The Institute for Historical Study
Newsletter

Volume XXIV, No. 1 Spring 2003

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

At the April meeting of the new Board of Directors, I was elected your president for this year. We all thank Lorrie O'Dell for her excellent work in her two-year tenure as president and for her continuing support in running our many programs. We also thank outgoing members Perri Hale, Barbara Wood, and Masha Zakheim for their service, and welcome new member Judith Albert. By now, you should have received the new membership roster, prepared by Lorrie, and the annual financial report, prepared by Marian Kassovic.

The new Board of Directors had a productive first meeting and agreed on a tentative calendar for the year. We are searching for a different venue for our annual picnic, set this year for 13 July. If anyone has suggestions for a great local park with a picnic area, please convey them to a board member.

Georgia Wright's proposal of a trip to Hetch Hetchy Valley brought a successful response, and sixteen people will be headed there in June. Many thanks to Institute member Henry Cohen for his discovery of this opportunity. I recommend Chapter 16 in John Muir's *The Yosemite*, available on-line at the Sierra Club's web site. Muir recognized that the natural beauty of Hetch Hetchy Valley, with its Tuolumne River and granite outcrops, is similar to Yosemite Valley with its Merced River and the more familiar rock formations. The Sierra Club lost its fight in Congress in 1913 over building the O'Shaughnessy Dam. Recently, Sierra Club members have been keeping alive the possibility of removing the dam and restoring the river valley.

According to our bylaws, the authorized number of directors "shall not be less than 9 nor more than 17." The present board has only eight members—that small number can be a problem when a quorum is needed and also means less input of ideas and discussion at our meetings. Please consider volunteering for the board for the rest of this year, when you attend one of our three remaining scheduled meetings. The next one is a potluck luncheon on Saturday 28 June, at my house up in the Black Hills north of Livermore. Call me, Lorrie, or Monica Clyde if you wish to join us. We are all busy people, but a year is not so long, and by June it's half over!

—Anne Homan

IN MEMORIAM

The Institute lost another longtime member last February 19 when Rose Scherini, a former member of the Board of Directors, passed away in Marin County. Rose, a native of Marin and a UC Berkeley graduate, was a resident of the East Bay for many years before she moved back to Marin several years ago to be near her sister Lena.

Through her research, Rose played a prominent role in the recent public awareness of the little-known story that some 600,000 Italian-Americans were classified as enemy aliens during World War II. They were the largest foreign-born group in the country at the time, and several hundred were interned and thousands were relocated. Based a great deal on Rose's work, an exhibit, "Una Storia Segreta: When Italian-Americans Were Enemy Aliens," was developed and toured forty cities throughout the country. The exhibit also resulted in several articles and radio and TV programs.

Rose had not been very active in the Institute during her last few years, but those who served with her on the Board, and who knew her otherwise, will remember her as a fine historian, a willing, even eager, Institute member, and a splendid person.

—Jules Becker

ANNUAL MEETING

Morning Session

The Annual Membership meeting was held at Ginn House at Preservation Park in Oakland on 22 February. After calling the meeting to order, Board President Lorrie O'Dell called for a moment of silence to honor three members who died in the past year: Ursula Sherman, Ilse Sternberger, and Peter Palmquist. Georgia Wright gave the first presentation, listing the year's Works-in-Progress, with

encouragement to members to sign up for performance in this characteristic institution of the Institute. Georgia's report was followed by that of Program Chair Perri Hale, who reviewed the traditional Institute functions: the Annual Meeting, the Picnic and History Bee at Harbor Bay Isle Park, the Annual Potluck (hosted last fall by Georgia), and the Annual Dinner (which was held for the second time at Ginn House, and featured the late Peter Palmquist as speaker). In addition, the Institute co-sponsored three "extras": lectures by Georgia and by Alice Chan at San Francisco's Chinese Historical Society; a talk by Masha Zakheim and Bob Seward on Masonic symbols in Diego Rivera's art, at the San Francisco Public Library; and an impersonation of Socrates by Ron Gross sponsored by IHS and the National Coalition of Independent Scholars, which Ron serves as a member of its Advisory Board.

Lorrie reported that five new members joined the Institute, and welcomed two in attendance at the meeting, Elizabeth Thacker Estrada and Laura Tarwater. The group also welcomed a returning member, Georgiana Davidson.

Michael Griffith gave the Treasurer's report, based, he said, on "highlights" by Marian Kassovic. Alluding to the rise in postage costs, he reported that we did not break even through dues. However, the $1,220 that came in from the fundraising campaign, and the $500 earned through our fiscal sponsorship of grant recipients offset the loss in our operating budget. The endowment fund, naturally affected by the poor performance of the stock market, will not provide the surplus required for our offering a mini-grant competition in the coming year.

Peter Browning, as *Newsletter* editor, stressed the dearth of membership news. Encouraging members to report more fully, he also solicited pictures, which he can scan, crop, enlarge, and reproduce at no additional cost. Also in the line of enlivening the customary fare of the *Newsletter*, he encouraged members to submit opinion pieces—related to the Institute or to historical topics—or travel pieces, reports of visits to museum exhibits, etc.

Lorrie asked for accounts of the four study groups. These were vivid and detailed, but considering that they have been written up more fully in the past year's *Newsletters*, I provide a bare summary: Monica Clyde reported on the year's plays studied by the History Play Readers, John Rusk on the activities of the Medieval History Group, Jules on the pursuits of the California Round Table. Joanne Lafler sketched the progress of the newly founded Biography Group, of which three presentations formed the program for the afternoon session.

Georgia Wright addressed the affairs of the organization of which we are an affiliate, the National Coalition of Independent Scholars (NCIS), which we support with $1 of our IHS dues. She announced that the next biennial conference of NCIS will be held in October 2004 in New York City. She stressed as of particular concern for the national organization, the inability of unaffiliated scholars who live some distance from research libraries, without passwords, to access their databases remotely; and encouraged independent scholars not to be timid and apologetic about such problems.

The morning session was concluded by the election for the new Board of Directors: Judith Strong Albert, Sunny Herman, Anne Homan, Jeanne McDonnell, and Lorrie O'Dell. Peter Browning, Sunny Herman, Lorrie O'Dell, Lyn Reese, and Ruth Willard were elected to serve on the Nominating Committee.

After the announcement of the results of the election, the meeting adjourned for lunch.

—Anne Richardson

Afternoon Session

The editor regrets that the report of the afternoon program is not available. I hope that it will appear in the Summer *Newsletter*.

WORK IN PROGRESS

David Chadwick

A follower of Sunryu Suzuki had been organizing her moral life around asking herself, in situations of perplexity, "What would *Roshi* [Venerable Old Teacher] Do?"

She went to Suzuki to ask, should she be doing this?

He said, "Should I ask, 'What would *Roshi* do?'"

On Sunday, 16 March, at the home of Jules Becker, David Chadwick spoke on "Shunryu Suzuki and the San Francisco Zen Center: The Early Years." Full of richly earned live-work experience, at Tassajara and at the Zen Center, the talk may have been more aptly titled, "On Being a Suzuki Scholar."

The Soto Zen master Shogaku Shunryu (best pronounced "Shoon-you") Suzuki served as a temple priest in Japan in World War II, imbued with the dream of bringing Zen to America. In 1959 he arrived in San Francisco and took up duties at Sokoji on Bush Street, a former synagogue converted to a Soto Zen mission. In 1962 he became abbot there. The congregation of this temple were wedded to old Shinto Buddhism; to Suzuki, *zazen* (meditation) was a more spiritual practice, and it was with this in mind that he founded the Zen Mountain Center at Tassajara Springs (formally) in July 1967, and in Spring 1969 the San Francisco Zen Center. The latter found its place in a Julia Morgan building at Page and Laguna

in San Francisco. Perhaps 2,000 people have passed through its living quarters or its *zendo* (meditation room) in the thirty-four years since its founding. Shunryu Suzuki died in 1971, having led an eventful and inspiring life.

Stewardship of Suzuki's legacy has been undertaken by David, in various fruitful forms. He has published three biographical/autobiographical studies:

Thank You and OK! An American Zen Failure in Japan (1994)

Crooked Cucumber: The Life and Zen Teaching of Shunryu Suzuki (1999)

To Shine One Corner of the World: Moments with Shunryu Suzuki (2001)

Three books by Suzuki himself (editions of his lectures, it seems) have appeared, of which the instant classic was *Zen Mind, Beginner's Mind*, in 1970. A curious early item in Suzuki's surviving writing is his university thesis, which David displayed to the group.

There remain hundreds of taped lectures and transcripts of Suzuki's words. Of these, some consist of untranscribed tapes, others of written transcripts not anchored to corresponding tapes. David gave a cogent rationale for the "light editing" that needs to be done. A professor in North Carolina transferred numbers of intact tapes to disk. David spoke of bringing out a CD of selected Suzuki lectures.

The potentialities for oral history are immense. David says he has 1,000 pages of interviews so far, with conceivably 2,000 people yet to interview, so important to so many was Suzuki Roshi. Typically, at any time, 50 people lived in the Zen Center, 100 lived nearby, and another 100 in the larger Bay Area. Tens of thousands received the Center organ, *Wind Bell*. All, potentially, have something to contribute.

David's most accessible and resourceful archival tool is his website, "Crooked Cucumber—Suzuki Roshi Bio & Archive": www.cuke.com. It is both lively and informative.

—Anne Richardson

BOOK REVIEW

European Feminisms 1700–1950: A Political History. Karen Offen. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Karen Offen has done a laudable service for the lay reader by taking the often abstract discussion of historic feminism out of the realm of philosophical theory and locating it instead in the realm of political movements—where she argues it clearly belongs. By giving feminism the historical political agency it deserves, she demonstrates ways in which women's challenge of prevailing ideas, and social institutions and practices, deeply affected European politics.

Karen has provided another service by enlarging the scope of her study beyond the more frequently reported events in Western Europe. Through careful research, she has uncovered valuable new information in sources from often unrepresented regions—from Greece, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or Denmark, for example. While the book uses the term "feminisms" to acknowledge the plurality of feminist actions across cultures, national boundaries, and centuries, Karen shows that at their heart there also is unity. European cultures all subordinated women in similar ways. And, even with the inevitable antifeminist reactions, throughout the region women managed to challenge existing patriarchal structures in ways that turned out to be quite successful. Helpful was the secularization of European societies and a flourishing print culture, which allowed feminist ideas about the family, relationships between men and women, and women's relationship to the state to be heard.

Of necessity this is a lengthy and detailed book with an impressively large reference section. Information is presented chronologically, starting with discussions of feminist perspectives beginning about 1700 when France was the dominant power in continental Europe and ending with ways feminists confronted the cold war and party politics in the 1950s. By using the book as a reference tool, a reader can easily select the times and topics she or he desires to discover the extent to which the major debates, controversies, strategies, setbacks, and occasional victories of feminist activism influenced that period's events.

For my part, I was most interested in chapters dealing with the "internationalization" (1870–1890), and later "globalizing" (1919–1950) of European feminist activity. Here the chapter titles bothered me. Karen's use of the terms usually referred to the linking of European activism with American activists, or with the efforts of Western European women to cross national boundaries to connect to women in, say, Russia. Even through the book is grounded in Europe, I would have liked some reference to ways in which these efforts connected as well to the rising expectations of women in East and South Asia, the Arab world, and South America. Starting in the nineteenth century, womens' rights congresses influenced increasingly like-minded women from non-western and non-European worlds, who in some instances even attended the European "international" congresses. Perhaps Karen's examples of the ways European women's historic advocacy of female educational opportunity, control of property, changes in marriage laws, valuation of women's unpaid labor, and opportunities for economic self-reliance can still serve contemporary non-

western indigenous feminist movements, even given the danger of being viewed as imported western ideas.

That said, I, as always, remain in awe of Karen Offen. In my mind she is perhaps today's leading authority on the history of feminist movements. To this book she brings her years of published scholarship on the subject, her association with scholars of women's history around the world, and her ability to uncover long-neglected original published sources. Dipping into the pages of *European Feminism*, I read Millicent Fawcett's quote from 1913—claiming that the women's movement aims at "nothing less than raising the status of an entire sex—half the human race." Then I glanced at a quote on a NOW sticker in my office stating that "feminism is the radical notion that women are people." As Karen notes in the book: "Historical feminism has been an ongoing, recurring, enduring political project" that has "deep roots in the European past."

—Lyn Reese

GROUP REPORTS

California Round Table

The Costa Rican airline pilot prodded a weapon of least destruction into the heart of the tree, dislodging a maranon which bounced with a thud onto the tin roof into the pilot's waiting hand, the one without the long wooden stick. "Taste this," he said, handing me a cylindrical orange pepper. "It is sweet and a native treasure. The center resembles cinnamon." I recalled a luncheon talk hosted by Jose Coleman, Saturday, 16 November, 2002, for the California Round Table. His subject was "The History of Pre-Columbian Foods." Columbus had been in the Costa Rican port of Limon in September 1502, and had probably eaten a maranon or two while waiting for his ships to be repaired. In September of 2002 a direct descendant of Columbus had visited the Costa Rican capitol of San Jose for the installation of a plaque celebrating the 500th anniversary of the inaugural visit by his illustrious progenitor.

Jose's talk was a synopsis of Chapter One from his forthcoming volume *Mexican Cuisine — A History*. Chapter Two is entitled "Spanish Foods - the Many Exterior Sources." Chapter Three is "The Asian Connection - The Philippines." Chapter Four is "The French Conquest." Chapter Five is "Seafood and the Fishing Industry." Chapter Six is "Regional Cooking." Chapter Seven is "Demographics." Chapter Eight is "U.S Influences." Chapter Nine is "Important Exports." ChapterTen is "Food Technology, Packaging, Advertising and Distribution." Chapter Eleven is "NAFTA." Chapter Twelve is "The Food Industry and Ecological Issues."

While we lunched on delicious Mexican cuisine prepared by Jose, he delivered a standup talk on the whole variety of foods originally available throughout Central America, but with particular reference to Mexico. In sequence he covered vegetables, legumes, fruits, tubers, seeds, fungi, spices, mole, chiles en-nogada, salsa, burritos, and enchiladas suisas. We were devouring the latter when he switched to the gods of fertility: Tlaloc, Chalchihuitlicue, Xilonen, Cinteotl, Xipetotec, Quetzalcoatl, Huehueteotle, Tlaltcuhtli, and Xochimieque. His next topic was nutrition and the perfect vitamin balance of all these foods. Then he continued with domestic and wild game, insects, aquatic plants, fish and shellfish, sweeteners, drinks including alcoholic beverages such as pulque, balche, and tepache. Next came cooking utensils and food preparation.

Jose's love for his subject matter is readily apparent. He convinced me to head to Michoacan this past January to sample the culinary cornucopia he had previewed. A direct flight to Morelia led me to Patzcuaro and Uruapan. Here I met with Pete Luckett, host of the Food Network program "The Food Hunter." I showed him the outline of Jose's book. Pete was in Uruapan, the avocado capitol of Mexico, to film avocado gardening, a highlight of Jose's talk. Avocadoes run ten cents apiece here. A trade embargo prevents their entry into the U.S. A March trip to Costa Rica reinforced all of Jose's cataloguing. If Chapter One is any indication, then all Institute Members are in for a treat once the book is completed. Perhaps Jose will cater the Annual Meeting in 2004 or 2005. Salud, Jose.

—Tony Kilgallin

California Round Table

On 8 February at the home of Irena Narell, Maria Sakovich gave a presentation entitled "Angel Island Reconsidered: Non-Asian Encounters with the Immigration Laws, 1910–1940."

No doubt most people think of Angel Island as the Ellis Island of the West, a place where Asian immigrants—mainly Chinese—were detained, incarcerated, discriminated against, and processed by a hostile bureaucracy whose major function was to prevent "undesirables" from entering the country.

But it is not generally known that considerable numbers of other ethnic and national groups also passed through the immigration ordeal at Angel Island. Between 1914 and 1924, approximately one-third of arriving aliens were non-Asian. After passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, about fifteen percent of arrivals were non-Asian. Various groups were impelled to seek refuge in the United States by the upheavals of their times: civil war in Mexico, the

First World War, civil war in Russia in the early 1920s, and the rise of the Nazis in the 1930s. In addition to suffering arduous journeys across Asia and the Pacific, those reaching California faced the onerous task of getting past the immigration authorities, whose mandate was "to lessen the opportunity for entry as well as to facilitate the deportation of the physically, mentally, and morally defective."

In the language of the Bureau of Immigration, the organization had two major functions: "guarding the gate" and, periodically, "cleaning house." Any immigration inspector worth his salt who was armed with ambiguous language in the statute, flexible criteria, and personal bias, should have been able to find that anyone and everyone was morally defective.

Maria pointed out that women were more likely to be targeted than men, specifically by employment of the "likely to become a public charge" and "moral turpitude" clauses of the immigration law. The methods used by immigration inspectors were pervasive and invasive: investigation and surveillance, including undercover activity; tips from disgruntled associates; trickery to gain access to information about an alleged violator; and extensive and intrusive questioning. These tactics were applied to people already in the United States, to new arrivals, and to former American residents returning to the country after a spell abroad.

Maria provided the example of Swedish-born Tina Ihrmark who was held for a hearing before a board of special inquiry when she arrived in San Francisco on 31 December 1914 from Australia with her business partner, Arthur Troutt, an American. Before working in Australia as a vaudeville artist, she had worked in San Francisco for almost three years. The Board probed her entire working and personal life.

Q. "Have you ever been engaged to be married to anybody?" A. "No."

Q. "Have you ever lived with any man?" A. "No."

Q. "Remember you are under oath now; we want a truthful statement; have you ever lived with any man as his wife?" (No answer.)

Q. "Answer the question, please." A. "Yes." [Further questions about the man.]

Q. "Why did you not marry him?" A. "We did not have money; . . ." [Further questions about her life in the United States.]

Q. "Now let us get down to it. As a matter of fact on the voyage over you cohabited as man and wife did you not?" A. "What do you mean by cohabited?"

Q. "Were you in bed together?" A. "No."

Q. "You are positive of that?" A. "I could swear to that; I can take my oath; we never slept together; we were in the same room but we never slept together."

Q. "Did you have sexual intercourse?" A. "No."

Q. "Did you have sexual intercourse at all with Mr. Troutt?" A. "No, never in Australasia and never here." [The questions continue.]

Q. "Were you a virtuous woman when you first arrived in the United States from Sweden?" A. "No."

Q. "Who was the cause of your losing your virtue in Sweden? A. "A young man."

[The questioning continued. A former neighbor and Arthur Troutt were also interviewed.]

The board excluded Tina Ihrmark "as a person admitting a misdemeanor involving moral turpitude . . . having had immoral relations with men prior to arrival in the United States . . . and as a person likely to become a public charge." She appealed the decision. She spent three and a half months at Angel Island and another month paroled to the Florence Crittenden Home in San Francisco before the deportation order was canceled.

The Immigration Bureau had an ongoing obsession with deporting alien "anarchists." Guilt was assumed by association with known radicals, knowledge of IWW songs, and possession of radical literature. So-called anarchists were subject to surveillance, raids, arrest, and hearings driven by assumption of guilt and strong prejudice on the part of immigration inspectors. Maria cited the example of one Frederick Harold Berger, from Russia. In 1917 he was arrested in Fresno for drunkenness. When it was discovered that he possessed an IWW membership card, his fate was sealed. In Maria's words:

"Four months elapsed before the immigration inspector gave him a hearing at the Fresno jail and the Department of Labor issued a warrant of arrest. A month later, Army Intelligence ordered Berger transferred to San Francisco City Prison for four weeks, where he was arrested under warrant by the Department of Labor. Finally, Berger was taken to Angel Island where he was given a second hearing, resulting in a warrant for deportation. For the next twelve months he remained at the immigration station until he—along with two other 'IWWs' and a 'suspected IWW' and 'a convict from Folsom prison . . . awaiting deportation to Germany,'—was transferred to San Francisco County Jail 'for the reason that these men were considered dangerous characters, and their attitude was such that it was deemed unsafe to detain them at this station.' Frederick Berger remained in jail for four months until he was again taken to Angel Island. There he was incarcerated for another six months, denied legal assistance, and finally deported on the *U.S.S. Buford*, the so-called 'Red Ark,' on December 21, 1919."

My, it almost sounds as if Attorney General Ashcroft was running the show way back then.

Nevertheless, as Maria explained, non-Asian immigrants were not without resources. "Among the

strategies were petitions and letters to immigration officials, help from sympathetic individuals, the legal system itself, and assistance from immigrant aid organizations. Sheer persistence also accounted for a great deal." No doubt the other major factors in an immigrant's favor were being able to speak good English, having some money, and understanding how the system worked—to the extent that the system was comprehensible at all.

Maria's topic was most interesting, the history of the non-Asian immigration to the west coast of the United States has not been told heretofore, and she would consider turning the results of her research—and more research yet—into a book. But she needs what most if not all immigrants needed —some money—a grant. One of the things that historical research doesn't do is to put food on the table.

—Peter Browning

Biography Group

Present on Saturday 19 April at Joanne Lafler's house were Joanne herself, Jeanne McDonnell, Maria Sakovich, and Bogna Lorence-Kot. Jeanne read the selection she has written for the biography of Juana Briones based on the new information that one of Juana's sisters bore an illegitimate child, a terrible sin in her society and one that church and state discouraged with public shame and other severe measures. In one case, the governor ordered that the woman's hair should be shaved and she would display herself in that deplorable condition in the public square in front of the church when the entire community came there for Sunday mass and festivities. Private consequences would have included disgrace to the entire family.

Maria read more about the life of a female ancestor, Jane Ferguson, who emigrated to Canada at the beginning of the War of 1812 with her husband George, a Methodist minister who was also a soldier in the British army. Her primary source is George Ferguson's diary; to that she has added information from research on army life and living conditions in Britain and British North America. Maria presented a section that describes the stormy crossing of the Atlantic and arrival in Canada, conditions faced by army families in lower Canada during the years of 1812 to 1814, and George's appointment as an itinerant preacher in 1816.

Joanne read part of a new chapter in the life of her father-in-law, Harry Lafler, in which he leaves college in the summer of 1898 and goes to live in Crete, Nebraska. There he moves in the upper-class social circles of his uncle, haunts the library, where he meets his first wife, and comes under the influence of Elbert Hubbard (1856–1915), a flamboyant literary figure at the turn of the twentieth century. Hubbard was certainly not one of the two greatest living writers (along with Kipling) as Harry declared to his parents at the time, but his anti-establishment appeal for this young man, who already had literary aspirations but was not part of the Eastern intellectual elite, is easy to understand. By the end of the chapter, the young Lafler has responded to the influence of his other literary idol, Kipling, and left Nebraska for the Far West.

Bogna is also using a diary (which she has translated) as her primary source for writing about the nineteenth-century Polish educator, Klementyna Tanksa Hoffmanowa. She read from the opening section of Hoffmanowa's diary, which discusses her mother's childhood and family relationships. The group discussion of the passages from the diary has given Bogna ideas for an opening chapter, which she will present at the next session.

Georgia Wright will host the next meeting of the group, in June, at which time she will have much to report on her Parisian diarist.

—Autumn Stanley

Medieval Study Group

In March, the Medieval History Study Group met at the home of Perri Hale to discuss the issue of the 'barbarian invasions' into Europe in the tenth century. Most of the participants had read primary source material, mainly sagas and other chronicles, along with secondary materials to help provide context. The discussion focused primarily on the Vikings and other 'Norsemen' who began as raiders and went on to conquer areas as dispersed as Normandy in France, Kiev in Russia, and Sicily in the Mediterranean. The influences these peoples had on Europe in economic and cultural areas was obvious. However, primary sources dealing with the incursions of the Huns from the east that have been translated are hard to come by, as are sources about the invasions into the German lands.

Our next meeting, scheduled for late May, will focus on the year 1000 CE, and it's meaning for the time. Anyone interested in joining our discussions should please call Lorrie O'Dell at (510) 451-8682.

—Lorrie O'Dell

History Play Readers

In three sessions in March and April we read Selden Rodman's 1942 play, *The Revolutionists: A Tragedy in Three Acts*, about three black men, principals in the war of Haitian independence: Francois Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, and Henri Christophe. Their historic struggle began in 1791 with a massive slave insurrection in France's richest colony, the western part of the island of San Domingo (in 1803 renamed "Haiti," an

aboriginal word for "mountainous country"). The character of General Toussaint towers over the play: a former house slave who had been educated and kindly treated, he had the mind, the might, the wiles, the ruthlessness to see that slavery was eradicated from his country and remained eradicated despite Napoleon's plan to reinstate it. Next to this large-souled hero, his successor, Dessalines (who brought about independence by ridding the island of all whites), seems a monster, and his successor in turn, Christophe (who midway in the play collaborates with the French to deprive Toussaint of command), something of a muttonhead. In the tradition of viable historical fiction, Rodman brings these three men together on stage to interact at historic moments when in fact they were out of touch or communicating through messengers. In a story of extensive military campaigns and much movement of crowds, he observes an approximate unity of place in staging all action indoors. (In the first scene involving the slave revolt, menacing black faces are seen in the terrified planter family's drawing-room windows. Other off-stage action is reported, e.g., Christophe's agonized view of Toussaint being dragged off in chains, eventually to die of exposure in the French Alps.) Rodman admits, in his brief note at the end of the play, to having "paid only the broadest respects to Time." Thus a major early scene, set in the stage directions a few months after the 1791 insurrection, contains references to Robespierre (who did not surface historically till he took charge of the Jacobins in 1792), and ends with French Commissioner Sonthonax's 1793 gasped-out decree of racial equality, not authorized by his mother country. It is an effective scene, good historical fiction.

In our discussions of the play we left open the question of the historical importance and value of the events that form the subject of Rodman's play. It is a delicate question. Educated Americans typically know far less about Haiti's revolution than educated Haitians know about America's. A predictable corollary to this state of affairs is that most books in English on Toussaint and his times are untrustworthy. Two honorable exceptions are Anna Julia Cooper's 1925 Sorbonne dissertation, translated and edited by Frances Richardson Keller as *Slavery and the French Revolutionists* (1988), and C. L. R. James's *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1938; new ed. 1980).

From one of the less distinguished sources came the story that Toussaint committed a cold-blooded enormity in 1794, in San Rafael on the eastern side of the island: that he had 400 Spanish civilians massacred as they emerged from church. The truth, according to James, is that an associate of Toussaint—one of the leaders of the original slave revolt, which he did not join—murdered 400 French civilians as they came out of a church in Port-au-Prince in western San Domingo. This bungled atrocity story, naturally not represented in *The Revolutionists* but related to the group by the present writer from the poor source, made one group member complain that Rodman's Toussaint was "too squeaky-clean." The historical misinformation thus distorted our experience of the play. It must be conceded that once the French National Convention proclaimed racial equality and the abolition of slavery in all French dominions in 1794 (a document officially signed by the King on 4 April), Toussaint dumped royalist Spain, whose power he had been cynically using against the French, ran up the tricolor, and had all the Spanish soldiers under the command of an associate summarily knifed. He knew these troops could not follow him in his change of allegiance. As has been observed with grim exactitude, Toussaint did not go in for *unnecessary* bloodshed. This incident is fogged over by C. L. R. James and omitted by Rodman. One group member said Toussaint was a great man whom she would not like to have to dinner.

More is to be said on historical significance. Was the Haitian revolution an historical success? The answer of Rodman's play, ending with King Henry Christophe's hallucinatory conversation with the martyred Toussaint followed by his own suicide, would seem to be No. For the revolution to have ensured a prosperous, independent Haiti, Toussaint had grasped the importance of restoring the island's export economy after the slaves had seized their freedom and plantations—through military maneuvers or popular rage—had been burnt. He forced his black countrymen to return to the land as paid laborers, and recognized that he needed the former white planters, with their education and experience, to run large-scale agricultural enterprises—i.e., he revived the plantation system sans the whip and the tortures. By compulsory (paid) labor and by civil treatment of the whites he restored the scorched earth to two-thirds of its productivity prior to 1791. This staggering achievement was undermined by Christophe who, not understanding the importance of export crops, broke up the plantations into peasants' small holdings, with the inevitable development of unplanned, subsistence agriculture. Toppled from her proud revolution, Haiti has been for decades the poorest country in our hemisphere. Her fine hardwood forests have been cut down; her soil, once one of the most fertile on the planet, is exhausted. Bodily life is a miserable business, civic life so cirrhotic with corruption that Aristide—at the outset of his office an idealist, a liberation theologian—seems to have become contorted into a contemptible tyrant. (Such was the portrayal of contemporary Haiti by Peter Dailey in two articles that appeared in the March 13

and March 27, 2003 issues of *The New York Review of Books*, while we were reading the play.)

On the obverse, it is easy to point to our own pre-eminent national power and wealth and proclaim that the American Revolution succeeded. But it took the Civil War and the struggles of the mid-twentieth century to place our revolutionary rights within conceivable reach of all our people. The Declaration of Independence, the U. S. Constitution, and the Bill of Rights did not outlaw slavery: the crusade of Toussaint and his cohorts wrested it out by the roots. Napoleon, who in 1801 sent against Toussaint the largest naval expedition in world history, understood the radical potency of the black warriors' achievement. Seen in the context of its time, the Haitian revolution, which kept the country free of foreign domination for 150 years, was gigantic.

Selden Rodman died last November at 93, an enthusiast for the Haitian people and active promoter of their visual and literary art.

Other noteworthy representations of the subject matter of *The Revolutionists* are long poems by Alphonse de Lamartine and by John Greenleaf Whittier; and an opera, *Toussaint*, by David Blake, which premiered in London in 1977. The best-known tribute to Toussaint's revolution in our language is Wordsworth's 1803 apostrophe:

Though fallen thyself, never to rise again,
Live, and take comfort. Thou hast left behind
Powers that will work for thee; air, earth, and skies;
There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies;
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

—Anne Richardson

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Fulbright Scholar Program

The Fulbright Scholar Program is offering lecturing/research awards in some 140 countries for faculty and professionals for the 2004–2005 academic year.

Opportunities are available not only for college and university faculty and administrators, but also for professionals from business and government, as well as journalists, lawyers, scientists, artists, independent scholars, and many others.

Traditional Fulbright awards are available from two months to an academic year or longer. A new short-term grants program—the Fulbright Senior Specialists Program—offers two-to-six-week grants in a variety of disciplines and fields.

While foreign language skills are needed in some countries, most Fulbright lecturing assignments are in English. Some eighty percent of the awards are for lecturing.

Application deadlines for 2004–2005 awards are: 1 May, 2003 for Fulbright Distinguished Chair awards in Europe, Canada and Russia, and 1 August, 2003 for Fulbright traditional lecturing and research grants worldwide. There is a rolling deadline for Fulbright Senior Specialists Program

For information, contact the Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES) at 3007 Tilden Street, NW, Suite 5L, Washington, DC 20008-3009. Telephone: 202-686-7877; E-mail: apprequest@cies.iie.org. Information and an online application are also available on the Web at http://www.cies.org.

The Fulbright Scholar Program is sponsored by the United States Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. Susan Sharp, Higher Education Liaison Officer, Fulbright Scholar Program, Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3007 Tilden Street NW, Suite 5L, Washington, DC 20008. Tel: 202-686-6242. Fax: 202-362-3442.

—Lorrie O'Dell

Archaeological Dig

I am writing a biography of Juana Briones and am on the board of the Juana Briones Heritage Foundation, and thus I wish to extend to our members an invitation that will also be sent to several other history organizations.

There will be an archaeological dig this summer at the site of the residences occupied by the Briones and Miramontes families at the Presidio of San Francisco. According to a map of the Presidio dated 1820, their two houses were side-by-side at Polin Spring. Visitors to the dig are welcome to drop by between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. any weekday between 21 July and 15 August. Two detailed tours, including a visit to the laboratory, are scheduled for Tuesday 22 July at 10:30 a.m. and Friday 15 August at 2 p.m. No reservation necessary. Polin Spring is at the south end of MacArthur Avenue. A map can be acquired at the Presidio Visitor Center.

—Jeanne McDonnell

MEMBERSHIP NEWS

Peter Browning has published *Working for Wages: On the Road in the Fifties*. a personal memoir of almost a decade spent on a driveaway job from Detroit to Los Angeles in days of yore—that is, between May 1949 and December 1958. A humorous and moving account (i.e., you might be moved to laughter, anger, or annoyance) of a vanished way of life in a country that has changed beyond belief during the past fifty

years. These are true tales, with the names changed to protect the innocent and the guilty alike. The price is $15.95. Institute members can get a copy directly from Peter for $15.00, which will include tax and mailing.

Sunny Herman's article "Solidarity Abroad: Alva Myrdal's Campaign for the Developing Nations" will be published this summer in the *Research Reports* of Uppsala University in Sweden. This essay is based on a talk that Sunny gave at the March 2002 conference in Sweden celebrating the centennial of Myrdal's birth. An IHS grant financed her research trip to Stockholm and Uppsala.

Maria Sakovich was the guest curator for an exhibition entitled "La Nostra Storia: Italian Americans in Richmond (The Immigrant Generation as Recounted by their Children)" for the Richmond Museum of History, Richmond, California. The exhibit opened on 13 April and will remain until 22 June.

On 7 May, Maria gave a paper at the Association for Asian American Studies annual meeting: "The Non-Asian Experience at the Angel Island Immigration Station: Does It Matter?" This was a short version of her California Round Table presentation in February and the work-in-progress that she will give in June.

NEW MEMBERS

Martha Kinney is an Adjunct Instructor at Los Medanos College, and is working on her dissertation at Pennsylvania State University. Her specialty is nineteenth-century Germany, with a special interest in the formation of national identity among German Catholics. She was welcomed as a member in February.

Kerrin Meis is an art historian, with teaching experience that ranges from San Francisco State University and the College of Marin to Elder Hostel classes. She commented on her application: "I'm very interested in what other independent scholars are doing—where their research is leading them—and perhaps I can be inspired to write more than the one-page, one-hour lecture!" Her application was approved in March.

Richard Perruso, a new member as of April, is hoping for the "opportunity to occasionally present papers on topics I am working on." Currently a Visiting Scholar at Boalt Hall School of Law, Richard's specialty is the history of Roman and Canon law, particularly concerning the privileges of widows and orphans in the medieval and early modern periods of European history.

CALENDAR

May	**18**	Work-in-Progress by Richard Herr on "100 Years of U.S. Historians of Spain."
June	**15–16**	Retreat at Hetch-Hetchy.
June	**22**	Work-in-Progress by Maria Sakovich. (Title unavailable).
July	**13**	Annual Picnic and History Bee—place to be announced.
Sept.	**13**	California Round Table at the home of Jules Becker. A discussion of publishing and getting published by Peter Browning and Malcolm E. Barker. All members are invited.
Sept.	**21**	Annual Membership Potluck Dinner—place to be announced.

ALL THE NEWS—Continued

(Alternative sources)

The InterActivist Info Exchange. "The Info Exchange provides original content and links to important or interesting stories on the net."

Konscious: 9/11 & Beyond: Independent Voices Speak. ". . . collection of video responses to, and reflections on, the changes thrust upon communities since 9/11. Voices of the people, from the streets."

MichaelMoore.com. From the creator of the film *Roger and Me,* the television show *The Awful Truth,* and the film *Bowling for Columbine.*

Media Education Foundation: Beyond the Frame. "Alternative views on the September 11th atrocities" with "streaming video featuring America's leading dissident thinkers and activists."

Mid-East Realities. "News, Views, and Analysis that Governments, Lobbies, and Associated Interest Groups Don't Want You to Know."

Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP). "MERIP provides news and perspectives about the Middle East not available from mainstream news sources."

Mother Jones. *Mother Jones* is an independent, non-profit magazine that focuses on issues of social justice, the environment, politics,and popular culture.

***The Nation:* September 11, 2001.** "*The Nation* website will offer continuing reporting, analysis, commentary and investigation on the terror attacks and their aftermath on this special page."

News for Change. "WorkingForChange is a comprehensive Web site made up of resources for people with progressive values."

NY Transfer: Middle East Page. "All the news that doesn't fit."

OMB Watch: The Post-September 11 Environment: Access to Government Information ". . .

provides an inventory of government information that has been withheld since the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks."

OneWorld.net. "OneWorld is dedicated to harnessing the democratic potential of the internet to promote human rights and sustainable development."

EDITOR'S NOTE

Please send all of your *Newsletter* material to Peter Browning. You may use any PC word-processing format—or as a PC-ASCII file if you use a Macintosh. It is highly desirable to send hard copy as well as computer files, e-mail submissions, or e-mail attachments. When files are changed from one format to another, paragraph endings are sometimes lost—or, what is worse, every line has a paragraph ending. And should you send me something that I can't open, I can scan the hard copy and thereby reproduce your deathless prose perfectly.

Send book reviews and books to be reviewed to Autumn Stanley. Please also send Membership News to Peter Browning.

Deadline for the Summer 2003 *Newsletter:* **30 July.**

The *Newsletter* is sent to all members. Non-members who wish to receive it and to get regular announcements of Institute events are invited to make tax-deductible contributions to assist with the cost of printing and mailing.

Direct membership inquiries to:
Membership Chair, P.O. Box 5743,
Berkeley, CA 94705

The Institute is affiliated with the National Coalition of Independent Scholars (NCIS) and with the American Historical Association (AHA).

The Newsletter is the official publication of the Institute for Historical Study, a scholarly organization designed to promote the research, writing, and public discussion of history. Membership in the Institute is open to independent and academically affiliated scholars who are in agreement with its aims and who have a commitment to historical study. Membership inquiries should be sent to the Institute address.

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