. It was a new college founded in the sixties. And I got accepted at Clare Hall, and it sounded like a very nice place to go because they'd give us a place to live right on the college grounds and the children would be taken in, and so I accepted.

And then I got a letter from All Souls accepting me, and I'd checked enough into All Souls to realize that at All Souls you're very important, but your wife isn't. Your wife can come to dinner three times during the year, and that's the only time she can go. So they live in a flat—they furnish you a flat, and your wife can be in your flat and can take care of the children there, but she doesn't have anything to do with the college.

Whereas, at Clare Hall, which was slightly modeled on the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton—you live on the grounds and your wife goes to as many meals as you want to go with her and the children can go too. They're all considered part of the college, and so I wrote back to All Souls and said, "I've already accepted Clare Hall." And they wrote back and they said, "Oh that's all right. I'm sure they'll understand."

So then I had to write a second letter saying, "Well, actually I think we'd prefer to go there because of conditions for the family, but I would be very pleased to come and visit you and meet people there." I never got an answer. So I didn't go to All Souls. I went to Cambridge, and it's been a wonderful change—as I look back at it, it's one of the best decisions we ever made was to go to Cambridge and get involved with that part of England.

10-00:18:48

Lage: And Clare Hall in particular you were happy with.

10-00:18:50

Herr: And Clare Hall in particular was a very good—but I also had a connection there with what they called the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, which had connections with our own Demography Department here. They, I think it was largely founded by Peter Laslett and Tony Wrigley, and Peter Laslett had been here, and I'd met him at conferences here at Asilomar and maybe elsewhere, so I got involved with them too, and I continue to be involved with them and go to their lectures and their luncheons.

10-00:19:23

Lage: And that must have been interesting for Valerie too.

10-00:19:26

Herr: That's very good for Valerie. Valerie got very much interested in music, and I think more and more she got interested in music, which has become her career. It's been in music. She's always been a good pianist, but shortly after this time, I think she decided to take up cello, and she's now playing cello quite well and plays here and plays there. Yes. If you want to say that up to '85 our second life was Spain and Berkeley, after '85 it was England and Berkeley, because in '90 we went back several summers and found places hard to get and hard to rent in Cambridge. In '89, I guess, Valerie's mother died and left her a little money, and she decided that she would use it to get a house in Cambridge. So in '91 she bought a little house and it was in such poor condition inside—just a little bungalow—better to knock it down and build a new one. So we borrowed money against this house and built a house there—used her mother's money. She bought the property in '92. In '93 it was finished. In '91 I retired, so we went over in '93, and we had left a lot of the work to be done on it, all the painting and finishing of the building. We spent the whole summer of '93 getting it in shape and then rented it. We went back in '94 and spent the whole summer getting the garden in shape, because it was just weeds, and have gone back every summer since then.

10-00:21:00

Lage: And then you rent it during the year.

10-00:21:02

Herr: And we rent it during the year. Right now it's got two German graduate students—postdocs.

10-00:21:08

Lage: That works very well, doesn't it?

10-00:21:09

Herr: It works very well. For a long time it was professors, but then the visiting professors seem to have given out, so now it's graduate students, but it's always worked well for us. People have always left it in really good shape. It's

a very modern building. It shocks people when they see it stuck between all these standard English red brick buildings.

10-00:21:24

Lage: So you didn't try to recreate a little cottage.

10-00:21:28

Herr: No, no. We had a good architect. A good young architect. It was a very exciting building. You'll have to come see us some time.

10-00:21:32

Lage: I would love to do that.

10-00:21:33

Herr: So that's—I've worked a lot in the Cambridge library. I've gotten much involved studying more British history, which I'd never done too much.

10-00:21:42

Lage: And that figures into your book.

10-00:21:45

Herr: And that's where I've mostly written this second big book.

10-00:21:48

Lage: Now, you call it your second book—now, why do you call it your second book. You've had many more than two books. [chuckling]

10-00:21:54

Herr: Well, that's true, it'll be my fourth or fifth, more than that if you took all the edited ones. It's a second theme—if you want. The others were all Spain. No—except the Tocqueville one wasn't. This really takes off from Tocqueville.

10-00:22:09

Lage: It does—it goes more back to your themes of Tocqueville?

10-00:22:11

Herr: That's right. It goes back to the themes in Tocqueville, who after all was very much an admirer of Montesquieu and Rousseau.

10-00:22:17

Lage: And you mention in—

10-00:22:20

Herr: And I haven't got a publisher yet.

10-00:22:23

Lage: Oh, you haven't—I thought you told me Cambridge.

10-00:22:25

Herr: Well, it hasn't really—they haven't sent me a contract.

10-00:22:28

Lage: Oh, they haven't.

10-00:22:29

Herr: They started making nice noises, but I'd like to make sure that they get it. But you know, I tried Cal [UC] Press. The editor there just looked at it and said, "This isn't for us." Sent me a long page explaining why it wasn't for them, which—

10-00:22:42

Lage: Was it critical of the book? Or simply the sales potential.

10-00:22:47

Herr: Yes, both, both. He couldn't understand what it was about, I think. I sent a description of it to Princeton, and they said no. Oxford looked at it but said no. Finally, I took it personally to Cambridge when I was there two summers ago, and they said, "Well, we should send it out to readers." None of these editors would send it out even to a reader. It's very different from any other history book, I think.

10-00:23:12

Lage: Can you tell me what—how is it different? Or what approach are you taking?

10-00:23:19

Herr: For one thing—let's put it this way—it takes Western Europe: Spain, France, Germany, England, mostly France and England, and the United States, so it's the eighteenth century, and tries to show how they're parallel and how they're not parallel, working on the issue of individualism and what your community spirit, what your identity is—how this comes out of the eighteenth century. That is to say, it's not a survey and it's not on any one country. It ends up concentrating on the issue of why societies dislike outsiders—and the sense of community—

10-00:24:04

Lage: Even outsiders within their own borders?

10-00:24:07

Herr: That's right, that's right. Because toward the end of the nineteenth century, they all start insisting, many European countries try to get everybody to speak the same language, get rid of these minority languages that there are around, just make a law that you can't send Catalán on the telegraph, it has to be in Spanish or some other European language.

10-00:24:27

Lage: Is that true even now?

10-00:24:28

Herr: No, of course not.

10-00:24:29

Lage: Under Franco.

10-00:24:30

Herr: Well, under Franco you couldn't use it on the radio or print in it, but this began in the nineteenth century. The French tried to get rid of and still are trying to get rid of their minority languages. And the United States, of course, is trying to make everybody American and get rid of all the languages as people come in here—this whole sense of—

10-00:24:52

Lage: Homogeneity.

10-00:24:53

Herr: Homogeneous societies—now why this happens at the end of the nineteenth century, how this develops, because clearly in the eighteenth century they had no such idea at all. They were quite aware that all kinds of people speak all kinds of different languages, and it didn't shock them. And how that evolves, along with such things as racism, and how this goes into the twentieth century, how it leads eventually to the Holocaust in one way, how the American need for homogeneity reflects this same spirit, and what we've been trying to do with it since the Second World War, because I find a great change takes place after the Second World War, but there's still this real conflict as to whether you want people speaking different languages around you or not, or different in other ways.

10-00:25:46

Lage: Different cultures—the immigration debate.

10-00:25:48

Herr: That's what the story is about.

10-00:25:50

Lage: Does it come out at all of your diversity issues at Cal?

10-00:25:55

Herr: No, it probably—well, it could—it obviously comes out of the whole question of affirmative action toward the end, but my sense is it comes more out of my study of the history of Spain and the problems of the Catalans and the Basques, and also the class—because it's not just ethnic differences, it's class differences. Class conflict, class identity—this whole sense of development of socialism and the class conflict in the nineteenth century is another issue of community. A very important one is the women's identity, which really develops in the nineteenth century and pushes for the vote in the early twentieth century in almost all countries, and seems to die down but comes back in the sixties with a whole new sense of need for women's liberation, because the vote just didn't do as much as they wanted it to do, so that's another sense of community. And can you have two different communities living together—can you have men and women living together in equal status? This is a theme that seems to run through.

- 10-00:26:54
Lage: It's certainly with us right today.
- 10-00:26:57
Herr: Well, I think it's a great story, and I just don't see why the publishers haven't picked it up, but we'll see.
- 10-00:27:02
Lage: Maybe they will this time.
- 10-00:27:03
Herr: I think some of the trouble—first of all, the editors look at it and say, “Will this sell?” And it was true, that the first time around I'd probably written the eighteenth century too differently, because I'd really put in my lectures on the world civilization and used them—
- 10-00:27:17
Lage: Used them in the book.
- 10-00:27:19
Herr: Well, modeled the book on what I'd been saying in those lectures, and it didn't quite fit into the rest of the them, so Paula Fass read the whole thing for me after I'd gotten this first review from Cambridge, which was positive, but said it needed reworking and she said, “You've got to change the first part, because it just doesn't fit.” So I worked on that, and we'll see if it works now. Paula has been a great help on this. She's been a great help—there are a couple of people—she's been a great help on bibliography. I had to read about American history, and read about American women's history and social history, and also about the Revolution. That was Jim—
- 10-00:27:57
Lage: Kettner.
- 10-00:27:59
Herr: Kettner.
- 10-00:28:00
Lage: I see this because you furnished me your preface. So those were the two who kind of helped you with American.
- 10-00:28:05
Herr: That's right.
- 10-00:28:07
Lage: Interesting.
- 10-00:28:08
Herr: Well, we'll see if it comes out. I'll keep waiting.

10-00:28:20

Lage: You mentioned in here that Tocqueville was the mind that affected you most after your studies.

10-00:28:28

Herr: I think so. That's right. Yes. And that came, as I said, in my first visit to Berkeley in '55-'56 when I first really got excited about it and then wrote that little book. He's very much involved with identity and community and how societies work.

10-00:28:37

Lage: Well, it's interesting that you can date that back to the much earlier book.

10-00:28:31

Herr: That's right, and that's why I was using it in my lectures on Western civ, which were quite different from my lectures on Spanish history. I've had this sort of bifurcated career.

10-00:28:53

Lage: But then again, you mentioned, and I think it's important to point out, that some of these ideas came out of your study in Spanish history.

10-00:28:57

Herr: Oh definitely, oh definitely. I got interested in minority languages, I guess at about the end of the seventies, after the transition in Spain, at least consciously interested in that way, and then I gave some lectures on it. I guess I went to conferences and gave lectures, and I got in touch with people who worked on other lectures, and one particular woman named Lois Kuter, who was just getting a PhD at the University of Indiana on Breton music in western France. She sent me some of her articles, she gave me some bibliography. I read on the Welsh and, of course, I read some more on the Spanish. But she gave some talks then about what should we do about these different languages and how are the countries responding to them, which is very much a part of what the book became. I'm on the board of the ICDBL, International Committee for the Defense of the Breton Language.

10-00:30:04

Lage: What about the defense of the Galician language?

10-00:30:09

Herr: Well, they seem to be defending themselves pretty well in Spain. Spain is sort of, in a sense, the model country for taking care of its minorities, although the minorities are never happy, the Catalans still want more and the Basques still want more.

10-00:30:22

Lage: Right. You mentioned in your notes here—maybe I'm taking you out of your order, but—something about a lecture you gave. Was there something about a Basque lecture that was controversial?

10-00:30:42

Herr:

Yes, I did. I was invited to give, well, in the conferences that I went to in Spain, after the king came here—the first one was the Second World Basque Congress, or something like that. The first one had been in Paris after Franco took over Spain in '51, and I'd gotten to know—I guess again, in my interest in minority languages, I'd gotten to know a woman teaching in northern Spain [María Angeles Larrea]. She'd sent a student here, one of the visiting students, and I've forgotten even to mention him. He got support from, I guess, the Fulbright Commission to come and study here. He was a Basque, and through him I got to know his teacher at the University of Deusto.

She'd invited me there earlier to a conference they'd had, but then when they had this World Basque Congress, she was one of the organizers and invited me to give the opening lecture in 1987, in which I was to lecture on the position of minority groups in Spain and France in the Old Regime, especially concentrating on the Basques, so that came out of that too, yes. That was quite an event—I was asked to speak on Basque television and it turned out to be something of a calamity, because I was faced with the—I said, "I can speak in Spanish." They said, "Oh no, no, no. You have to speak in English. We don't want you speaking in Spanish."

10-00:32:18

Lage:

Because they speak Basque.

10-00:32:20

Herr:

Because the whole conference was in Basque or the television was pushing Basque, so the interviewer would speak in Basque, and I would respond in English. But then there would be a translator who would turn it into Basque, and I was supposed to understand what he was saying in Basque because they had something in my ear, which would be turned into English. From the thing in my ear, all I could hear [makes a tootling sound]. So I had this conference with him giving me questions, and me trying to answer them but not knowing what he'd asked me. I knew there were three subjects, but which order he was giving them in I had no idea. So that was my experience with appearing on Basque television.

10-00:32:53

Lage:

But not everybody has done that.

10-00:32:56

Herr:

But I've heard other Spaniards say they've had the same problem. [chuckling] It's a language that's hopelessly incomprehensible, although I had one graduate student, Jacqueline Urla in anthropology, who worked with me, and she learned Basque and studied Basque.

10-00:33:12

Lage:

They don't know the roots of it, do they?

10-00:33:19

Herr: Well, they don't know where it comes from, no. It's very different, because not only are the suffixes changing but the prefixes are changing at the same time—both ends of the word, apparently.

10-00:33:25

Lage: There's no supposition about where the Basque people originated?

10-00:33:31

Herr: They don't seem to be connected to any other language, that's for sure. They say there's some connection with Finnish, maybe, or something.

10-00:33:38

Lage: It's not Indo-European.

10-00:33:39

Herr: No, no. It's not Indo-European at all. It's pre-Indo-European.

10-00:33:48

Lage: Okay. Now, we've gotten out of your very nicely conceived order here, but should we go back to—

10-00:33:54

Herr: Well, we can go—we might as well do the other conferences. I've done some other conferences in Spain.

10-00:33:58

Lage: Okay, we'll do the other conferences, and then we'll go back to Spanish and Portuguese studies here.

10-00:34:01

Herr: Because I'm trying to think—this is all a part of my pushing Spanish studies here, which we'll come back to, but in any case, after the Basque one, then they had a conference, I think, in '88 on King Charles III, the two-hundredth anniversary of his death. He was the enlightened despot of Spain, or enlightened king.

10-00:34:26

Lage: He's the one you said was your favorite?

10-00:34:27

Herr: He's my favorite king, yes. I gave a couple of talks for that and wrote a major talk [*“Carlos III: el rey, el pueblo, el futuro,”* in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Carlos III y la Ilustración*, (1989)]and also a major part of the catalog—it's a three-volume catalog [*“La Ilustración española,”* in *Carlos III y la Ilustración* (1988)]—on it and went to Madrid for that. That was in, I guess, 1988.

10-00:34:48

Lage: On your notes here you also have a conference in '95-'96 in Soria.

10-00:34:54

Herr: Soria, oh, that's true. Then I went back there in [July] '95 and '96. They have summer programs for a month each funded by the Duques de Soria, a sister of the king, actually, the Duchess, the Duquesa, with Carmen Inglesias running them, and that got me into Spain for two years there. Then I went in '97 and gave a talk, a pre-1898 talk on the Spanish-American War. My lecture was at two places—I had to give it two different places, in Bilbao and in Valladolid. I tried to set that war into the whole question of the problems of European imperialism at the end of the nineteenth century, because it really reflects the whole situation there and what it does to the king. And I've been back, I guess, in '93.

10-00:35:56

Lage: You have in your notes here, "defending Prescott as a historian of Spain."

10-00:36:00

Herr: Oh that was '97, because that was the same year.

10-00:36:03

Lage: In Córdoba.

10-00:36:04

Herr: That was the same year. That was in Córdoba. That was a week-long conference for Anglo-American Hispanists, and not just historians, but scholars of literature and scholars of art. It was put on by the—[*Conferencia Internacional "Hacia un Nuevo Hispanismo,"* September 9-14, 1997] [brief interruption]

10-00:36:25

Lage: Okay. We're back on and I think we were moving on to the topic of—let's see, had we finished the Spanish conferences?

10-00:36:41

Herr: I think there were a couple to go, but I don't think we need to—

10-00:36:43

Lage: Oviedo, you mentioned?

10-00:36:45

Herr: Yeah. Obviously you don't want every lecture I've ever given.

10-00:36:48

Lage: Then let's turn to the topic of how Spanish and Portuguese studies got more developed on this campus.

10-00:37:35

Herr: Well, just looking back at the period, I can see that I got interested in the eighties much more in pushing the Spanish side of my teaching, or the Spanish studies, having been in Spain all this time. I'd had one very good Spanish graduate student, Joaquín Arango, but that was earlier. By the time we went to Spain, sometime in the eighties when we went back to Spain, he

was by then already assistant secretary of education and then minister of education running around with a chauffeured car.

He was on the faculty at the University of Madrid. He'd not finished his dissertation with me because he realized that if he got a PhD in the United States it wasn't going to do him any good in Spain, so he'd done all the graduate work with me, but he went back and filed his dissertation with the same man who'd been so favorable to me, José Antonio Maraval, and then got on the faculty of the University of Madrid, where he still is.

10-00:38:10

Lage:

Is that true of other European countries? Do they honor the American PhD?

10-00:38:16

Herr:

This was particularly true of both Spain and Portugal. I don't know about the others. And they've broken down more now, because my second Spanish PhD, which is Paloma Fernández, has got a job. She did not get a PhD in Spain. It was given "*convalidación*," I think is the word they used, so that it becomes equal.

And, of course, within the European Union they have to recognize all of each other's graduate degrees now, so that breaks down that because—friends that we had in Spain, graduate students or young people in the seventies had come back from Oxford, including José Ortega y Gasset's grandson, and couldn't get a job in Spain because they had an Oxford degree. So they were doing other things—and that was true in Portugal too.

In any case, I had those two graduates, but I also had visitors. Visitors started to apply here with the Fulbright Commission grants, and I had several of them in the 1980s. I know that Ángels Solá, who came from Barcelona, working on nineteenth century Spanish history, came and spent a year here.

10-00:39:38

Lage:

Carmen Iglesias.

10-00:39:41

Herr:

Carmen Iglesias was not—she came and spent a summer here. She did not come to work with me specifically supported. She was a young, very good friend of Joaquín Arango, [had] been an activist in the sixties against Franco, and was getting a job or already had a job at the University of Madrid, and came here and spent, I think, a full month or more that summer, and she's become a very close friend. Shortly after that, about two or three years after that, she told me that she'd been asked to become the tutor of the Spanish *infanta*, and we talked about that. She not only became the tutor [of the *infanta*], she became the tutor eventually of the Spanish prince, the Principe de Asturias [Felipe], so she's very close to the royal family. She invited me at one point in Spain to come and teach a seminar in which the young *infanta*—Cristina her name is—

- 10-00:40:40
Lage: *Infanta* is—
- 10-00:40:42
Herr: Is a princess.
- 10-00:40:43
Lage: The princess. Oh I see.
- 10-00:40:44
Herr: They're not *princesas*, they're *infantas*. That's the official title in Spain. So I taught a seminar for her, with Cristina there and the other group—she'd organized a group of students to be with us, sit—
- 10-00:40:59
Lage: It wasn't just the princess.
- 10-00:41:00
Herr: It wasn't just the princess, no—it was just a very—it was at the University of Madrid.
- 10-00:41:05
Lage: And what was the topic of that?
- 10-00:41:08
Herr: Oh, I suppose at that point I was talking about national identity, because it would have been about the late-eighties. I don't remember the specific topic, except that she thought that it wasn't what she expected it to be. She came in '83. I met her on the plane about five in the morning, because her plane had been delayed coming from Mexico. She was very surprised to see that I was there. I brought her to the Women's Faculty Club, which became a very favorite place for her, and I think she's come back a couple of times. She became the first woman member of the Academy of History in Spain and is a member of the Spanish Academy. I think she's one of two women in the Spanish Academy. She's a big figure. She's very close to the queen and the royal family.
- I could mention that—then, of course, I had Ronnie Fraser and Aurora Bosch from Valencia.
- 10-00:42:06
Lage: Are they a pair?
- 10-00:42:08
Herr: They were here during the earthquake. He's an Englishman. He's not an academic, but he's written books about the Spanish Civil War. He interviews Spanish veterans and has just published an enormous book, which is over there, on the Spanish War of Independence against Napoleon. They got married here, when they were here for a year. Pepe Morilla, José Morilla, is

a—they all ended up working on the United States to a certain extent. Aurora Bosch is writing a two-volume textbook of American history.

10-00:42:41

Lage: Oh, they come here and then they end up studying American history.

10-00:42:44

Herr: That's right. And José Morilla is a historian of agriculture, but he's been very much involved in the history of California winemaking and fruit exports, and basically the economic conflict between California and southern Europe, because we destroyed their canned fruit and nuts business—California did, to a great extent. They suffered a great deal from California competition, that's been his subject. He eventually arranged to have me get an honorary degree at Alcalá in 2001?

10-00:43:22

Lage: Oh, he was the one, José Morilla.

10-00:43:23

Herr: He was the one. So that whole connection, and then that ended—

10-00:43:27

Lage: Now, do those people come here to study with you? Or you meet them in the course of their—

10-00:43:32

Herr: No, I think they all sat in my office and used my office. They got Fulbrights to come and do their own research. They're not taking courses with me or anything like that.

10-00:43:40

Lage: No, but do they come here because—

10-00:43:42

Herr: Oh, they came because I was here, surely. Because they wanted to come and work and they thought this was—and because it's California, come on!
[chuckling]

10-00:43:48

Lage: Well, you can take the credit!

10-00:43:55

Herr: So along in there at some point—I guess I'd come back from Clare Hall—various people, but I certainly was one of them, pushed the idea of having the king of Spain come here and get the Berkeley Medal, which was given to people who've defended democracy. They gave it to the woman in the Philippines, I can't think of her name.

10-00:44:21

Lage: [Corazón] Aquino?

10-00:44:23

Herr:

Yes. And she'd gotten it, and then I suggested him, and I guess other people had too, so it was organized that he and the queen would come here and receive the Berkeley Medal in 1987. They came—they'd just had an earth[quake]—they were down in Los Angeles and they had an earthquake there and came up here terrified. They were fine—the king and queen—but the entourage around them was really quite shaken. They had dinner at the chancellor's house. We sat next to—I guess I sat next to her or his appointment secretary, you might call it [Sabino Fernández Campo, Secretario General de S. M.]. We weren't at the table with the king and queen. That was the chancellor and some of the important donors. And then there was a presentation of the medal in Zellerbach Hall, and it took forever because they searched everybody coming in for any possible weapons. So they finally started, I think, oh about half an hour late, and they still hadn't got everybody in.

10-00:45:28

Lage:

Were they worried about Basques again? Or just because he's head of state.

10-00:45:34

Herr:

Well, I think they had to worry about that he's a king. If the president of the United States had been there they'd have been worried.

10-00:45:41

Lage:

Was there another, some other occasion, anniversary or anything that year?

10-00:45:49

Herr:

No. The anniversary that I can think of is Columbus, but that's five years later.

10-00:45:55

Lage:

That was later.

10-00:45:56

Herr:

So they came here—I met them at that point, but then I gave a talk in the Faculty Club afterwards, because there was no real talk, it was just the very brief formal speeches about the presentation of this medal and the king responding and saying what kings say about diplomatic relations and things like that. But I gave a talk in the Faculty Club, and we put on some Spanish music, classical music, and I talked about the story of a democratic king, and I really made the point that it's because of this man that Spain is a democracy, because if it hadn't been for him and the young person that he was, the maneuvering to get the transition from the Franco system without serious fighting would have been, maybe, quite impossible.

10-00:46:43

Lage:

And that was in front of him.

10-00:46:46

Herr:

No. He'd gone off to do something else. No, he left. I'm sure there were—

10-00:46:51

Lage: He didn't have time for the lecture.

10-00:46:52

Herr: —plenty of people of much higher stature in San Francisco who wanted to entertain him. I think Senator—what's her name—

10-00:47:02

Lage: [Dianne] Feinstein?

10-00:47:03

Herr: Feinstein, who was not yet a senator, but I think he went off to see that political group. But as a result of that, the local consul nominated me to get a Spanish honor, which brings in the Spanish honors—and the king as a result of this nomination gave me the honor of being a *comendador* in the Order of Isabel la Católica, which is an order which is more or less directed to foreigners who have done something for Spain.

10-00:47:35

Lage: Oh, that's very nice. And when did that happen?

10-00:47:39

Herr: That was in '88, I think. The ceremony was done here, because I wasn't on my way to Spain, and I think probably the king wouldn't have done it anyway himself, but it was the local consul [César González Palacios]. It was a very nice event we had here, and I was very pleased to get it. It's a nice medal, which I wear to graduate ceremonies. It hangs around your neck.

10-00:48:00

Lage: Very nice. Goodness.

10-00:48:03

Herr: And I think that's what got us into doing the Iberian Studies Group, because the studies all started about the same time after I returned from Cambridge. I'd had in mind, somehow, that we should do something besides just—sort of more formal, organized for Spain or for Iberia—and Portugal, because I was teaching always the history of both countries. And so we sat around a table and got support from the Institute of International Studies and a little bit of money, something like that.

10-00:48:36

Lage: Now when you say we, who else was involved? It must have been other programs.

10-00:48:38

Herr: Well, I'm trying to think who it was. I think probably some people in the Spanish department. Certainly John Polt would have been one. I think Stanley Brandes was already part of our faculty by then, and he would have been one. It was very important—it was sort of a lunch at the Faculty Club sort of thing.

10-00:48:58

Lage: But there wasn't a strong—aside from the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, was there a strong presence of people interested in Spain?

10-00:49:06

Herr: Well, anthropology, yeah, Stanley Brandes and people in anthropology. I think, oh, I can't think of his name, but somebody from the Geography Department has written on Spain. There was a certain amount of interest. And in any case, the Institute of International Studies [Carl Rosberg] was interested in Spain, so we got some money for that and we were able to put on a conference about Iberian identities, in which we had funding from the Spanish end of the Fulbright Commission, I guess. I tried to get funding from Portuguese sources, because we invited Portuguese, and the answer I got back from the Gulbenkian was, "There's not enough Portuguese people, and we can't give you money." There's too many Spaniards and not enough Portuguese.

10-00:50:02

Lage: In the conference.

10-00:50:03

Herr: The conference—but the conference was on identities and the problem was that Spain had lots of problems with identities. It had the Basques and the Catalans and the Andalusians, for that matter, and all that Portugal could come up with somehow, was for the people in the Azores, maybe, which were not a real problem. So we had two very good anthropologists [João de Pena Cabral, Rui Feijo]—three people from Portugal, very good, they've been—António Costa Pinto's [a historian] still working with us closely. But we had this one, and we published that. There was some resentment among the Portuguese then that there was too much Spanish, even then, because at one point—I guess Carmen Iglesias was part of that, and she wants to speak in Spanish, and they resented the fact that we allowed somebody to speak in Spanish when nobody was going to speak in Portuguese!

10-00:50:56

Lage: [chuckling] Is this the book right here on your table? Because a lot of that is in Spanish.

10-00:51:03

Herr: Yes, that's it.

10-00:51:05

Lage: A lot of people were speaking in Spanish.

10-00:51:06

Herr: A lot of people were in Spanish, that's right. And that burned up the Portuguese. Well, but at least we were friends.

10-00:51:13

Lage: So be it.

10-00:51:14

Herr:

We were friends. So the next time, I decided, well, we'll have to have a conference just on Portugal, because clearly they don't like being put in with Spain. So we had a conference in '89, I think, on "Portugal since the Revolution" [September 1990], fifteen years since the 1974 revolution which gets rid of the Salazar regime, almost the same time as the Franco regime ended. And then we did get money from them. We got money from the Gulbenkian, I guess, which is the big foundation in Portugal—Lisbon. And I don't remember whether we had money or not then from a thing called the FLAD, the Fundação Luso-Americana para o Desenvolvimento, which is the Luso-American Development Foundation.

10-00:51:58

Lage:

So that's a Portuguese—

10-00:51:59

Herr:

That's a Portuguese group. But in any case, the director of it [Rui Machete] came and took part in that. And that came out as another book. It's a book called *The New Portugal*, which I edited. I wrote the introduction to it. We had—in those days, you know, the airlines would charge you a tremendous amount to fly here and go back in a couple of days. It was much cheaper to stay a whole week, so if you wanted to bring the people here, you'd pay for—you'd have to keep them here for a week. It was cheaper to keep them here for a week and pay their hotel rooms than to send them back after two days, so we had these long conferences in which people got to know each other very well. I remember the Portuguese one, I took them out to Point Reyes, and we had one of the meetings out there in Inverness.

10-00:52:42

Lage:

Oh that's nice, there's so much Portuguese history there.

10-00:52:46

Herr:

And eventually we published that book. I became aware, through Rui Machete, who's the president of the FLAD as it's called, the director, that they were looking to set up some kind of program at Stanford, probably, but in California. He'd heard that at Berkeley we had this fund that had been left to us by a Portuguese immigrant, the [Arthur Ferreira] Pinto-[Henriette] Fialon Fund, and so he was thinking about doing it here. After he left, somehow, we kept in touch and eventually I'd gotten in touch with him, and I think now he was also in touch with a woman named Judy Innes in City and Regional Planning who was working on Portugal subjects and had been in Portugal.

He invited Valerie and me over. We went over to Lisbon and had a very fancy dinner at his place. He put us in the highest hotel you could get in Lisbon, I think, with a tremendous view of the mouth of the river, and we stayed there several days and had this dinner, and this person who had been at that conference, António Costa Pinto, who is a historian of twentieth century Portugal, was at the dinner. There were four of us. The table was probably as

long as this room, and he was sitting at one end, and António Costa Pinto was [at the other end], and Valerie and I were facing each other with a big vase of flowers so we couldn't see each other in the middle. We were served with white gloves and talked about it. As a result of that, we established the Portuguese Studies Program here.

10-00:54:38

Lage: I see. As a separate program.

10-00:54:40

Herr: It's in the Institute of European Studies.

10-00:54:42

Lage: But separate from the Iberian Studies.

10-00:54:44

Herr: Separate from the Iberian Studies. At the Iberian [Portugal] conference, one of the moments that was slightly touchy, should we say—we had the thing going and the woman who was organizing it for us, a lovely woman, I blank on people's names [Peggy Nelson], she came in with a poster and put a great big poster over the speaker's table saying, "Iberian Studies Group." And the Portuguese said, "Ugh."

10-00:55:12

Lage: They didn't like—

10-00:55:20

Herr: They did not like that name, Iberian, because Iberian for them meant they're swallowing us up into Spain. So I realized we could not—we took it down, I think, before the second day.

10-00:55:23

Lage: So it was just the name that bothered them.

10-00:55:26

Herr: Just the name bothered them—they did not want to be part of an Iberian studies group. So I thought we should better have a Portuguese studies group separately, a Portuguese studies program. And that was what came out of the arrangements with them and it's still going strong. I became director of it for the first four years. I went over regularly to talk with them, and they'd send representatives over here. My—

10-00:55:49

Lage: Did it get you more interested in Portugal as a historical topic?

10-00:55:52

Herr: Well, yes and no. I wasn't going to get involved in research on Portugal at this point. I was still really trying to write my big book on honor and virtue, but it certainly got me interested in pushing Portuguese studies on campus.

10-00:56:08

Lage: And there's also this relationship with the Portuguese community in California. That's part of it.

10-00:56:13

Herr: That's right. I pushed that very hard. They were interested in, partly, in having it in California because there is this large Portuguese community here. I made very good relations with several of the groups here. The UPEC—União Portuguesa do Estado da California, and the Portuguese-American Education Foundation which was in Oakland, and there are various other groups. There's a lot of Portuguese groups down in San Jose. But I worked with them on their programs, and had speakers go out and speak to them when they come here. I also got very much in touch with the Macanese community here, Macau. There's a strong Macau community here, and Macau was still Portuguese at that point. It went over to China, I think about 2002.

10-00:57:03

Lage: And ethnically are the people Chinese?

10-00:57:08

Herr: Oh ethnically, ethnically, the Macanese look Chinese, or at least you can see that there's Chinese blood in most of them.

10-00:57:14

Lage: They speak Portuguese?

10-00:57:16

Herr: Well, they speak Portuguese, not too well, and they speak more Cantonese.

10-00:57:21

Lage: I see, but the Portuguese are still interested in—

10-00:57:25

Herr: Well, Portugal was very interested in them, of course. The Portuguese community here didn't have much to do with them. It was really two separate communities. And they had their own in-fighting with their own little groups. If four different people get together from Macau, they would all join a different organization. I went to their dinners. I learned to sing some of their songs. Valerie and I would dance with them. We had two conferences on the history of Macau as it was transferring over to China, and we had people come from Portugal and people come from Macau and local people.

From there we got interested in East Timor, because East Timor had been a Portuguese colony. It had been taken over by Indonesia in the time of, I guess Kissinger was involved with that, because he thought that the—the Portuguese empire broke up just as the Salazar regime collapsed in the revolution of April '74, and when East Timor, which is on a little island in the archipelago of Indonesia broke off, the Indonesians moved in, I think with Kissinger's encouragement because he thought they were going to go Communist. So there was this desire in recent years, their independence and getting them

away from that, which the Portuguese were working on, because they were being very poorly treated. They were Catholics instead of Muslims.

We invited Ramos Horta here to come and give a talk. We organized a speech for him—Ramos Horta is a Nobel Peace Prize winner and was one of the defenders of East Timor, and there's recently been an assassination attempt. He's just been rushed off to Australia to save his life, but he gave his talk at the I-House and that was something that we organized. So there were all these communities brought in from my contact with the Portuguese Studies Program. That was a great experience.

10-00:59:32

Lage: Yeah, really. Fascinating and broadening.

10-00:59:35

Herr: And we, for two years we had a summer program in the Azores and Lisbon, four weeks in each place or two weeks in each place, I guess, no it probably was three or four. I went to the Azores to oversee that, and so I got to see the Azores and meet the people there. So that's all part of it—and that's all, of course, after I'd retired.

10-00:59:55

Lage: Right. Hold on, because our tape is up.

Begin Audio File Herr 11 4-04-08.mp3

11-00:00:05

Lage: Okay. Here we are on tape 11, I believe. And we're continuing with Portuguese studies. Who else was involved in that? In Portuguese studies.

11-00:00:18

Herr: Well, Judith Innes, I've mentioned. Jean Lave was an anthropologist, I think she was actually connected to the School of Education. She became a director for a year. It kind of went downhill after I quit—four years of it was enough for me, and it's been picked up by Matt Kondolf and Deolinda Adao recently. Matt is the director who's been involved in the study of rivers. He's in City and Regional Planning. He studies rivers and the problems that they have maintaining proper flow in rivers—and not getting—

11-00:00:58

Lage: And Portugal is one of his areas?

11-00:01:01

Herr: Portugal and California are very similar in a lot of ways geographically, so it makes good sense for them. That's why Judy Innes got involved with studying Portugal as well as California and Matt Kondolf too. And he's been very good—

11-00:01:16

Lage: And they're both over in Environmental Design.

11-00:01:17

Herr: That's right. So it's flourishing right now and probably better than—but of course, Kathy Zvanovec worked with me as administrative assistant for a while. I had a woman, I forget her name now [Carolina Garcia], one of the first ones I had. She was the wife of a Portuguese graduate student [Pedro Ressano Garcia] here in architecture, and she worked for a year for me because she was well educated in Portuguese.

11-00:01:56

Lage: And that's helpful to have these good staff people.

11-00:01:58

Herr: Well, you need somebody who's Portuguese. I think it's lost some of its contact with, certainly, well, Macau is no longer Portuguese, so—but they did have a conference on Macau recently too, and they still have some connection with it.

11-00:02:14

Lage: And do they do things on Brazil? Or not.

11-00:02:17

Herr: No, it wants to be Portugal. The same way it feels about Spain, it doesn't want to be swallowed up by Brazil either.

11-00:02:23

Lage: And vice versa.

11-00:02:26

Herr: Oh I'm sure, vice versa, there's no—one thing we did get was a solution to the Pinto-Fialon grant. I don't know how much time you still have on there. Can I talk about that?

11-00:02:39

Lage: That's fine, sure.

11-00:02:41

Herr: Because this Portuguese immigrant in about 1940 came here to study engineering, I think, got a degree as an undergraduate, and then made a fortune in real estate in Berkeley, never married, lived all his life in the Shattuck Avenue Hotel, or at least the last part of his life, had a companion who was a French teacher in the high school. Her name was Fialon. And when he died and then she died after him, they both left a considerable amount of money to Berkeley to support Portuguese students, either immigrants or the children of immigrants, who had to be twenty years old, at least, and had to be males and had to be doing undergraduate study and had to take at least one course in engineering.

11-00:03:31

Lage: Wow! A lot of—

11-00:03:33

Herr: Talk about tying up a thing. And so, we had this money. I think it was three or four million dollars when they gave it, and it kept building up, because they gave it in the eighties and nobody could ever find anybody to take this on. So one of my struggles during this period that I was director was working with Dick Buxbaum in the law school and other people down at the Oakland—

11-00:04:00

Lage: Office of the President.

11-00:04:01

Herr: President's office to see how we could loosen up this grant. And it did not get done while I was director, but it has since then been done, so that this money, which is now well over 10 million, I think, can be used to send American students who are not Portuguese to Portugal to study, or can be used for women as well as men, and can be used for undergraduates who are not twenty years old, and can be used for graduate students.

11-00:04:26

Lage: And do they have to take engineering?

11-00:04:28

Herr: They don't have to take engineering.

11-00:04:30

Lage: But they do have to be Portuguese.

11-00:04:32

Herr: No, no.

11-00:04:33

Lage: I mean—they don't have to have a Portuguese connection now?

11-00:04:37

Herr: The students, undergraduates who get money from it I think do have to.

11-00:04:41

Lage: Yes, because there are a lot of Portuguese-American students.

11-00:04:44

Herr: Well, there are not that many who get into Berkeley, because that was one of the problems they had. I've had trouble as director of the program. These people who feel that since their son was Portuguese and was eligible for this fellowship, why doesn't he get into Berkeley and take it? And you'd have to say, well, you also have to get into Berkeley, and that's the most I could do about that.

11-00:05:04

Lage: Yeah, that's true. It's not a highly educated community, I'm told.

11-00:05:07

Herr:

They did not push education. That's what they are—the people in Portugal felt about how we should get at them and see if they could encourage them, and [the Portuguese-Americans] had their own education foundation [the Luso-American Education Foundation] which was trying to do this. But they did agree that most parents did not push their children to go to college. They thought it was much better to get out and get a job and get started, so that was one of the things we—and they were still working on that. So that's the Pinto—so that was part of the money that they have to—and they have quite a lot of money, because the FLAD gives them a lot of money every year.

11-00:05:41

Lage:

So is Portuguese studies better funded than Spanish?

11-00:05:42

Herr:

Oh absolutely. Spain gets 1,000 dollars a year. And that's right now—they had \$3,000 a year, so when I have a conference for Spanish studies, I have to go out and run up a lot of money, but for the Portuguese, they just have the money, I think it's about \$100,000 a year that they get from Portugal, which is a good deal.

11-00:05:58

Lage:

Yeah, that's very good. Now tell me, we didn't talk about—then you must have started the Spanish Studies Program.

11-00:06:06

Herr:

When the Portuguese Studies Program came along, it made no sense anymore to have the Iberian Studies Group, because clearly it was no—we already had the Catalán Studies Program, so then we decided to start a Spanish Studies Program. And I don't think that has gotten ever very active, because it really has very little money. I was not director of it. I think Ignacio Navarette has been primary director of it. I was for three years, and it was during that time that we organized this conference on women authors [20th Century Spanish Women Authors, March 5-6, 2004], because what we can do, we can give some money to somebody who comes to give a lecture, and we do. We have some money from the Institute for European Studies. We can spend it on that, but it isn't enough to hold a conference or anything like that, so we have to go around and hunt up money.

11-00:06:53

Lage:

That's no fun.

11-00:06:55

Herr:

With that money, we got some money from the Spanish embassy in Washington, and there is a group that represents the Spanish Ministry of Culture in Minnesota, it's stationed there because the man who's running it [Antonio Ramos-Gascón] is on the faculty there, and that gives—it's for relations with American universities, and we get money from them, but you do have to put forward each time a request and make sure you get the money.

11-00:07:21

Lage: A proposal for a particular thing.

11-00:07:25

Herr: A proposal. So that's, more or less, where it stands right now. The Portuguese [studies] are more flourishing financially, but our campus still doesn't do very much about courses on Portugal. It's a pity.

11-00:07:38

Lage: There's not that much interest academically in it.

11-00:07:39

Herr: There's not that much interest academically in it, except in City and Regional Planning, where they do have this fact that California and Portugal are very similar, and that takes them into the whole Mediterranean world.

11-00:07:46

Lage: And water issues.

11-00:07:48

Herr: And water issues, yes. Urbanization issues and immigration issues now, too, because the Portuguese have a lot of people coming in from their African ex-colonies.

11-00:08:00

Lage: That's right, that's right. Well, people should learn more about it, especially since they can support graduate students.

11-00:08:07

Herr: Yes. Well, they spend their money.

11-00:08:09

Lage: Yeah. Of course, don't they all?

11-00:08:11

Herr: I guess I'm always on the board of it, so I get involved with whom they give money to, but they don't get enough applications from faculty people to do research, because part of the money is supposed to go to faculty. That's an issue and it depends—of course, you have to get the departments interested. In the History Department we've never had somebody who really concentrates on Portugal. We've concentrated on Spain, and I've done Portugal on the side.

11-00:08:37

Lage: Well, why do you think Spain isn't more a topic of interest? Is it fashion or something intrinsic?

11-00:08:50

Herr: There's lots of places in the world. We do very well with the Education Abroad Program. We turn out PhDs in Spanish history. Right now they're still turning out PhDs. I think Tom Dandeleit has somebody working in that, and the people who have been working with me most of them have got their

degrees. There's a good active Spanish history organization in the country, the SSPHS, the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, is quite active and has conferences every year. When I got my job in 1959, I think it [Berkeley] was the only place in the country that was looking for a historian of Spain. Now most universities have a history of Spain position, although it's gone down in the last ten years. It grew up and then it's come down.

11-00:09:36

Lage: Has gone down.

11-00:09:37

Herr: It's gone down, yes, because people move out of European history.

11-00:09:40

Lage: Yeah, European history itself is less—

11-00:09:42

Herr: That's right. It's part of the fact that European history has suffered.

11-00:09:44

Lage: Are there universities that are outstanding in the area?

11-00:09:51

Herr: San Diego—UC San Diego—Gabriel Jackson, who was a great historian of the Spanish Civil War was their first appointment, I think, in the sixties. Pamela Radcliff is there. David Ringrose is there. Texas has been interested in it [Spanish history]. Harvard has always had somebody. I don't know if they have anybody really very much right now. University of Wisconsin has been good. Most places you'll find somebody—curious—it's come up. You get two hundred members to the Society of Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies—in their conferences they probably get fifty or sixty people coming to them with academic jobs.

11-00:10:46

Lage: Very good. Okay—now I'm looking to see what we—

11-00:10:51

Herr: I think we should go on to my '91 retirement.

11-00:10:56

Lage: Yes, I think so too. It just sounds like you weren't really happy to retire.

11-00:11:02

Herr: I had no choice. That was the last year born that had to retire before the Supreme Court decision kicked in which said that you can't force people to retire. So I had no choice. I was going to have to go out when I was seventy. I went out when I was sixty-nine because the university offered a much better retirement package, I guess, five extra years of teaching credit, and so I decided to take it.

11-00:11:27

Lage: And then you were professor of the graduate school?

11-00:11:30

Herr: No. They didn't have that at that time.

11-00:11:32

Lage: Oh, they didn't.

11-00:11:33

Herr: They didn't have that at that time. I did teach. I was on a recall basis. I taught my world civilization course, I think, for another two years or three years. I forget whether it was two or three now. In any case—having to organize it in England was not easy, because retirement in '91—in '92 we built the house in England, and we've been going there ever since every summer. So we have this bifurcated identity between Berkeley and England now. In '91 I—well, '90 I guess, I became, Gene Brucker had nominated me for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and I was elected, which was a surprise, because that was one of the things that everybody who was anybody in the department was a member of it, but I wasn't. And it was very nice that I became one at this point.

In '92, I was phoned up by a professor at Princeton named Arthur Link, who was a very famous biographer of Woodrow Wilson and said that the American Philosophical Society needed someone to write a speech for the king of Spain. The king of Spain was going to be invited to be their guest for '92—maybe it was '91 that he phoned me, because it was going to be in the spring of '92. It must have been '91. The king of Spain was going to come over for the celebration of the 500 years of Columbus and—yes, it would have been the spring of '92. So it was '91 that he called.

11-00:13:17

Lage: Ninety-one you have noted here, for the call.

11-00:13:18

Herr: The king wanted to—because it was also the 250th anniversary, I think, of Jefferson's birthday. They were going to celebrate the two together, and the king wanted to give a speech about Jefferson and Spain. So Arthur Link asked me if I would do it, and I said all right, so I did. So I turned off my research and went into research on Jefferson and his ties with Spain, which turned out to be very interesting, because he was ambassador to France after Franklin left in 1785, so he had to deal with—Spain was part of this—we had no ambassador in Spain. You had to deal with Spain, and Spain had been our ally in the revolution, and he got very interested in Spain and he learned Spanish. He said he learned how to read Spanish on a boat going across the Atlantic, because he bought a copy of *Don Quixote* and a dictionary, and on the basis of that he knew Spanish by the time he got to Paris.

11-00:14:15

Lage: Oh my goodness—was this in his journals?

11-00:14:17

Herr: In his letters, in his journals, yes. And he wrote back—he'd left—he had two daughters. His wife had died, but he had a young man he'd been guardian to—a good friend of his died and left him as guardian, and he wrote back a letter to the tutor of this [young man] telling him to stop teaching him Italian—teach him Spanish. He says everybody who leaves—and there's a letter—everybody who leaves his farm in the United States should know two languages—English and Spanish.

11-00:14:47

Lage: How interesting. Not French.

11-00:14:50

Herr: Yes, not French.

11-00:14:51

Lage: Where he was headed.

11-00:14:51

Herr: Not French, no, Spanish. That's what we should do—so that was the kind of thing I built up for the language for the king's speech, and so I sent it off and they invited me to come to listen to the king deliver his speech, and so I went and listened in Philadelphia to the American Philosophical Society and he gave a nice long speech and he used one paragraph.

11-00:15:12

Lage: [chuckling] What else did he talk about?

11-00:15:16

Herr: Well, he talked about the current situation in the world and—

11-00:15:19

Lage: Oh I see, that just—

11-00:15:19

Herr: Yes, all the problems that we're facing and things like that, what we can do and what Spain and relations—it may have been two paragraphs, but there wasn't very much about Jefferson and Spain in it.

11-00:15:32

Lage: Still, it's kind of a nice thing.

11-00:15:31

Herr: He was very kind. I said hello to him, and then he was rushed off before they even had a meal, I think, to Washington to meet the president or something like that. But the effect of that was that the next year they elected me a member of the American Philosophical Society. In '93, I went and was introduced, and it's been very much a part of my life since then.

11-00:15:53

Lage: Tell me what that involves.

11-00:15:54

Herr: Well, it's the oldest academy in the country. It was founded by Franklin in 1743. It's situated in Philadelphia. It's the American Philosophical Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge. That's the full title of it.

11-00:16:13

Lage: That sounds Franklin-y.

11-00:16:16

Herr: —for the promotion of useful knowledge. So it has—a good number of those people are members of faculties, but a number of people are businessmen and journalists and political figures. I think, gosh, we have several of the Supreme Court members in it. We have two meetings a year, a big one in April and another smaller one in November. Valerie and I have been going fairly well to most of the April meetings, so we've gotten to know quite a few people there.

11-00:16:46

Lage: And do they involve colloquiums?

11-00:16:47

Herr: Two-and-a-half days there are talks—there are twenty-minute lectures, if you want, by some prominent figure in a certain area, bringing up the community onto what's going on in that area, or what he's done in that area, something like that, but it's supposed to be directed to non-specialists, although if you get somebody talking about microbes to me, even from a non-specialist, I don't always follow everything that he says. They have, oh, about maybe twelve, sixteen talks each session. Four in the morning, four in the afternoon, and usually a big dinner and a concert and awards. The biggest prize is the prize they gave to the king of Spain, which followed on the president of France a few years earlier, or something like that—no it's the Jefferson medal. It's the Jefferson medal.

11-00:17:47

Lage: The Jefferson medal.

11-00:17:47

Herr: Jefferson was president of it for many years, that's why it's so tied up with Jefferson. And in 1997, I think, somewhere in there, I was asked to be on what was the prize committee to award the prize for the best talk of the previous year.

11-00:18:03

Lage: So that means you have to go to all the talks.

11-00:18:06

Herr: Well, no, they publish them, so you have to read them. In fact, you judge the published version more than their actual talk. If nobody came—I'm sure it's

on a tape somewhere if you want to listen to it, but what we do is look at the published version. And I was on the committee for six years, and at the end of that the chairman resigned and they asked me to be chairman, so the last five years I've been chair of this committee. So I have to make a presentation and you get to present to very exciting people—what's her name—the woman who writes in the *New York Times* on the Supreme Court, Linda Greenhouse, isn't that her name?

So that's been very—it's a very different life—my friend Peter Laslett, he wrote—he started the University of the Third Age in England and it's spread around, pretty much around the world for people to go to education after they retire. He wrote a book about a new way of life, a new pattern of life, something like that saying that when you're retired, for the first time in your life, you can really do what you want, and you should do something that you really had been wanting to do all your life. This is your third age. And my third age started when I retired in '91 and these are the things that have gone on—the American Academy, the connection with England. From England we go regularly to a friend in France [Daniele Debordeaux], so that we've gotten very much in touch with a village in France and go there almost every summer now for the last fifteen years for about a week or ten days [Moutiers au Perche]. We go to Rome. Most of that period I've been writing this other book, until about two years ago. So it's been a fairly active life.

11-00:20:05

Lage: It certainly has. And do you have any other concluding thoughts. I think that's where we're coming to.

11-00:20:16

Herr: Concluding thoughts. That's where we are, yes.

11-00:20:18

Lage: One thing you mentioned that maybe can be part of this concluding thought—that your varied interests in writing has kept you from being up to date on your work? I'm not sure what you mean by that.

11-00:20:31

Herr: I think that's something that has—yeah, I'm never up to date on recent bibliography in a subject that I was working on before. I just can't keep up with it.

11-00:20:39

Lage: Because they're so diverse.

11-00:20:42

Herr: I felt that first when I wrote the Tocqueville book. There is a whole clique of people that worships Tocqueville in this country, and they have meetings and they have papers and they have this and they have that. I think I went to one or two of those, and then I suddenly realized that, and I got to review books about it, that I just wasn't up to date with what they were writing about

Tocqueville anymore, and so you couldn't possibly ask me to give a talk, without a heck of a lot of work on my part, about Tocqueville. I don't know much about what's written about Spain in the eighteenth century, since say 1980. I did write a chapter on the Oxford history of Spain [Raymond Carr, ed. *Spain, a History* (2000)], on the eighteenth century, and I started looking at some things, and after I looked at some I think I said, "Why, I think what I wrote in 1955 is still as good as anything else, so I had some new ideas that I put in, but I just did not go through all the bibliography." And I felt that that was—you don't have to say that you hadn't and nobody said anything. But I could feel that there was lots of work that had been done that I just hadn't covered.

11-00:21:50

Lage:

But on the other hand you've had such an interesting intellectual progression.

11-00:21:54

Herr:

Well, that's right. That's right. I think, in that case, it's kept me very, very excited about what I've been working on. But now what I'm working on is family history.

11-00:22:01

Lage:

That's right. Now you did the book with your brother.

11-00:22:05

Herr:

That's right.

11-00:22:06

Lage:

But now you're doing—

11-00:22:07

Herr:

And now I'm doing a book—oh, it's not going to be a book, I think, but it might be, obviously something that I'll circulate around our family, but I'm working on both strands of my family. The Puritan strand and the German Mennonite strand. And I hope to bring it back to, when I get far enough, I'll be working about my father and mother and their lives. They were very good. I know some people are not too happy with their parents. I've always felt that I had wonderful parents.

And I should say also, that I've had two wonderful wives. One of them got me into Spain, basically, and the other has kept me going and supported me in all of these. In both cases, marrying me meant they could not continue, ended up not continuing their own professional career. Not by their own wish, but that's what happened. So it's—I know Valerie has been saddened by that fact, that she didn't continue in that career, but on the other hand, she's been a great wife and very much of a supporter of community activities in Berkeley.

11-00:23:14

Lage:

Right, she's done so many things.

11-00:23:16

Herr: That's right.

11-00:23:16

Lage: Sometimes I think getting involved in the career keeps you from doing a broader—

11-00:23:21

Herr: Well, I keep telling her that, but it's this sort of sense that something is missing, and I can sympathize and I try to be as supportive as I can.

Oh, it's been a great ride on a train. When I get off, when I have to get off the train, I will have had a great trip. It's been a great time.

11-00:23:45

Lage: Absolutely. Do you see a trajectory, or any big shifts in your own attitudes?

11-00:23:51

Herr: You know, when I look back at the time we first wrote about my Mexican [beginnings]—it's a long time ago—it is a long time ago. I realize, when I was growing up I was in a society that's much closer to Victorian society than to our current society.

11-00:24:08

Lage: Well, when you describe your parents it seems that way.

11-00:24:11

Herr: That's right. My mother worshipped—was brought up in the Victorian period, and from the death of Victoria in '03 to '22 was 20 years—so it's been—

11-00:24:21

Lage: Right, and the attitude you described that they had about foreigners and—it was just—

11-00:24:29

Herr: The change I see, the changes really came after the Second World War, I think. That was when I obviously got involved in teaching, but if I would point at things that have really transformed the world, I think first of all you can think of the Sputnik, and the fact of the entry into space, the exploration of the solar system, the cosmology that's developed. You think of the Web and the computers, the whole system—can anybody have imagined in 1930 that you would go into a store with a card and they would run it through a machine and you would get money, or they would run the things across a machine and it would tell you what the price is on it, or that you could communicate instantaneously?

11-00:25:18

Lage: Or you could read your book on the Web.

11-00:25:20

Herr: That's right—read their book on the Web or—

11-00:25:22

Lage: Or your articles.

11-00:25:22

Herr: Or write an email to Spain and get an answer back two hours later? A telegram—yes, but for a telegram you had to go down to the telegraph house, you had to phone, you had to—

11-00:25:30

Lage: You had to limit your words.

11-00:25:32

Herr: That's a tremendous transformation.

11-00:25:34

Lage: It really is.

11-00:25:35

Herr: And biology is a tremendous transformation. The whole thing about the genome, which is one my son is involved with—that has come along since the double helix. All of this has taken place in the fifties and sixties, that we're sort of—which has ended the other world, period of time. And liberation movements—that's one of the great changes, since the sixties. It started in the fifties with the black voting movements in the South and—

11-00:26:09

Lage: Well, we could even say it started earlier in other countries.

11-00:26:12

Herr: —with Little Rock and the decision of the Supreme Court, but then you have the women's liberation movements, and you have the other third world liberation movements, and then you have the gay and lesbian liberation movements. All of this came in that period—from '50 to '75. That of course—my whole life has witnessed one vast transformation.

11-00:26:35

Lage: Right. And it seems to me you have moved along with it very well. Do you feel that way?

11-00:26:43

Herr: Yes and no. Yes and no. I just do not handle the Web easily, and I still do not have a cell phone. I can't see people walking along the streets with a cell phone. There is just a different world. People who just get onto the Web—it's second nature to them, it's certainly not for me.

11-00:27:00

Lage: Second nature, right, and very much a preoccupation.

11-00:27:03

Herr: Yeah, I don't know—I guess if I have one, a regret that I have is I don't know where the train is going to keep going after I get off.

- 11-00:27:14
Lage: That's right. Do you think having your second family affected your ability to keep up with the times?
- 11-00:27:26
Herr: Oh, I think there's no question about that, that I had children in high school when I was already in my fifties and sixties. It was different from having children in high school in my thirties and forties. It kept me in touch with that life, yes.
- 11-00:27:40
Lage: Very much.
- 11-00:27:41
Herr: Maybe that's part of it, having a younger wife, having a very active wife, yes. And good colleagues. I know some of the younger colleagues on campus now and like them very much.
- 11-00:27:53
Lage: So do you still keep your ties to the History Department?
- 11-00:27:57
Herr: Oh yeah. I go to their lectures, and I read their promotion reports and things like that, personnel reports. I don't go to meetings, but I've got some of the younger people there I'm quite attached to.
- 11-00:28:11
Lage: And do you have a topic for your next book aside from the family history?
- 11-00:28:20
Herr: No, I think I've—unless I go back and finish my dissertation.
- 11-00:28:25
Lage: [chuckling] To do that second part! I don't think we should say you didn't finish it. You did publish it.
- 11-00:28:31
Herr: Well, I got a degree.
- 11-00:28:31
Lage: And you published it, right?
- 11-00:28:33
Herr: Oh definitely, but there was a second half to it, which got sidetracked about 1960—I still have all the notes upstairs all carefully written out.
- 11-00:28:41
Lage: Well, maybe that'll be your next topic. Does it interest you?
- 11-00:28:45
Herr: Let's see how many years I'd need. I plan to keep on working on it some.

11-00:28:48

Lage: Well, very good. Okay. I think we've pretty well mined things.

11-00:28:53

Herr: You know this has been a very interesting and pleasant experience with you, and I'm very grateful to you for what you've done.

11-00:29:00

Lage: I'm glad. I've enjoyed it tremendously.

11-00:29:01

Herr: Good.

[End of Interview]

ANN LAGE

Ann Lage is a research interviewer for the Regional Oral History Office in the fields of natural resources, land use, and the environment; California political and social history; and the University of California. She manages major projects on the disability rights movement, the environmental movement, and the Department of History at Berkeley. She is a member of the editorial board of the *Chronicle of the University of California*, a journal of university history, and holds a B.A. and M.A. in history from Berkeley.