The Institute for Historical Study
Newsletter

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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Thank you, board members and non-board members who braved the one-lane road up to my home in the Livermore hills to attend our meeting in June. I really appreciated the warm discussion of various issues. A special thanks to Joanne Lafler and Perri Hale, who agreed to serve as board numbers. I accepted Sunny Herman's resignation with regret. Thank you, Sunny, for your years of service as our secretary.

If you have not visited our organization's web site, I encourage you to do so. John Rusk is doing an excellent job of keeping it up to date and would welcome any suggestions for other links or comments. <www.tihs.org>

The Hetch Hetchy trip is on again with new dates—October 3, 4, & 5. Enough people have signed up to ensure that the outing to this beautiful historic valley will happen, but more members and spouses would be welcome. Call Georgia Wright for details. In research for my book, I have been learning about the influence of the Hetch Hetchy Project on Livermore. The tunneling through our hills kept Livermore afloat during the Depression.

Briones Park, the site for the annual picnic this year, worked out very well. The weather in the inland valley was warm, but the picnic tables were in the shade of large oak trees by a creek. Thank you, Joanne and John Lafler, for designing the history bee this year. Unfortunately, I had to leave before that tradition unfolded, but I understand that it was fun. Joanne and John found an old book that contained eighteenth-century riddle poems with historic persons' names as the answers. The food, as usual, was great, and the dogs definitely gave the site four stars (bones?).

Our annual membership pot luck is on Sunday, 21 September at Jeanne McDonnell's home in Palo Alto. Lorrie will be sending directions. Don't miss this chance to visit and share good eats as well as ideas. I will be returning from my fiftieth high school reunion in Baltimore on that day—if I survive all the baggage checks, I should be at Jeanne's to help celebrate our historic friendships. We can wish bon voyage to Ellen Huppert and Georgia Wright, who will be representing us at the board meeting of NCIS in Washington, DC in October.

—Anne Homan

ANNUAL MEETING

(from February)
The reports are by the presenters.

Ellen Huppert
GO WEST YOUNG MAN

My paternal grandparents courted through the mail in the year 1903. My grandfather was in Montana, while my grandmother was at home with her family in Michigan. The letters are interesting in the insights they provide about the correspondents and their families, but they also provide information about western Montana and about middle-class family life in the Midwest. In this essay, I looked at how a pious young man lived in the fairly raucous environment of western Montana.

My grandfather had gone to Montana in 1902, probably for his health, since he had been diagnosed with tuberculosis. He found work selling subscriptions for the *Helena Record,* a daily newspaper. That took him into small towns, mining camps, Indian reservation, and farms, all in western Montana near his base in Missoula. He took great pleasure in the people he met and the mountainous country he traveled through.

Still, he was lonely, being for the first time out of touch with any family members. He found it difficult to connect with the middle-class families who had begun to convert western Montana from a frontier mining society. While he had a number of contacts through his Albion college experience, he was not included in any social events. As a life-long advocate of temperance, he was uncomfortable in the society of young men who frequented saloons. His solution was to help promote the newly founded YMCA in Missoula, which provided an alternative to hanging out in saloons.

Once my grandparents married and settled in Montana, there should have been more possibilities for creating an appropriate social circle and opportunities for more of the community building my grandfather had attempted with the YMCA. However, his early death, in 1907, ended any such attempts.

Joanne Lafler

My presentation dealt with the issue of how, as a family biographer, I begin with primary documents: personal papers, photographs, and artifacts whose historical background is unfamiliar to me, and for which I need a broader perspective. For the first chapter alone I have explored a wide range of subjects, from the migration of Dutch immigrants to New York state in the late eighteenth century to land grant universities in the Midwest. Although little of this background material will find its way into the finished biography, it has enriched my understanding on many levels.

By way of illustration, I discussed the research inspired by an unpublished memoir written by the paternal grandfather of my biographical subject, Henry Anderson Lafler. John Addison Lafler was born in what is now Ontario County, New York in 1814. The memoir, written when he was "three score and seven of the other ten," deals with the Lafler family origins (hence, my reading about Dutch immigration in North America) and his parents' experiences in the Rochester area at the time of the War of 1812 (more reading, this time about a subject barely remembered from elementary school American history). It describes in some details the farm John's parents moved to in Ontario County, where John and five of his siblings were born and where he spent the first nine years of his life. Peter Lafler was a successful farmer, even during the famously cold summers of 1815 and 1816. "But," as John writes, " here My Father could not be contented to live. He must have more Land." And so, in a story familiar throughout American history, the family moved once more: to Niagara County, in the so-called Holland Purchase, where land was cheaper. (More reading for the researcher, about land developers and the settlement of the frontier in western New York State.)

There is a detailed description of the journey by ox-drawn wagon to their new land, with a stop in Rochester to visit family members. And one notable omission. Traveling northwest in November of 1823, the Laflers would have had to cross the Erie Canal east of Rochester. They could not have missed the spectacular aqueduct over the Genesee River at Rochester, an engineering marvel that had just been completed, to great fanfare, two months earlier. (One study I read asserts that the building of the canal created American engineering as a profession.) Yet John says nothing about the canal, dwelling instead on reaching their new land, clearing it, and building a new log house, into which the family moved in January of 1824. Here the memoir ends—the story of a frontier childhood, fondly remembered in old age. Yet historians must note that by 1823–24 the frontier was being transformed by modern technology. In Lockport, only four miles away from the new Lafler farm, another marvel of modern engineering, the canal's famous set of five double locks, was reaching completion.

I concluded my presentation by noting that although most of my research will never reach the pages of the biography, the process of contextualizing the memoir, of filling in its blanks, allows me to say with confidence that the history of the Lafler family in New York State recapitulates the larger history of westward movements in America.

Maria Sakovich

In the introduction to my paper, "Recreating pasts when facts are scarce: family history and historical context,"I briefly explored how the field of family history has been dominated by genealogists—family history in many circles is synonymous with genealogy—but kept at arms' length by "professional historians." The latter who do address the topic argue that the writers of family histories do not need to know a great deal about the historical context of their families.

I argued, however, that sometimes an understanding of the historical context may be the only way to bring to life those ancestors who have left few records, frequently women or poorly educated ancestors, for example. One can bring to life aspects of the ancestor's story, highlighting the historical forces (including gender, race, and class) that may have constrained or liberated one's actions, suggesting motivations for decisions, and offering details of everyday life.

In addition to providing knowledge about the "strangeness and difference of the past" and recognition of connectedness that transcends "strangeness and difference," family historians may also make an important psychological contribution. Even when one knows a great deal about a parent or grandparent, historical context may provide critical information that explains behavior or motivation, or at least suggests what larger forces—socioeconomic, political—may have influenced a decision. Understanding how much we can be agent and how much our hands are tied by historical processes might enable one to live with more satisfaction—or at least with more understanding.

In the remainder of my paper I shared details of two family histories that I had researched and

written: one of a female ancestor who came to British North America during the war of 1812 as the wife of a soldier, and the other for a client whose father had fled Russia during the Bolshevik revolution. I concluded by suggesting that historians, with their skills of investigation, analysis, and careful assessment of the evidence in a responsible manner are particularly well equipped to satisfy the very human curiosity about ancestors.

WORK IN PROGRESS

David Rosen
(A WIP from April 1999)
Four years late, but no matter.
History ages, yet doesn't grow old.

The inner emigration of Prof. Victor Klemperer, 1933–1939.

Victor Klemperer was a highly respected Jewish professor of linguistics and French literature in Dresden, who survived the Hitler era by immersing himself in research and writing about the enlightenment. Assisted by his Protestant wife and many friends and sympathizers, he spent the pre-war Nazi years in his tiny house near Dresden. Ironically, his house was left standing after the allied bombings and he and his wife moved back home after the war.

A fervent German patriot, Klemperer dismissed the Nazis as "ungerman" and transitory until the occupation of the Rhineland in early 1936. His unshakable belief in democracy and reason combined with his life-long intellectual detachment to buffer him from understanding the initial seduction of the desperate masses by Hitler and Goebbels. As a veteran "frontkämpfer" and assimilated professional he felt immune to the initial harassment and persecution of the German Jews.

While the new regime boasted a series of victories in the mid-1930s, Klemperer became fascinated by the philology of the Third Reich. The increasing militarization and subjugation of the German language to Nazi aims became the focus of his insights into the new regime. His notes on the psychology of language later crystallized into his most famous work, *The Language of the Third Reich*, an analysis of the metamorphosis of the spoken word. His intense reactions to the propaganda of the era shed new light on the success of the Nazis.

Victor Klemperer lost his position at the technische hochschule. He watched many friends emigrate, and his family dismissed him as a scoundrel for refusing to leave German soil. Subjected to unending official harassments and isolation, he conceived of his 5,000-plus page diary as a kind of time capsule for the "Fourth Reich" should he not survive the current one. That Klemperer emerged from his "inner emigration" in 1945 was due to his steadfast faith in *deutschtum* and his refusal to equate Nazism with the German spirit. Heroic support was provided on the personal level by a great many Christians from all social strata, particularly by his wife, Eva.

Moreover, Klemperer, along with so many other émigrés abroad, dedicated his work in the 1930s to preserving the "ark of German culture." Finally, his life forms a part of the continuing German-Jewish symbiosis, which appeared to have ended so dramatically.

—David Rosen

Ross R. Maxwell

On Saturday 19 April, Institute members gathered at the home of Nancy Zinn in San Francisco to hear Ross Maxwell present "Interdependence and Jane Jacobs' Law of Intractable Systemic Corruption." Ross's talk summarized findings from five papers on the nature of civilization that he has given over the past decade at the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations. His research on the role of cities in civilization led him to the seminal, but as yet generally unrecognized, book by Jane Jacobs, *Systems of Survival: Dialog on the Moral Foundations of Commerce and Politics* (1992).

In her investigation of the economy of cities, Jane Jacobs collected sayings, precepts, and aphorisms from the work world, from which she compiled a list of moral virtues and vices. She discovered that some work-world traits were universally esteemed, such as cooperation (she calls it the master virtue), plus "courage, moderation, mercy, common sense, foresight, judgment, competence, perseverance, faith, energy, patience and wisdom." She also discovered that some work-world moral traits fall into two sets that are mutually incompatible, because a trait considered a virtue in one set, is considered a vice in the other. She calls the two sets moral syndromes, since each set consists of interrelated traits that consistently occur together.

The first set of incompatible virtues she calls the Commercial Moral Syndrome. It consists of traits associated with trade and the commercial life, such as "giving honest weight, finding customers, competing successfully with other commercial people." The function of the commercial moral syndrome is to develop and maintain trading relationships. Trade is so beneficial, that its loss provides a powerful prod for people to innovate in order to regain the trade or to develop a new trading relationship. Over time, knowledge of traits that foster or hinder trade will become part of a trading culture; thus, the Commercial Moral Syndrome self-organizes. Both parties to a trade need to trust each other; hence the moral

bypasses the city center. Yet there are many architectural beauties to be seen there.

Tony Kilgallin has brought to life a large number of buildings in the city of Napa, as well as the other Napa County cities of St. Helena and Calistoga. Each building discussed is illustrated with historic or new photos. There are also historic photos showing some of the people who might have worked or lived in the old buildings: school graduating classes, parades, or groups of businessmen.

In addition to fostering an appreciation of the rich variety of building styles and types, the book can serve as a kind of guide to the history of the county. Early commerce was carried out by boats on the river, and houses built for shippers remain on Brown Street. The Sawyer Tanning building represents the importance of wool, tallow and hides to the local economy. The Lisbon Winery building (1880–84) is the only remaining sign of the number of enterprises making wine within Napa itself.

The buildings described are largely vernacular, with no known architect responsible. They represent a variety of styles and periods, from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1930s. The oldest surviving buildings are on the outskirts of the city, such as the Old Adobe, dating from 1845, and the Clyman house of 1850, on Redwood Road.

Among the most interesting buildings are the commercial and industrial sites. The stone Borreo Building (1887) and the wooden Noyes-Newman Building (1890) illustrate the variety of building materials, while they share false fronts hiding their simple gable roofs.

Residences range from the relatively plain stick style of a house at 2041 Main Street (1890) to elaborate Queen Anne homes, such as that at 1005 Jefferson. In most cases, Tony identifies the original owner, and he describes alterations that have been made. Tony's descriptions, if followed carefully, constitute a primer of architectural styles and details.

Among the buildings that were architect-designed, the work of Luther M. Turton is the most notable. He designed houses in a variety of styles, commercial buildings in brick and in stone, and the handsome stone Goodman Library of 1902.

The later chapters on St. Helena, Calistoga, and "Rural Retreats" are not as exhaustive as that on Napa itself. For example, there is no discussion of downtown St. Helena, of the Greystone winery building which now houses the Culinary Institute of America, or the lavish house at Beringer Winery. On the other hand, Kilgallin introduces such treasures as the stone ruins of the Napa Soda Springs Resort and the monument on Browns Valley Road that commemorates the first local assessment in California to finance a macadamized road.

Some of the photos are misplaced, not fitting the description below, and one photo is identified as two different buildings. Only the first quarter of the book could used as a guide to walking, while the rest of the sites would require driving. An index and a map of downtown Napa would have been helpful.

These shortcomings notwithstanding, this book is a valuable guide to the architecture of Napa County. The next time I visit the Wine Country, I will have Kilgallin's book under my arm.

—Ellen Huppert

GROUP REPORTS

Medieval History Study Group

In May, the Medieval History Study Group met at the home of Nancy Zinn, and the discussion focused on the "First Millennium" (1000 CE). Our readings made it clear that most people at that time had very little awareness of that year as one of any special significance, and those that did seemed to have exaggerated the effect upon the general population. We also discussed the different historical meanings of the words 'millennium' and 'apocalypse' and how these words came to be used in different contexts.

In July, we gathered at the home of Lyn Reese, and the session began with a short presentation by Lyn of slides from her recent trip to Croatia. She focused on the city of Dubrovnik, and described the city in its historical context as a small trading city-state that kept its independence because it was able to using its trading skills to make the deals necessary to keep larger, expanding city-states at bay.

After Lyn's presentation, the group turned to the topic for the day, the Investiture Controversy of the eleventh century, when the Emperor Henry IV battled Pope Gregory VII over the temporal authority of the Papacy. The main question seemed to be—who won? After Gregory excommunicated him, Henry was forced to journey in winter to the Italian castle at Canossa and wait in the snow for the Pope to accept his contrition. However, by the time the conflict was over, Henry was back on his throne and Gregory was dying in exile. The long-term implication of the Papacy's claim to have the right to depose emperors and kings appears to be that later kings became more and more wary of the power of the church and acted to contain it.

The assignment for our next meeting, scheduled for August, is to read and be ready to discuss issues surrounding the conquest of England by William the Conqueror in 1066.

—Lorrie O'Dell

scholar of Spanish literature. When he was traveling in Europe, Prescott decided to devote himself to writing history, and after ten years he published *The History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic.* This work was followed by his *History of the Conquest of Mexico,* a *History of the Conquest of Peru,* and a *History of the Reign of Phillip II, King of Spain.* Prescott, too, was elected a corresponding member of the Spanish Royal Academy of History, as well as of the Royal Academy of Berlin. The popularity of his work may be judged by the fact that his three-volume work on Ferdinand and Isabella had, by 1900, gone through sixty-four editions in the U. S. and thirty-three editions in England. Today, Prescott's work is more appreciated for its literary qualities than for the historiographical achievement it represented at the time of its publication, but Prescott had tremendous influence on later American historians of Spain.

Among these was Roger Bigelow Merriman (1876–1945), a truly professional historian. Educated at Harvard and Oxford, where he received his PhD in 1902, he joined the Harvard faculty. Inspired by Prescott, whose library he had at Harvard, he introduced a course on the history of Spain, and subsequently wrote *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New,* his major work, which he dedicated to Prescott.

While at Harvard, Merriman nurtured a number of students who went on to work on one or another aspect of Spanish history–such as Julius Klein, Henry L. Seaver, Garrett Mattingly—and Richard Herr himself, who states that "It pleases me to think that through [Merriman] I can claim to be an intellectual descendant of Prescott."

—Dan Wages

Georgia Wright

"L'inconnu connu!" These were words that Georgia Wright never expected to hear when she first began research on the work of an anonymous Parisian diarist of 1792–1798. But anyone who knows Georgia will not be surprised to learn that with help from a professional genealogist in Paris—worth more than his weight in euros—the unknown man is at last known. At Nancy Zinn's house on 22 June she recounted the story of her search for "A Man on the Margins in the French Revolution."

In addition to an account of the writer's daily activities during the height of the Revolution, the Terror and the Directory, which are fascinating in themselves, the 365-page diary contained many useful clues—the location of his Paris residence, his work places, his friends, and the fact that he served as an agent for his aunt, with power of attorney to collect rents. In the end, genealogist Patrick Gossein unearthed a power of attorney document, which included a letter from the aunt that revealed the name of the heretofore unknown diarist: Bernard François Simon Despréaux. This information opened the door to further genealogical investigation. Georgia now knows the place and dates of Despréaux's birth (Nièvre, 4 February, 1743) and death (Auvers, 21 February, 1819), the names of his parents, his aunt's full name, the identities of his aunt's son-in-law, and the full names of friends mentioned in the diary.

But that's not all! (as they say in late-night television commercials). When Georgia went to Paris in June, her estimable genealogist continued to turn up valuable documents, and he did battle with bureaucrats at the National Archives to facilitate her research. From the diary, she knew that Despréaux's beloved young Émilie died from tuberculosis in 1792. Now she found a record of his marriage, twelve years later. And therein lies a new fascination. His wife, Marie Anne Hertier, was one of a family of servants who worked for his aunt. Moreover, after Despréaux's death Marie married a peasant, which Georgia believes is further evidence of her peasant status. While it would not have been unusual for a man of his social class to have a liaison with a servant, and impregnate her, the reason for their marriage (a month before their daughter was born) remains mysterious.

Among the documents turned up by Patrick was a many-paged inventory of the contents of Valmondois, the Provigny's country house outside of Paris. Since Despréaux had visited there as a child, it had a special significance for Georgia. How wonderful, then, that her research trip to France was capped by a visit to Valmondois (still owned by Provigny descendants), which she was able to inspect and photograph. She shared these photographs, as well as photocopies of various documents, with her listeners.

Georgia expects to learn even more about the formerly "inconnu" diarist, but for the moment the search itself is a great adventure.

—Joanne Lafler

BOOK REVIEW

Napa: An Architectural Walking Tour. Anthony Raymond Kilgallin. Arcadia: 2001. Paperback, illustrated, $19.99.

This is a book after my own heart. There is nothing I enjoy more than walking the streets of a city armed with information about the buildings to be seen.

Napa is a famous name throughout the world, but mostly for the wine of the valley. The city of Napa is little known or seen, especially since Highway 29

control as needed, and abstract ideals (ideology) of sufficient weight to sway voluntary human behavior or to influence group culture sufficiently for individuals to go along with the group. As I see it, the division between church and state corresponds to this guardian division between ideals and power. In purely practical terms, the separation provides potential flexibility and innovativeness, that combining them does not. Moreover, in the West this separation goes back to the eleventh century in the battle between pope and emperor, and is a key reason why since that time the West has bit-by-bit out stripped the Moslem world in science, innovative commerce, and military strength, even though during the eleventh Century the Moslems were more advanced.

Question: How are we to reconcile, on the one hand, that we today feel it is correct to respect all other societies—that they are somehow equal. Yet, on the other hand, there are societies that practice clitoridectomy, or stone women for involuntary sexual indiscretions, such as being raped. So, are all cultures equal? And the related questions, how does Western Civilization fit into this question, and are there universal moral traits? Response: This political correctness moral dilemma stems, I suggest, from two conflicting ideals, both of which grew out of the sharing moral syndrome. On the one hand, sharing builds community, and so we desire to extend our sense of community to include the world. To share requires respecting others, and not lording it over them. In particular, we now recognize that all value systems are part of a culture, and that our Western value system is not necessarily better than any other. On the other hand, I suggest that the sense of persons being equal within a sharing community is one source of our feeling that all persons have an equal right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." This sense of equality of persons is reinforced by the trading moral syndrome. As was pointed out, with money we are all equal. Thus, for example, it was Coca Cola executives who said, in effect, enough of this racial bickering, it is hurting business, and lined up the Atlanta business community to embrace integration. Since many in the West have now extended personhood to include women, our biggest cultural conflict seems to be with societies that have not yet done so.

Extending community and equality of persons are abstract ideals and so have a universal feel about them. Abstract ideals are also inherently hierarchical in the sense that these ideals, if followed, are superior to one's self, which suggests that these abstract ideals exist within the guardian realm (and hence the source of the term 'political' in political correctness).

Question: If power grows out of a guardian hierarchy, then how does this correlate with a personal sense of power—of empowerment? Response: Power deals with control in one way or another. Examples: wealth able to control resources; an army physically controlling a territory; an inner control derived from a respect and obedience for laws, rules, and regulations; a cultural control (this is the way we do things); or a feeling that one has some control over one's own life. A sense of personal power cannot grow if any one of the three moral syndromes is dominant. Unless you are rich enough (or willing to sacrifice), the trading system in our corporate world can "enslave" us to our desks. Likewise, freedom does not grow out of a system of obedience to guardian institutions. Finally, in a pure sharing system, the importance of the group overshadows our personal independence. What is needed is a balance between the three systems.

As I see it, the balance cannot come from the guardians as a rule or ideal. Rather, it derives ultimately from an extension of the sharing virtue of harmony, transformed for civilization. The civilizing virtue that spans all three moral syndromes, is, I suggest, restraint. For example, we respect and do not wantonly destroy property, whether public or private, nor is murder condoned. However, a barbarian may lack this sense of restraint. This suggests that war is a lapse into barbarism.

—Ross R. Maxwell

Richard Herr

On Sunday 18 May at the home of Georgia Wright, Richard Herr spoke on "American Historical Writing on Early Modern Spain—The First Century."

Richard pointed out a number of reasons that Americans, after gaining independence from Great Britain, were particularly interested in Spain. For one thing, the new nation's borders, except that with Canada, faced lands that belonged to Spain. Although Napoleon gained the Louisiana Territory in 1800, three years later he sold it to the United States—and once again the young nation had Spanish lands across its borders.

The first of the American historians to make a name for himself by writing about Spain was Washington Irving (1783–1859). He learned Spanish while traveling in Europe, and in Madrid was fortunate to gain access to some of the Spanish archives. He proceeded to write and publish *The History and Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828) and *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (1829). Based on these books, Irving was elected a corresponding member of the Spanish Royal Academy of History.

His books were also well received and widely read in the United States, and they inspired an interest in Spain in William Prescott (1796–1859), an interest which was strengthened while Prescott was at Harvard by his association with George Ticknor, a

societies and still is applicable for sharing groups and communities today.

The Sharing and Mutual Aid Moral Syndrome functions to protect and enhance a sense of community, so in turn community members will provide mutual support when needed. The long-term feedback mechanism is whether community survives or not, hence the moral traits: avoid strife, loyalty to the group, strong in-group/out-group sense, group solidarity, distrust strangers, Take vengeance on outsiders who attack the group, and adhere to tradition. The short-term feedback mechanism is a sense of harmony; hence, seek harmony in the group, deceive (and hide feelings) for the sake of group harmony (e.g., tell white lies), personal relations matter (in contrast to the impersonal forces of the guardian and trading systems), and consensus decision making (leadership via persuasion and innate authority, not an exercise of coercive power.) Sharing groups are egalitarian—extant hunting societies are strongly egalitarian. One gives away one's possessions to avoid jealousy. Seek status through skill and reputation, and not by accumulating wealth or possessions, or by taking more than one's fair share, or by dominating; hence, shun those who seek power. Community enhancement traits include promoting connections through gifts, sharing fosters community and enhances trust in the group, and—most critical for our sense of justice—share fairly, and a fair share is traditionally defined by each society.

Second, Ross used Jane Jacobs' identifying cooperation as the master virtue to help him refine his understanding both of the nature of civilization and of moral syndromes. He realized that the three systems of survival (trading, taking and sharing) have associated cooperative systems (trading system, guardian system, and sharing community) and that the function of a moral syndrome is the creation and maintenance a cooperative system. Moreover, the advantages of maintaining a cooperative system is so important that the associated moral syndrome self-organizes.

Cooperation depends upon building and maintaining trust.

A sharing system is transparently a cooperative system, with trust growing by building a sense of community.

Trade from an ecological point of view is a symbiotic relationship where two parties can do together what neither can do alone. Trade is a cooperative system, where the trading partners, while trying to get the best deal, cooperate, in the sense of honoring their contract, whether implied or in writing. Moreover, the trading world depends upon an enormous amount of trust, which grows by honoring contracts, both implicit and explicit.

Guardian institutions, to be effective, depend upon the cooperation of participants. Because of the hierarchical nature of guardian institutions, cooperation takes the form of obedience. At its simplest, a leader needs to trust that his or her order will be carried out.

Ross's understanding of the importance of cooperative systems grew out of his recognition that specialization and interdependence are two sides of the same coin. From this perspective civilization consists of those material, social, economic, political, religious, psychological aspects and components associated with, supportive of, and/or made up of specialized individuals connected through webs of interdependence. (For example, a city is a location where interdependent and specialized individuals, organizations, and commercial enterprises interact and trade with one another on a frequent basis, plus an infrastructure of streets, buildings, water works, etc. that supports the interaction and population needed to provide both the range of specialties and the markets needed by the specialties.) In civilization, even the cooperative systems have become specialized and hence interdependent. That is, the three cooperative systems are in a symbiotic relationship with each other—they can accomplish together what they cannot do alone.

The discussion was wide-ranging. The group offered suggestions on possible next steps, comments, and questions. [Note: since I am writing up my own works-in-progress, I have used this opportunity to formulate better responses to questions.]

Question: the lists of virtues and vices appear to be ideal types, how do they relate to the actualities of history, of time and place? Response: First, Jane Jacobs provides numerous historical and contemporary examples, and gives them names, such as 'rancid cooperation,' as when a municipal building inspector expects a kickback; thus, to expedite the process, builders feel compelled to make a payment under the table, but they never like it. Second, the moral syndrome approach provides a new way of seeing for historians and social scientists. Thus, while the list of ideal-type traits is helpful in guiding the search, the key discovery will be finding a virtue that has turn negative—that is to say, an application of Jane Jacobs' Law of Intractable Systemic Corruption. The *San Francisco Chronicle* almost daily contains a story where a virtue has turned into a vice. We intuitively sense this, but, I suggest, the moral syndrome approach provides a better way to articulate the nature of such a corruption.

Question: Unlike the Moslems, we in the West believe in separation of church and state. Is separation correct? Response: The guardian system has two components, both hierarchical— hierarchical institutions, such as governments able to project power and

syndrome traits are to shun force, to come to voluntary agreements, to be honest, to respect contracts, to be optimistic, and to collaborate easily with strangers and aliens. Trades do not fall out of the sky; so the parties need to be industrious, to compete, to be open to inventiveness and novelty, to promote comfort and convenience, to use initiative and enterprise, and to dissent for the sake of the task—all in order to provide something worth trading. In order to prepare for trades, the parties need to be thrifty, be efficient, and invest for productive purposes.

The second set of incompatible virtues she calls, borrowing a term from Plato, the Guardian Moral Syndrome. These traits are associated with those responsible for the guidance and protection of society and for "protecting, acquiring, exploiting, administering or controlling territories," such as armies, police, justice systems, and bureaucracies. In addition, ministers, rabbis, priests, and bishops of traditional religions fill a guardian role, as well as does the Sierra Club and other environmental organizations that attempt to preserve territory from exploitation by commercial interests.

To defend society and territory requires guardians to be effective and willing to sacrifice self, hence the moral syndrome traits of: exert prowess, be obedient and disciplined, be exclusive, be loyal, respect hierarchy, take vengeance, deceive for the sake of the task, show fortitude, and be fatalistic. Also shun trading, lest the guardian fail in his or her duty by selling out. On a day-to-day basis each society must rely on memory, tradition, and imagined possible threats to judge the worth of their guardian's work and morals, hence the need to respect tradition. The authority needed for guardian work is enhanced by the personal status of guardians and by respect for the guardian institutions. Thus, respect hierarchy, be loyal, be ostentatious, dispense largesse, treasure honor, and make rich use of leisure, all of which function to increase status and respect in non-threatening situations. In threatening situations, the very defense of society provides the needed status and authority.

Jane Jacobs' proposed Law of Intractable Systemic Corruption refers to the fact that a virtue from one moral syndrome becomes a vice when applied to the other, and visa versa. For example, trading, the prime function of the commercial world, leads to bribery and corruption if done by guardians. In another example, use of force would hurt trade, since trading partners need to come to voluntary agreements, whereas the guardians cannot rely on voluntary agreements to maintain law and order, and may need to use force. In yet another example, traders need to be efficient, since for a guardian institution to apply efficiency as a criteria can lead to corruption, as when an arrest quota for police leads to false arrests.

Jane Jacobs linked each moral syndrome to its own 'system of survival,' trading and taking. The commercial world makes a living through trade. The guardian world makes a living by taking—via taxes, tithes, rents, and tribute and/or booty. Jane Jacobs also points out that the trading and guardian worlds are in a symbiotic relationship. They need each other, and can do together what neither can do alone. The trading world needs the guardians to maintain the peace and enforce honest weights and measures, etc. The guardians need the trading world to generate sufficient surplus for the guardians to survive by taxing, etc. Ross suggests that Jane Jacobs' major finding is that the commercial world has a moral system of equal importance to the moral system of the guardian world. She points out that both democracy and science come out of and flourish in commercial cultures that value honesty and innovation (such as Greece and northwest Europe) and not from guardian cultures.

Doris Linder, Anne Homan, Bernard Wishy, and Lyn Reese at a Work in Progress.

Ross's work on the nature and evolution of civilization provided him a framework to expand Jane Jacobs' analysis in two important ways.

First, Ross added a third system of survival—in addition to taking and trading there is sharing. In discussion with Jane Jacobs, she agreed with him that sharing is a third 'system of survival,' but that in the modern work world sharing is both much weaker and smaller in scale than either the trading system or the power of governments. Sharing, however, was the dominant moral syndrome for early smaller and simpler

Edith Piness, Marian Kassovic, and Ellen Huppert at a History Play Reading session. Witty conversation and glasses of wine bring smiles to all faces.

REPORT FROM MYSTERIOUS FRANCE

La Très Grande Bibliothèque

I had seen slides of the new National Library in Paris at a presentation in Berkeley several years ago. The French architect had brought a model, and we viewed slides of the excavation and drawings of long halls with colorful hangings around a court filled with trees. We heard about the problems: the four twelve-story towers for the stacks, shaped like open books on end (you have to know this to get the point), were to be of clear glass, but the librarians insisted that they would need to have wooden louvers to protect the books from the sun. Since there would be four of them, and the disciplines had heretofore been divided into three, it was clear that art history was going to be in trouble, inasmuch as its reference books would be found in the history and in the media sections, separated from each other by almost a kilometer. I made a mental note to change fields.

So as a historian/biographer I trotted to Paris in April of this year to work in three archives and three libraries. The manuscript section of the National Library is still housed in the old building on the rue de Richelieu, the Bibliothèque du Roi begun by Cardinal Mazarin in the seventeenth century. I had to go to that building for the National Archives because the fifteen-year-old archive building, discovered to be full of asbestos, is closed. Readers have to call up boxes (forty-eight hours notice) and reserve places (four to nine days in advance) to be used in the Richelieu reading room, half closed off "for security reasons." I could get a card for the *Mitterand* (the patron saint of giant monuments), or the *Tolbiac* as the new library is more often called, at the old library, relatively painless although I was asked every which way whether I was a university faculty member (retired? from a university?) The card—with photo, magnetic strip, all plasticized—was added to a growing pile.

The new library is—astonishing. Either because of the proximity of the Seine and the possibility of flooding, or in order to provide exercise for normally sedentary scholars, one must mount a great number of steep and narrow steps, perhaps based on an eighteenth-century building code for five-foot people with size three shoes. The first goal is a huge platform with those glass stacks and no clearly marked entrance. I could just make out people on the far side of the platform. Armed with a 64-page brochure and a deceptive plan with no indication of the stairs **nor** of the entrances, I decided to follow someone in, down a rolling ramp, and through heavy doors, which had the first visible signs: *poussez* and then *tirez*. The *vestiaire obligatoire* took my purse—I went back to rescue my wallet and card—and gave me a clear plastic briefcase for my notebooks. I followed a reader through doors into a hall some thirty feet across and four stories high, all of plain grey concrete with a metallic finish and no modulations. There, although it was only fifteen minutes past opening time, I was told that all the history section was reserved and I would have a seat in a "nearby" section. My seat was in N (sociology) separated from L (history) by M (geography), in effect about two good city blocks away from the open shelves in history. Later, after lugging large tomes once, I simply moved into a vacant seat in L.

The "très épais brochure" had not explained any of this procedure and really let me down when it came to ordering books. I blundered into Microsoft Explorer (what else? You have much to answer for, Bill Gates!), which gave me truly bizarre call numbers like BNFR210356 and offered to put them in a market basket or email them (the numbers, I assumed) but had no "command" button to get books to me as the brochure had promised. A nice if poorly trained woman who had never seen such numbers, got into the correct database, and with a good deal of pain (the French keyboard is different, with "q" where the "a" should be) we ordered up some books. Then she took me to a computer that could call up digitized things and we struggled with that. Back at my seat,

November 8 Annual IHS Dinner.
December 7 Work-in-Progress by Jody Offer.
January 18 Work-in-Progress by Joanne Lafler.
February 28 Annual Membership Meeting.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Both of the pictures in this issue were originally color prints. Such colors as red, orange, and dark brown (e.g., wooden furniture) become dark grays. If you are using color film indoors, try using a flash—it will even out the color balance and get away from extremes of light and dark. Better yet, use black & white film if the photos are to be in the *Newsletter*.

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.

Send book reviews and books to be reviewed to Autumn Stanley. Please send Membership News to Peter Browning on the form on page 11.

Deadline for the Fall 2003 *Newsletter:* **30 October.**

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.

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