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University of California
Berkeley, California

University History Series
Department of History at Berkeley

Delmer M. Brown

PROFESSOR OF JAPANESE HISTORY,
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, 1946-1977

With an Introduction by
Irwin Scheiner

Interviews Conducted by
Ann Lage
in 1995

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

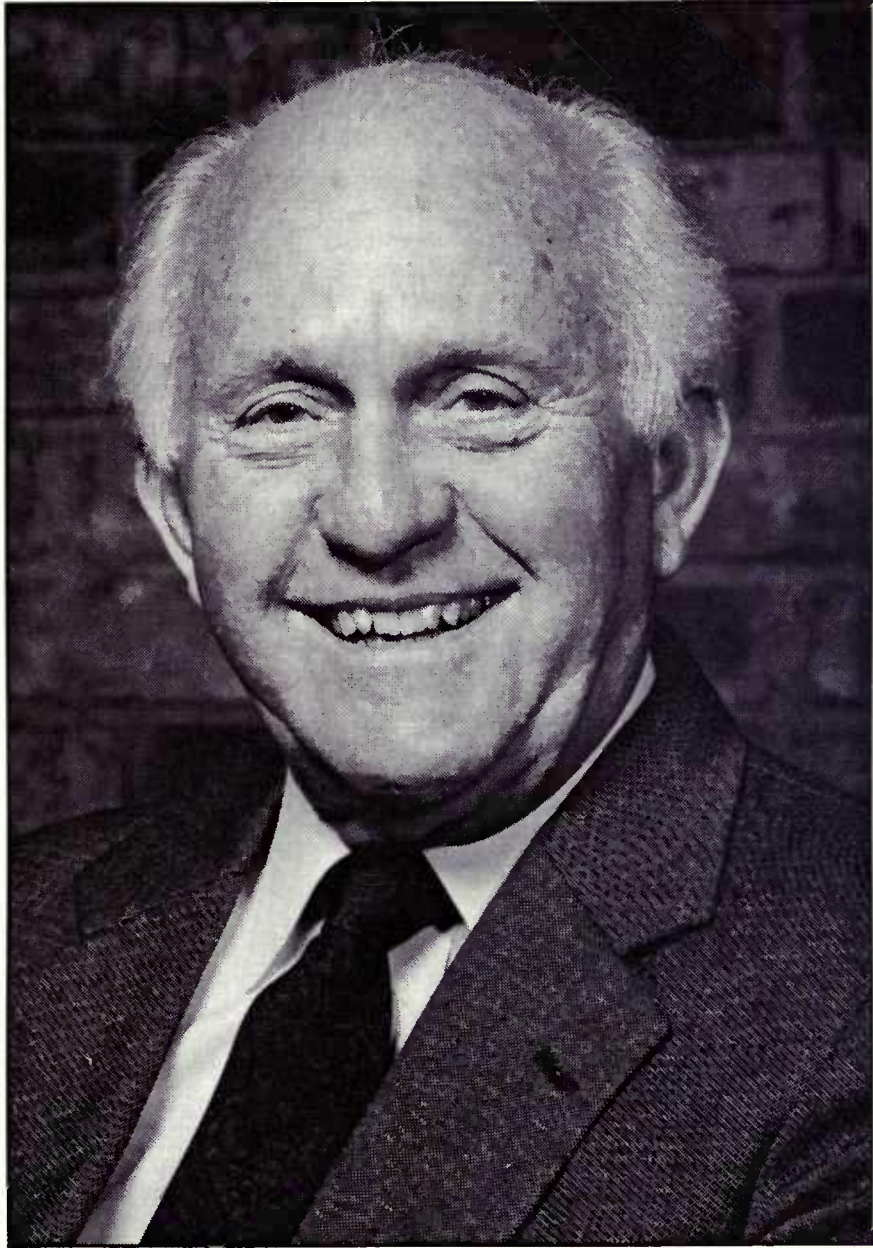
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Delmer Brown, early 1990s.

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Cataloguing information

BROWN, Delmer M. (b. 1909)

Professor of history

Professor of Japanese History, University of California, Berkeley, 1946-1977, 2000, x, 410 pp.

Family and boyhood in Kansas and southern California; teaching in Japan, 1932-1938: observations of Japanese culture, religion, and militarism; graduate studies in history, Stanford and Harvard; WWII service as naval intelligence officer, Pearl Harbor, 1940-1945; professor, Department of History, UC Berkeley, 1946-1970s: departmental leadership, key faculty appointments, effects of the loyalty oath, student unrest in the 1960s, changes in curriculum, chairing the department, 1957-1961 and 1972-1975; East Asian studies at Berkeley: the East Asiatic Library and the Center for Japanese Studies; Academic Senate chairman, 1971-1972, and service on the budget committee; publications on Japanese history and culture, working with Japanese scholars; reflections on teaching, foreign language studies, Education Abroad Program, graduate students; family, religion, and retirement.

Introduction by Irwin Scheiner, Professor of history.

Interviewed 1995 by Ann Lage for the Department of History at Berkeley Series, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

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PREFACE TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AT BERKELEY ORAL HISTORY SERIES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gene Brucker
Shepard Professor of History Emeritus

Ann Lage, Principal Editor
Regional Oral History Office

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

March 2000

University History Series, Department of History at Berkeley
Series List

- Brown, Delmer M. *Professor of Japanese History, University of California, Berkeley, 1946-1977.* 2000, 410 pp.
- May, Henry F. *Professor of American Intellectual History, University of California, Berkeley, 1952-1980.* 1999, 218 pp.
- Riasanovsky, Nicholas V. *Professor of Russian and European Intellectual History, University of California, Berkeley, 1957-1997.* 1998, 310 pp.
- Schorske, Carl E. *Intellectual Life, Civil Libertarian Issues, and the Student Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, 1960-1969.* 2000, 203 pp.
- Stampp, Kenneth M. *Historian of Slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, University of California, Berkeley, 1946-1983.* 1998, 310 pp.

In process:

- Bouwsma, William J., professor of European cultural history
- Smith, Thomas C., professor of Japanese history

INTRODUCTION by Irwin Scheiner

As a school child in New York City when sick with a bad cold or worse, I was immediately sentenced to bed. One of the pleasures of those days were long afternoons of listening to soap operas. Among my favorites was "Our Gal Sunday": with great portentousness (and well rounded vowels) the announcer asked, "Can a poor girl from a small mining town in Montana find happiness married to Lord Henry Brinthrop, England's most handsome and wealthy Lord?" Or something like that.

I capture, once again, much of my childhood delight and (the same) astonishment when I look at Delmer Brown's life. How did a boy born in Peculiar, Missouri, in 1909 become--well, become Delmer? Scholar or administrator, in all of his enterprises, Delmer became an intrepid adventurer. There has been, I think, in his character equal parts of naivete and savvy, always intelligence, and an extraordinary degree of curiosity and openness to new experience. In its best sense, then, Delmer is an American of our mid-twentieth century.

How other than in this way can we understand the young Stanford pre-law graduate applying for and accepting an appointment at one of Imperial Japan's most prestigious "Higher Schools"? Arriving first in Tokyo, Delmer trained across Honshu to the old castle town of Kanazawa on the Japan Sea coast, the location of the school. Clad in the suitable college garb of the mid-thirties (jaunty sport jacket and loafers), Delmer lowered himself from the train, where he was met by the entire upper administration of the school, also suitably garbed (tail coats and grey trousers).

Within the year Delmer had become acclimated, deeply absorbed in studying the language and then its history. I will not go into his determined traveling about Japan (by bike and foot, train and bus); nor his courtship of Mary Logan, who became Mary Brown, married to Delmer and Japan, in spite of her desire (having lived most of her pre-college life as a Japan missionaries' daughter) to live the remainder of her life in the U.S.

Delmer's return to Stanford to earn a Ph.D. in Japanese history (ultimately completing a dissertation and then a book, Money Economy in Medieval Japan) marked the beginning only of the scholarly half of his career. (World War II gave him the opportunity to display his extraordinary talent as an administrator, negotiator, and conciliator. But more on that later.)

When I first met Delmer in 1963, he had just finished cotranslating from Japanese a major work by Muraoka Tsunetsugu on Shinto thought, had finished a collaboration and translation with Ishida Ichirō

on Buddhism and aesthetics in pre-Tokugawa Japan, and had begun his extraordinary collaboration with Ishida on the interpretation and translation of the Gukanshō, a major medieval interpretive historical text. Our conversations in our early luncheon meetings ranged widely over Japanese history. But for Delmer--possessed in all ways by kami, the animistic spirits of Japan--the route to understanding the Japanese came through the analysis of their religions and, in particular, he argued, through an understanding of the ways of these spirit/gods. Now some thirty-five years after he began, he has not only edited but, in fact, either translated or written a good part of the Cambridge History volume on early Japanese history. His interpretive imprint now stands powerfully to the forefront in any Western or Japanese interpretation of Japanese history or the history of Japanese religion. The task he has set himself is seemingly endless. Now as he reaches for his eighty-ninth birthday, he has taken on the task of establishing a major center for the study of Shinto at Berkeley.

However significant scholarship has been to Delmer, it has absorbed only one half of his energy. Entering the navy shortly after Pearl Harbor, Delmer was made an intelligence officer (reaching the rank of lieutenant commander) and placed in charge of the naval Japanese translating center at Pearl Harbor. Under his command he had as brilliant and as eccentric a group of young men as one could imagine. I am sure, from my later experience with him, he approached his task of administering the unit with an absolute certainty that he could succeed in organizing the most intractable of isolates and the most alienated of poets.

Delmer's mode of operation as an administrator, as I have seen it, is always to give the impression of his openness to the opinion of others (which, in fact, he is) and his willingness to negotiate on all points (which he does do). These are winning points. They also reflect his optimistic (and very American) belief that good people can always talk out a problem. But what must also be pointed out is that his openness does not reflect either muddleheadedness, wishy-washiness, or a willingness to modify his strongly held opinions. At the end of any negotiation or discussion to which I have been privy, Delmer has sweetly but determinedly attained his objectives.

As these memoirs show, Delmer Brown has had and continues to have a distinguished and memorable career as a scholar and academic administrator. There are so few people that I know of whose life and contributions can be described as memorable. Delmer's are.

Irwin Scheiner
Professor of History

August, 1998
Berkeley, California

INTERVIEW HISTORY--Delmer M. Brown

Delmer M. Brown, professor emeritus of Japanese history, spent his entire academic career as a member of the UC Berkeley Department of History, from 1946 to his retirement in 1977. As a young faculty member, he was an observer of the loyalty oath controversy, 1949-1951, and a participant in the "Young Turk" faculty revolt in the history department in the mid-fifties. He twice served as chairman of the department (1957-1961 and 1972-1975). As a leader of a moderate faculty group during the campus unrest of the sixties and seventies, he helped shape faculty and administration response to the student movement, as he himself was influenced by student challenges to the status quo in classroom teaching and campus politics. Throughout his career, Delmer Brown took an active role in faculty governance on the Berkeley campus and in the statewide University of California, through his leadership in the Academic Senate where he was chair of the powerful Budget Committee (1966-1967), chair of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate and the statewide Representative Assembly (1971-1972), and a member of the statewide Academic Council (1966-1967, 1971-1972).

At the same time, he has been for more than half a century a leading scholar of Japanese history. He first encountered Japanese culture as a recent graduate from Stanford University, when he went to the Fourth Higher School in Kanazawa, Japan, to teach English from 1932 to 1938. His fascination with the language, culture, and history of Japan began during those six years and led him back to Stanford for a Ph.D. in Japanese history, received in 1946 following his wartime naval service as an intelligence officer at Pearl Harbor. Since then, he has spent several years of each decade in Japan, with the Asia Foundation in the mid-fifties, as director of the California Abroad Program, 1967-1969 and 1992-1993, and as director of the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies, 1978-1988. In 1997, he was decorated by the Emperor of Japan with the Order of the Sacred Treasure. He still actively pursues his research and writing and continues his travels to Japan as he enters his nineties.

As one of the most senior professors emeriti of history, with such a distinguished career and active role in campus affairs, Delmer Brown was a natural choice to inaugurate the Department of History at Berkeley oral history series. Interviewing began on March 15, 1995, and continued for six sessions, a total of fourteen hours, concluding on May 1, 1995. The transcript of the interview was lightly edited and sent to Professor Brown for his review in November and December of 1995.

At this point, as sometimes occurs when a scholar accustomed to research and writing confronts the transcript record of his oral interview, Professor Brown treated the interviews as a jumping off point

for a more thorough elucidation of the topics covered. He searched out facts about Department of History hiring patterns and curriculum changes and found Academic Senate records for events he remembered well but could not date. He elaborated significantly on some topics, particularly the sections in the latter half of the interview on his directorships of the Inter-University Center and the California Abroad Program, his scholarly work and relationships with Japanese historians, and editorship of the first volume of the Cambridge History of Japan.

He gave a fuller account of his study and scholarly writings on Shintoism, wrote about his family and travels, and elaborated on his views on language study and the Education Abroad Program. All of this was returned over the course of the next three years to the oral history office on disk. It was obvious from the conversational tone of his clear prose that he had kept in mind the suggestions accompanying the original transcript: "We urge our narrators not to try to formalize the conversational language of the interview." Professor Brown retained the informal flavor of an interview in his extensive additions; when necessary to keep the interview format, he added appropriate questions for the interviewer.

The resulting document lies somewhere between an oral history and a written memoir, but questions of genre are not as important to its value as the richness of the information and the wealth of insights into the life, work, and thought of Delmer Brown and the record of more than thirty years of history of the Department of History and the Berkeley campus.

Irwin Scheiner, professor of Japanese history who has known Delmer as a colleague in the department since 1963, has written an introduction to the oral history which makes clear Delmer's importance as an interpreter of Japanese history and the history of Japanese religion. He also provides a snapshot of his ever-youthful, open, and optimistic personal qualities which made him so effective as a faculty leader at Berkeley. We thank Professor Scheiner for his thoughtful contribution.

On behalf of future scholars, we thank the Department of History for providing the core funding to make this oral history series possible, the Center for Japanese Studies for its contributions to the Delmer Brown interview, and the various individual donors who are listed on the acknowledgments page. Appreciation is due especially to Carroll Brentano and Gene Brucker for initiating the series on the history of the Department of History and for their ongoing efforts in planning and securing support to continue it.

The Regional Oral History Office was established in 1954 to record the lives of persons who have contributed significantly to the history of California and the West. A major focus of the office since its inception has been university history. The series list of completed

oral histories documenting the history of the University of California is included in this volume. The Regional Oral History Office is a division of The Bancroft Library and is under the direction of Willa K. Baum. Shannon Page and Sara Diamond provided editorial assistance in preparing the Delmer Brown memoir.

Ann Lage
Interviewer/Editor

Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library
University of California, Berkeley
March 2000

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name Delmer Myers Brown
Date of birth Nov. 20, 1909 Birthplace HARRISONVILLE, Mo.
Father's full name REN EDWARD BROWN
Occupation HARDWARE BUSINESS Birthplace KANSAS
Mother's full name MARGARET MYERS BROWN
Occupation HOUSEWIFE Birthplace KANSAS
Your spouse MARGARET YOUNG BROWN
Occupation HOUSEWIFE Birthplace DENVER, COLORADO
Your children CHARLOTTE BROWN PERRY
DELMER REN BROWN
Where did you grow up? MISSOURI, KANSAS + Southern Califoe.
Present community WALNUT CREEK (ROSSMOOR)
Education AB STANFORD (1932); MA STANFORD (1940)
PHD STANFORD (1946)
Occupation(s) TEACHER; NAVAL OFFICER; RESEARCHER;
ADMINISTRATOR
Areas of expertise JAPANESE HISTORY; RELIGIOUS HISTORY;
COMPARATIVE HISTORY; CULTURAL HISTORY;
HISTORIOGRAPHY
Other interests or activities GOLF, BRIDGE; TRAVEL; MUSIC

Organizations in which you are active CHAIRMAN OF CENTER
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DIRECTORS, STOCKTON; BOARD OF DIRECTOR AT WATER
SIGNATURE Delmer M. Brown DATE: 1-27-2000

of Tsubaki America

Walnut

I PERSONAL BACKGROUND AND EDUCATION, 1909-1932

[Interview 1: March 15, 1995] ##¹

Family Background, Missouri and Kansas

Lage: This is our first interview about your scholarly career and the history department and Japanese Studies at the university, and about you. We are going to start at the beginning. I want you to talk a little bit about your family and growing up in Kansas. It seems like a long way from Kansas to Japan. We want to see how you got there.

Brown: Well, my life started out not in Kansas but in Missouri. It is my parents who were born in Kansas. My father went to Missouri, where I was born, and I ended up in Kansas later on, after we lived in Missouri.

Lage: And when were you born? Let's just get the facts.

Brown: I was born in 1909, November the twentieth. My father and mother must have moved there two years before that, to a farm near a town called Peculiar, Missouri.

Lage: Quite a name.

Brown: The story is that the people of this town wanted a peculiar name, so they named it Peculiar.

Lage: That is wonderful. Tell me about your mother and father.

Brown: My mother and father were children of farmers who lived in northeastern Kansas. They were farmers whose parents came from

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

Illinois, apparently before the Civil War, in a migration that was a big thing in the history of Kansas.

Lage: This migration from Illinois?

Brown: A migration from Illinois, settling in Kansas. It connected with the North-South conflict about whether Kansas would become a free or slave state.

Lage: There were groups from both sides. Which side did your parents represent?

Brown: They came from Illinois, so they were on the northern side, the free side. Kansas eventually became a free state.

Lage: What kind of an ethnic background did they come from?

Brown: I don't know. I think there is more German blood on my father's side. There is also Irish and English. Both sides seem to go back quite far.

Lage: Tell a little bit about growing up on a farm and what experiences might have shaped some of your later qualities or interests.

Brown: Probably the greatest influence was that I somehow developed a sense of confidence, because my father seemed to think I could do anything as soon as I could walk. On the farm he had me doing grown-up jobs quite early. I remember his tying me up to a harrow. Do you know what a harrow is?

Lage: No.

Brown: A harrow has iron spikes that rake over freshly plowed soil to break it up. A harrow was about ten feet long and six feet wide, pulled by horses. I remember being tied on a box on top of the harrow, driving a team of horses. I must have been seven or eight years old.

Lage: Was that standard for a boy on the farm to do that kind of work?

Brown: I don't remember too much about neighbor children. Yes, I think they were probably given responsibilities too. Although the neighbors that I remember best were more into raising cattle than wheat and corn, which was what my father produced mainly. Although we had cows, most everything. I remember being given a job quite early husking corn and getting cornstalks chopped up into fodder and put into a silo.

Lage: The kinds of things that kids today wouldn't even know what you were talking about.

Brown: You probably don't know about most of these things. That's right. I have had nothing to do with such activities since the age of ten. But I still remember them.

Lage: You were on the farm until ten. Then what happened?

Brown: Several interesting things happened before I left at the age of ten. I remember going to Swope Park in Kansas City with my parents for a Fourth of July celebration. That was a great occasion, not only because of seeing Swope Park. I saw my first airplane then and saw an airplane show with planes flying upside down--nose diving and that sort of thing.

I remember the car that my father bought. It must have been in about 1917. The first Model T car in the neighborhood. I remember seeing him racing my cousin, who was driving a team of horses. My father lost. I remember the horses passing the car with great ease.

Lage: How did your dad happen to be the first person to buy a car? Was he a more forward-looking person or better off?

Brown: Maybe he was more successful financially. I don't know why. I remember neighbors coming from some distance to see this new car. We had to push it up the hill.

Lage: Those are fun memories. Not too many people go back to that kind of memory. How about your mother? What was she like?

Brown: She was wonderful and thoughtful. Always gave us everything we wanted. Like most loving mothers are, I think. Maybe more so. She also was born in northeastern Kansas--that is where she and my father met.

Lage: Did she encourage education or anything like that, that you can remember?

Brown: Well, about education, neither of my parents went beyond high school.

Lage: That wasn't unusual, certainly.

Brown: In the case of my father, he had three brothers who all went to Kansas University. One, Uncle Orville, became a doctor in Phoenix. Another, Uncle Herbert, was an engineer, and another, Uncle Guy, owned a hardware store. Dad was the only one who didn't go to

college. According to my grandmother, that was because he liked to travel. He did travel a good deal.

After he got out of high school, he and a friend went on horseback to the West. They got as far as Seattle and were gone two years. According to his stories, whenever they ran out of money they would get a job and work for a while. When he got home after two years, he went the other direction, to Washington, D.C. That time he went by train, not by horse, and attended the inauguration of Teddy Roosevelt, which I think was in 1904.

After all that traveling he met Mother, and they got married. I guess his father must have made it possible for him to buy a farm south of Kansas City, at this place near Peculiar, Missouri.

Lage: He seems like a real enterprising young man.

Brown: He was enterprising. He was always doing strange things.

Lage: Doing strange things, you said?

Brown: I mean, he did odd things nobody else would do. Maybe that was why he had to have that Model T Ford, just to be doing something different. Traveling and doing things differently. That's, I guess, why we moved away. He got bored, maybe, with farming. I don't know what it was. He sold the farm at a good time, in 1919 when land prices were high. Then with the money, he bought a hardware store in Kansas, so we moved to Kansas.

Lage: So that's when you got to Kansas?

Brown: Right. We returned to Overland Park, which is in the suburbs of Kansas City, Kansas, or was then. I guess it is a part of Kansas City, Kansas, now. We lived there for six years.

Lage: What do you remember about that? Did that bring a big change in your life?

Brown: I remember most the things that my father would allow me to do. Such as, run the hardware store when he was on buying trips to Kansas City, even though I was maybe no more than fourteen or thirteen years old. He even allowed me to drive a car when I was twelve years old. We had no such things as driver's licenses in those days. We were out in the country, and there was no traffic problem.

When he saw that I was cranking up the car one day--we had to crank it in those days--he suggested that I just drive it. If I can crank it, I ought to be able to drive it. And I did. I drove

a lot after that. Not too long afterward, the high school basketball team wanted to borrow his truck. He said that they could have it with one condition. That I, Delmer, would drive it and nobody else.

Lage: So he had more faith in you than this other group of kids.

Brown: Exactly.

Lage: You had a brother, I guess, who died young. Was he a younger brother?

Brown: That was Clarence, who was eighteen months younger than I. Shortly after we moved to Kansas, he got spinal meningitis and died rather quickly. It was a big shock to us all.

Lage: I can imagine. It must have been hard on your mother and your father.

Brown: Oh, yes. After that he even stopped going to church for some years.

Lage: Did he talk about that, why he stopped going to church?

Brown: Yes. He asked: Where was God? I think his despair over the death of Clarence made him even doubt that there was a God.

Lage: And he did go back to it?

Brown: He did go back to it.

Lage: What religion was the family?

Brown: We were Methodists in those Missouri days. That's about the only kind of church around. We used to go to church every Sunday, even in cold winter. When it was way below zero we would go, pulled by horses on a sled.

Lage: The car couldn't get through.

Brown: That was even before we had the car. He would take a buggy, remove the wheels and make it into a sled, and we would go to church in it.

Lage: It was an important part of your family life?

Brown: It was and continued to be all through their lives.

Lage: What about politics in your family? Did you hear talk of politics around the dinner table?

Brown: I heard a lot about politics. My father originally was a Republican but usually voted Democratic. In the thirties he was a great supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and others who were more radical than Roosevelt. So radical that when I got into the navy and was being investigated, my mother tried to keep the investigators away from my father. She was sure that he would say something that would get me into trouble.

Lage: How interesting. I wonder what experiences that he had that turned him--

Brown: He did a good deal of reading, although he never went to college. He did more reading, I think, than his brothers. Especially in the thirties, in the depression days. People were upset about economic and social conditions in the country. He kept reading and wondering what should be done and why they didn't do it.

I remember going on trips with him back to Kansas after we moved to California. He was constantly talking to everybody that we bought gasoline from, trying to find out what they thought about the political situation, what they thought ought to be done. So he had a continuing interest in political affairs and got pretty deeply involved in some political activities. He was especially interested in the cooperative movement and actually established some cooperative branches in California after we moved there.

Lage: During the days of the twenties when the economic situation was better, before you left Kansas, was he Republican? A Teddy Roosevelt Republican?

Brown: He was a Republican in those days. He was not that much upset or involved in political activities then. It was after the thirties that he really got involved.

Lage: What about things like women's suffrage? You were pretty young when that came about, but do you remember talk about that? Did your mother vote?

Brown: I don't remember talking about such things. One thing I do remember from the twenties is the Ku Klux Klan.

Lage: Oh, in Kansas.

Brown: My parents weren't involved in that, but we heard a good deal about it. I think maybe the anti-Catholic position of the Ku Klux Klan movement may have had some influence on my father. He seemed to be

against Catholics. As a matter of fact, I tried to borrow the car once because I wanted to date a Catholic girl. He wouldn't let me have it.

Lage: Oh, my goodness. I guess that wasn't too unusual in Protestant, midwestern culture.

Brown: I suppose fairly common in those days. I just don't know.

Lage: Is there more we should talk about the hardware store or the Kansas life before we find out why you came to California?

Brown: I was telling somebody the other day one thing I remember of that Kansas period, I don't know how much of an influence it had on me, maybe some. I was locked behind jail doors once. That was because my father went to the bank one day when it was robbed. I was with him that day, but I wasn't in the bank. I stayed in the store or somewhere while he was there. He was asked to go to the county jail to see whether he could identify the robbers among the persons who were in jail. He took me along. When he went inside the jail, he asked if I couldn't go along with him. So I was locked in there with him as we were looking at the inmates. It was an experience which I will not forget. I even remember the looks on the faces of these men because they, I think, understood what was going on.

Lage: So it made an impact.

Brown: It did.

Lage: Do you think your father did that for a reason?

Brown: Well, maybe he wanted to keep me out of jail. I don't know. I never did ask him--I should have asked.

Lage: He sounds like a person who let experience be your teacher instead of moralizing about things, from what you say.

Brown: It might very well be, yes.

Move to California, 1925

Lage: How did you get out to California, and why?

Brown: My father went to California to visit some relatives, to visit his brother, who was living in Phoenix. Also, a sister of my mother who was living in Santa Ana, in California. He went during the

winter. Came back in January, as I recall. When I saw him getting off the train, the snow was six or seven feet deep, very cold and windy. As he came down the steps he said, "We are going to California." By the next summer he had sold the hardware store and our house and we were on our way to California, where we stayed.

Lage: Was that an unusual move at the time, or were other people finding out about California?

Brown: After getting to California, we discovered there were a lot of people from Kansas and other parts of the Middle West who had moved there. But from our neighborhood in Kansas I know of no one else who did that.

Lage: So this was a pretty adventuresome move?

Brown: I think it was really a decision suddenly made after being in California in the winter.

Lage: Can't say that I blame him. Where did you end up in California?

Brown: At Santa Ana, in Orange County.

Lage: You must have seen a lot of orange groves in those days.

Brown: Many orange groves in those days. As a matter of fact, when we were back there for a visit, my wife Mary said it was so easy to get lost in Orange County because everywhere you went you saw nothing but orange trees. On the right and on the left and straight ahead was nothing but orange trees. That's not true now.

Lage: No. Now when we think Orange County, we think politics, right-wing politics.

Brown: Exactly.

Lage: Then you thought of orange trees.

High School in Orange County

Lage: What was it like? Was it a big cultural change?

Brown: It was a big shock for me, especially going to school. I had gone to a high school in Kansas that had maybe thirty or forty students. In Santa Ana, it was a thousand students and I didn't know a single

one of them. My classes were big. Every class was taught by a different teacher.

Lage: Seems like a big school to be out there in the middle of all these orange groves.

Brown: Santa Ana is the county seat of Orange County, and it is the biggest city there. It was an agricultural town. We had our banks and everything. It was a fairly large town. I don't know what the population was, but I know they had around a thousand students, which seemed enormous. I met another student wandering around the hall, Neil Hall from Nebraska. It turned out that we were not only lost and confused but had a common interest in basketball.

Lage: Midwestern basketball.

Brown: We played a lot of basketball in Kansas and Nebraska. So we decided to go out for the basketball team. Although we went out for what is called the Class C team, which is limited to boys of about one hundred and ten pounds in weight, there were forty who wanted to play basketball for this Class C team. All the players seemed to know each other. They had gone to the same junior high school together. So when they started choosing up teams, the two of us were the last to be chosen. Nobody knew anything about us. But since we had played basketball, we soon were promoted, and ended up on the first team.

Lage: So basketball was kind of a continuing interest?

Brown: It was. As a matter of fact, it really helped me to get adjusted to that new situation. Our team was able to defeat most teams in southern California, so we got on the sports page and became known around school. That gave us confidence and gave us friends. We even got into school politics.

Lage: Did you run for office?

Brown: Oh, yes. Class president, as I recall, either in the junior year or the senior year.

Lage: You made the adjustment quite well.

Brown: Well, it was not only an adjustment through basketball, but classes were a problem because they were huge, forty or fifty students in one class. A very scary situation. One of the first experiences I remember was in a history class where the teacher wanted us to report on something we had read in the newspapers. Most of the students would take a very short item and give a very short summary. Being a newcomer and an outsider, I took this assignment

seriously and selected a long article out of the Sunday newspaper and wrote a paper that the teacher was really happy about and read it to the class. That sort of got me off the ground, academically. Also in geometry I did pretty well.

In Kansas I had been in an east Kansas contest in Latin and algebra. I had somehow gained confidence in those fields. So geometry was no problem. Because of success in classes like that, I got on the honor roll and stayed on it, as well as played basketball. I was busy.

Lage: You were. You were one of these well-rounded Californians.

Brown: Maybe California made me that way.

Lage: Did you like it when you moved out? Did you like the change in the weather?

Brown: Yes, I liked everything. I remember that my first view of the ocean was somewhat scary, when we first arrived in California. I don't know what it was. It made me dizzy, just looking at the ocean. Such great expanse. I still remember that dizzy feeling when looking at that huge ocean.

Lage: I think scholarly is not the right word when you are talking about high school, but were these intellectual pursuits important to you, or were you just excelling as one does?

Brown: I was interested in them. This goes back to Kansas again. I had a teacher there, a Miss Harrison. She stimulated my interest in learning more than any other teacher that I have had since then, except for maybe one or two others. I don't know what it was about her. She somehow got me looking into things and being interested in learning and doing well at it. I don't know how she did it. But I seemed to be excited because I knew she would be excited with me. When I went back to Kansas later on, I went to see her. I was already teaching at Cal at that time. She was interested that I had become a teacher, but she was more interested in knowing whether or not I had gotten a Ph.D. degree.

Lage: She was pretty impressed with that?

Brown: She apparently had worked in that direction herself, and she therefore appreciated having a student who had made it.

Lage: It is kind of nice to think that you got back to tell her that she had been important to you.

Methodist Church Youth Group

Lage: You also mentioned in some of the material that you gave me the youth group at church being an important part of your life.

Brown: It was. This was in Santa Ana. Back in Santa Ana we again went to the Methodist church, the whole family. There was a pastor there by the name of Dr. Warmer. I don't know what his first name was. I never got that well acquainted with him, but my father was a great admirer. Dr. Warmer was quite liberal. I think that was one of the reasons my father liked him. He was liberal politically as well as religiously.

Then I got into the young people's group, Epworth League I think they called it in the Methodist church. Dr. Warmer's son, George, was in my class at Santa Ana High School. George did not play basketball. He was a quarterback on the football team. We became good friends and went to a conference at Asilomar, for example, together. I think this was after we had gotten out of high school and were in junior college.

We met Dr. Brooks at Asilomar, who impressed us both. We used to take walks with him and to talk with him about religious and philosophical questions. Both of us became so impressed by Dr. Brooks that we wanted to go to Pomona and study under him. We actually went to Pomona to see if we liked it.

Pomona College

Lage: Is this the Pomona College?

Brown: Yes. We were in junior college at the time. Most people at junior college were planning to transfer to a university. So we went over to Pomona to see if we would like to go there. George did go and did study under Brooks and became a pastor. He went on to seminary and later became a pastor of the First Methodist Church in Oakland, and even vice president of Boston University. I didn't go to Pomona. I wanted to go to Stanford.

Lage: Were you thinking at the time of studying to be a minister?

Brown: I may have been thinking a bit about it. I was thinking more about becoming a doctor. My uncle, my father's eldest brother who was in Phoenix, had no sons, and when we visited him--I think this was when I was still in high school--he said that I could take over his

practice if I became a doctor. I began thinking about that, and maybe that was what I was thinking about at that time.

Lage: Did you like the sciences? Did you take a lot of biology and--

Brown: That was one of the reasons I backed out of medicine. I did take a course in zoology when I was in junior college. Somehow, I didn't take to that. The thing that bugged me most was trying to draw pictures of animal organs that I couldn't see. Even in the microscope I couldn't see them, so how could I draw pictures of them? Anyway, I think I was turned off finally when I got to Stanford. One of my fraternity brothers, who was going into medicine, had a skull with him one day. He was memorizing all the bones in the inner ear, hundreds of them. I thought that was not for me. That was when I decided not to go into medicine.

Lage: After you got to Stanford. I seem to remember that some of your interest in the Far East started in the junior college.

Brown: In Santa Ana, it did. I had two teachers at Santa Ana who had a great deal of influence on me. One was a philosophy teacher by the name of Dr. Nealy. When I first had the urge to go to Japan, I went to him for advice. I was really troubled about the amount of money that it would take to go to Japan and China. I remember Dr. Nealy saying, "You can't waste money on education." He, in a sense, was urging me to go ahead, even though it was costly. I didn't accept his advice, but I retained a great admiration for him.

Lage: This was an opportunity you had at the junior college?

Brown: There was another teacher, Dean Fisk, who was actually a teacher of business law, but had a great interest in the Far East. Every summer he would take students with him on a trip to Japan and China. He did that for several successive years. The first year that I was in junior college, I met and became good friends of several who had gone to the Far East with Dean Fisk. I got interested in going, but didn't make it.

Lage: It just seemed too expensive?

Brown: It was too expensive. Expense was a big item at that point because I had decided I wanted to go to Stanford, not Pomona, which was probably the most expensive place on the coast to go. My father, being a practical type, saw no reason why I should go to an expensive place when I could go to a state university like UCLA.

Lage: Or Berkeley.

Brown: Yes. He said that if I wanted to go to Stanford, I could pay my own bill, and that he wasn't going to help me. I went anyway. I was as independent as he was.

Stanford University, 1930-1932 ##

Lage: I am curious about why Stanford?

Brown: Why I wanted to go to Stanford?

Lage: Right.

Brown: It was mainly because in southern California, Stanford was a famous university. You heard more about Stanford than any other university. I suppose that may still be true, but I am not sure.

Lage: My father, who was very much your vintage from southern California, came to Berkeley.

Brown: I had other friends who went to Berkeley. As a matter of fact--and this story goes back to that church experience again--we had a so-called deputation team in Santa Ana, made up of young men associated with the church who got together and gave services at various churches. In that group was the George Warmer I just mentioned. There were two others: Bill Hewett and Bob Reinhard who both went to Cal and later became professors there. Bob Reinhard became a medical doctor and was later a dean at the San Francisco medical school. Bill Hewett taught at Davis in some field of agriculture.

Lage: Interesting.

Brown: Out of that group I was the only one that went to Stanford.

Lage: Something attracted you to Stanford.

Brown: I guess it was just its reputation.

Lage: Did you go up to visit?

Brown: Yes, I think I visited before I went, although I may have seen it for the first time after I was admitted. I can't be sure about that.

Lage: You were thinking of medicine at that time?

Brown: Medicine for a while, for a very short while. Then, I began to gravitate toward law. I think maybe the interest in that also got started under Dean Fisk. In class one day, he asked us if any of us was planning on getting into politics. Nobody was, or if they were, they didn't admit it. He deplored that and pointed out that there ought to be more people with a sense of responsibility taking an interest in politics. It was also clear from what he said, and others said, that if you are going to go into politics, law was the path to take. I think maybe that was why I shifted to law. Actually, my major programs at Stanford were in the field of political science, economics, and history, courses one should take to prepare oneself for entrance to law school.

Lage: I just want to finish up with southern California and your family before we get you into Stanford. What did your father do after he moved out here?

Brown: He really didn't do anything. He built a house for us, to begin with. He did most of the work himself. It was a very nice home. Then he sold that and bought five acres of land west of Santa Ana. Then the Depression came. We were stuck out there on West Fifth Street. He tried to buy a hardware store. He scouted around a good deal looking for a hardware store. He never really found one that was what he wanted. He also took a job once that lasted only just two or three weeks. I think he started telling the boss how to run his business, or something like that. He is not one to take orders, let's put it that way. Anyway, that didn't last.

In a sense he never did work. He retired around the age of forty, as it turned out, when he left Kansas. Fortunately, he had made enough money in Overland Park to live. He had bought a garage and a motion picture theater, as well as the hardware store. When we went to California, he still had the theater and the garage. So he just stuck it out without working.

Lage: That's always nice if you can do it. Did the Depression hit him hard?

Brown: He couldn't move. He couldn't make any more money during that period. It was a bit hard.

Lage: This was right when you were deciding to go to Stanford. You went to Stanford in 1930.

Brown: That's right. That's one of the reasons why he wasn't going to support me if I wanted to go to Stanford; he really couldn't afford to. That is one of the reasons.

Lage: Okay, that gives us a little background. I think entering into college on the eve of the Depression--it gives you kind of a special outlook.

Brown: Yes, I entered Stanford in 1930, and the Depression had hit before that. At Stanford you didn't get much of a sense of the Depression, because most of the others there had plenty of money. I got into a fraternity, I think again for economic reasons. That was a good way to get a job. They wanted me to come into the fraternity and were willing to give me the job of hashing, which paid my board and room. That was one of the reasons I went into this fraternity. When I got in, I discovered almost all the others had a car. Not only a car, but a nice car. Several had a Hupmobile sports car.

Most of the others in the fraternity were from pretty well-off families. One of them was Mike Sutro, who was a good friend of mine. He became a lawyer, but I have lost track of him. He was probably the wealthiest. His mother would come down in a big car with a driver to visit him once in a while. He was however dressed in cords and drove an old beat-up Ford convertible, acting pretty much like the rest of us.

Lage: Was it hard for you to have to be scrambling to put yourself through school and be in the midst of--

Brown: It wasn't hard. As a matter of fact it was rather easy, I thought. Not only did I get board and room at the fraternity house for doing relatively little work, I got a few other jobs. When football time came, I got a job at the hot dog stands and became manager of about half of them at the time of a big game. I would make as much as ten dollars a day, which was extra. It would allow me to go into the city [San Francisco] for dances. I thought it worked out pretty well, although I went into debt for my tuition. In those days, if you had a 'B' average you could borrow your tuition at no interest, and you could pay it back whenever you had the money.

Lage: They didn't have scholarships but they had long--

Brown: They had some scholarships but, well, this was called a tuition scholarship, I think. I didn't have that much trouble economically. Maybe it was because I was one of the few who had to work for a living.

Lage: Not too much competition for the jobs.

Brown: Right. [laughter]

Developing an Interest in the Far East

Lage: What do you remember about Stanford in terms of shaping your interests, professors that were important?

Brown: Since I had developed this interest in the Far East under Dean Fisk--

Lage: And you had a real interest?

Brown: I had a real interest at that time. That interest was further stimulated by a good friend by the name of Fred Humiston, who lives here in Waterford [at Rossmoor] right now. Fred Humiston was in high school with me. He went on one of these trips to the Far East with Dean Fisk. That was in 1930, I think. He also went to Stanford, and we were in the same fraternity house and often roomed together. I saw his pictures and heard his stories about his trip to the Far East. I suppose it was because of that I even took two courses on the Far East. One was a course in Far Eastern diplomatic history from Payson J. Treat.

Lage: He is a famous name.

Brown: When time came for graduation, I thought it would be nice to do a little traveling before going into law school. My friend Fred Humiston suggested that I try to get a teaching job in Japan. When he was in Japan on that summer tour, he had met a young man by the name of Ronald Anderson who had gone to Stanford and was teaching English in Tokyo. He had Ronald Anderson's address and suggested that I write him, which I did. Ronald was then teaching at Kanazawa in western Japan and wrote back immediately saying that he was moving to another school and, as far as he knew, nobody had applied for his job in Kanazawa. He told me what I should do if I wanted to apply, which I did. I ended up with a contract with the Ministry of Education of Japan to teach in the Kanazawa Fourth Higher School for three years.

Lage: Had you taken any Japanese language?

Brown: No Japanese language. They didn't even teach Japanese at Stanford in those years. They had a Japanese professor, but I wasn't interested that much in Japan at that point. They hired me in Japan not because I knew Japanese but because I could teach English.

Lage: You knew English.

- Brown: They assumed that, since I had graduated from Stanford, I knew enough English to teach their students. I accepted this job for three years. If you didn't take it for three years, you couldn't get travel to and from Japan.
- Lage: They paid your way?
- Brown: They paid my way over and gave me housing. That is another reason why I was not that much upset by the Depression. I had this job in Japan for six years during the Depression years and was paid very well. I not only had travel to and from Japan but a three-bedroom house, rent free. I had a live-in cook and maid and also a student interpreter. I got the fabulous salary of four hundred yen a month, which will buy you a newspaper in Tokyo now.
- Lage: But what did it buy then?
- Brown: It had great buying power then. I used to say and believe that a yen in those days had about the buying power of a dollar. Actually, on the exchange rate it was much lower, but I remember saying that what I could get with a yen in Japan was about what I could get with a dollar in the United States. It was not that much different.
- Lage: What did your parents think of your taking off to Japan?
- Brown: My father said he couldn't understand why I should want to go to "that God-forsaken place." That is the way he put it. [laughing] He was more or less against it. As a matter of fact, he was against almost everything I did. He was against my going to Stanford. He was against my going to Japan. He wasn't against my going into the navy; couldn't help that. But he was against my leaving the navy when the war was over. He thought I should have stayed on. The salary was pretty good. I opposed him on a number of--
- Lage: He sounds as if he was supportive of you in your early life. Was he not? Was he critical?
- Brown: This Depression, I think, did have this effect on him. It not only made it harder for him to make money and to live, it made him much more critical of anything that I did that might cost money.
- Lage: How about your mother? What did she think about your going off to Japan?
- Brown: I don't know. Most anything I wanted to do was fine with her. [laughter] Although my dad wouldn't support me when I went to Stanford, she was always sending me a little money on the side.

Lage: I was just curious about that, whether they thought that was a little bizarre that you would take off to the Far East.

Brown: My father thought it was--foolish, I guess that is the way he might have put it. Again, because it was not settling down and getting a regular job.

Lage: You were doing well, financially.

Brown: Quite well. He was interested in traveling in his earlier days, but somehow going to, as he called it, "that God-forsaken place" didn't appeal to him. He didn't see why it would appeal to me.

II TEACHING IN JAPAN, 1932-1938

Arrival and Getting Settled

Lage: So, we have you to Japan. Are you ready to shift into that area and think about six years in Japan and what you saw?

Brown: Fine. The cultural shock of going to Santa Ana High School was something, but going to Japan was something else. I guess maybe the thing that in my memory reflects the shock about as much as anything was getting off of the train in Kanazawa where I was to teach--it turned out for six years instead of three. When I got off the train--

Lage: How far is Kanazawa from Tokyo?

Brown: It is on the opposite side of the island from Tokyo. It is on the Japan Sea side facing Siberia. Right on the Japan Sea, about five miles from the Japan Sea. When I got off the train, I was dressed like a Stanford student would be dressed, with cords and a green shirt, solid green shirt. Here on the station platform were about thirty men in morning suits, lined up and bowing--to me! I was the new foreign teacher, and they were all the teachers there to welcome me, in style. That is, in the proper way, formally dressed with morning suits and bowing to me.

Lage: This must have thrown you?

Brown: It threw me. I really felt quite self-conscious about it.

Lage: Nobody prepared you. Did you talk to the young man that you replaced?

Brown: I was somewhat prepared because Ronald Anderson was with me. He went there and was with me for a day or two. He was on the train. He told me a few things. But he didn't--I don't think that even he realized that all these teachers would be at the platform to

welcome me. Just one thing after another was so different and startling that it was hard to get used to.

I moved into this house. The maid that Ronald had already hired, and which I kept, was both maid and cook. She did all the housework too. She lived in. I paid her the fabulous sum of twenty-five yen a month out of my four hundred. She did everything, all the house cleaning and the cooking and so on, and was there all the time. I couldn't communicate with her. She didn't know any English. That was a problem. Just to get hot water to shave was impossible because I didn't know what the words were. I had to start studying Japanese.

Lage: Had Ronald learned Japanese while he was there?

Brown: He had. He had been there three years so he was pretty good in Japanese. But he soon disappeared. He had to go to his own job. This student who was to help me as my interpreter went with me one day to the department store to get a haircut. I realized that this haircut was going to be somewhat tedious and long. I suggested that he go off and do whatever he wanted to. I would go home by myself. The haircut itself was kind of a shocker.

Lage: You mean the styling?

Brown: The way they do it. They give you a massage and everything for twenty-five yen. I remember the price too. Anyway, when I got through that, I started home and got lost. I had in my pocket an address, written out in Roman letters, where I lived. Everybody that I approached about getting home couldn't read that, and they couldn't understand it when I read it. I was really lost. I was finally able to get home because I was helped by two students dressed in student uniforms. I guessed that they were students of the school where I would be teaching, and they guessed that I was their new foreign teacher, since there was only one. They practically led me home by the hand.

It turned out that all of the students had studied a lot of English but their conversational ability was very low. Therefore, they couldn't really understand anything I would say, and I couldn't understand what they were saying. They managed to get me home. It became necessary to learn some language to survive in that place, and I got busy at it right away.

Lage: I can imagine. What an experience. How big a place was Kanazawa?

Brown: About a hundred thousand people. Very big city back then. It is bigger than that now. It was comparable to the capital of a state in this country. It was the capital of a prefecture.

Lage: How did your dress change? Did you conform?

Brown: I soon got myself a suit and dressed properly. I got rid of my cords and haven't used any since. I began to dress like the teachers dressed, with a suit and a tie.

Lage: But not a morning coat? That was for a special--

Brown: Whenever we went to a ceremony. I had to buy a morning suit because we had ceremonies at the school on the Emperor's birthday and at various other times during the year. When those occasions came, I had to dress in a morning suit.

Lage: So you conformed to that?

Brown: I had to conform in a lot of little ways.

The Classroom, Basketball, and Social Life

Lage: How about the experience in the classroom? Was that very different from what you had been accustomed to?

Brown: That was a shocker, too. We had about thirty-five students in each class. Every student was dressed in exactly the same way with the same uniform, always a black uniform with brass buttons up around the collar. They would have a black hat with a white rim around it, and the school emblem on its front. They always had a white towel hanging from their right hip pocket, which they used for various purposes. When I would go into the classroom I would see all these faces, all with black hair, all about the same height, same complexions, same uniform.

When I went into a classroom, the students would all stand up, and they would remain standing until I got to the podium and bowed, and then they would return the bow and sit down. I always had to take roll call. Somewhere along the line I got the urge to know their names, which were all strange to me. I worked on memorizing the names of the students in my class in order to take roll call without looking at the book. That took a lot of work. I always had a poor memory for names, but I worked so hard on this that I got so I could call out the names of all students in all classes without looking at the book.

Lage: You had more than one class.

Brown: I had five or six classes. That really paid off. They were impressed that I could do that. And the teachers were impressed. I even had teachers come to ask me the name of a certain student third from the front row on the left side. I would be able to tell them. That really impressed them. It paid off to do that.

Lage: Were these all boys?

Brown: All boys, no girls.

Lage: Did the girls go to school then elsewhere?

Brown: Yes. The classrooms were all the same, very simple, with a desk and a stove in front, a coal stove which would be started only on the first of November. No matter how cold it was in October, they would have no coal for the stove. On November the first they would get some. I can remember that most of them seemed not to wear shoes but geta--wooden clogs. I still remember these bare feet sticking out in front of their desks as I would walk into the classrooms on the coldest days. Also I could see that many of them had chilblains. So there was a lot of discomfort. It was cold there. In the winter the snow would usually get six feet deep or so. These students would have no socks on, and the stove was not always that warm.

Lage: And in October it wasn't at all.

Brown: That's right. That was kind of shocking.

Lage: And the kind of respect accorded you when you are just out of college must have taken you aback.

Brown: It was. I was about their age, maybe a year or two older than they were. I had just gotten out of Stanford. Their school was comparable to a junior college in this country.

Lage: I see. So you were only a few years older?

Brown: Yes. They didn't respect me for my age. I didn't have grey hair at that time. All you could say was that I was their teacher. In that country, somehow, that made a difference. They treated me accordingly. We did have some interests in common. Because I was about their age and had an interest in basketball. They soon discovered this. So I went out and practiced with the basketball team.

Lage: So they played basketball, too?

Brown: They had swimming, tennis, and basketball teams, as well as teams in various Japanese sports. When playing with the basketball team, I tried to teach them things that they were not that much into, such as feinting, fast dribbling, passing, et cetera. When drilling them on throwing hard, I got myself into a hardball contest with one of the biggest and strongest players. I won because I had learned to throw a ball with a spin that could not be caught. [laughing] On the last day I played with them, for some reason, I took a long shot at the basket from midcourt and it went in. They were amazed, and so was I. And that was the last day I have played basketball. [laughter]

Lage: Why did you quit?

Brown: I don't know. I guess I figured I couldn't do any better than that. I just thought that was a good note on which to end.

Lage: You could have started coaching them and taken them right to the championship.

Brown: I had done that for a while. But I got into other things.

Lage: You were busy?

Brown: I was busy, and I had a lot of other interests. As a matter of fact, that was one of the things that puzzled them about me. When they get into a sport, they stick to that, specializing in it and dropping everything else. Whereas I had more general interests. I also went out for swimming. I went to the pool and did some swimming and diving. I did a lot of other things, such as playing Mah-Jongg with the teachers and so on.

Lage: How did you get a social life going with these rudimentary Japanese skills?

Brown: My social life was quite limited. I did play Mah-Jongg with the teachers and went on hikes with them.

Lage: Did the teachers speak some English?

Brown: In addition to me, there were about eight Japanese teachers who taught English. It was primarily with them that I associated.

Lage: How was their English?

Brown: Terrible.

Lage: They were probably glad to have the time with you.

Brown: It was a problem. They had studied their English in Japan. Many had studied it at the university level and gotten rather deep into such things as Shakespeare and Chaucer. But their conversation was definitely limited. They had a great vocabulary. What they taught was English translation. They would take some English text, something really difficult, from Emerson or some other famous author. That would be the textbook for the class. They would translate it into Japanese page by page, paragraph by paragraph. Usually no more than a page was covered in one class session. Every student would be able to understand that page and understand every word on the page and would be examined on it later. That is the way they taught English.

The teachers were coming to me frequently to get me to explain a particular word or phrase. Often very difficult things, but sometimes quite simple. One teacher was interested in translating a song on a record that he had purchased. He came across the words "and how!" in the song, and there was no question mark after "how". Why is that? It was questions like that they asked.

Lage: That would be a hard one to explain.

Brown: That is a hard one. They had a lot of questions that were hard. Usually within a short time, maybe a year or two, they were talking to me in Japanese. Even the English teachers.

Learning Japanese

Lage: So your Japanese--you must have learned it relatively quickly?

Brown: I had to pick it up, as I say, to survive. I studied it. I worked on it pretty hard. I had a tutor once or twice a week. Then I had to use it all the time just to get around. I started reading it, too. I went through elementary school textbooks in Japanese. I worked on it pretty hard. That's why I stayed on for another three years. During the first three years I had begun to make some headway on the language and felt that I should stay longer and get into it more deeply.

Lage: Did you teach English in your classes the same way that the Japanese taught it?

Brown: No, no. I would have a text but used various methods for different classes. It was supposed to be oral English, speaking. They wanted me to teach them how to speak, to understand spoken English.

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Lage: Was it oral English?

Brown: Yes, at the beginning it was mostly oral. That is, I would choose a text, and after they had read it, we would talk about it.

Lage: They weren't beginning students?

Brown: No, they had been studying English, on the average, seven or eight years before they got into my classes.

Lage: So they had a lot of background, but not in conversation.

Brown: They had had the kind of teaching their Japanese teachers were giving them, even in junior-high and senior-high schools. Before they got into this Fourth Higher School, they had studied English for at least five years. In some cases they would have had a foreign teacher, but not often. They had a big vocabulary. If I would write a word on the blackboard, they would get it. So I did a lot of writing on the blackboard. Key words of anything I had to say had to be written on the blackboard.

Later on, I discovered what they really needed more than oral English was the ability to translate from Japanese into English. In other words, to write English. I spent more and more time teaching that, which gave me the opportunity to learn more written Japanese. I first had them read the Japanese that they were trying to translate; and I had to find out what the original meant. I learned a lot of Japanese in that kind of teaching.

Lage: Were you also learning a lot about Japanese culture and their values?

Brown: Yes, this is why I became interested in Japanese studies, just living there and being shocked by all these cultural differences. I began to ask myself questions about why they did this and why they did that. Questions were coming up all the time.

Maeda Toshiie Diary Translations

Brown: For example, when I walked to school in those days, I regularly passed a fascinating statue that must have been more than twenty feet high. Since I could not read the Chinese characters engraved on it, I had no idea who was represented. But the subject soon came up in my classes, and I learned from my students that it was a

statue of Maeda Toshiie [1538-1599], founder of the Maeda clan whose heads were daimyō of Kaga throughout the Edo period [1603-1868]. The statue was located in a garden, one of Japan's three most famous castle gardens. Called the Kenroku Park, it probably had been built near the entrance to the castle in the seventeenth century.

Lage: Now you have to tell me what a daimyō is.

Brown: A daimyō was a great military lord who ruled over an area usually made up of one or more provinces. Every daimyō had a castle, which was the center and base of his control. On my way to and from school, I had to walk by that statue of a famous daimyō, pass through the beautiful Kenroku Park, and walk along what was left of the moat and walls on one side of the Kanazawa castle. And since these historical sites were always coming up in conversations with students, I soon became involved in the study of Kaga history.

My interest in Maeda Toshiie and Kaga continued throughout the remainder of my six years in Kanazawa. My interest was undoubtedly stimulated too by the fact that I, as a foreigner, could not enter the castle grounds, even though the castle was right beside the Fourth Higher School where I taught. I was not permitted to enter the castle grounds because that was the headquarters of a Japanese army division. After World War II, the new Kanazawa University was built on those castle grounds, and the old Fourth Higher School where I had taught became the university's lower division. So now anybody can enter that place surrounded by the remains of castle walls, but not when I worked and lived there.

But my research was focused on Maeda Toshiie, not on the castle. Before my first three years were over, I had read Japanese books about him and had translated into English a diary (the Toshiie Onyawa or Toshiie Tales) said to have been written by him, but probably had been kept by one of his retainers.

Lage: Was this published and in the bookstores, in the library?

Brown: No. After translating Toshiie's diary, I got interested (during my second three-year term) in documents that he had written and signed. My search led me to the Sonkeikaku Bunko, the archives of the Maeda clan located in Tokyo near the First Higher School which, after World War II, became the lower division of Tokyo University. The archives were and still are located in Tokyo because, after the Restoration of 1868, strong daimyō like Maeda were moved from their feudal bases to Tokyo where their descendants have continued to live in considerable comfort and style. At the Sonkeikaku Bunko, and with the help of a librarian and good friend by the name of Imai Kichinosuke, I found fifty-two documents written and signed by

Toshiie. These, as well as the Toshiie Onyawa, I translated into English.

Lage: My goodness, you were really driven.

Brown: [laughs] Well, I had a lot of help, not only from the local historian who was responsible for editing the Kaga shiryō (Kaga Documents) but from my good friend Imai Kichinosuke of the Sonkeikaku Bunko. When I returned to Japan again after the war, I saw Mr. Imai several times and he presented me with a copy (one hundred of these were said to have been made by a company specializing in reproductions) of a rare medieval emakimono (picture scroll) on the life of Sugawara no Michizane [845-903]. That three-scroll emakimono, as well as my multivolume set of the Kaga shiryō, are among the materials that I gave to the East Asian Library [EAL] at Cal a few years ago. I intend to see that the EAL also receives other Kaga books and manuscripts.

I did give translations (with commentary) of key documents written and signed by Toshiie to a Dutch officer of the Asiatic Society of Japan, hoping that he would accept them for publication in the society's monograph series called the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. But this Dutch officer, whose name I do not recall, took the manuscript with him to Europe where he got caught up in the war and was killed. The manuscript too was apparently destroyed. Since I had not kept a copy of the final draft, and got interested (after returning to Stanford) in other questions in medieval Japanese history, I never took the trouble to prepare and resubmit another such manuscript for publication. So nothing of what I wrote during those pre-war years is in print.

A Deepening Interest in Japanese Studies

Lage: Were you thinking at the time that this might become a life's work?

Brown: Yes, but I had not yet decided just which path to take. I was not at all sure that history was the right way to go, but I had definitely decided to spend the rest of my life learning, and learning with others as a teacher, about the life and culture of the Japanese people. A great curiosity had been aroused. Everything that was happening in my daily life in that distant part of Japan was so strange--I just had to keep trying to understand the processes by which their institutions and ideas had been developed, and were still developing.

- Lage: Did you find that they also thought you were strange? Or did they treat you--
- Brown: They did. Oh, yes. I was strange, all right.
- Lage: Did they ask a lot of questions of you?
- Brown: Yes. I suppose the questions they raised caused me to ask questions. Students were constantly asking me to tell them about America. "What is this college life like in America? What do college students do in America?" They didn't know enough about America to make their questions specific. When they did make the questions specific, they were often funny. I had one student ask me if we play baseball in America. Baseball came from America, but it had been in Japan so long and had become such a big thing, they did not know or had forgotten that it was introduced from America.
- Lage: I didn't realize that, that it had been in Japan that long.
- Brown: Yes. Baseball is big there, and has been for a long time.
- Lage: Yes, I knew that.
- Brown: It is probably bigger, and more people see it, than in this country. They were also interested in other strange things in the field of sports; kendo (swordsmanship) was really something. I went to see them practicing that one day. When I saw this traditional sport, I soon discovered that winning is not the whole story. The way you do it is extremely important. I remember going to see some students practicing with bows and arrows one day. This is another traditional form of martial arts called kyūdō.
- Lage: Archery.
- Brown: Yes, archery. They were shooting at a target and usually missing it. The students explained that certain students were doing it just right, even though they weren't hitting the target. This was puzzling. The importance they assigned to the way, to the form, to the style, to the manner in which they did things was what really mattered. It was the psychological stance that was significant.
- Lage: That impressed you at the time?
- Brown: I was more puzzled than impressed.

First Wife, Mary Nelson Logan Brown

Lage: Did you meet your wife during this time in Japan?

Brown: Mary and I met after I had been in Japan alone for two years. I met her at a summer resort called Nojiri, which is high in the mountains of central Japan, a resort where missionary families often went during the summer. In Japan it is pretty hot in most places, and so it was great to go to the mountains during the summer. Kanazawa was one of the hottest places. So I too usually escaped. I went to Nojiri the second summer. That is where I met Mary.

She was teaching elementary school children in Birmingham, Alabama, and had returned to Japan to visit her father, Dr. Charles A. Logan, who was a missionary in the city of Tokushima on the southern island of Shikoku. He and the two youngest of his three daughters (Mary and Martha) were in Nojiri to spend the summer with him. That was when I met Mary.

Lage: Had she been born and raised in Japan?

Brown: Yes. Her father had gone to Japan as a missionary for the Southern Presbyterian Church back in about 1904 and was stationed--from the first--at Tokushima. It was there that their two youngest daughters were born: Mary in 1908, and Martha in 1910. Dr. Harry Myers, who had married Dr. Logan's sister, had also gone as a missionary to Kobe--where there was that big earthquake a few months ago [January 17, 1995]--at about the time of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05.

Tokushima had no English-language school but Kobe had the old and famous Canadian Academy. So all three Logan daughters went through high school at the Canadian Academy where they stayed in a Canadian Academy dormitory but frequently visited their Uncle Harry and Aunt Grace. Before attending high school in Kobe, the three girls had had little formal schooling, only when Dr. and Mrs. Logan spent a one-year furlough in the United States. All three daughters had lessons for several hours on weekday mornings from their mother Patty, who used textbooks that had been prepared for the at-home education of children. Patty was obviously an excellent teacher as well as a loving wife and mother, for all three girls, after graduating from the Canadian Academy, entered--and later graduated from--Agnes Scott College in the outskirts of Atlanta, Georgia.

Lage: And what was her full name?

Brown: Mary Nelson Logan Brown.

Lage: She was born and raised there and went to teach in Alabama. That was probably a cultural shock of its own.

Brown: Yes, but she had experienced three rather drastic changes before going to Birmingham. The first came in 1910 when she was only two years old and her parents returned to the United States by way of Europe on their first sabbatical leave. Mary later remembered only that she had been a nuisance because of consistently refusing to drink her milk. The next was in 1919 when Dr. and Mrs. Logan spent their second sabbatical leave in Decatur, Georgia, where Mary was enrolled in the fifth grade. Then came the really big change in 1925 when she, at the age of sixteen and accompanied only by her younger sister Martha, sailed to the United States to enroll at Agnes Scott College.

But Mary seems never to have suffered cultural shock from any of these moves. Indeed I have the impression that she thrived on them, soon developing good friends in each new place and always getting high grades in her school work.

Although Mary did not return home to Japan a single time during her four years at college (between the ages of sixteen and twenty), she continued to have the loving support of family and relatives. All during those years (and later as well) there was a weekly exchange of letters between the daughters, and between the daughters and their parents. Moreover, in Mary's third year at Agnes Scott, Dr. and Mrs. Logan returned to the United States on their third sabbatical leave and lived right on the Agnes Scott campus. That was because Dr. Logan had been invited to teach a course there and was assigned a house in which the whole family could live. They all rated 1927-28 a glorious time.

At Agnes Scott, Mary developed good friends, spent some time with a boyfriend from Canadian Academy, was a member of the hockey team, majored in math, was tied with another girl for highest honors, and was elected to membership in Phi Beta Kappa. She once told me that she liked math because answers were always right or wrong--not fuzzy as when dealing with questions in history or philosophy.

So when she moved to Birmingham to teach, she had already become quite well adjusted to American life. Also there was a year between graduation and teaching that she spent with her father in Tokushima, following the sudden death of her mother Patty in 1928. Mary never told me much about that year with her father but it must have been rather dull since there were apparently no other young Americans in town. In any case she seems to have been delighted to

return to Birmingham where she not only had a lucrative position paying \$100 a month but lived in the home of a good friend--a classmate from Agnes Scott named Martha Riley Selman--and bought a new Ford that was used for a trip with friends to Washington, D.C., at the time of the inauguration of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932.

So when she returned to Japan in the summer of 1934, the purpose was to visit her father and her sister Martha, who had returned to Japan to stay with their lonely father. And it was in the summer of that year that we met and married.

Lage: So she ended up staying there?

Brown: She ended up staying there, because her father suggested that she give up the job and that we get married right away, not the next Christmas. [laughter] So we got married at the end of that summer, in Nojiri, with about thirty-five missionary families present. Then she went back to Kanazawa with me.

Lage: That changed your life. Now you had someone to talk to all the time.

Brown: That changed my life, very definitely. Yes, things were quite different. It was a new start.

Lage: Did she seem to have more of an understanding of the Japanese people?

Brown: Yes, she knew spoken Japanese quite well, having probably learned Japanese from maids and neighborhood children about as early as she learned English. We would go on excursions around Kanazawa and overhear Japanese talking together in their local dialect. To my surprise, Mary would giggle to herself and then tell me what they were saying. And when Japanese salesmen came to the door, it was she--not me--that figured out what they were trying to sell.

She had not studied the reading and writing of Japanese, but when she saw that I was working on Japanese readers, she joined me. It was easy for her and she soon caught up because she already knew most of the words represented by the characters we were studying. However, she soon lost interest in such study, for she did not share my urge to read books about Japanese history. In fact, she seems to have had no urge to learn more about Japanese culture. At times I even thought that she was not that happy about living in Kanazawa, where there were no more than a dozen other Americans.

Lage: She didn't necessarily want to spend her life there.

Brown: Yes. But we did spend a lot of time there. Maybe twenty years after we got married were spent in Japan. She never complained, but I often wondered if that was her preference.

Lage: Didn't you ask?

Brown: Yes, but she would say, "Whatever you want." [laughter]

Lage: Those days are gone.

Japanese Students

Lage: What kinds of Japanese people did you get to know? You got to know your students. What sort of a social background were they from?

Brown: Well, they were all outstanding. Each had been admitted to the Fourth Higher School because of passing an entrance examination given to three or four times as many as could be admitted. That meant that almost every student that I talked to--and many visited me at my home--said that he had graduated third or fourth from the top of his middle school class. (Middle schools provided five years of education beyond the elementary school of six years.) When I heard that an individual had graduated at that high position, I usually asked about those who had graduated first, second, or third in his class. In almost every case the answer was: "Oh, he entered the military academy." This indicated that the brightest and most able students had decided to become army or navy officers.

Those admitted to this particular higher school, and presumably to one of the other dozen or so, went on--almost without exception--to one of the five national universities. The brightest and most ambitious ones usually took an examination for admission to the top two: Tokyo or Kyoto. I never heard of a graduate of the Fourth Higher School who was not admitted to a national university. Those graduating from Tokyo or Kyoto at the top of their class usually entered the foreign service or some other governmental office. At least one of my students (Uryu-san) became an ambassador. Other top university graduates went on for training as academicians or joined some major corporation. Muto-san, the student who lived with me for that first year as my interpreter, became a professor of philosophy at Kyoto University and is famous for a three-volume study of Kierkegaard. Nakano-san joined a leading brokerage firm and was head of its New York office for five years.

I have seen Uryu-san and Muto-san on recent trips to Japan, and Nakano-san volunteered (after retirement) to teach economic Japanese to students at the Inter-University Center who were training themselves for doing business in Japan.

Lage: Well, I wondered about the social class of the people you had contact with. You have given a good answer here.

Brown: Most of the people I had contact with were students, teachers, and missionaries who were the foreigners in town. Then there was a German teacher--that is another story. All were quite different and interesting. The main thing about the students was that they were successful, and they didn't come from any particular social group. It is true that Muto's father was a successful businessman in Kobe. I have biographies, incidentally, of many of these students. When they finished my class, they were supposed to write an autobiography in English. That was their final examination, as it were.

Lage: Was that your assignment, or the school's assignment?

Brown: That was my assignment. And I have copies of them. I did find out about the family background of most of my students. My impression is that most of them were from ordinary, middle-class families. And maybe even lower than that.

Lage: But there was an ability to move up?

Brown: The big thing was: they were bright enough, energetic enough, and ambitious enough to get ahead in school. If they did that and were successful, they would come to this school.

I remember one day going out behind my house in the garden, shortly after we were married. Here was a woman coming in to pick up the garbage. She was the garbage collector. Being gung-ho in those days about learning Japanese, I started a conversation with her. She said, after a bit of talk about the weather, that her son was in the school where I was teaching.

She was obviously of a very humble family, and she was working to get enough money together to enable her son to go to this school. I don't know that I took the trouble of finding out--I don't think that student was in my class. But he undoubtedly became a very prosperous professional, probably an engineer or teacher, but from a very lowly background. So I don't know that the students came from a particular class.

Lage: That is interesting. Something I wouldn't expect.

Brown: Yes, it was a shocker.

I have another story. It is a little later, but it shows the same thing. At a nearby train station, an old man had a little shack for the articles he needed for shining shoes. I used to go regularly to him to get my shoes shined.

Once I went on a busy day, so his wife was helping him. She was almost blind, so blind that she couldn't see me. She didn't know I was a foreigner. When she was shining my shoes she was within six inches of my shoes, trying to see what she was doing. I got to talking to her. I don't know what we were talking about. Finally she looked up at me and she said, "Are you a foreigner?" I said, "Yes." Then she started asking me questions. Why am I in Japan? Where I came from? One thing and another. She finally said, "I have a nephew who is at Harvard." At Harvard!

I guess what all this says to me is that it is not class or social level that matters, it is education. If you can make it in education, that makes the difference. Education is important. That seems to explain why all Asian students, even to the second and third generation, are good students. They like to learn. It's somehow drilled into them. I think it comes from the Confucian background that is common to that whole area. Confucius himself was interested in learning. There developed in China a so-called literati class, a class of learning. That emphasis upon education and learning is a fascinating feature of Japanese, Chinese, and Southeast Asian culture.

Lage: Yes, it does seem to be.

An American in Japan

Lage: What encounters did you have with Japanese militarism or animosity towards Americans? You were there while relations were really getting bad with America.

Brown: Oh, yes. I was mostly considered a potential or real spy.

Lage: Really? By whom?

Brown: By the police and the military. Near the entrance to the castle was the police station.

Lage: And you had this great interest in the castle.

Brown: Yes. The police station was there, too. [laughing] One of the policemen was assigned to me. I think he really had responsibility for all foreigners. He didn't know any English, but it was his job to keep track of us, what we were doing and even what we were thinking.

Lage: With no English, that must have been hard.

Brown: He spoke to us in Japanese. This man would come to me--maybe once a month or more often. I would invite him in, give him tea, and we would talk. I could see that he had to write a report when he got back. He would ask where I had been, where I was going, what I was doing, and above all, whether I had any interest in Marxist books.

Lage: In Marxist books?

Brown: Yes. They were afraid of communism, you see. As a matter of fact, I went into a classroom one day and about a third of the class was missing. I was told that one of the students had been found in possession of some books on Marx. He and his friends were all picked up for questioning by the police. This policeman that came to me would always get around to the subject of Marx.

Lage: Were you ever tempted to tease about it, or was this pretty serious?

Brown: I knew it was coming. The position I usually took was, "Well, I don't know much about it. Tell me." I would ask him, "Who is this man by the name of Marx, anyway?" [laughter] And so on. If he would ask about it, I would say, "Do you think there is something I ought to read in this area?" I had fun with him.

One day I was walking down to school by the police office. I saw him on the other side of the street and went across to see him. I said, "I haven't seen you for a while." He said, "It's been kind of busy." I said, "You don't know I am going to Kyoto next weekend." He practically dropped in the ditch by the road.

Lage: Was that not--

Brown: He was supposed to know that. Here I was telling him something that he was supposed to find out, you see. He had to know right away, for his report, why I was going to Kyoto, and so on. He was especially worried about me when a friend of mine from Kobe--I think he was consul general in Kobe at that time--came to visit us in Kanazawa. The consul general may have been interested in visiting me because he wanted to find out what was going on in that division headquarters, I don't know. But because he did visit me,

this policeman really became quite inquisitive about him, about what he did while he was in Kanazawa, et cetera.

Then I went on a trip--this is even before I got married--to Korea and Manchuria one spring vacation. I took count. I think I was questioned seventeen times by policemen before I got to Seoul in Korea. I really was a problem for them because I didn't know where I was going or how long I was going to stay. I had no plans. I was playing it by ear.

Lage: Did you have to tell them before you went?

Brown: We were supposed to, but I just hadn't worked things out yet. I would often be awakened in the middle of the night on a train by a policeman who had just come on duty at a particular station to find out where I was going. It was really a nuisance. They were quite worried about espionage.

Lage: Did it disturb you that you had all this questioning?

Brown: No, it didn't. It sort of amused me, I don't know why. I suppose I should have been bothered, but I wasn't. That's what they were supposed to do. In class, of course, the students were always asking me about America's policy toward Japan.

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Lage: Shortly after you got there was the Manchurian Incident [1931], the Japanese invasion of Manchuria.

Brown: The Manchurian Incident, yes. That was when the Japanese military began to take over--it was a long process. That was just the first stage of it. Invariably, I would go into class and find some such question on the blackboard as, "Please explain why America is so unreasonable about Japan's position in Manchuria."

Lage: They would question you?

Brown: They would want me to explain, would want me to justify the American position. The United States was being quite critical of Japan. It was because of the American position on Japan's role in Manchuria that the Japanese eventually pulled out of the League of Nations. The international situation was always coming up.

Lage: Were you well enough informed to answer them?

Brown: I read the newspapers. I would try. My own position gradually shifted in the face of all this questioning. In the beginning, coming out of America and the university at the time of the

Depression, I had a lot of questions of my own about the way our government was operating and about our foreign policy. Nationalism was not a big thing with us at that time.

But in the face of these questions that I got from students and teachers over and over, day after day, I gradually became nationalistic, more defensive of the United States and what we were doing. I found myself not simply explaining, but justifying, in a way that I maybe shouldn't have. But that was the way I felt.

Lage: It is sort of a psychological phenomenon. I have heard other people talk about it.

Brown: I know this happened to my teacher at Stanford, Professor Yamato Ichihashi. In the United States he went through the same kind of change in the face of questions about Japan. He became more and more nationalistic and more defensive.

Lage: Did you find any of your students or the other teachers who questioned their own government's policy?

Brown: Very few. This also puzzled me. They all seemed to have exactly the same position. All seemed to believe in the official Japanese position about the foreign situation. More precisely, they all felt that what Japan was doing in Asia was good for the Asians. They had a kind of sacred mission that they kept talking about. It was harped on, over and over.

Lage: They didn't think of themselves as oppressors?

Brown: They seemed to believe what they were saying. That too was puzzling.

I remember a discussion in one class about American opposition to Japanese activities in China. One student said, "Can't the Americans, can't you, understand that the military is not there because we want more territory? They are there to help the Asians, to help the Chinese." My answer was, "I hear what you are saying. But from the American point of view, there is only one key fact that they see and know: Japanese troops are not in Japan, but in China." [laughter] That didn't satisfy them. They were in China for a good cause, a righteous cause.

Lage: It shows how we are shaped by our own points of view.

What about impressions you got of militarism?

Brown: I said that a division was stationed in the castle. On the way to the school I passed through what was known as the "Parade Ground."

It was a place for military exercises. That's where we also had our biggest ceremonies. The brother of the emperor came once, and we had the whole place filled with people. When I walked through there on the way to school, usually the military was out there training, with guns. I would hear guns being fired all around me. I had the uneasy feeling that a lot of those guns were aimed at me. They had blanks in the guns, I think. Still, I didn't feel any special antipathy. I did have a few rocks thrown at me at some distance. I wasn't hit. Although they got very angry at the United States at various times while I was there, and the students would ask me to explain American positions as if I had some responsibility for those positions, there was not much antipathy.

Lage: Did they ever ask you about American immigration policies or American treatment of Japanese?

Brown: Oh, yes, they would ask about that. But that wasn't such a great issue as the American position on Japanese activities in Asia. That's really what they were mostly interested in.

Neighbor and Fellow Teacher, the Nazi

Brown: My interest in international relations was further aroused by my neighbor, the German, who was a Nazi.

Lage: He was a fellow teacher?

Brown: Yes, he taught German and I taught English. He had a house just like mine. There were two houses. One for the German teacher, one for the English teacher. This German couple was about the same age as we were. We saw each other often. We ate dinner with them frequently and played a German version of bridge called Skat. We learned how to play it and spent a good deal of time with that.

But we also talked about politics.

Lage: In Japanese?

Brown: No, in English. He was very good in English, although there was a definite accent. He was very bright and interesting, but a Nazi. He had gotten a Ph.D. in philosophy and was a sculptor. He came to Japan with an interest in a famous sculptor who lived in Kanazawa. He came after I did, and I remember that soon after his arrival, he got one of the Japanese German teachers to run down a book that had been written about this sculptor, a book that he had heard about before coming to Japan. He got hold of that book and hired a tutor

who started teaching him how to read it. His study of Japanese was limited to the study of that book about a former Japanese sculptor. It took him weeks to get through the first page. He wouldn't study anything else, just that book.

I must say, he learned Japanese very rapidly. I became convinced that it was a good approach, which I have frequently recommended to students. I am convinced that I learned Japanese as rapidly as I did because I was working on historical materials in which I had a special interest. I think I learned more Japanese than I would have if I had just been studying textbooks.

This German, who was a Nazi, soon revealed that he was a Nazi. I saw him at a summer resort called Karuizawa, for example, where he was associating with other Nazis. He was "Heil Hitlering" everybody as he went down the streets of Karuizawa. He made no bones about being a supporter of Hitler. He justified everything that Hitler was doing and doubted whether democracy made any sense whatsoever. He was constantly raising questions about ideals which I had assumed were important--

Lage: And universal, almost universal.

Brown: Yes. It was really troubling to talk to him. We really got angry at each other, over and over. But since we lived next door, we still continued to see each other. I must say, he made me rethink and rethink my own position about what was important and valuable. Getting his position and the Japanese position, both of which were entirely different from my own, was really--

Lage: Did it solidify you in your own tradition, make you--

Brown: Oh, yes. It forced me to think things through and to understand why our ideals are important and what they really meant. I somehow had to work out in my own mind just who a liberal was and what he believed. I could do that, I think, because it was so different from what he was saying about liberalism: that it was nothing but a form of weakness. Power and strength was what he talked about.

Lage: Fascinating. Do you think that stood you in good stead, this process you had of thinking things through? Would it have affected you?

Brown: It stimulated me, yes. I had to get ready for my next conversation with him. My next defense was coming up.

Lage: What about the next part of your life? Did this carry through to confronting some crisis or--

Brown: To the extent that it stimulated my thinking about cultural values, my own values, and the values of the Japanese and the Germans, a kind of comparative slant appeared.

Lage: Or maybe affected your scholarship?

Brown: I think so. It didn't make me more excited about or receptive to his ideas, but I still had to try to understand them and understand how they got that way, and why.

Lage: Sounds like an historian to me.

Brown: Yes, right. In a way, the Germans and the Japanese were moving down the same authoritarian track. I was, in a sense, responding to both. It was really stimulating.

"Emperorism"--The Religion of Japan

Brown: I became interested quite early in the emperor's position and what it had to do with the strange behavior and value system of the Japanese people.

This strangeness struck me quite sharply one day when I was going to the back of the school where the basketball court was located. On the way I saw that every student passing a certain place stopped and bowed before going on. After seeing this two or three times, I asked somebody why. The answer was: "They are bowing to a picture of the emperor." And when I expressed surprise and asked if I could see the picture, the answer was, "Oh, no! It is locked up in a vault."

Later on I also discovered that the teachers took turns guarding the vault, but this foreign teacher was not requested to take a turn--he was not my emperor!

At every national holiday ceremony that I attended during my six years of teaching at that school, this sacred picture of the emperor was taken from its vault (presumably in a ceremonial way that I had no opportunity to observe) and placed in an alcove at the back of the stage in the school's ceremonial hall. For this special occasion every teacher, including this foreign one, was expected to be dressed in a morning suit, and every student was expected to have his uniform clean--even the towel that was traditionally hung from his right hip pocket was unusually clean! Clearly the central object of reverence was the picture.

As soon as the principal of the school walked in carrying a box in which we knew was a copy of the Imperial Edict on Education (handed down by Emperor Meiji in the year 1890), the curtains in front of the emperor's picture were pulled open. And as soon as that happened, everybody was expected to bow, and to remain bowing as long as the curtains before the emperor's picture were open.

Lage: It is hard to look at the picture while you are bowing.

Brown: You have to peek! [laughter] By peeking I saw that it was a picture of the emperor, and not a very big one. It was however obviously treated as something quite sacred. So while the principal ceremoniously unrolled the Imperial Rescript, and began to read it in a ritualistic way, we had to keep bowing.

Whenever our principal read the Rescript on one of the national holidays, he was careful to read it right. I was told that there had been several occasions, at other times and places, when the Rescript was read improperly and when negligent and disrespectful principals were forced to commit suicide.

When our principal would finish his reading of the Rescript, which was on a scroll, he would slowly and respectfully rewind it and then put it back into its special box. After he walked--slowly and with great dignity--from the platform, the curtain before the emperor's picture would be closed, and everybody could leave, but only in a proper and orderly fashion.

The sacred position of the emperor in the hearts and minds of the Japanese people was revealed at other times and places. Once at the station where I was taking a train for a neighboring town, I spotted a virtually empty car on the train that I was taking. When I started to enter, I was firmly told that no one was permitted to enter that car. I soon saw why. In the very middle of the car sat four men dressed in morning suits, sitting up stiffly and holding a box on their laps. Someone explained that these men were delivering a picture of the emperor to some school. Presumably when they arrived, the picture would be placed in a vault and be brought out only for important ceremonies when the Imperial Rescript on Education would be reread to all assembled teachers and students.

A missionary teacher, a Japanese man that I was talking to just before I came home in 1938, said that the religion of Japan is not Shinto or Buddhism, or Christianity, but Emperorism. In a sense, he was right.

For more than a thousand years the emperor has been revered as a direct descendant of the Great Sun Goddess. Whenever a new

emperor is placed on the throne, a Great Enthronement Ceremony (daijō-sai) is held. The one for Emperor Akihito lasted more than a year. At the heart of this most sacred rite, it is said and believed that a part of the Great Sun Goddess enters the body of the new emperor, making him the highest and most sacred priest of Japan, a kind of pope.

Since the end of World War II, he has of course been treated quite differently. Soon after the war, Emperor Hirohito even publicly stated that he was not divine. But in the pre-war years when I was teaching in Japan, he was so divine that few people--especially foreigners like me--ever saw him. I remember reading that when he was going to some special affair in the city of Nagano, a terrible mistake was made. Everything possible had been done to clean up the streets along which the emperor was scheduled to pass--even steps had been taken to see that no one was on the second floor of any building where he or she might look down on the emperor. But someone at the head of the procession turned right when he should have gone straight ahead. This meant that the emperor proceeded down a street that had not been properly prepared and cleaned. I forget how many people committed suicide over that. But, as I recall, even the minister of the Interior had to resign. This was another indication of the emperor's importance and divinity.

Lage: Is this the subject of the book you are working on at this point?

Brown: I am working now on a book on the Great Goddess. I want to see how this religious development is related to the whole of Japanese culture. I want to look at the problem holistically.

Lage: Interesting. I think we should wind up, because we've spent a long time.

Militarism in Japan

[Interview 2: March 20, 1995] ##

Lage: We talked quite a bit last session about your time in the thirties in Japan. We were just getting to your observations of the growing militarism. You were going to tell me about an incident with the Young Officers' Movement that you observed.

Brown: That's right. I said something about my experience seeing soldiers in Kanazawa where I lived all during that period. I was very much aware of the presence and power of the military. Did I say

anything about my relations with military officers in the school in which I taught?

Lage: No, I don't believe so.

Brown: This school where I taught, the Fourth Higher School, was somewhat like a junior college. It was a preparatory school for the universities. There were only about fifteen of these schools around the country. No student got into the university without going through one of these higher schools. Therefore getting into it was difficult. As I think I said earlier, only students graduating at the top of their middle school classes could expect admission. And all graduates, almost without exception, were admitted to one of the national universities and eventually rose to high positions in business or government.

But army officers were assigned to all these dozen or so prominent preparatory schools. Their function was to take care of the students' required military training. Some of this took the form of several days of training in the outskirts of town, which came several times during the year and was never cancelled because of inclement weather. Students seemed to dislike such training, especially when it came in the dead of winter or at a time of heavy rain.

One day I went into one of my classes and discovered that about half of the students were absent. When I started asking about this, I discovered that they had had an all-weekend military training session in the rain. One morning when they were supposed to get up for training at dawn, some of the students just wouldn't move. They stayed in bed. The officers lowered the boom on them. They were expelled from school temporarily, because of this disobedience. So this military side of the education was quite apparent and very interesting.

Lage: It doesn't sound like the students were too enthused about it.

Brown: No, they weren't. They weren't exactly opposed to military training, they just didn't like this long, tedious training, especially if it was raining or cold.

Lage: Creature comforts, rather than philosophy. [laughter]

Brown: That's right.

The Party and the Geisha Girl

Brown: I had one personal contact with a high-ranking army officer assigned to our school. The occasion was a faculty dinner party. Since our school was only for male students, and the teachers were all men, no woman was present as a guest, although there were women waiters and geisha girls. But this top military officer, considered to be a member of the faculty, was present.

I have referred to this as a dinner party but it was not like a dinner party in this country. Not only were there no wives or female teachers present, we sat on the tatami floor of a large Japanese-style room. Each of us sat on cushions arranged around the room, and before each of us was a small table to which waitresses brought (on their knees) one special dish after another. Geisha girls were also present. I don't need to explain about geisha, do I?

Lage: I don't think so, except in the context of this story.

Brown: Several aspects of that party were interesting. One was my going to the affair with my German Nazi neighbor, a self-assured man who was well over six feet tall. After taking off our shoes he preceded me (naturally) through the entrance way to the main banquet room. We both knew, as we entered, that we were expected to bow and greet those who had arrived before us. He decided to do it in the Japanese way, kneeling down on the mat and greeting our colleagues in Japanese. As he did this, I looked at the faces of our fellow teachers and got the distinct impression that this German was performing a ludicrous stunt--that this was an odd-looking foreigner trying to act like a Japanese and making a fool of himself.

Lage: It wasn't expected of a foreigner?

Brown: No. So I decided not to do it that way, to do it in the American way. I stood up and just bowed and said "Good evening" in English.

Lage: In English?

Brown: I even did it in English. In other words, I jumped to the conclusion that I was supposed to act like a foreigner, and because I wouldn't be able to do it quite right in the Japanese way.

I think this had something to do with the way I behaved toward the Japanese thereafter. I did not try to be a Japanese, although I worked hard at using the Japanese language. On ceremonial situations, where it didn't really matter that much what you said,

I felt that speaking in English was what was expected, and even appreciated.

The other experience that I had was with this army officer. Maybe I should talk about the geisha girl first.

Lage: I would like to hear a little about the geisha girl. [laughter]

Brown: Are you listening, Margaret? [Calls to Mrs. Brown]

Lage: She's on the phone. I can hear her voice. Were you married at the time?

Brown: I was married, just recently married, but the wives were not invited.

Lage: Which was standard?

Brown: Which was standard. Mary had been in Japan long enough to realize that she would not be invited and was therefore neither surprised nor hurt.

Five or six geisha girls were present. They were not waiting on tables--waitresses were doing that--but entertaining the guests by serving them sake, conversing and joking with them, and (later on in the evening) singing, dancing, and playing the samisen, a three-stringed musical instrument introduced from China around the sixteenth century.

During the dinner one particular geisha came to my table to pour sake and to talk. Like each of the colleagues who had come to share cups of sake with me, she politely kneeled in front of my table, took my small sake cup (with both hands), daintily dipped it into a bowl of water that was nearby to get it clean, and handed it to me to hold while she poured some sake into it from a nearby sake bottle. (The maids saw to it that empty bottles were immediately replaced.) Then after I had taken a sip or two, I would dip the cup into the water and hand it (with both hands) to her and while she held it (with both hands), I would pour a drink for her. As this was going on, she was raising stock questions as to why I had come to Japan and whether I really liked their foul weather. Then she asked me where and how we ate. I told her that we had a Japanese maid who knew how to cook both Japanese and Western meals. Then she said, "How do you talk to her?" My reply was: "We talk to her the way I am talking to you." She seemed a bit startled by that and blurted out, "Oh, we are talking in Japanese, aren't we?"

Lage: How funny! Was she flirtatious in talking to you?

Brown: No, I wouldn't say so. This is hard to understand but it was generally assumed that no foreigner could possibly speak Japanese. They were so convinced of this that even when we said anything, it was assumed that we were speaking in some foreign language, not Japanese. This geisha girl too seemed to think that since I was a foreigner and was talking, I must be talking in some non-Japanese language.

Lage: That is a very funny mindset.

Brown: Yes. It is a mindset that I ran across on other occasions. So I wasn't that much surprised by her reaction. She did, at least, laugh when she realized that we were speaking in Japanese.

Anyway, most of the four-hour dinner party was taken up with eating (we probably had fifteen or twenty different small dishes of various delicacies, topped off with as much rice as one wanted) and exchanging drinks and talking. One would normally be visited by, and visit, each of the guests present, as well as drink and talk with one or more geisha. So I must have talked with that particular geisha two or three times.

Lage: Lots of drinking, it sounds like.

Brown: Oh, yes. Lots of drinking. I was exchanging drinks with this army officer when he said to me, "Why don't you go to the geisha house with us after the party?" He had seen me talking to this girl. But I said, "I am married, and I don't think my wife would like me to do that." I think it was he--maybe it was the principal of the school that I was also exchanging drinks with--who said, in urging me to go to the geisha house after the dinner party, "The way to handle the wife is to stay out all night. She will be so glad to see you when you do come home in the morning that she will forget everything." [laughter]

There was one follow-up to that party. I was going to school one morning on a streetcar when I saw the same geisha girl. I was a bit worried because I knew very well that any sort of relationship with a geisha would get out. It was a very serious matter, probably leading to deportation. That's what I had been told.

Lage: But if you had gone to the geisha house that night, would that have not gotten out?

Brown: That would have been in the privacy of the geisha house. But this was in a public streetcar. She was standing just a few feet away and students were all around. I was convinced that she had noticed me--most everyone noticed foreigners because we were so few in

number and so different--but she acted as if she had no idea who I was. (Later I was told that geisha are trained not to recognize customers in public places.) Anyway, I was relieved that she did not recognize me. That was the last time I ever saw her.

The Young Officers' Movement, 1936

Brown: Getting back to the military connection, in 1936 there was a famous incident in Tokyo called the February 26th Incident, in which young army officers almost seized control of the government. There weren't too many of them, maybe a hundred or two. They used their weapons to methodically assassinate five or six key government leaders. Then they established their headquarters in the Sanno Hotel, which still exists. For several hours, while they were in control even of radio stations, it was thought that they might have taken control of the entire Japanese government.

As it turned out, the army soon regained control. Rebel leaders were arrested and tried. Several were condemned to death.

This is thought to have been a turning point in modern Japanese history. After that, the army and navy exerted far greater power in political and international affairs. The uprising was led by young military officers taking military action against their superior officers who, they said, were too cozy with Japan's greedy politicians and bureaucrats.

Lage: Were they of a more militaristic bent than the--?

Brown: The young officers, you mean?

Lage: Right.

Brown: They were junior army officers who felt that the government of Japan was really being run by corporation heads who really did not care about the welfare of the people, who were more interested in making money than serving the country. So these rebels set out to assassinate the principal leaders and to see that "righteous" military men were placed in positions of control. Their enemies were not only powerful industrialists and politicians but top military officers who were not paying enough attention to a "righteous form of imperial rule." What they wanted was to establish a government that would be run by the emperor (another restoration) with the advice of "righteous" generals and admirals that were named.

A student by the name of Royal Wald wrote his dissertation under me on the "Young Officer Movement" of those years. His research showed that most of these young officers were from rural areas that had been hit hard by the economic depression. Although Japan's depression does not seem to have been as serious as it was in the United States, there was a sharp drop in the price of silk after 1929 that caused a collapse in the Japanese export of silk and that made life quite miserable for farmers in areas where people were making a living from the sale of raw silk. And it was from such areas that most of the discontented young military officers came. Miserable conditions at home seems to have been connected with their objections to the way government was being run.

In a sense the rebels, although defeated and ruthlessly punished, succeeded. While they did not succeed in getting their "righteous" officers placed in positions of control, their rebellion was followed by the appointment of prime ministers and cabinet officers who placed more and more control in the hands of military leaders. That gave the military greater control over affairs of state. I think most scholars of the period would agree that after 1936 the military--the army and the navy--really controlled Japan.

Lage: Was that something you would have noticed as somebody living there at the time? Or does this come in retrospect from your studies?

Brown: Oh, no. We could see it. It was in the newspapers every day.

Lage: So you were following that kind of--

Brown: Oh, yes. I was reading the newspapers and listening to the radio every day, like everybody else. The students, teachers, and most everyone that I met and talked with were concerned. One of my colleagues at the Fourth Higher School said that he was humiliated by the development, saying that Japan was now like the Balkans.

Shortly after the February Incident, all schools were closed for the spring vacation. And that was when Mary and I went to visit Mary's missionary cousins (Dr. and Mrs. Smythe of the Kinjō Gakuin college for girls) in Nagoya, which is one of Japan's three largest cities. We stayed in their beautiful home and had a most pleasant Easter vacation. During our stay I met a young army officer who had come to visit Dr. Smythe, apparently because he had been attending Dr. Smythe's Bible class. This young man turned out to belong to the same regiment to which most of the young rebels belonged. Consequently he knew many of the persons whose names had been appearing in the newspapers and radio broadcasts. And it soon became clear that he felt the same way and would have joined them

in the rebellion if he had been on duty at the time. Instead he was in Nagoya recuperating from illness. Since he had said enough to Dr. Smythe to indicate his connections and leanings, and Dr. Smythe passed the word along to me, I became interested in meeting and talking to him. So we were introduced. We spent hours together because he was interested in talking about the affair, and I was interested in listening. My Japanese was better than his English, and so the sessions were entirely in Japanese.

Lage: Too bad you didn't have a tape recorder.

Brown: It is too bad I didn't have a tape recorder, like this one. I did write a long letter for Professor Treat later on, but I have no copy. Recently a man at Stanford was going through the papers of Professor Treat and found several letters that I had written to Professor Treat, but not that one. It was one that I wanted especially to see because I had spent a long time writing it, and I kept no copy. If I could have looked over that letter before this interview, I would be much wordier in responding to your question. I do recall, however, a distinct sense of discontent and anger that he shared with fellow officers who had decided to rebel against their greedy and selfish leaders.

Lage: Was he also from an area that had been hit economically?

Brown: Apparently. I don't remember asking what part of the country he came from, but his home must have been near Nagoya because that is where he had come to recuperate. He said or implied that he too would have been out there shooting at those greedy officials if he had been well. Instead, he was ill and at home.

Lage: It is interesting that he felt free to talk to you.

Brown: That is also interesting. I have gotten the impression on other occasions that the Japanese are willing to say things to foreigners that they might not say to a Japanese. I don't know just why this is. Of course the young officer had already talked to Dr. Smythe in Japanese and probably was not surprised to meet his Japanese-speaking foreigner. I do not know why but many Japanese seem to talk more freely to foreigners than with each other.

Lage: Maybe they knew you didn't have corridors into power, to report on them, or--

Brown: That might be. I certainly didn't know anyone to report to.

Lage: Of course, you did have your officer that you had to report to, the officer that interviewed you periodically about your activities.

Brown: Oh, yes. I didn't tell him about that conversation. You mean the police officer in Kanazawa?

Lage: Right.

Brown: That is interesting. I don't think he asked me about my stay in Nagoya. If he did, I would have told him when and where I went but would certainly not have told him that I had been talking to a young radical. That might have caused him and me a lot of trouble.

Lage: Right. That's very interesting. You were really seeing all this history in the making.

Brown: That's right. Getting to talk to a young military officer involved in the February Incident of 1936. One does not often have that kind of experience.

Decision to Leave Japan

Lage: We could probably spend our whole interview talking about this time period, because it is so interesting. But I think we should try to move on, why you left Japan and how you happened to go back for graduate studies.

Brown: About leaving Japan, I had a problem. I had an opportunity to stay in Japan another three years, having received an offer of a position to teach English at the Peers School in Tokyo, a special school for members of the royal family. I was tempted to take the position because that would enable me to achieve greater mastery of the language, and to learn more Japanese history, especially if I were to study under Japanese historians at the Tokyo University, the country's most prestigious university.

I was undoubtedly influenced by the knowledge that Professor Serge Elisseeff of Harvard had studied at Tokyo University before beginning his teaching career in Paris, and later accepting an appointment at Harvard. And it so happened that Professor Elisseeff was in Tokyo during that spring of 1938, just when I was trying to decide whether to stay on in Japan for another three years. We too were in Tokyo at the time, having arrived there to spend the spring vacation with Mary's father, Dr. Charles A. Logan and his new wife Laura. So I went to see Dr. Elisseeff and to seek his advice on what I should do. Knowing that he had spent several years at Tokyo University, I fully expected him to recommend that I take the route he had taken. But to my amazement, this was not recommended. Instead he said, quite emphatically, that if my aim

was to become a professor in Japanese history at an American university, I should spend no more time in Japan but return to the United States and become a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at an American university. It was more important, he pointed out, to obtain an American Ph.D. than to spend more time gaining a better knowledge of Japan's language and history.

Lage: It was more a career--

Brown: Yes. He was thinking about my future as a teacher, because I had to think about getting a job and making a living. And other people, too, made recommendations along that line. So I decided not to take the job.

Lage: That would have put you there right in 1941, wouldn't it?

Brown: That's right. That would have been a really troublesome period. Already the war with China had started. That began back in '37, and I left in '38. The situation didn't look good. Maybe that influenced me.

Lage: How about your wife? Did she want to get out of Japan?

Brown: I think, as I said earlier, she probably preferred to live in the United States. That may have been another factor. Although she always said that whatever I wanted to do would be what she wanted to do. [laughter]

So I applied for admission to Stanford for work toward a Ph.D. in Japanese history. At that time I also applied for a scholarship, because I was married and we had to think about making a living after we got back. I applied to the Rockefeller Foundation and they offered me a scholarship with the condition that I go either to Harvard, Colombia, or Berkeley.

Herbert Norman and Howard Norman

Brown: After talking to various people, including Howard Norman and his brother Herbert Norman--

Lage: Who were they?

##

Brown: Howard and Herbert Norman were born in Japan as sons of a distinguished Canadian missionary. We first became acquainted with

Howard and his wife Gwen because he, the older of the two sons, had become a missionary and was living near us in Kanazawa. Their home, located beside the parade grounds mentioned above, was where Dr. Harper Coates (Howard's predecessor in Kanazawa) had also lived.

Before going on about Howard and his brother Herbert, I feel impelled to say something about Dr. Harper Coates because he was, in addition to being a conscientious and diligent missionary, a distinguished Buddhist scholar who had much to do with my interest in, and study of, Japanese history. He had become immersed in the study of Japan's Buddhist Reformation of the thirteenth century and in comparing it with the Christian Reformation, which came approximately three centuries later.

Lage: Interested in studying it, or interested in becoming one?

Brown: He was interested in studying Buddhism, not in becoming a Buddhist. Indeed I think it is fair to say that he became engaged in a serious study of Hōnen, a leading figure of Japan's Buddhist Reformation, because he thought such study would make him a better missionary. That surely was what drove other missionaries, such as Dr. Daniel Holtom and Dr. Karl Reischauer, to immerse themselves in the study of Japanese religion and history, and to turn out distinguished books and articles. Dr. Coates had been in Japan several years by the time of my arrival in 1932, and had worked with a Japanese scholar in producing a two-volume study of Hōnen. [Hōnen, The Buddhist Saint: His Life and Teachings (1930)] It is still a valued reference for graduate students engaged in research at the Institute of Buddhist Studies in Berkeley, an institute supported by a popular Buddhist sect rooted in the teachings and writings of Hōnen. Dr. Coates' impressive command of Japanese, and his enthusiasm for gaining an in-depth knowledge of a Buddhist leader who is often compared to Luther, certainly rubbed off on me, and made me quite willing to spending several hours a day on the study of Japan's language and history.

Lege: Do they call it protestant Buddhism?

Brown: No, they refer to it as their Buddhist Reformation, not using a Japanese equivalent of "protestant". The history of Japan's Buddhist Reformation is however often compared to the history of the West's Protestant Reformation, although the former came three centuries earlier. Several Buddhist sects emerged in Japan during the thirteenth century, just as several Protestant denominations were founded in Europe and America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. So it was logical that Dr. Coates should have become interested in a Buddhist teacher whose writings are as important to modern Buddhism as the writings of Luther and Calvin are to modern Christianity.

Lage: Somehow--I don't even know what question to ask you--but it intrigues me that the Christian missionaries who were going to Japan to convert Japanese to Christianity would develop this extreme interest in the native religion.

Brown: I think that they were doing it in order to convert the Japanese.

Lage: So it wasn't just an abstract interest, but he had a reason for it.

Brown: Yes, they were really interested in the Japanese and felt that they had to know something about their religious beliefs and practices if conversions were to be made. Their position was not unlike that of a businessman who feels that he must know the tastes of his potential customers in order to make sales pitches, or write ads, that will sell goods. Many missionaries--not all to be sure--were quite sure they would be successful only if they studied the Japanese language and religion.

Dr. Coates was certainly open-minded and tolerant. I remember an incident in which these qualities were manifested. A distinguished American scholar of Shinto came to Kanazawa while I was there. I did not meet him and do not remember his name, but priests of a local Buddhist temple invited him to make a public presentation of his views and findings. But this foreign scholar knew no Japanese and the priests at the temple knew no English. So Dr. Coates was invited to serve as interpreter, and he readily accepted. So here in this distant part of Japan, at a time when the nationalism of Japan was being referred to as "ultranationalism", we have a Christian Baptist missionary (Dr. Coates) interpreting for an American scholar speaking on Shinto at a Buddhist temple.

Lage: That is wonderful. [laughing]

So you decided that Harvard wasn't the place?

Brown: Well, it was Dr. Elisseeff that convinced me I should not do graduate work at Tokyo University, and Herbert Norman who convinced me I should not go to Harvard, even though I had received a scholarship that was contingent upon going there for graduate work, or to Columbia or Berkeley. And I felt I had to show how my contact with Herbert was preceded by a rather special relationship with his brother Howard, whose predecessor in Kanazawa was Dr. Coates.

Howard, like Dr. Coates, had a deep and special interest in the life and culture of the Japanese people. But unlike Dr. Coates who had to start his study of the Japanese language after arriving in Japan as a missionary, Howard had been born in Japan and had

used Japanese since childhood. But like Dr. Coates, he seems to have felt compelled, as a missionary, to gain an in-depth knowledge of the Japanese people. His study was however not centered on religion but on literature. He read widely in modern Japanese literature and translated the works of famous authors into English.

Now I come to Herbert Norman who had told me about his experience at Harvard, and who was later to become famous for his book The Emergence of Modern Japan, and as a Canadian diplomat. I first met Herbert during the summer of 1936, I think it was, when he was a graduate student at Columbia and was back in Japan for some special study. Herbert was not a missionary like his father and brother, but was deeply interested in the history and culture of the Japanese people and decided to become a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in history. He started his graduate training at Harvard but moved to Columbia because, he said, the professors at Harvard (such as Dr. Elisseff) were specialists in literature or philology, not in history. During a long walk I had with him and his Japanese friend at Karuizawa (we talked only in Japanese), he explained why he had left Harvard. I feel quite sure that what he had to say had a great deal to do with my final decision not to become a candidate for the Ph.D. at either Harvard, Columbia or Berkeley, but at Stanford where there was a Japanese professor of Japanese history (Professor Ichihashi Yamato) but where I would not receive a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship.

I should note here that I did not see Herbert again until 1946, when he was Canada's chief diplomatic officer in Tokyo. And it was not long afterward that his name began to come up in Washington hearings linked with the McCarthy witch-hunt because he had been associated with groups and activities tagged as pro-Communist. This was obviously a great embarrassment to Herbert. We do not know for sure, but it is felt that these charges and suspicions may have caused him to commit suicide in Cairo, where he was then serving as Canada's ambassador to Egypt.

Lage: What a sad story.

Brown: Yes. I know he had some influence on my decision not to stay on in Japan, and also on my not going to Harvard, Columbia, or Berkeley, because even though that is where my scholarship said I should go, those universities did not offer courses in history by professors who knew Japanese and who used Japanese sources.

Lage: But Stanford did?

Brown: Stanford had a Japanese professor by the name of Yamato Ichihashi.

Lage: And you had studied with him as an undergraduate.

Brown: I had taken a course with him. And Professor Treat was also at Stanford. So I felt that I could get better guidance in Japanese history at Stanford, which had a professor who was teaching courses in Japanese history and who knew the Japanese language. Even Berkeley did not have such a professor of Japanese history at that time.

Lage: Which was a situation you later remedied.

Brown: Right. [laughter]

III GRADUATE SCHOOL AND THE NAVY

Stanford University, and Professor Yamato Ichihashi

Brown: So I gave up the scholarship and applied for admission to the Graduate Division at Stanford for work toward the Ph.D. in Japanese history under Professor Yamato Ichihashi. That was probably a mistake, because it turned out that Professor Ichihashi was not deeply involved in Japanese historical research. His graduate training had been in economics at Harvard, not in Japanese history. He had received an appointment at Stanford to teach Japanese history not because of achievement in that field but because he was a Japanese who had received his Ph.D. at Harvard, and because Professor Payson J. Treat (a specialist in Far Eastern diplomatic history) and President David Starr Jordan (a marine biologist who had spent some time in Japan) felt that Stanford should add a specialist on Japan to its faculty. So he was given an appointment in the history department.

Lage: He wasn't in the profession?

Brown: Yes. And there weren't many books at Stanford.

Lage: So the library wasn't adequate--

Brown: Yes, one could say that. I soon discovered that Professor Ichihashi's interest in Japanese history was quite limited. He was making a special study in the remarkable cultural developments of the eighth century and had taken voluminous notes on the art and architecture of that Nara period. He was intrigued by the remarkable changes made in Japan during those years, when the country's leaders were avid students of the splendor of Chinese T'ang culture and were adopting ambitious bureaucratic, educational, religious, and economic reforms (usually following Chinese models) that were indeed amazing. But as far as I know, he never published anything in this field.

When I wrote my first seminar paper for Professor Ichihashi, using documentary material on local Kaga history that I had accumulated in Kanazawa, he seemed to have no interest whatsoever in the history of that part of Japan in the sixteenth century. Consequently he raised no questions, made no recommendations, and volunteered no comments about the historical problem I had taken up. Moreover, he expressed no interest in the Japanese sources I had used and raised no questions about my translation of specialized Japanese terms. Nothing was ever said about books and articles (English or Japanese) that I might read. I even discovered that neither Professor Ichihashi nor the Stanford library had a file of the Shigaku Zasshi, the leading Japanese historical journal (comparable to the American Historical Review in the United States). Instead, he merely indicated words and punctuation marks that should be added to, or removed from, my English sentences.

Although he gave me an A for the paper, my disappointment was great. I seriously considered moving to another graduate school. But during the hours and days that I mulled over the problem of working under a professor of history who seemed incapable of stimulating, encouraging, or helping me to carry out research in Japanese history, I finally concluded that moving to another graduate school made no sense. It would not only take additional time and money but would undoubtedly be interpreted as an academic failure that would have to be overcome. So I decided to stick it out: to say to myself and Mary that Professor Ichihashi's unhelpful and authoritarian samurai ways would not prevent me from getting the Ph.D. degree and preparing myself for a career of teaching and research in Japanese history.

Professor Lynn White

Lage: So what did you do for guidance?

Brown: I received guidance, stimulation, and encouragement from other professors at Stanford, notably from Professor Payson J. Treat and Professor Thomas Bailey (who showed me how a lecturer can stimulate student interest in learning more about human experience in a particular field of history) and from Professor Lynn White (whose historical theories and explanations of developments in European medieval history aroused in me a great curiosity about whether such theories and explanations could be applied to similar developments in Japanese medieval history). Both my M.A. thesis on the introduction and spread of firearms in medieval Japan and my Ph.D. dissertation on the use of coins in medieval Japan were reports on

research arising from an urge--aroused in courses taken from Lynn White--to find out whether firearms and money had affected the course of history in Japan as they had in Europe.

Although both the M.A. thesis and Ph.D. dissertation were submitted to a committee headed by Professor Ichihashi, he provided no bibliographical or analytical help for either. Moreover, no Japanese sources for either study were found in the Stanford library where Japanese holdings were then quite weak. (Nowadays they are very strong). Therefore most of my research for the M.A. thesis was done in materials found at Berkeley, and for my Ph.D. dissertation in materials held by the East Asian Library at Harvard.

Lage: You mean, the topics were European and you looked at it--

Brown: Yes, problems were raised by Lynn White in European history that I felt should be raised in my study of Japanese history. For example, Lynn White had a special interest in technology--am I getting too far off?

Lage: No, I think, without spending too much time, this is important.

Brown: Well, Lynn was a most stimulating historian. He was in his thirties at that time, young but already a full professor and said to be the most distinguished medievalist in the United States. He was a fascinating lecturer and had this special interest in the effects of particular technological advances on the subsequent military, political, economic, and even religious life everywhere. His lectures were fascinating, and attracted large numbers of students.

Lage: Were these new questions that he was asking that people hadn't asked before?

Brown: They were at least new for us, and very stimulating.

[tape interruption]

Lage: Okay, now we are back on after a phone conversation. We are talking about Lynn White and his new theories.

Brown: In his technological studies, he was digging up information about when the stirrup, for example, was first introduced to Europe. Then he would tell us what happened after the stirrup was introduced, which led to the fascinating conclusion that only after the stirrup was introduced could soldiers fight while they were on horseback. Otherwise, they would fall off. He felt that the whole tradition of fighting on horseback was tied up with the spread of

knighthood in Europe. None of this could have happened if there had been no stirrups.

So one of the first questions he raised with me was: How about stirrups in Japan? He had seen and studied pictures of haniwa (clay figurines placed around burial mounds erected all over Japan during the Burial Mound age that came to a close in about 600 A.D.) and had discovered that one of them was a representation of a man riding a horse. And that the man had a stirrup on one foot. That startled Lynn, especially when he learned that this particular haniwa was probably made in about the fifth century. This meant that it had been made two or three centuries before any known evidence that stirrups were used in Europe. So he wanted to know what sort of an effect the knowledge of stirrups had on warfare in Japan. That was the subject of the first seminar paper that I wrote under Lynn White.

Lage: The seminar was in medieval studies?

Brown: In medieval studies. At Stanford, we had to take an examination in six fields of history. Japanese history was only one.

Lage: So everybody had to take a field of Japanese history?

Brown: No, no. Very few took that field, especially in those pre-war years when so few budding historians had any interest in that remote area of human culture. But all candidates for the Ph.D. in history were required to take an oral examination--lasting several hours--in six fields of history: the area in which one intended to specialize and write his or her Ph.D. dissertation, and five others. But there were at least a dozen fields. Therefore candidates interested in modern American history could still select six fields without studying Asian or African history. So not many selected the Japanese or Far Eastern fields.

In the roughly forty years that Professor Ichihashi was at Stanford he had only two Ph.D. dissertations written under him, one by me and one by Dr. Nelson Spinks who did his research on the Russo-Japanese War without using Japanese sources, and who later joined the State Department as a foreign service officer. (I last saw Nelson in Bangkok where, as I recall, he was consul general.)

My six fields were Japan (Ichihashi), Far Eastern Diplomatic History (Treat), Medieval European history (White), English history, modern U.S. history (Bailey), and Latin American history. (I was also required to take a written examination in International Law, as well as in French and German.)

The oral examination was an ordeal--preparations for which made me quite ill--that I will never forget. Professors in each field had given me a long list of recommended books and articles; and I simply did not have enough time to read them all carefully and thoughtfully. Moreover, most of my professors (except Lynn White) seemed to be interested mainly in historical events and personalities, not in historical meaning and analysis; and for some reason Lynn White was out of town on the day of the examination.

Although I passed, I felt I had really flunked every field except Japanese history, and possibly U.S. history. In the Japanese part of the examination, as I had expected, there were no questions about developments about which I had written my M.A. thesis and intended to write my Ph.D. dissertation. Professor Ichihashi did, however, ask bibliographical questions that enabled me to parade the names of unfamiliar Japanese titles.

Meeting the foreign-language requirements for the Ph.D. also created considerable dissatisfaction, mainly because the languages I needed most (Japanese and Chinese) were not listed as languages that would satisfy language requirements for the Ph.D. As I have said, Nelson Spinks had received his Ph.D. without using Japanese sources, and Japanese was not then taught at Stanford.

Except for the courses in European medieval history, and the papers on Japanese historical problems that emerged from those courses, my three years of graduate work at Stanford were not intellectually exciting. Consequently at the end of my oral examination ordeal, my old curiosity about the evolution of human experience in Japan was nearly gone. And since Stanford's holdings in Japanese materials were virtually nonexistent, and there was no possibility of getting to Japan for research, I felt very little excitement about research on my chosen topic: the circulation and use of coins during Japan's sixteenth-century period of political centralization. That was undoubtedly one reason I began listening --in the summer of 1941--to army, marine, and navy officers who approached me about taking a commission that would permit me to use my knowledge of Japanese in intelligence work.

Lage: How did you come to be interested in coinage?

Brown: Again it started with what I had heard and read in Lynn White's courses in medieval European history. As I have said, while I was in Japan I had become interested in the study of Maeda Toshiie who was an important figure in the amazing developments of the sixteenth century. So I could not but be interested in the emergence of comparable changes in Europe at that time, and in how Lynn White explained them.

It was because of his ideas about the importance of guns in medieval European history that I got into the problem of how the introduction and spread of guns--in the middle of the sixteenth century--were related to the military successes of Japan's great centralizers: Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616). My findings were written up as my M.A. thesis.

And that question was connected with my interest in precious metals and coinage in Japan, for I had read that silver mining had become important in Japan during the sixteenth century, and Lynn White was arguing that the discovery of precious metals in Czechoslovakia, and the discovery and importation of massive amounts from the New World, had paved the way for Europe's commercial revolution.

He also asked if there were comparable developments in Japan? What I had picked up suggested that there was, but I needed answers to a number of related questions: How much new silver was being mined in Japan during those days? How was this related to the production and distribution of coins? Did coins and monetary exchange have a meaningful connection with Japan's incipient commercial revolution, and was the centralization process in turn tied up with expansive foreign trade (centered on the exportation of silver) and a succession of military victories (centered on the production and use of guns by the great centralizers)? I began to feel that by looking into the question of money I could begin to understand why and how Japan, too, was moving rapidly toward a commercial revolution in the sixteenth century, and why and how the political and social fragmentation that characterized Japanese society before 1550 was rapidly giving way to the relatively unified political and cultural order that characterized society of the Edo Period, which began early in the seventeenth century.

Lage: So money enabled the trade and commerce?

Brown: Yes, you have to have an adequate supply of money for trade to thrive.

Lage: On the other hand, they may not have developed gold and silver mines if gold and silver were not needed for money, because trade was--

Brown: That's right. Because they needed a good medium of exchange, they placed great value on precious metals.

Anyway, it was in the sixteenth century that they discovered important silver mines. And at that time there was a great demand

for silver in China as well as an increasing demand for it in Japan.

Lage: You found correspondences?

Brown: Yes, and that was the subject of my Ph.D. dissertation.

Lage: So Lynn White had quite an influence.

Brown: He did.

Lage: He sounds like a very inquiring mind.

Brown: He was. Later he became president of Mills College and after several years there he returned to the teaching of medieval history at UCLA and was elected president of the American Historical Association.

As a matter of fact--I guess I can tell about this now--I was chairman of the history department at Berkeley when Lynn resigned from his position at Mills. From a friend of his, we heard that Lynn would be interested in an appointment at Berkeley. I was delighted at the possibility of being associated with him as a colleague in the same history department. But I did not hear much enthusiasm from my colleagues whose teaching and research were in the general area of European history. At that time--I will get into that later--our sights were pretty high, and many thought that Lynn, having been in an administrative position so long, would no longer be a productive and creative historian. So we didn't make him an offer, but UCLA did.

Lage: Was he about your age?

Brown: He was a little older. He must be five or six years older.

Lage: Because you weren't a young student when you came back to Stanford. You were maybe more mature than the--

Brown: Yes. When I came back to Stanford in '38, I was twenty-nine and he was five or six years older.

Lage: Were there other professors at Stanford that were particularly important for you?

Brown: Before we leave Lynn White, I should say, too, that he was very much interested in the history of Christianity. He took the position that you really couldn't understand medieval history without understanding the role of the church and Christianity. His courses paid a lot of attention to that. That, too, may have had

something to do with my later interest in religion in Japan, I don't know. He had a lot of influence on me, I must say. Whenever I would write something I would always seek his reaction to it.

Lage: Even later?

Brown: Even later. After he went to UCLA, he was appointed chairman of the Budget Committee on that campus at just the same time that I was serving as chairman of the Budget Committee at Berkeley. That meant that we were both on the statewide Budget Committee at the same time, and for some reason I was made chairman of that committee.

Lage: Did you have a good relationship with him?

Brown: Oh, yes. It was very pleasant.

Lage: Very nice. It is nice to see those ongoing influences. Was there anything in the teaching styles that would be worthy of note as it might have affected you, negatively or positively?

Brown: The kind of enthusiasm and ideas he had surely influenced all his students. I suppose I tried to emulate him in some way or another as I tried to lecture.

Professor Fagan of Economics

Brown: Another professor at Stanford had a great influence on my teaching. That was Professor Fagan in the economics department, from whom I was taking a course in public finance. He was a vivacious and enthusiastic lecturer who, from the beginning to the end of every lecture, constantly walked back and forth on the platform, constantly used the blackboard not only to write names and terms that were important but to make checks and marks of various types to emphasize what he was saying. His use of the blackboard was very effective. At the end of the hour it was a meaningless mess, but in making the mess he had added life and interest to everything said. Even now, I tend to do a lot of writing on the blackboard as I lecture, surely because of the Fagan influence.

Lage: Kind of a way of punctuating--

Brown: Yes, that's right. If he wanted to emphasize something, he would write the word on the blackboard and underline it and then circle it or put exclamation marks around it.

Lage: It draws attention and keeps attention. Why were you taking public finance?

Brown: That was a course I took in my undergraduate years, when I was planning on becoming a lawyer and before I had gone to Japan and was drawn into Japanese studies. That makes the Fagan influence all the more remarkable, especially since my thinking about public spending and saving (spending in times of depression and saving in times of prosperity) still has a Fagan stamp.

Another Stanford professor that I will not forget is Professor Chen (I probably have the name wrong) who was my Chinese teacher for a year. I had come to realize the importance of Chinese for the study of Japanese history and therefore decided that I should learn how to read Chinese historical materials. But Professor Ichihashi recommended against studying Chinese, saying that would be a waste of time.

Lage: Oh, a little nationalism there. [laughter]

Brown: Maybe, I am not sure. But I decided that I should study Chinese anyway, and Professor Chen permitted me to take his course without registering or obtaining an official grade. I never told Professor Ichihashi that I was studying Chinese.

Lage: Were there very many correspondences in the language? Was it a lot easier learning Chinese?

Brown: Oh, yes. The Japanese also use Chinese characters.

Lage: Are the words at all similar?

Brown: The words are entirely different; Japanese and Chinese are two different languages. It was the reading that I was mostly interested in. So, I worked pretty hard on Chinese. I took the examinations like everybody else, but I couldn't get any grade. [laughter] I enjoyed that work and learned a good deal from it.

Professor Payson J. Treat

Brown: Let's see, about other teachers--I worked a good deal under Professor Payson J. Treat, who was a very distinguished diplomatic historian and a stimulating lecturer.

Lage: What was his area, was it Europe?

Brown: No, it was mostly relations between Japan, China, and the United States, from the point of view of the United States. It was really a course in American diplomatic history in the Far East. He had done a good deal of writing in the field of United States relations with Japan and China, but he didn't know either of those languages.

He was a great teacher. He was very much interested in his students. He worked hard on his lectures. He was highly respected and did a lot of writing. He was stimulating to work with because of his teaching. But I had problems because he was embarrassed, I guess that is the way to put it, by having a student who could read Japanese, and he couldn't. He said once that he should have done it, but he just didn't feel like he could devote that much time to it, and never got around to it. But I must say, he was very supportive. I had a course from him when I was an undergraduate. When I got to graduate school, I did a lot of work under him. My Far Eastern field was under him.

Lage: Did he try to get you to use your Japanese in some of the areas where it would help him?

Brown: No. I sort of felt that he was not interested in things that I might pick up in Japanese.

Lage: He would rather stick with the American side of it?

Brown: Right. [laughs]

Master's Thesis on Firearms in Sixteenth-Century Japan ##

Lage: Are there other professors that we should mention? And I do want to ask you about the library. You mentioned there wasn't much of it.

Brown: Oh, yes, about the library. As a result of the library being so weak, when I worked on my M.A. thesis on firearms--the introduction and spread of firearms in sixteenth-century Japan--I did all of my research at Berkeley.

Lage: So Berkeley had the sources?

Brown: Berkeley's was not that good, but they had some materials that I could use, and I got quite a lot of information from a famous historical encyclopedia of sources which Berkeley had. In looking into it on such subjects as guns, I got excerpts from sources in

chronological order about guns--when they were used, introduced, made, and so on.

I was able to pick up considerable information that indicated that guns were first introduced by the Portuguese in 1549 and that within twenty or thirty years, most of the big armies had at least a third of their soldiers equipped with guns. Warfare was being changed as a result of these guns, and the generals who were making guns were usually successful. They were the ones who were gradually unifying Japan under one central government.

A chaotic political situation had prevailed for a couple hundred years before the sixteenth century. But suddenly, after the introduction and the spread of firearms, generals emerged who gradually brought the whole country under one central government. The making and use of guns seemed to have something to do with it.

Lage: It's interesting, while you were studying guns and firearms, this military situation--

Brown: Again, that came from Lynn White, who talked about what happened after guns were introduced in Europe and how this affected warfare, politics, and a lot of other things. But in Japan, the case was simpler in a way, because you didn't have to wait for the guns to develop; they came in as highly developed weapons. Therefore, the impact was more definite, clear, and sharp. You could see the effects of these changes. Within thirty or forty years after guns were first introduced to Japan, battles were fought in quite a different way.

Guns were being fired behind breastworks as early as the 1580s. This meant, for example, during the time of Hideyoshi (the great general who succeeded in bringing the whole of Japan under one rule after the assassination of his predecessor, Oda Nobunaga, in 1582) there developed a strategy of placing gunners behind breastworks. Since they weren't very effective out in the open, the strategy was to get the enemy to attack and let his gunners sit there waiting for the enemy to approach. He broke up his gunners into three groups. While the first group was firing guns, the other two were getting ready to fire. You had the principle of continuous fire, constant gunfire with only one-third of the guns being fired at a given time. And they could do this only behind breastworks. So the idea was to get the enemy to attack. By maintaining constant gunfire, they could mow down the enemy soldiers as they approached. This basic strategy was used by Hideyoshi in all his major battles.

Then there was a showdown, later on, with one of his generals: Tokugawa Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa clan and the Shogun.

In that engagement both generals used the same strategy, trying to get the other to attack. They had their soldiers waiting behind embankments for the enemy to attack. They even sent messages accusing each other of being too cowardly to attack. But both waited patiently for the other to attack. And so there was no battle.

Lage: They both had trained in the same strategy! [laughter]

Brown: Finally, they came to terms and became allies. So that was the subject of my M.A. thesis, and I did all of that work here at Berkeley.

Then for my Ph.D., I went into coins. I really was not able to get much done on that before I got into the U.S. Navy.

Lage: So that is our next topic.

Brown: Should I say something here about the materials needed for research?

Lage: Yes.

Brown: When I was working on my dissertation after the war, I went not to Berkeley this time, but to Harvard.

Lage: So you finally gave up and went to Harvard?

Brown: Yes, I went there for dissertation research. Professor Elisseeff was still there, and he was very helpful. The library had many Japanese collected works that included valuable materials on mining, coinage, and exchange. I spent six months at Harvard, working all day long, day after day, in the library. Then I returned to Stanford in June in order to complete and submit my dissertation.

Lage: So you weren't being directed at all at Harvard, just using their sources?

Brown: I was enrolled. [laughing] I was on the G.I. Bill at that time.

Lage: And you were enrolled at Harvard?

Brown: At Harvard. I was enrolled on some kind of an individual study program under Professor Elisseeff. I saw him once a week. That was mostly to ask him questions about things I couldn't understand in my reading. I must say, I was impressed with him. Usually the questions I would ask, he couldn't answer. But he would say, "Let's find out." He would start working through dictionaries, and

we would work on it until we could figure it out. I was impressed by his being able to say that he didn't know and then patiently work it out with me.

Naval Intelligence Officer, 1940-1945

Lage: Should we get into your war service? It is a big topic, but it must have been important.

Brown: All right. I spent over five years in the U.S. Navy.

Lage: Yes, how did you get into it?

Brown: Officers from all three branches of the military service approached me during the spring of 1940--after I had managed to pass the Ph.D. oral examination--about applying for a commission. Each said his service was in need of officers who knew Japanese, and pointed out that only a few American men of military age knew enough Japanese to be useful. And since I had lost much of my old excitement for research, and felt that it was no longer possible to avoid war with Japan, I expressed interest.

Finally I applied for a commission in the marines and was asked to appear at an office in San Francisco for an Japanese examination given by Colonel Laswell, who I later worked with in Pearl Harbor. Colonel Laswell had been sent to Japan for three years of intensive study of Japanese during the 1930s. In those pre-war years every branch of the military service, as well as the State Department, had several men making a three-year intensive study of the language at any given time. And apparently an equal number of Japanese officers were engaged in an equally intensive study of English in the United States. Colonel Laswell had been one of those language officers.

Lage: This was accepted?

Brown: Yes, this was apparently the subject of a bilateral agreement. I became personally acquainted with three: Ural Johnson who became an American ambassador to Japan; another foreign service officer, Bill Yuni, who became consul general in Kobe; and an army officer who eventually was promoted to the rank of general. The latter was stationed in Kanazawa for the third year of his training--the Japanese government had assigned him to the army division located there. I remember being impressed with the conscientious and methodical way this American army officer--who was living with his wife in a nice foreign-style home--was studying Japanese.

And Colonel Laswell, who tested my Japanese for a commission in the marines, had also studied Japanese full-time in Japan for three years. The passages that he tested me on had obviously been taken from a textbook that he had studied, presumably one that had been studied during his third year of his stay. I was surprised that it was so simple, suggesting that my own study of the language--never in an established program under professional teachers--had probably given me a better command of the language than they had achieved, but of course their study had been centered on military language and mine on history.

Then I had a physical examination for admission to the marine corps. Here I was, a five-foot-six runt, lined up with other candidates who were all big, strapping fellows. When the doctor came to tap on my heart, or whatever he was doing, he looked at his file and he said, "They must really need you bad!" [laughter] Apparently he had orders to pass me no matter what. My eyes were not that good either.

I was in the process of receiving a commission in the marines when I was approached by a naval officer. (Earlier I had also been approached by an army officer but had expressed no interest since I had already applied for a commission in the marines.) But when I told the navy officer that I was about to receive a commission in the marines, he said: "We can handle that. After all, the marine corps is part of the navy." He said that the navy had a special need for men with my kind of ability, which was in reading rather than in speaking or hearing. He pointed out that the marines would value me as an interpreter out in the field, whereas the navy wanted men like me who could read. Since I realized that reading was my strong point, I could not but express interest. But I had to remind him that I had gone rather far toward being commissioned in the marines and said that I didn't think he could engineer a change at that late point. But he did.

Shortly, I received a notice that I was to appear at the U.S. Naval Intelligence Office in San Francisco for an examination in oral and written Japanese. The examination was by Dictaphone. When I turned it on, I was asked to write out the English equivalent of a certain Japanese article that was in a Japanese newspaper on the desk. Then I was asked to write in English what was being said in Japanese on the Dictaphone--this was spoken by someone who obviously knew Japanese very well. (I knew the speaker was not a Japanese man, because I had heard that there were no Japanese in the navy, not even American Japanese.) I never once saw or met the person who was examining me. But later on, after I was assigned to duty with the Naval Intelligence Office in San Francisco, I met and worked with him. He never identified himself

during the examination because he was an undercover civil servant of naval intelligence.

He was Bill Magistretti, who was a very interesting and capable man. While attending high school in San Francisco, he had made friends with Japanese classmates and developed an interest in learning the Japanese language well. He therefore went to Japan and gained admission to a Japanese middle school, a public school for the education of boys after they had completed six years of elementary school. He attended that middle school for five years (apparently dressing in a Japanese school uniform and complying with all middle school regulations) and graduated close to the top of his class.

After returning to the United States, which was three or four years before the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States, he entered the University of California at Berkeley and took some kind of special program that allowed him to graduate within a year or two. Then he was picked up by the navy as a civilian employee to work in the Office of Naval Intelligence. He continued to amaze me with his ability to reel off the readings of Japanese first names, which is hard for most native speakers of the language. I was soon ordered to duty in Pearl Harbor, but he stayed on in San Francisco. Toward the end of the war he was made a foreign service officer in the State Department. And when I was in Hong Kong in 1953-54, we spent an evening with him and his wife. It turned out that although he had this remarkable proficiency in Japanese, he had not yet been assigned to duty in Japan.

Lage: Did you also have a strong sense that the war was coming?

Brown: Yes. I hated to see it come, but it just seemed like it was inevitable. Everyone seemed to think that. Of course, I had gained a first-hand sense of what the Japanese army had in mind, and witnessed the intensity of their interest in the whole of Asia. It looked like war could not be avoided.

I have been puzzled about my thinking at that time. I don't know precisely what I was thinking, but I had to reflect about it when my son, Ren, became a conscientious objector at the time of the Vietnam War. Talking to him about his objections to that war made me wonder why I had not objected to war against Japan. I had accepted a commission in the navy a few months before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, but the attack left no doubt that I had made the right decision.

Lage: Do you think you were more conflicted than the average person, though, having lived in Japan, with friends there and all?

Brown: Sure. I know that I wouldn't have felt good about killing a Japanese, but they were obviously--as a nation--intent upon fighting and killing us. My direct contact with Japanese military men in Kanazawa, and with Japanese soldiers during my visit to Korea in 1933 and to Peking in 1935, convinced me that the military (as well as the state which became increasingly dominated by the military) had embarked on a course of action (later called aggression) that could be stopped only by military defeat. I should also say that I was never engaged directly in military combat, working always at a desk, first in San Francisco and for the remainder of the war in Pearl Harbor.

Lage: What were your assignments? What did they put you to work doing with your Japanese?

Brown: After I got in the navy in San Francisco--I was there for several months--I was made responsible for investigating the Japanese in California, to see if I could find evidence of sabotage, or espionage. My work was mainly looking through Japanese newspapers that were published on the West Coast. There were a lot of newspapers up and down the coast published in Japanese for persons who read Japanese. A lot of the newspapers had both English and Japanese sections, one for those who could read Japanese and the other for those who could read English. Those were the materials that I worked with.

But before I was shipped out, there came this problem about whether or not to move the Japanese away from the West Coast. I was asked to write the report for Naval Intelligence. I remember writing it and remember concluding that there was no evidence that any Japanese American had ever been involved in espionage. There was no sense that any one of these Americans had ever been disloyal to the United States or done anything to support the Japanese cause. I had to say that, and I did say that. But the army, which apparently was the unit making the decision, had already decided to evacuate the Japanese. My report had no influence on its decision.

I don't know anything about that decision process but I wonder if it wasn't something that the public was demanding. So what I wrote didn't really matter.

Lage: They weren't listening to facts.

Brown: No. The decision had more or less been made for them, I think. I don't know.

Lage: That's interesting, that you did write the report, and you had been the one who read all the papers. Were there several people doing the same sort of work?

- Brown: Yes, there were two or three of us. This man that examined me was in this field too. We did a few other things.
- Lage: Did you ever go out and talk to Japanese Americans?
- Brown: Not much. There was telephoning tapping. I would listen to some of that.
- Lage: Of people that particularly might have been under surveillance?
- Brown: Yes.
- Lage: That is an interesting part of your career.
- Brown: One of the things being done then was to broadcast programs to the Japanese in Japanese, telling them what we wanted them to know about the war.
- Lage: The Japanese Americans in California?
- Brown: To Japanese everywhere, even in Japan. I do not know where the programs were initiated, but one of my jobs was to check them. They wanted to be certain that wrong words and phrases were not getting into the broadcasts.
- Lage: I see. Did you find any strange things?
- Brown: No.
- Lage: So then you were transferred to Hawaii?
- Brown: Yes, that was because a commander came into the office from Hawaii one day, asking if there was anyone there who knew Japanese. He said that the Office of Combat Intelligence in Pearl Harbor was in urgent need of such officers. Magistretti had such a capability, as did my wife Mary who had a desk in the same room with me.
- Lage: Well, that is nice.
- Brown: But this commander was not interested in Magistretti or Mary. They were not commissioned officers. But he was intently interested in me. He asked about the kind of work I was doing and was clearly not impressed with its urgency. Although I had just received orders for naval training at Fort Schuyler in New York, as soon as this commander got back to Washington I received new orders that all previous orders were to be cancelled and that I should proceed to Pearl Harbor by the first available air transportation. So I never received any formal naval training and was on duty in Pearl Harbor for the remainder of the war.

Pearl Harbor

Lage: You could just as well have been a civilian.

Brown: Right, that is a good point. The civilians they needed were all given commissions, especially in intelligence. We had thousands in our office--at first called Combat Intelligence--but every single person was either a naval officer or enlisted man and were all white males, certainly no Japanese and no blacks.

Lage: But they all spoke Japanese, these you were working with?

Brown: Yes, but before I get into that I would like to tell of an experience I had on my flight to Hawaii by a Pan American seaplane. We took off from Treasure Island--after about four failures to get the plane to rise up out of the water--with all windows blacked out so that we could not be easily sighted by the enemy. It was a spacious plane with sleeping compartments, tables around which four passengers sat, and open spaces where we could stand or walk around--not at all like the cramped seating on a plane today.

I sat at a table opposite a young naval flier whose name was O'Hare. I knew that he was a flier because he had wings on his uniform and, although obviously a few years younger than I was, had the rank of commander or lieutenant commander. I was not surprised at his high rank--I was then only a lieutenant junior grade--because I knew that fliers were often promoted rapidly. And his name meant nothing to me. I had been so busy getting ready for the trip, that I had not been reading the newspapers, and there was then no airport at Chicago called the O'Hare Airport. You know that name, don't you?

Lage: Oh, yes. Goodness.

Brown: Well, O'Hare was the man sitting across the table from me. But when he introduced himself, the name rang no bells, and we proceeded to talk about this and that for a couple of hours without his indicating that he was anything more than an ordinary navy flier. Then we got up for a stroll around the plane, and I began talking to another passenger, who asked: "Do you know who that man was your have been sitting with?" And when I said "No", he clued me in. For several days, a young naval flier by the name of O'Hare had been given "a key to the city" by the mayors of one American city after another all over the United States. He had been honored by parades, dinners, and cheering crowds and had even been invited to the White House where he was greeted by President Roosevelt and given an accelerated promotion to the rank of commander. Imagine!

When I returned to the table and rejoined O'Hare, I must have acted somewhat differently. But he never said anything about his having received such great honors, or about his single-handedly shooting down six Japanese zero fighters off the island of Guadalcanal.

Lage: He probably appreciated somebody who could just talk to him.

Brown: That's right. He wasn't interested in talking about all those things. He didn't talk about himself like I am talking now. [laughter] Then when we got to Hawaii, he knew and understood, apparently, that I was there for the first time. So he took me to the navy officer's club, showed me how to get there, and even carried one of my bags. Then, a few days later, I read in the newspaper that he had been killed in a training exercise near Hawaii.

Lage: After all he had done, he was killed on kind of a--

Brown: Twenty-five years or so later, I was taking a flight to Washington and I was hung up in Chicago. As I was going around through the airport, I saw a plaque about the O'Hare Airport, and for the first time I realized that the O'Hare Airport was named after the man I had met on the way to Hawaii.

In Hawaii I reported to duty at a place that was then identified as Combat Intelligence, which was in the basement of a big building in the main part of Pearl Harbor. I was first indoctrinated into various sections of the office. The most interesting and maybe the important part of the indoctrination was learning about the use and the potentialities of IBM machines, which were not like IBM computers today, but they had sorters, punchers, printers, and various other machines that were used for analyzing information.

Lage: It was sort of the precursor to the computer?

Brown: Yes, they were the most sophisticated machines available then, and were used extensively and intensively.

Lage: The cards that are punched?

Brown: That's right. Basic data were placed on cards and then sorted and printed up for different purposes. These printouts, bound into huge volumes, were used for our cryptanalytical work.

I think it was on my first day in that office that the commanding officer made this amazing statement: "This is not a normal kind of duty. Here we take the position that if you feel

message sent out by Japan's naval headquarters. Gradually it became quite clear that a powerful naval attack was being ordered against a particular U.S. naval base. But the name and place of that base was designated by a code-letter K, as I recall, which had not been used in previous messages. And so the office was not sure which base would be the target of attack.

Then, the book tells us, Commander Finnegan had a hunch that K stood for Midway. But he had to be sure. So he developed the scheme of having an American plane fly over the island of Midway and radio a message, in plain English, about what it was doing and where it was going. Not long afterward a Japanese message was intercepted stating that an American plane flying over K had radioed such and such a message. In that way Admiral Nimitz learned of the Japanese plan to attack Midway. He immediately ordered all his ships (most of which were then in Australian waters) to head for Pearl Harbor for refueling, and then to proceed to Midway. There a historic naval battle was fought, generally considered to have been the turning point in the Pacific War.

Lage: So it was important work you were doing.

Brown: Yes. Admiral Nimitz once came in to see us. We were working right under his office, and nearby. He told us once that our office and the work we were doing was as valuable to him as another fleet.

Lage: Interesting. Now, your wife got sent over, I read.

Brown: Oh, you saw that? Well, that's a long story. Do you want me to get into that?

Lage: I don't know. Let's just note it, because maybe we don't need to--

Brown: It sort of got me into trouble. I was in trouble with the navy twice. Once was over her, and another was over something else I can get into. I was at a cocktail party once in Hawaii and was talking to a general connected with Military Intelligence in Honolulu. My interest in Japan and the Japanese came up. Eventually, I must have said something about Mary having been born and raised in Japan, and working with Naval Intelligence in San Francisco. He said, "Oh, we need people like that out here." I said, "Well, I need her too, but I can't get her out here because of the regulation against navy dependents coming to Hawaii."

Lage: For safety's sake, or to keep you fellows busy?

Brown: It was assumed, I suppose, that if wives and children were permitted to live in Hawaii, officers and enlisted men would not

work so hard and might even try to avoid sea duty. Probably there were security reasons as well. I don't know.

So there was no possibility of getting Mary (a navy wife) to Hawaii. The general said, "I know about that regulation. But if we need her, we can get her." [laughing] I said, "Luck to you." I tried to stay out of it, saying, "You have to do everything, because as a navy officer I can't do anything about getting my wife over here." He said, "I know that."

So pretty soon my wife began indicating, in her letters, that overtures were being made about her going to Hawaii. She even indicated when she was arriving, but I made the mistake of inquiring about when her ship was to arrive. That indicated that I as a navy officer (I had my uniform on) was asking about the arrival of his wife.

So I was called into the office of a man that I later used to see at the golf course. He was then a commander, as I recall, whose job it was to enforce this regulation. He asked me--I think I was a lieutenant commander--no, a lieutenant. He said, "Lieutenant, don't you know that there is a regulation against navy wives coming to Hawaii?" I said, "I do." "What's going on!" he said. He was very rough. I told him, and he said, "They didn't tell us that she was a navy wife. My advice to you, young man"--I still remember this--"is to get word to her to go back home, because if she gets over, I am going to send her back on the very next boat." So I said, "Yes, sir" and left. As I passed the desk of the yeoman who was on duty outside the commander's office, he said, "You know, you could be court martialled for something like this!"

I went immediately to the army intelligence office in Honolulu to see the general who had said he would take care of the matter. But when I left the elevator on the floor where the general's office was located, an army officer stepped up and asked, "Are you Lieutenant Brown?" And as soon as I said I was, he said, "Before you talk to anyone here, Commander So-and-So at Pearl Harbor wants you to return to his office in Pearl Harbor immediately." [laughter] When I started up the steps to his floor of the administration building in Pearl Harbor, the commander was waiting for me, although it was then the noon hour. He said, now quite decently, "I didn't realize your wife was so important." [laughter] He had apparently looked into his files and found that Mary's coming to Hawaii had been approved at a high level.

Lage: Pretty high up, probably.

Brown: Yes, pretty high up, and he couldn't do anything about it.

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Lage: Pretty high up, probably.

Brown: Yes, pretty high up, and he couldn't do anything about it.

I had another run-in with him because a few months later, the newspapers reported that the navy had decided to have a shipload of children, whose parents (civilian or military) were living in Hawaii, brought back home.

Lage: Had they been sent to the mainland?

Brown: Yes. A number of children had been evacuated at the beginning of the war, and if the parents were still there, their children could now be brought home. Although our case was different, it looked as though it might be possible to get our five-year-old daughter Charlotte included.

Lage: Oh, I see, I didn't know you had children by then.

Brown: Yes, Charlotte was born in Palo Alto while I was doing graduate work at Stanford. She was such a beautiful and smart child that she put on a show everywhere we went. She and my sister Margie, who was then living with us and attending San Jose State College, made those difficult years of graduate study a quite happy time.

Lage: She stayed over with whom?

Brown: She stayed with my father and mother in Santa Ana after Mary left for Hawaii. But we missed her and were thrilled by the thought that she might be brought to Hawaii. But again I realized that there was this navy regulation and decided that Mary, not I, should fill out the forms for having children brought back to Hawaii. So Mary took over, and I tried to keep out of the picture. The request was approved; my parents were notified; a lady was employed as her guardian; and Charlotte boarded the ship in San Francisco. The trip was apparently quite terrifying for Charlotte who, at that early age, was not only separated from all members of the family but was on a ship that was constantly zigzagging to avoid being hit by any torpedo fired by a Japanese submarine. She still remembers unpleasant incidents that occurred on that voyage.

Somewhere along the line, but before Charlotte had actually arrived, this same tough commander called me into his office, and as I entered his door he said, "What are you up to now?"
[laughter]

Lage: Was this all very gruff?

Brown: Oh, yes.

Lage: He wasn't laughing as you are now?

Brown: No, he was serious about it. Actually angry. I had gotten under his skin. I told him what my wife had done and that we had obtained assurances that having our daughter brought to Hawaii was both proper and legal. He thought and fumed, and finally said: "Well, I don't think I can do anything about it. But the next time I see you, I suppose you will be trying to get your grandmother over here!" [laughter]

I had another run-in with a high-ranking naval officer, but this was with the admiral who was my own commanding officer at the Joint Intelligence Office of the Pacific Ocean Area. This incident came after I had been on duty in that office for two or three years, and when I had become one of the six officers (four were Annapolis men and two of us were reserve officers) that took turns serving as senior officer present (SOP) during the night hours when the more senior officers were never on duty. During the day we would be out-ranked by two or three senior officers, but at night--which was often the time of actual combat at sea and when the office was running full tilt, but when the admiral and a few officers immediately under him were almost never present--one of us had to be on duty. At those times we were responsible for everything done or not done by some 2,000 officers and enlisted men who were then present. So when I was on night duty, I had a number of responsibilities not connected directly with cryptanalysis.

The next time I came on daytime duty, I was told that the admiral wanted to see me right away. The two officers whose rank placed them between me and the admiral (both Annapolis men) went with me into his office. The admiral--obviously quite angry--handed me a copy of telegraphic message to Washington and asked if that was my signature. I said that it was. He then asked me if I approved the wording of that message. I said that I didn't know because I had not yet read it. He then blurted out: "Do you mean that you sign messages that you have not read?" When I replied, "Yes, sir!" he became almost livid and was not very receptive to the explanation that it had been presented to me at a very busy time of the night and that the yeoman had assured me there was no reason why I should take the time to read the several messages before signing them. I may even have said that I was working on a Japanese message that I felt needed my attention more than those routine messages to Washington. Anyway I was not contrite, and that may have upset him more than my signing an unread message.

Lage: I can imagine.

Brown: I learned later that the admiral had been assigned to the Joint Intelligence Center of the Pacific Ocean Area with the understanding that he would improve relations between that office and the one in Washington. And the message that I had signed was

worded in a way that probably worsened relations. It said something like this: "Why don't you guys get off your duff and answer that question we put to you about ten hours ago?"

On the way back to our desks from the admiral's office, one of the Annapolis officers that had gone in with me made this interesting remark: "Man, it is wonderful to be a reserve officer!" [laughter] He went on to say that for a regular officer in the navy, something might have been added to his fitness report that would block promotion.

Lage: It could affect your career.

Brown: Definitely. But as a reserve officer, I didn't care about that. The worst thing they could do would be to send me back home, which wouldn't be too bad.

Lage: They needed you, anyway.

Brown: They needed me, and I guess I must have realized that, and he realized that. So I didn't hear anything more about it. [laughter]

Lage: I think we need to finish up for today, but to complete talking about the war--this is a hard topic at the end--we need to record your reaction to the dropping of the bomb on Japan.

Brown: Do you want to get into that now?

Lage: Should we just try to finish up with some thoughts about that?

Brown: All right. I remember when that happened. I had no advance notice of it. Maybe some of my officer superiors, the Annapolis people around might have known it, but I doubt if they knew about it either. It was kept pretty quiet. I happened to be at a friend's house in Honolulu when I heard about the dropping of the bomb. It was a blow. So I remember precisely what I was doing when I heard about it. It was something quite hard to digest, to get used to. It reminded me of looking at that Pacific Ocean for the first time, which made me dizzy. The whole idea of a bomb as destructive as that is kind of hard to understand and to deal with. Of course, we didn't know then about the extent of the damage caused, but it was obviously horrendous. The problem was much talked about, especially about whether it was right to use such a weapon of mass destruction.

Lage: Did people talk about it at that time?

Brown: Yes, there was talk about it, even in the navy. But I think there was a general feeling, or hope, that this might help bring the war to an end quickly--that maybe this was necessary to make the Japanese surrender. I think most of the Japanese would say, too, that if it hadn't been for that bomb, they would not have surrendered as soon as they did. The war would have dragged on much longer.

Lage: You having lived there, the people of Japan were much more real to you.

Brown: Yes, I couldn't help but feel the hurt and the suffering that was caused by all that bombing of cities. I did go to Japan in 1948, about three years after the war was over. I saw huge sections of Tokyo and Yokohama that had been burned out, not by the atomic bomb, but by other bombs that were very destructive. Three-fourths of the city of Tokyo was pretty much burned out or gutted. It was a horrible sight to see.

Lage: Just by conventional bombing?

Brown: Right.

Lage: That is sort of forgotten, because the A-bomb has all the attention, but conventional--

Brown: Well, the A-bombs hit those two cities (Nagasaki and Hiroshima), and that was spectacular. The destruction was horrible in those two places, but nearly every city of Japan was bombed out. Kanazawa was not bombed and Kyoto and Nara were skipped, but most other big cities were devastated, many people killed or left homeless. Life there was pretty miserable for a long time afterwards.

Lage: On that sad note, let's finish for today.

Brown: Yes.

Leaving the Navy, December 1945

[Interview 3: March 29, 1995] ##

Lage: We pretty well have you out of the navy, but we haven't found out how you got out. You said there was a story involved with that.

Brown: I had a chance to go with the navy to Japan in connection with what was called the Strategic Bombing Survey. I don't think we got into that, did we? The Strategic Bombing Survey was a big survey project in which not simply navy people, but other military personnel and civilians were sent to make a study of the conditions in Japan following defeat and surrender. But I didn't want to go to Japan under those circumstances. I really wanted to get out of the navy--to return to my academic work. I tried to do that, but I was classified as "essential" and could not get released.

But having served at one post for over three years, I was entitled to a transfer to some other post. So I put in a request for transfer to the Washington office, feeling that I might not be classified as "essential" there.

Lage: That sounds very clever. Did your wife have any trouble getting out of her job?

Brown: No, she was working in the Army Intelligence Office in Honolulu, but the war was over and they had no reason to hold her. Moreover, she was a civilian employee. So around September of 1945, Mary, Charlotte, and I boarded the Lurline for our return to the mainland. Although Charlotte and Mary had taken ships to Hawaii, this was the first ship I had sailed on throughout the war; and I was a naval officer. Once or twice I had gone aboard a ship that was in the harbor to see a movie. But because I was unfamiliar with ships and with how to act when boarding, I went only with an Annapolis officer who could tell me what to do next, such as saluting the officer of the quarterdeck and asking for permission to come aboard. So the trip back to San Francisco on that famous passenger boat was not simply pleasant, it was instructive. Although the Lurline was nothing like a battleship or cruiser, its crew was still made up entirely of navy officers and enlisted men. So we heard a lot of navy lingo. Men were assigned rooms in according to rank, and the women were assigned rooms in another part of the boat. This was therefore not exactly a luxury cruise, but it was the first time I had had a chance to do what a navy man normally does: go to sea.

Lage: That is why you say you aren't really a navy man.

Brown: That's right.

Completing the Ph.D. Dissertation

Lage: You went on to Harvard. I think we talked about--when we discussed Stanford we discussed--

Brown: Yes. I went to Harvard because the library was good.

Lage: But you were still enrolled as a Stanford graduate student, is that correct?

Brown: No, not officially enrolled. I was a candidate for the Ph.D. degree and had worked on and passed my oral examinations before I got into the navy back in 1940. I knew what I wanted to work on for my dissertation, but hadn't really gotten started when I got into the navy. So, when the war was over, I really wanted to finish that dissertation. And I knew that I couldn't do much at Stanford because the Japanese collection there was practically nonexistent. I felt that the best place to do this work would be at Harvard. They had the best library then, and probably still do, although Berkeley's now is pretty close to first place.

So when I was released from the navy in December of 1945, Mary, Charlotte, and I moved from Washington to Cambridge so that I could carry out research for my Ph.D. dissertation in Japanese materials at Harvard. Since I had built up entitlement under the G.I. Bill, I registered at Harvard for individual research under Professor Serge Elisseeff who had advised me, back in 1938, to return to the United States for graduate training. I think he was a bit disgusted that I had not come to study at Harvard in 1938, rather than return to Stanford. As I have already said, I too came to regret that I had elected to return to Stanford, although only Stanford had Lynn White. So I finally ended up studying under Professor Elisseeff. It was fun to spend an hour or two with him every week.

Lage: For questions about language or questions--

Brown: Usually about specialized economic terms that I ran across in sixteenth-century Japanese materials.

I spent a delightful six months at Harvard. I met with Professor Elisseeff once a week, and spent the rest of the time in the library.

Lage: Very independent, it sounds like.

Brown: Yes, quite independent. The main thing was that I was not a candidate for the Ph.D. at Harvard, so I had no required courses to take.

Lage: Sort of a research fellowship?

Brown: Yes, I was a research student working on my dissertation and using the library, where I found excellent sources.

Then the three of us returned to Stanford during the summer of 1946. I went in about June with the idea of finishing my dissertation during the summer. None of my students, I think, have done their research and written up a dissertation in such a short time as that, but I did.

Lage: Does that mean it was a shorter dissertation or you were more motivated?

Brown: Well, it was short, but it wasn't that bad. I had done quite a lot of work. Anyway, it got me the Ph.D. degree, and it was later published as volume I of the monograph series of the Association of Asian Studies.

Lage: And this was on coins?

Brown: This was on money economy in medieval Japan. [Money Economy in Medieval Japan: A Study in the Use of Coins (Monograph No. 1 of the Far Eastern Association, 1951).]

IV THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT AT BERKELEY, 1946-1950s, AND BROWN'S
CHAIRMANSHIP, 1957-1961

Woodbridge Bingham

Brown: But while I was at Harvard, I received a letter from Berkeley, from my friend Woodbridge Bingham, who I had known for some years. I think I told you that I met him in Peking.

Lage: That I can't remember. Did you tell me?

Brown: Maybe I didn't. My contacts with Woodbridge and Ursula Bingham are long. They started in Peking. Mary and I went on a trip to Peking shortly after we were married. That was back in about 1934. We spent a month or so there during my spring vacation. Woodbridge Bingham called me on the telephone one day. He had read in the newspaper about our arrival and about our staying in a particular missionary home.

Lage: Why would that have been in the newspaper?

Brown: There was an English newspaper in Peking, and every day it would report on foreign visitors to Peking.

Lage: I see. A small community that--

Brown: Yes. That is, the American community. This missionary home had been converted into a kind of inn, and this missionary woman was taking in guests. It was a well-known place to stay. She automatically turned over the names of her guests to this English newspaper in Peking, which Woodbridge Bingham took and saw that I was a visitor from Japan. He was planning on going to Japan on his way home the following summer, and so he wanted to talk to me. He invited us to have tea at his home.

It turned out that he was living in a beautiful Chinese mansion. We heard it was part of the home of the previous Empress

Dowager. I will never forget our visit there because it was the first time I had ever been in such a grand Chinese mansion. We arrived at the front entrance in a jinrikisha, told the guard who we were, and were escorted through one courtyard after another before arriving at the room where we were to have tea. It seemed like we walked a long distance before meeting the Bingham.

Lage: Why were the Bingham in such an exalted setting?

Brown: He was there doing his research on his Ph.D. dissertation. He, and especially his wife, had money. Her family is connected with some big and famous furniture company, the name of which I cannot remember. She is still alive. She and her family have plenty of money. So even though they were graduate students, they could afford a comfortable place in which to live.

While I was there--this gets into, I am afraid, all kinds of stories--I met a future ambassador of China to the United States, Hu Shih, at a meeting that Bingham invited me to attend. I met quite a number of visiting scholars while I was there because of Woodbridge Bingham's contacts. This Hu Shih was one. Knight Biggerstaff, later a professor of Chinese studies at Cornell, was another. Knight and I discovered that we were distant relatives. We even discovered that the same relative had recommended that we look up the other, apparently not realizing that I was in Japan and he in China.

Lage: But you still met each other.

Brown: But we still met each other in Peking.

Lage: Wow, what coincidences.

Brown: Yes, that was fun.

Lage: So, you had had this long-term connection with Bingham.

Brown: Yes. Then he came to Japan, where I saw him. Later on we were in the navy together in Pearl Harbor. We were in the same intelligence office but in different branches, but saw each other off and on. I remember having lunch with him on Waikiki Beach one day at the Halekalani Hotel, which is a very famous, old hotel where they still have hula dances and Hawaiian music every evening. A delightful place. As we were having lunch together under a great banyan tree, Woodbridge said the last time he had been sitting under that tree, he was studying Latin. He explained that his grandfather was a missionary to Hawaii--coincidentally, James Michener's book on Hawaii is more or less centered on the Bingham family. So he had gone to Hawaii as a child and studied Latin

under that tree where we were having lunch together during the war. The Bingham connections were very interesting.

Lage: Did Bingham get his interest in Asia through this missionary connection?

Brown: Yes, it seems that Bingham missionaries were also in China. In fact at a later dinner party at the Bingham mansion, we met a relative who was then a medical missionary in or near Peking. But there were other roots to his interest. His father, Senator Hiram Bingham of Connecticut, took Woodbridge with him on a trip around the world when Woodbridge was still in high school or college, and they seem to have spent considerable time in China. Like many other members of the Bingham family, Woodbridge graduated from Yale. Then he went to Harvard where he received his M.A. degree in Asian studies but transferred to Berkeley for work toward the Ph.D. He was working on his dissertation for that degree when I met him in Peking.

Lage: And then he received a teaching appointment at Berkeley.

Brown: Yes, I think he was already teaching at Berkeley when the war began. Then he joined the navy and went to Boulder, Colorado, where he studied Japanese intensively for one year, after which he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant j.g. and received orders to proceed to Pearl Harbor for work in the Joint Intelligence Center of the Pacific Ocean Area.

Lage: So that was the Berkeley connection?

Brown: Yes, I think that Mary and I may have visited him and his wife Ursula on our way from Hawaii to Washington in September of 1945, after I had requested and obtained a transfer to the Washington office of radio intelligence.

Brown's Recruitment to UC Berkeley, 1946

Brown: Anyway, I got a letter from Woodbridge Bingham asking if I would be interested in a job at Berkeley. I wrote "Yes" immediately. So I had this offer before I left Harvard.

Lage: You wrote back, "Yes." Why was it so easy to make the decision? You hadn't wanted to go to Berkeley for school.

Brown: Well, even though Berkeley didn't have a good Japanese library, it was still a distinguished university and I knew that. Later on,

the chairman of the history department at Stanford, Professor Robinson was his name, expressed some irritation with me because I accepted the job at Berkeley without first talking to him. I think he was saying that they intended to offer me a job at Stanford. But I don't regret having made the decision. If I had had a choice, I still would have gone to Berkeley.

Lage: It wasn't the library that was attracting you, though. They didn't have much of a library at that time.

Brown: No, but the library got better.

Lage: Yes, we'll be talking about that. So you took that job rather quickly. Was there any interview process or--

Brown: There was a process, as there always is with appointments, but I remember that first letter and my response to it. There were other letters as the offer was formalized. Probably I was not formally appointed until some time during the summer. I have forgotten the details. I spent a mad summer at Stanford finishing my dissertation and submitting it in time to get the degree, before starting to teach at Berkeley in September.

Lage: So, even though it says "lecturer" here in the 1946 Berkeley catalogue--

Brown: Well, it was understood that that appointment would change automatically to assistant professor if and when I received the Ph.D. degree. And I did receive the degree before I started teaching.

Lage: But not before they printed this, most likely?

Brown: No, not then.

UC Berkeley's East Asian Languages Department

Lage: Did you have any discussions about if the University planned to put more emphasis on Asian studies, or whether the library might be improved?

Brown: I did know something about the history of Asian studies at Berkeley. There had been distinguished people here at the beginning of the twentieth century. The East Asian Language department was already distinguished. Professor Peter Boodberg, a very distinguished scholar in Chinese studies, was already here.

Lage: Where?

Brown: In the East Asian languages department.

Lage: Peter Boodberg. And they had Ferdinand Lessing.

Brown: He was also here, and I soon got acquainted with both of them.

Lage: And Florence Farquhar, associate professor of Japanese.

Brown: Yes, I remember her, but I knew Lessing and Boodberg better.

Lage: Then they had a lecturer in Siamese.

Brown: Oh, yes. Mary Haas. She was very distinguished. I had many contacts with her. She was a delightful woman.

Lage: And Susumu Nakamura, lecturer in Japanese.

Brown: Yes, I had many associations with him down through the years. He was a great teacher of Japanese. But, since he had not written much and wasn't that much interested in research and writing, he never really got a regular appointment. As I recall, he was always a lecturer.

Lage: He has an M.A. in this listing.

Brown: Yes. But, as you know, a Ph.D. is what matters at the university level.

Lage: Mary Haas was a lecturer here.

Brown: She was a very distinguished scholar.

Lage: Did she go on to be a professor?

Brown: She was a distinguished professor.

Lage: And Florence Farquhar had an M.A. at this point, but she was associate professor.

Brown: I don't remember that much about her.

Lage: Maybe she didn't stay. So, the language department--

Brown: The East Asian language department was quite distinguished. They had Professor Kuno who had a divided appointment between East Asian Languages and History. Then there was a professor of political

science, Professor Yanaga, who later went to Yale. So they had done a lot in the Asian field. I was delighted to go.

Key Players in the History Department in the Late 1940s

- Lage: Wonderful. Well, we have got you to Berkeley. Are you ready to describe the history department in these early years, what it was like, who were the key players?
- Brown: Some of these people that I still know and am still close to were here, especially Ken Stamp. He was already here when I got here, as I recall.
- Lage: We are looking at the catalogue of courses from 1946, and it tells who was here.
- Brown: Ken Stamp was already here. Probably over the years, I have had more close associations with him than anyone else, although his field is in American history, quite far from mine. He is a bit younger than I am, but he was appointed earlier. He was, I think for health reasons, not in the military service. So he was able to go up the academic ladder a little farther during the war, whereas I hadn't yet started.
- Lage: Why the close association? Was this as a friend?
- Brown: Well, socially, and politically--as far as affairs were concerned in the history department. Professor Ernst Kantorowicz, Professor Paul Schaeffer, and I shared the same study on the fourth floor of the library for two or three years.
- Lage: So, offices were shared? Are they still?
- Brown: Not now. I think every professor has his own office. But then the space situation was worse. It was a very nice office with a view of the Golden Gate Bridge. It was then located near the departmental office of the East Asian Language department.
- Lage: What building did you say it was in?
- Brown: In the library, fourth floor of the Main Library. The southwest corner was where the East Asian Language department office was, and on the other side of the elevator was the study that I shared with Kantorowicz and Schaeffer.

Establishing the East Asian Library, 1947

- Brown: A room nearby became the office of the East Asian Library, when it was established. That resulted from the recommendations of a committee made up of Boodberg, Brown, and Bingham. I haven't told you about that story?
- Lage: No.
- Brown: Somehow or other, I have been talking so much about myself these days that I forget who I have told what.
- Lage: Have you been talking to other people also?
- Brown: Yes, right.
- Lage: That's dangerous.
- Brown: [laughter] That committee was responsible, I think, for getting the East Asian Library started.
- Lage: How early in your career at Berkeley did that start?
- Brown: Quite early. I came in '46, and it must have been '47 or '48. I have forgotten the exact year.
- Lage: What was their background? Why did the three of you come together like that?
- Brown: I think there was a general feeling that we should have a separate library. That is, those of us working in the area and using the library felt that it could not really get much better unless we had books centered in one place. Cataloging and ordering, all these functions were somewhat special for the East Asian field. All three of us were urging that a separate library be established, and so we were made into a committee. I think we were appointed by President Sproul.
- Lage: Did the fact that you had your office close to the East Asian Languages department have anything to do with it?
- Brown: No, my being in a study with Kantorowicz and Schaeffer was because that room had been assigned to the history department, which then assigned it to the three of us. Kantorowicz and Schaeffer had been in it several years before I was permitted to occupy a desk there. Other rooms on that floor were also assigned to the history department, including ones for professors who were departmental chairmen. Now that I think of it, all history professors seem to

have had their studies on the fourth floor of the main library in those years.

Lage: But still, it seems like it would make it easier that you happened to be there.

Brown: Yes, I was close to the office of the East Asian language department, but that was because I was a history department professor, not because of my interest in the Japanese part of East Asia.

Dr. Elizabeth Huff was the first librarian of the East Asian Library.

Lage: Was she already within the system?

Brown: No, she received her Ph.D. at Harvard and, as I recall, was appointed at Berkeley soon after receiving her degree. I remember being a member of the selection committee for the position, and reviewing the records of several applicants. She was obviously the person best qualified for the position, and she did a superb job of building up what came to be one of the best, if not the best, East Asian library in the United States. Her office was just across the hall from the study that I shared with Kantorowicz and Schaeffer, and for several years that was the only office the East Asian Library had. Dr. Huff soon acquired more books and got all those in Asian languages placed in a separate section of the stacks, which could be entered by a fourth-floor door near her office.

Then in '48 was the summer that I went to Japan because the SCAP, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, invited me to go to Japan as a consultant for higher education. Apparently, President Sproul heard about this and asked me to come in to see him. In his great voice, he said, "Brown, how much money can you spend for books while you are in Japan?" My response was that I would have to talk with Dr. Huff and her staff. I went back to say that I could spend something like six thousand dollars. And to my amazement, and to everybody else's amazement, he said, "I will give you ten."

Lage: It sounded almost like he was initiating this.

Brown: Yes, he was. You cannot overlook the importance of his role in the history of the East Asian Library.

Lage: Do you have any sense of where Sproul was coming from? Did he have some particular interest in East Asian studies, or did someone else have his ear?

Brown: I think he felt that the University of California should be a leader in this important new field, and that we ought to have a good library.

Lage: You don't know any behind-the-scenes lobbying?

Brown: No. Somebody may have gotten to him. Professor Boodberg, for example, may have put the bug in his ear, I don't know.

But anyway, when I was in Japan during that summer, I was pretty busy with my consulting job. I had a desiderata list that the library had prepared for me, which I handed to wholesale dealers. Since I was connected with the occupation, I was entitled to ship these books home free. Hundreds of volumes were sent back, but I didn't spend even half of the money that President Sproul gave me.

Professor Denzel Carr was in the East Asian Language department at the time. He was a distinguished linguist who knew many Asian languages--as I recall, he taught courses in Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian, and Indonesian. It was decided that he and Betty McKinnon, a member of the East Asian Library staff, should go on a book-buying trip to Japan, using the money that I was unable to spend during the previous summer. Betty had been born in Japan and had much of her schooling there. She was therefore good in Japanese (her mother was Japanese and her father an American missionary to Japan) and was appointed by Dr. Huff as a specialist in the acquisition and cataloging of Japanese books. She and Professor Carr purchased many more good books that year, in part because the price of books was then quite low in Japan. That was an important year in the history of the East Asian Library. Following that trip, Betty McKinnon became Mrs. Carr.

Lage: Was there a focus to the purchases, historical or literary?

Brown: No, we worked from a desiderata list that had been created by members of the East Asian Library staff. That list included major source collections, leading academic journals, and major studies in areas in which UC professors were offering courses on Japan: literature, history, politics, sociology, anthropology, religion, and art. (Later on, courses were offered too in Japanese music and architecture.) And since that time, several great collections (such as the Mitsui one) have been purchased, and more documentary collections (such as series of volumes published by Shiryō Hensan Sho of Tokyo University) as well as important studies in the several disciplines have been added, making the East Asian Library one of the country's strongest reference libraries in the several humanities social science disciplines. It has become especially strong in books published in Japan during the last half of the

nineteenth century, in war crime materials, in academic journals, and in documentary collections of different feudal houses and religious institutions.

Lage: Original source material, but in a published form.

Brown: Yes, the Japanese have published a great number of such collections, and our library seems to have most of them. Dr. Donald Coney, who was librarian in those years, helped Dr. Huff obtain funds for the purchase of special collections that came on the market, such as the Mitsui collection which is an EAL gem.

After the law school was moved to its present location on Bancroft, the East Asian Library was moved into the law school's old building, Durant Hall. That was a great event in EAL history. After that, the library not only had its own building but enough space for staff offices, as well as for a well-equipped reference room. But within a few years, the building could house only a small portion of the Asian language holdings. Now the Chancellor is raising something like \$24 million for a new EAL library, and plans are being drawn up.

Lage: Are you involved in any of these current things?

Brown: No, not now. The main task is getting the money. They have received, I am told, more than half of the \$24 million needed.

Lage: It is a lot more than you took off to Japan with you that summer.

Brown: That's right. EAL is rated very high, if not at the top, among East Asian collections of the United States, and in terms of both volume and quality. In my field of religious studies, I feel, however, that Harvard has a better collection.

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Lage: Having that kind of a library in your field, how does it affect the development of the history department or the attraction for graduate students or new faculty?

Brown: It makes study and research in the Japanese field very attractive. It is difficult, if not impossible, to do distinguished research if you don't have proper library facilities.

Lage: Is this something that, when you are recruiting faculty you mention?

Brown: It is something that everybody knows about. We do not have to tell them. When an offer of an appointment in the Asian field is

accepted, surely the appointee is aware of the stature of the university and the quality of the library. It is pretty hard to dissociate one from the other.

Lage: It is kind of a given, but I guess I am asking it now--maybe I am getting political--but these questions are being raised now because the library budget is cut back.

Brown: Yes. The whole problem of the library now is very complicated because of computers. We are moving to a position, I think, when big library holdings will all be on database.

Lage: Maybe those documents now would be on database, those basic documents.

Brown: Yes, the basic document collections will eventually, I presume, be copied on databases that can be put on computers and be accessed by any student or scholar, like me out here in Walnut Creek. I now gain access to UC catalogues without leaving my study. Eventually, I presume we will have access not simply to the catalogues of libraries throughout the state of California but to those of Japan as well. Moves are now being made in that direction.

Lage: The catalogue. Not the books themselves, but the notice that they are there.

Brown: Yes, not yet the contents of books, just their titles. We still have to check out the books.

Lage: But maybe that is changing also.

Brown: Yes, just a few days ago I had a long conversation with Shigeru Handa of the old Tenjin Shrine in Nagoya, a man who had just completed a CD-ROM database on Japanese culture. He is working with Professor Lewis Lancaster of the East Asian Languages department in expanding the database to include such ancient Japanese classics as the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki written early in the eighth century A.D. He says that he has already finished about 80 percent of the former, sometimes referred to as the bible of Shinto. When both the Japanese original and the English translation of that source are put on CD-ROM, a researcher will be able to find, within seconds, any single reference (in both languages) to a particular word, name, institution, ritual, phrase, et cetera, that may appear in that source. And he or she will be able to do so while sitting before the computer at home, anywhere in the United States.

Research is being revolutionized, really, by this sort of thing. And I think the revolution is just getting started.

Lage: You are right.

Brown: That affects the whole library situation.

Lage: And the choices of what to build up, what to concentrate on. But is that document of importance to you--the actual artifact--is that something that you as a scholar are interested in?

Brown: There are people who want to study the original documents, to see even the texture of the writing. That is a specialized field. Those people, of course, must see the actual, original document. But for an historian, and most people using these sources, the main thing is the contents: what is said and written in a document. You can get the contents just as well from a copy as you can from seeing the original. For most research and study purposes, I think the copy, especially if you have a computer and the copy on database and can be accessed by computer, may be more useful than the original.

Lage: The ability to search the document.

Higher Education Consulting in Japan, 1948

Lage: You mentioned earlier the 1948 consultation in Japan that you did for the SCAP, you called it. Shall we talk about that?

Brown: Okay. A lot of things happened during that summer.

Lage: What exactly were you hired to do?

Brown: I was invited to go to Tokyo as a consultant in higher education. I think the reason that I was invited was that a friend of mine from Stanford, Donald Nugent, initiated the invitation. Donald Nugent's story is long and complicated, but I became associated with him even before World War II when I was in Japan and he was a graduate student at Stanford studying under Professor Ichihashi. He wanted to come to Japan, as I had done, to teach English. So I had something to do with finding a job for him in Wakayama. He taught there for at least three years. We used to go down to visit him, and he and his wife came up to Kanazawa to visit us.

Then during the war, Nugent became a marine officer and served in Guadalcanal and various other places. I think he was given a commission in the marine corps because he had studied some Japanese, although I'm not sure just how much. After the war, instead of getting out of the service as I did, he stayed on. He

became a high official in SCAP (the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, who was General MacArthur)--SCAP was divided up like a government into various divisions and departments. There was an education division and Nugent was its head, a big job. He was like a cabinet member on General MacArthur's staff. The education division under him was huge.

Lage: It was responsible for all the education in Japan? Was that the idea?

Brown: Responsible for it is not quite the right way. They supervised it and made demands.

Lage: Were they looking into the value content in the--

Brown: They were into the business of reforming and democratizing Japanese education at all levels. The entire educational system was changed. In the place of the old 6-5-3-3 system--six years for elementary school, five years for middle school, three years for higher school, and three years for university--the Japanese were forced to adopt the American-like 6-3-3-4 system. This meant that the elementary schools were not changed, and that the old middle school was shortened to three years and made into something like a junior high school. But the old higher schools became lower divisions (the freshmen and sophomore years) of a four-year university. Consequently the old First Higher School in Tokyo became the lower division of Tokyo University--both located in different parts of the city. And my Fourth Higher School in Kanazawa became the lower division of a new Kanazawa university that was made up of some old and new colleges of that city. These changes meant that new schools had to be built all over the country as new high schools. And this was done although many Japanese complained that this was far too costly and unjustified.

Lage: Were they giving more access to higher education, greater numbers who could go to high school?

Brown: Yes, many more students attended all these new high schools and new universities. Almost all young people could and did go through high school, and a very large percent of them went on to university. I have not seen recent statistics but my impression is that the percentage of high school graduates attending and graduating from universities is now about as high as in the United States.

But the "reforms" went well beyond organizational change. Drastic alterations were made in courses and textbooks, particularly for schools above the junior high school level. Courses in ethics, which had been used for making students into

obedient and loyal servants of the state, were either eliminated or drastically revised. But much attention was also given to instruction in Japanese history.

I was invited by SCAP (General MacArthur) to come to Japan in the summer of 1948 as a consultant in higher education. Although I received no definite instructions as to what I should do, I came to feel that I was expected to study and make recommendations for change, at the university level, that would make these institutions into more effective instruments for developing an individual's potential, and for instilling in students a deeper understanding of the ideals of political democracy, social justice, and human rights.

My study and thoughts were centered on the kōza (professorial chair) system which was, and still is, at the core of an established university organization. The funds for each chair, approved by the Department of Education, included not only the salary of the chair holder but the salaries of all associate professors, researchers, assistants, and clerks employed by him. The chair holder usually had his own library and his own nest of offices for professorial and clerical employees. He was therefore something like an American departmental chairman who occupies his office until retirement, who exercises almost absolute control over who is appointed and promoted within the department, and who decides what the department's graduate students should study, what research money they receive and what appointments will be recommended for them.

Lage: Did you come up with a report or make a series of recommendations?

Brown: Oh yes. I wrote a report but kept no copy for myself. In addition to having my say about the kōza system, I recommended--and others probably made the same recommendation--that a commission of American scholars be sent to Japan for a summer. Such a commission was sent a year or two later. A number of distinguished scholars made more specific recommendations for change, many of which were probably adopted. But apparently no basic change was made in the kōza system.

Lage: Oh, it still prevails?

Brown: Yes, in the old national universities. I am not so sure that it was right to recommend a change, but I did.

Lage: In general, were the people that you were dealing with, working with, the Americans, sensitive to Japanese culture? Or was this really an outside group coming in and wanting to make wholesale changes?

Brown: These people were very serious students of Japanese education. On the whole they did a decent job and made good recommendations. But not many had an in-depth knowledge of the age-old interaction between education and social change.

We were, after all, representatives of a victorious power. The Japanese with whom we talked must have thought we were excessively sure of ourselves, if not downright bossy. Many surely felt that we were pressing for change that really made very little sense in the Japanese situation and that our views and recommendations were shaped by a common assumption that only American educational methods were democratically correct.

Our position must have seemed quite unreasonable, if not objectionable. But the odd thing is that most educational reforms have stuck. Even after SCAP control was removed and Japan became an independent state in 1952, most of the educational reforms were preserved. Although organizational changes had been criticized in early years of the occupation, most of them are still intact, including the American 6-3-3-4 system.

Lage: You certainly were in a different role. When you first came to Japan, you were the sort of wet-behind-the-ears, and the Japanese were showing you the way. Then you came back as a representative of the victor. Was that something that was difficult for you?

Brown: It was embarrassing in a way. I was still in my thirties at the time, going to meetings with distinguished scholars in various fields of education.

Lage: You were probably very much in tune with the practice of showing the respect that you knew was expected.

Brown: Well, I wasn't that much in tune, I am afraid.

Lage: But I mean in the thirties you certainly were--

Brown: It was quite different. Here I was, a decade or so later, sitting in meetings with distinguished Japanese scholars and administrators, and I got the feeling they were waiting to hear what I was going to say. It was unpleasant to be in a position in which they were treating me with such deference. It was because I was a representative of a victorious power, a relationship that was strange and unbelievable and a little bit embarrassing. I really didn't quite like it.

Later on, when I went back to Japan, after the country gained independence and people were more sure of themselves, conversations

with scholars were quite different. The situation had returned to normal and relationships were much better.

Lage: So this one period was kind of an awkward interim?

Brown: Yes, it was awkward, to say the least.

Lage: I would think so.

I want to get us back to the [Berkeley] history department, or do you have something else you want to say?

Brown: I would like to talk about an incident that occurred shortly after my return to Berkeley. That arose when a young man from the university's public relations office came to interview me about my trip to Japan. He asked good questions and then wrote up a statement for release to the press, which I read and approved.

A few days later a short article appeared in the Oakland Tribune that was apparently based on that release. I do not recall seeing it, but it must have been a rewrite that was badly distorted. Anyway, that seems to have been picked up and again rewritten by a correspondent of a national news service. I think it was the Associated Press. That reached Japan and appeared on the front page of every major newspaper in the country.

In order to understand why this was a headline story in Japan but not in California, one should bear in mind that Japanese newspapers were then operating under strict regulations not to print anything the least bit critical of SCAP or the Allied occupation. But no regulation forbade the printing of stories appearing in an American press release. So this Associated Press story about my visit to Japan, after being rewritten and distorted, included a statement that read something like this: "Professor Delmer Brown of the University of California says that the occupation policy in Japan is leading more to the spread of communism than to the spread of democracy."

Within a few hours that story appeared in newspapers all over Japan, and I received from Tokyo the longest telegram I have ever seen. It included a full English version of what had hit the front page of Japan's leading newspapers, and asked whether I had actually said such things and that, if not, I demand a retraction. It was signed by my old friend Colonel Donald Nugent, head of SCAP's Department of Education.

Lage: Where do you think they got that?

Brown: They dreamed it up. I didn't say it. Nothing like that was in the release from the University of California. It was irresponsible journalism.

Immediately after receiving that long telegram, I went to the public relations office to ask advice, pointing out that I had been quoted as making a statement on a subject that had not been mentioned in the interview. The head of the office readily understood why General MacArthur, Colonel Nugent, and I were upset, but he pointed out that although we might well get the Associated Press to print a correction, that correction probably would appear only at the bottom of some page in a few newspapers, and not be read. So he recommended that I do nothing.

While the professor that I talked to at the public relations office undoubtedly understood the press situation in America, neither he nor I clearly understood why General MacArthur was so irate, or why the Japanese press had been so quick to pick up a critical remark that had not been made. We did not fully appreciate how uneasy the general was about instituting some truly radical reforms in Japan: big landowners were being forced to sell land to the farmers who cultivated it, big business executives were being forced to negotiate with labor unions, and the central government was being forced to limit its control over schools, the police, and the press. Such moves were leading conservatives in both Japan and the United States to say that MacArthur was being too liberal and too democratic, if not downright socialistic.

So when the release about my trip to Japan came out, a writer for the conservative Oakland Tribune apparently thought he saw something that he wanted to hear, and wrote up a story further revised by the Associated Press for release to Japanese newspapers that were only too happy to use it for pleasing their conservative readers. These readers were undoubtedly influenced by the complaints of rich and powerful landowners, huge corporation executives, and high-ranking government bureaucrats who were being undercut by General MacArthur's reforms.

Moreover, neither the P.R. professor nor I understood that, under pressure from General MacArthur and his staff, the Japanese press probably would have given proper attention to a retraction. So I regret that I did not submit to Associated Press officials a copy of the UC release, along with the AP version of it, and ask if they could see any similarity between the two. In particular, I should have objected strongly to being quoted, by name and within quotation marks, on a subject that had not been brought up in the interview. But I didn't, which I regret.

This experience destroyed my friendship with Colonel Nugent, made it quite unlikely that I would be permitted to return to Japan as long as that country was being occupied by the Allied Powers (headed by General MacArthur), and increased my skepticism about the veracity of anything I read in any newspaper.

Lage: Even then. Now everybody is skeptical.

Structure of UC Berkeley's History Department

Lage: When you were talking about the kōza in Japan, did you have kōza in the history department at Cal?

Brown: Oh no. [laughter]

Lage: Were there any correspondences?

Brown: Well, there was a bit of the kōza-like authoritarianism in the history department when I arrived there in 1946. And possibly that was what made me alert to the way that the kōza system had complicated, even blocked, the spread of egalitarianism and democracy in Japanese universities.

Lage: Right. That's what I want you to talk about.

Brown: Until shortly before my arrival in Berkeley, the chairmanship of the history department (like other departments in the university) had been held by one professor until his retirement. In our case that was Professor Herbert Bolton. During the many years he was chairman, appointments and promotions were pretty much under his control. The history department became a kind of Bolton show. Then, and to some extent until the "Bouwsma revolution of 1958," the department was made up of professors who had studied under, or been appointed and promoted by, Professor Bolton.

Lage: He had a very different view of history, American history.

Brown: Right! He thought the history of the United States should be taught and studied within the context of North and South American history. Consequently, introductory courses for lower division students included one on the History of the Americas. And other courses and programs reflected this "American" view of history.

When I arrived, Professor Bolton had retired. Professor Frederic Paxson was chairman; and he was followed in a few years by Professor John Hicks. Although both had been appointed during the

Bolton era, they were not lifetime chairmen and they were not committed to the "American" approach to U.S. history. So by the time of my arrival, the practice of holding a departmental chairmanship for life had been abandoned, and three new professors of U.S. history had been appointed who did not subscribe to the "American" approach: Kenneth Stampf (Wisconsin), Henry May (Harvard), and Carl Bridenbaugh (Harvard). We commonly think of those pre-1958 years as a time when the department was ingrown and Boltonian. But this generalization clouds the fact that those three professors had been appointed before 1958, as were three other "young Turks" of that year: Professor George Guttridge (Cambridge), Professor Paul Schaeffer (Pennsylvania), and myself (Stanford). Moreover, the distinguished Professor Kantorowicz had been in the department before he left for Princeton over the loyalty oath. And three assistant professors, who later gained distinction for writing books outside the realm of "American" history, had already been invited to Berkeley: Joseph Levenson (Harvard), Robert Brentano (Oxford), and Gene Brucker (Princeton). And we should not forget that many of the above appointments were made while Professor Frederic Paxson (Wisconsin, I think) and Professor John Hicks (Wisconsin) were departmental chairmen, both of whom had come to Berkeley during the Bolton years.

Lage: Right. And Hicks was brought in by Paxson, I think.

Brown: Or earlier. Professor Hicks came before World War II. [1942-1957] So the department was by no means limited to students of Professor Bolton or committed to the "American" view of U.S. history.

Departmental Rivalries, Strong Personalities

Lage: Some have described a system in the department where certain figures had their little coterie of--

Brown: That is another thing that I ran into when I first arrived here in 1946: a bitter rivalry between Professor Kerner and Professor Palm that led to a crisis when, as I recall, six students taking the Ph.D. written examination in European history were all failed: three working under Palm were flunked by Kerner, and three Kerner students were flunked by Palm. Each of the two senior professors held something like a kōza position within the department, and there was a good deal of rivalry between them.

Lage: Between Kerner and Palm?

Brown: Yes. I remember the history department meeting at which this problem was taken up. Professor Hicks was chairman. The situation was tense. A vote in favor of passing any of the six would have been a slap in the face for either Professor Palm or Professor Kerner; and it did not seem right to approve a flunk of all six when all were passed by their guiding professors.

Lage: What did Palm and Kerner have to say for themselves?

Brown: Each insisted that he was justified in flunking the three who had not studied under him, and that his own students should be passed.

It was I--believe it or not--who proposed that a special committee should be appointed to review the entire record of all six students--not just their examinations--and to come back to the department with a recommendation as to which of the six students should be failed and which should be passed. Although I was then only a lowly assistant professor and must have come off as pretty brash, I was not a follower of either Palm or Kerner; and my field of teaching and research was on the other side of the globe from Europe. So I could and did make the proposal from a position of neutrality. And it was the only proposal made. [laughter] So a committee was set up, and I was made chairman, although I was only an assistant professor.

Lage: In a completely different field.

Brown: That may have been the principal reason for making me chairman, for my teaching and research were not in the European field. Guttridge and Schaeffer, as I recall, were also appointed to the committee. We worked hard on those cases and--

Lage: Did you look at papers they had written?

Brown: We looked at the entire record of each.

Lage: But you didn't do the oral exam over?

Brown: Oh, no. We didn't subject the students to another written exam, but we did read other papers, such as their seminar papers. Then we came back to the department with a recommendation that certain individuals be passed and others failed. The department accepted our recommendations. And it was then, as I recall, that a decision was made that the training of graduate students should henceforth not be limited to work under a single professor. That, incidentally, was common practice under Japan's kōza system. And it was after the Kerner-Palm incident that the department began requiring that every graduate student work in more than one field and under more than one professor of history.

Lage: Do you remember how many of these six students ended up passing?

Brown: I think most of them passed, but one or two failed. I can't remember the details.

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Lage: Had the same thing happened with faculty hiring, that these professors had a lot of power in that area?

Brown: Yes. I have ambivalent feelings about the situation in the department then. I didn't like its kōza-like authoritarianism but could not but appreciate the freedom to teach and study Japanese history in any way I wished. I also liked being given responsibilities, such as chairing the committee set up to recommend which of the Kerner-Palm students should be passed, even though I had not yet received tenure. Shortly after the Kerner-Palm incident, by the way, my friend and golf partner Walt Bean said that he had never heard of such a young assistant professor functioning as an elder statesman. [laughter]

Lage: That is quite a compliment.

Brown: Yes. I remember it; I must have liked it.

Lage: What do you think accounted for your ability to--I guess you had an ability to bring people together.

Brown: It was mostly, you know, studying and making our recommendations on the basis of objective evidence. I think it was a kind of proper historical approach. But I did get such jobs quite early. One was my appointment as chairman of the T.A. room assignment committee. I do not think that there were any other members of the committee, so maybe I was simply given that assignment because, as I remember John saying, Miss Steele of the registrar's office, who was in charge of assigning rooms for all courses, was getting sick of hearing history T.A.s complain so much about receiving terrible rooms for use at the worst times of the day. So Miss Steele was quite willing to hand to the history department the task of assigning rooms to our T.A.s. Having received a block of over two or three hundred rooms, I first worked with some T.A.s in classifying each room and hour as either desirable, acceptable, or undesirable. Then the T.A.s readily agreed to take an equitable share of each. The last I heard, T.A. classroom assignments were still being handled in this way, but by the T.A.s themselves without any professorial supervision or control.

Lage: This is the quality of the room?

Brown: Yes, of the assignment, not only of the room, but especially the time.

Lage: Oh, yes, that's right. Time is--

Brown: Nobody wanted to teach at eight in the morning or five in the afternoon. Various things made a room assignment undesirable: either it was too large, too small, too dingy, or too far away; or the hour was too early, during the noon hour, or late in the afternoon. We rated each room and hour, and then we saw to it that every T.A. got an equal share of good and bad assignments.

Lage: Good. That sounds very complicated.

How did you get into the teaching business at this point? Did you have to teach these large lectures too?

Brown: Oh no. I was hired to teach Japanese history. I taught two lecture courses and a seminar in Japanese history.

Lage: And there wasn't a big lecture course?

Brown: No. In those early years there was not that much interest in Japan. Many students felt that the Japanese problem had been solved: we had defeated them in war and there was no need to think about them any more. [laughter] Enrollment in my classes varied, but usually it was between fifty and one hundred, sometimes more. I also taught a graduate seminar. The normal teaching load then was two undergraduate lecture courses and a graduate seminar per semester. Later, there was a shift to one undergraduate lecture course and one graduate course.

Lage: Was that decision made at a certain point, to reduce the teaching load?

Brown: That was later on.

Lage: Okay. We will put that down for later, because we are trying to get a picture of what it was like then.

Appointments to the Department

Brown: Even in those early years, much of our attention was given to new appointments and, to my surprise and delight, even assistant professors became involved in the selection process, especially if the new appointment was to be in the assistant professor's general

field of teaching and research. For example, I was on the selection committee for a new appointment in modern Chinese history. Maybe I was chairman, for I remember having the responsibility of interviewing John Fairbanks of Harvard about his two most promising students: Benjamin Schwartz who had already done some excellent work in Chinese communist thought; and Joseph Levenson who was making a name for himself in nineteenth century intellectual history.

Lage: Even as an assistant--

Brown: Even as an assistant professor. I remember comparing the two candidates in discussions with fellow members of the selection committee. It was assumed that we could have either of the two. We chose Levenson. Schwartz later received an appointment at Harvard.

Lage: Was he too at Harvard?

Brown: They both had received, or were receiving, their Ph.D.s from Harvard. We looked at other candidates but these were the two most promising scholars. Joe soon produced outstanding publications and, during my first term as departmental chairman, he received accelerated merit increases that made him so delighted to be at Berkeley that he turned down offers from other universities before mentioning them to me. That is, he did not use these offers to pressure us for another accelerated merit increase. As you know, he and his son were thrown from a boat on the Russian River and Joe was drowned trying to save his son. That was a great blow and loss to us all.

Lage: What about Bingham?

Brown: Bingham was already here.

Lage: He was not that much older than you, it seems.

Brown: He was a few years older.

Lage: Was there anybody in the Asian studies area that exercised the kind of power that, let's say, Kerner and Palm did in European history?

Brown: Yes, Professor Kerner seemed to feel that he was chief of the Asian area as well. He had worked with Professor Kuno in producing a translation of a medieval source on Japanese-Chinese relations. That and his studies of Russia's eastern movement gave him a special interest in Asia and made him feel that he should have a say about such matters as new appointments in that area.

Lage: Was he fluent in Japanese?

Brown: Kerner? No, he didn't teach anything about Japan. European history was his field.

Lage: He just sort of reached over and took in the others?

Brown: Yes. I recall someone saying that Professor Kerner, strongly anticommunist, would undoubtedly oppose an appointment for Schwartz who was specializing in Chinese communist thought. But since we considered Levenson a deeper and more creative scholar, we selected him and faced no opposition from Kerner. Although Schwartz too became distinguished for his books in modern Chinese thought, members of the selection committee continued to be certain that we had made the right choice.

Lage: Did Kerner have kind of a political take on teaching Russian, is this what you are saying?

Brown: He was simply anticommunist. I think his position was so strong and well known that it was assumed any scholar who had a special interest in communist thought would be, to him, objectionable.

Lage: That is interesting.

Brown: His influence was very strong in the Far Eastern field. He was irritated with me whenever I didn't do things the way he wanted them done.

Lage: As a person, was he difficult to deal with?

Brown: Well, he was difficult in the sense that most any authoritarian figure is difficult. His way was always right and you really couldn't discuss anything with him. I got along with him, but I must have resented the authority he was trying to exert.

Lage: Did either of these men, Kerner and Palm, aspire to be chairman of the department?

Brown: I don't know, they probably did. But in those years the appointment of departmental chairmen was in the hands of President Sproul, and he probably was not too keen on either Palm or Kerner because of the bitter rivalry between them.

Lage: The president appointed the chair?

Brown: Yes, the president undoubtedly consulted a few members of the department when appointing a new chairman, but my impression was that he listened mainly to Professor John Hicks who carried a lot

of weight on campus. Hicks was not only named departmental chairman shortly after my arrival but was graduate dean. As far as I know, the practice of asking each member of the department to indicate his or her preferences, when selecting a new chairman, had not yet been established. That came later.

Lage: Are there other old-timers in the department that you want to talk about? Not everybody is going to remember these, you know.

Brown: I remember them all.

Lage: What about Raymond Sontag?

Brown: [laughs] He was another powerful figure in the department at the time of my arrival in 1946. As a distinguished teacher and scholar in German diplomatic history, he was a man of considerable influence. In a sense he had his own kōza.

The Revolution of the "Young Turks"

Lage: Now, how about the "young Turks"?

Brown: Last spring Professor Gene Brucker, who was this year's Faculty Lecturer, delivered his lecture on the history of the history department. His speech was focused on the department's remarkable growth after the so-called "revolution" of the 1950s. At a later meeting of history professors, talks and comments were made about Gene's presentation. Most of what was said that afternoon seemed rooted in an assumption that a small group of "young Turks" had stirred up the "revolution," and that these same professors were largely responsible for the subsequent spate of good appointments.

Lage: We are still in the early fifties?

Brown: In 1956, to be exact. That was when six relatively young members of the department (George Guttridge, Paul Schaeffer, Carl Bridenbaugh, Kenneth Stampp, Henry May, and Delmer Brown) recommended the appointment of Professor William Bouwsma, whereas the majority of the department did not.

Lage: Was this appointment in European history?

Brown: Yes. But only two of the young Turks (George and Paul) taught courses in European history. The other four were far afield: three (Carl, Ken, and Henry) were in American history, and yours truly in Japanese history. So in addition to being relatively young--I was

forty-six at the time and Ken and Henry were younger--the young Turks were not specialists in European history.

Lage: And yet the recommendation of the six young Turks was accepted and the department's majority recommendation was rejected. Did that surprise you?

Brown: It certainly did. We were not surprised that a faculty recommendation led to a faculty appointment but that a departmental recommendation (backed by an overwhelming majority that included our most senior scholars) was rejected and another recommendation (backed only by six junior professors) was approved.

All of us were familiar with, and proud of, the Berkeley tradition established back in 1923 when President Wheeler agreed that no faculty appointment would be made until he had received and considered a recommendation from the Academic Senate's Budget Committee.

In subsequent years the Budget Committee came to make its recommendations on the basis of a two-tiered review process. First came a departmental review-recommendation of three distinct stages: (1) a departmental selection committee's recommendation in terms of the candidate's capabilities in teaching, research, and university-public service; (2) a review of the selection committee's recommendation by the tenured members of the department; and (3) a departmental recommendation submitted by the chairman. Second came a Budget Committee review-recommendation of two stages: (1) a review by a special committee (made up of one person from the department and two from related fields outside the department); and (2) a final recommendation of the Budget Committee, which is then submitted to the chancellor for a decision. In my three years on the Budget Committee, no single Budget Committee recommendation of a faculty appointment was ever rejected, although in a few cases the chancellor made the recommended appointments or promotions at a higher salary level.

Lage: And that was the situation in 1956?

Brown: Yes, except that the practice of appointing departmental chairmen for a period of no longer than five years, initiated after World War II, reduced the power of the chairman to dominate the selection and review process within his department. Therefore by 1956 a chairman of the history department could not exert the kind of influence over departmental recommendations that had been exerted in earlier years by Professor Bolton.

Lage: Now how do you explain how the recommendations of a minority of six could prevail over a departmental recommendation supported by a majority of its professors, including the most senior ones?

Brown: Our separate letters recommending the appointment of Professor William Bouwsma were apparently sent to the Budget Committee by Dean [Lincoln] Constance. I say "apparently" because the details of what the Budget Committee does and recommends are highly confidential. I was on that committee between 1964 and 1967 and I discovered then that what the Budget Committee does is not known by anyone but the chancellor and the committee staff. We had a separate cluster of offices to which only committee members and the staff had keys; the names of professors selected by the committee to serve on special review committees were not disclosed; and conclusions reached either by the Budget Committee or its special review committee were seen only by the chancellor. So I can only deduce that the young-Turk letters were handed over to the Budget Committee and that these were seen and studied before a recommendation was sent to the chancellor for his decision. Although the names of persons serving on the Budget Committee at the time were surely reported to the Academic Senate, we can only assume that their recommendations became the basis of the chancellor's official rejection of the history department's majority recommendation. No one has definitely said so. After serving on the Budget Committee (about a decade later), I concluded that the dean and the chancellor had probably been able to reject the department's recommendation only because that was the position taken by the Budget Committee.

Lage: How do you characterize young Turk influence on the history department at the time of 1956 "revolution" and in later years?

Brown: As I think back over the comments that have been made by my colleagues on this subject, I feel that I have heard at least three rather different views of what the young Turks were up to. One is that they were led by Harvard men trying to "strengthen" the department by adding as many Harvard men as possible to the staff. The second is that they were a small group of young professors from other universities who were rebelling against the control of Bolton students and Bolton appointees. And the third one is that they were young professors making a serious attempt to add interesting and creative historians to the department.

Each of these views is rooted in a measure of truth about who the young Turks were and what they were doing. But differences depended, it seems to me, on who is talking. The Harvard view, for example, is probably aired most by members of the defeated majority; the Bolton view on the other hand is most commonly expressed by colleagues who came to the department after the

"revolution" or who were recommended by one or more young Turks; and I think the third "hard-look" view would be preferred by the young Turks themselves.

Lage: Was there any substance to the Harvard view?

Brown: Yes, quite a bit. Although only Carl and Henry received their Ph.D. degrees from Harvard, the rest of us certainly held Harvard, and Harvard historians, in high esteem. As was noted in an earlier interview, I was at Harvard working on my Ph.D. dissertation (submitted at Stanford) when I was first approached for an appointment at Berkeley, and the man who first approached me was Woodbridge Bingham, also from Harvard. You will remember too that, as a member of the search committee for an appointment in modern Chinese history, I talked first with John Fairbanks (a Harvard professor) about two of his most promising students: Joseph Levenson and Benjamin Schwartz. Also I have often expressed the view that any graduate student is sure to gain prestige and self-confidence from the possession of a Ph.D. from Harvard, even if and when Harvard has no specialist in that student's chosen area of research. But most young Turks were not Harvard men, and most of our new appointments were offered to men and women who had received their training elsewhere.

Lage: And was there any substance to the Bolton view?

Brown: Yes. Although Professor Bolton's term as chairman had ended several years before 1956, as I have already noted, a Bolton student (James King) was departmental chairman when the blow-up came. And most of our tenured professors had joined the department in Bolton years, before and during the World War II. Since most Bolton students with professorships in the history department had not achieved much distinction, and seemed prone to favor mediocre appointments, it was logical to deduce that the young Turks were rebelling against the Bolton gang.

But that view, in my opinion, is only the negative side of who we were and what we were trying to do: it emphasizes what we were against rather than what we were for. I don't think any of us disliked Jim. He was a most personable man and administered departmental affairs in a gentle and even-handed way. He had suffered from the death, by cancer, of his young and lovely wife; and we had no desire to increase his misery by having him ousted from the chairmanship. We were not driven to oppose the majority recommendation by feelings of antipathy toward anyone, including Professor Bolton himself who, after all, had been elected president of the American Historical Association. Instead, I submit that we were motivated, first and foremost, by a desire to make the history department one of the world's most distinguished history departments.

Lage: If you were not rebelling against anyone, how would you characterize what was done?

Brown: The action which led to the so-called "rebellion" of the young Turks was the writing of our six letters, and the reading, talking, and thinking that made the letters convincing. We did not read what each other had written, but the discussions we had together beforehand, plus the memory of what I personally wrote, makes me quite sure that every sentence was focused on the position that Bill Bouwsma--not the person recommended by the majority--should be appointed. I did not write, and I do not think anyone else wrote, anything about the wrong-headedness or evil intentions of our opponents.

After the "rebellion" was over, and George was appointed chairman and I his vice chairman, two members of majority did give us a bit of trouble, but neither of the two was thought of as a hated leader of the opposition. One was Engel Sluiter, who was really teed off by what had happened to his good friend Jim King, and who seems to have felt that we six self-serving Harvard types had done the damage. Even though I did what I could when I was chairman to obtain additional research grants for Engel (grants that seem never to have led to a single publication), our old poker-playing friendship was never re-established. But Engel's rather sullen behavior posed no serious problems, for his opposition never took the form of a carefully considered plan or recommendation.

Ray Sontag's opposition, however, was different. Because he was such a respected member of the faculty, and such a smooth and convincing talker, we could not but assume that any departmental proposal we wanted might well be scuttled by a review committee on which Ray sat. So his assumed opposition forced us to be particularly careful in preparing cases for faculty promotions and appointments.

But later on, when I was chairman, and moved to recommend that George Guttridge be awarded one of the endowed chairs, I felt I had to do more than prepare a good case, because Ray's position on George's scholarship was well known. So I took the unusual, and probably improper, step of asking the dean to do what he could to prevent the Budget Committee from appointing Ray to its review committee. The dean made no promises but since our recommendation was approved, I could not but conclude that Ray had not been made a member of the review committee. I also had to be careful about including Ray on departmental search committees, making quite sure that if he was appointed, some other equally hard-working and outspoken person (like Carl Bridenbaugh) was also included. We

began to say and think that every committee should have at least one "watch dog" member.

Although I could not but think of Ray as the person most likely to keep us from doing what we felt should be done, I am inclined to think that his opposition was constructive: he forced us to make sure that we did our homework.

Because Ray, more than anyone else, stood out as the opponent of our "rebellion", the most pleasing and gratifying compliment I ever received came from him. This occurred at an informal retirement party held at the Durant Hotel. Toward the end of the party, Ray came to where I was standing and said, "Delmer, our department is now what a department should be." I could hardly believe what I was hearing. And since nobody else seems to have heard him say that, I feel impelled to slip his comment into my oral history.

Therefore I insist that the most significant action taken by the young Turks was not opposition to Boltonian enemies but department-building, which required hard work (reading, discussing, and writing), not Bolton-bashing.

Lage: Did this hard-work attention to department-building last?

Brown: Although we may not have been aware that we were working any harder than anybody else, and although others probably did not or would not characterize our activity in any such a way, I know that after that (and hopefully right down to the present day) search committee reports came to be based on discriminating and comparative evaluations grounded in extensive reading and research, that tenure meetings became long affairs at which the teaching and research records of leading candidates were rigorously examined and debated, and that departmental recommendations were well-documented presentations that must have caused Dean Constance to say, some years later, that everything a historian writes is bound to be long.

I dare to say that hard work on appointments and promotions lasted because of what I saw and read during my two terms as departmental chairman (from 1967 to 1961 and again from 1971 to 1975). And what I saw and read as a member of the Budget Committee (1964 to 1967) suggests that the history department's tradition of hard work on appointments and promotions was spreading. Shortly after I became a member of the Budget Committee, I was told (and I could readily see) that history department recommendations were marked not only by their length but by the results of discriminating and comparative study. By the end of my three years on the Budget Committee, it was clear that the recommendations of

other departments were getting much better, suggesting that the hard-work tradition was gaining strength in other parts of the university.

Carl Bridenbaugh's Role, and his Departure from Berkeley

Lage: Did any one of the six young Turks have more to do with the establishment of this tradition than anyone else?

Brown: I don't know what others would say (three of the six are now dead) but my guess is that all would agree that Carl Bridenbaugh did more hard work than anyone else. In most every case, even outside the sphere of American colonial history, he usually made more telephone calls, wrote more letters, and did more reading than anyone else. Of course we always heard about the work he had done--probably what was done by more reticent individuals (such as Paul and George) was not properly appreciated. But before any selection or tenure committee meeting, every individual was apt to spend many hours on preparation if he or she knew that Carl would be present. He or she apparently assumed that Carl would already have read most everything the major candidates had written, and had reached a decision on whether any one had achieved true distinction. So I do not object to Carl's being referred to as the "chief Turk", although none of us would admit that we ever did or said anything because that was what Carl wanted.

In connection with his hard work on personnel matters, I feel impelled to state that Carl was also a stickler for high academic standards. He was particularly outspoken about the difference between a popular teacher and a good teacher, as well as between an interesting book and one that leads us to think more clearly and deeply about change in the life of human beings at a critical time in history. In attempting to identify and measure the scholarly achievement of a candidate considered for appointment or promotion, Professor Emilio Segre (a Nobel Prize winner in chemistry who served on the Budget Committee with me) frequently raised this sharp question: "What does he make?" In a similar situation, Carl would characteristically ask: "What has he done?" Both were seeking evidence of originality and creativity.

I can't resist throwing in a story or two about Carl's insistence on, and preoccupation with, high standards. One summer we gave a dinner party for historians from other universities who had been invited to teach in Berkeley during the current summer session. Carl was not teaching then but we invited him and his wife to attend because we were sure our visitors would like to meet

him. Not long after everyone had arrived, and before we sat down to dinner, Carl was led by some comment or other to say, quite loudly and clearly, that "no self-respecting scholar would ever spend his time teaching in a summer session."

He also said, quite often, that he (and by implication any other self-respecting scholar) would never serve as departmental chairman. But after he left Berkeley to take a position at Brown University, he did accept the chairmanship of their history department. Rumor has it that he resigned, and his resignation was accepted, on the second or third day of the appointment. Knowing of his judgmental statements and demands about academic standards, none of us at Berkeley was really surprised.

Lage: Why did Professor Bridenbaugh leave Berkeley?

Brown: This happened late in my first term as chairman, and it should not have happened.

Lage: Why do you say that?

Brown: Because he was quite proud of his part in department-building and surely was not interested in leaving Berkeley for a university that, although quite strong, was not at the top of the academic ladder.

Lage: Then why did he leave?

Brown: At lunch one day, he told me that he was going to leave the university if the department did not apologize to him for some terrible things that colleagues had said about him. He did not tell me precisely what had been said, or who had said it. But he was quite explicit about his desire to leave the university if no apology was made. He knew that a tenure committee meeting was coming up, said he would not attend, and indicated that he would be waiting for an apology. I agreed to put the matter before the tenure committee but must surely have expressed some doubts about getting the committee to apologize for something about which most members (including the chairman) knew little or nothing. Indeed I must have felt that he was being a bit paranoid and petty.

Lage: What happened?

Brown: I have a vivid memory of what transpired at that tenure committee meeting and recall that Henry and Ken (who along with Carl were our three American-history Turks) quickly and explicitly said they had no intention of agreeing to a departmental apology.

Even when I said that Carl was sure to become receptive to an offer from another university, their positions were not softened. So no apology was made. I came away from the meeting quite frustrated, feeling that we would soon lose our "chief Turk" because, as I saw it, all three American-history colleagues were being somewhat petty and obstinate.

It was therefore not much of a surprise when, a few months later, Carl told me that he had accepted an offer from Brown University.

Lage: You suggest that his departure should not have happened. Do you think you should have handled this matter differently?

Brown: I have given a lot of thought to this question, especially since Carl told me in no uncertain terms (at a farewell party given by Ken's first wife Kay) that when the chips were down I failed him. I have interpreted this to mean that he had not really wanted to leave Berkeley and had been forced to accept an invitation from Brown University only because I had not acted like a really good friend and effective chairman.

I have long had the uncomfortable feeling that he was right. It is possible that I was too busy with other pressing matters to find out what had gone wrong in relationships between these three American historians (three of the six Young Turks) or to discover ways (other than asking for a departmental apology) of smoothing rustled feathers. But it may be that Ken, Henry, and I were getting a little sick of Carl's harping on the lack of quality in the work of almost every historian mentioned, making us more and more likely to do likewise, even about one of Carl's favored students. I still remember that after several hours of "conversation" with Carl I didn't feel that good about myself. So although we valued Carl's contributions to the "revolution", and were sure that our homework on new appointments would continue to be carried more diligently if he stayed on, we seem not to have been willing to exert ourselves in keeping him in Berkeley.

Lage: Were persons outside the department important figures in the department's development?

Brown: Oh yes, especially Dean Lincoln Constance and Chancellor Clark Kerr. Lincoln was our channel to the chancellor, and we had no way of knowing how much of what he had to say increased the likelihood of a recommendation being accepted by the chancellor. And of course the chancellor made the final decision on all faculty appointments and promotions, leaving us quite unsure as to whether his personal support was insignificant or decisive. I do know, however, that both Lincoln and Clark took personal pride in the

contributions they made to the rather sudden rise in the history department's stature.

Probably both had something to do with the fact that no single recommendation was ever rejected for lack of funds.

And as I said earlier, the power and independence of the senate Budget Committee has always been important. It is inconceivable that our minority report would have been accepted by either the dean or the chancellor if such action had not already been recommended by the Budget Committee.

Teaching, Research and Public University Service: Criteria for Appointment and Promotion

Lage: When you looked at candidates, how much attention was given to their personal qualities? Did you consider how a candidate would fit into the department's culture? Did you look at wives?

Brown: We tried to consider everything. So we not only read all of a candidate's publications but usually managed to observe him or her in teaching situations. When thinking of offering a tenure appointment at the associate professor level, we preferred that the candidate come on a visiting appointment for at least one semester or one quarter, giving us the opportunity to get acquainted with the candidate before extending a formal offer. Rumors and movie stories to the contrary, we made a serious attempt to disregard such irrelevant matters as the good looks and wealth of a spouse, or a candidate's connections with a member of the Board of Regents, a winning football team, the right political party, or the correct hobby. Students and taxpayers seem to assume that appointments and promotions (especially decisions not to grant tenure) are politically, racially, and/or sexually determined. And the way you phrase your question, Ann, suggests that you too are not aware that all selections, reviews, and recommendations must be made in terms of three basic criteria: teaching, research, and university-public service.

The Regents and the Academic Senate have periodically redefined these three criteria. And there has been a continuing debate over which of the three is, or should be, given the greatest weight. Persons outside the university seem to place teaching and public service above research, and to assume that research is measured quantitatively.

My several years of involvement in recommending and reviewing appointments and promotions (within the department, throughout the campus, and university-wide) lead me to make some generalizations that may surprise you:

First, university regulations, throughout my more than forty years on the faculty, consistently stipulated that recommendations for promotion and appointment assign equal weight to teaching, research, and public-university service.

Second, although the above three criteria have always been assigned equal weight, some parts of the university have always, because of their very nature, assigned more weight to one than to another. For example the Education School logically assigns more weight to teaching, physics to research, and public administration to public service. Moreover, undergraduates tend to see more value in teaching than in research while graduates tend to see just the opposite.)

Third, from my experience as departmental chairman and as a member of the Budget Committee, I have the sense that the administrative positions a person has held within the university weighed more heavily before 1956, that research became increasingly important after 1956, and that teaching has been given more attention since 1970. These trends suggest that after the faculty "revolutions", research became more important, and that since the student movements of the 1960s, greater stress has been placed on teaching.

Fourth, our ideas about service, research, and teaching have been constantly changing. The value of service is now measured not so much by the number of administrative posts held as by the quality of a person's administrative service; research is now measured not so much by the number of books and articles written as by their originality and creativity; and teaching is now measured not so much by the number of students attracted to a teacher's lectures as by the enthusiasm for learning generated in discussions with that teacher.

Shifting Interests and Perspectives in History

Lage: What about new kinds of history? Was this a consideration? Were there changes of emphasis?

Brown: Yes, we were always interested in the kind of history a candidate was interested in. Indeed a selection committee for a new

appointment was appointed only after the personnel committee had asked and answered the "field-period" question: For what area of the world, and for what period of that area's history, should the history department be offering undergraduate and graduate courses? Often that question would be answered without much study or debate if the following two conditions existed: (a) undergraduate and graduate courses in that area were well attended; and (b) the professor teaching in that area was due to retire. If such conditions existed, a search committee for an appointment in that field and period was soon appointed.

But since we had a large number of history majors (usually in the neighborhood of a thousand), and our graduate students were numerous (in my early years at Berkeley when I was the department's M.A. adviser, we usually had one hundred or more new M.A. students a year), we were readily provided FTE for new appointments. It was almost a "blank-check" situation in which the department's personnel committee recommended (and we set selections committees for) new appointments in the department's three traditional Euro-American fields: U.S. history, Latin American history, and European history. But new appointments were also made outside those traditional fields: Chinese (Wakeman and Keightley), Japanese (Scheiner and Smith), and Russian (Malia and Riasanovsky). Appointments were also made in new historical fields: African, Near Eastern, and Jewish. New appointments were made as well in one field without geographical or temporal boundaries, the history of science (Kuhn and Dupree). Because so many appointments were made, the size of the department increased from the time of the "rebellion" in 1956 to the close of my second term as chairman in 1975.

But there was also a notable shift of interest to historians who taught and wrote about a wider range of human experience (not just political or economic change but cultural and intellectual change as well) and whose teaching and research went beyond description to interpretation and analysis: from writing interesting stories about, or detailed and accurate chronological reports on, what happened to raising and answering questions about the meaning of what has happened, and still is happening, in human history. While this general shift would probably be readily recognized by most of us, each would verbalize it differently since he or she has found meaning and significance in different kinds of change in different times and places.

For me at this point in time, and from my perspective as an American specialist in Japanese history, I am inclined to find meaning and significance mainly in the nature and power of continuing interaction between authoritarian and liberal ideas and behavior, an interaction that seems to have shaped and colored

politics and religion (and therefore almost everything else) among peoples at all times and places.

Lage: How did you judge the teaching? It is always said that people didn't care about teaching at Berkeley.

Brown: Oh, we cared. We had to care because, as noted above, teaching was one of the three established criteria for appointments and promotions. Every recommendation had to include objective evidence of effective teaching. After the student movement of the 1960's, we were required to obtain evaluations of teaching from students enrolled in every class. Thus when I, as chairman, wrote a recommendation for promotion, I always had a stack of questionnaires before me that had been filled out by students enrolled in courses taught by a particular professor. I must say, however, that these questionnaires were not that helpful, mainly because most students had nothing but high praise for their teachers and usually did not explain why they rated them so high. There were always a few--even in the classes of a teacher who had been selected as Berkeley's Teacher of the Year--who did not like a given teacher, and said so in no uncertain terms. But these negative evaluations, too, usually did not reveal just why the teacher was disliked, leaving the impression that there had been some personality conflict that revealed little or nothing about the quality of the professor's teaching.

We came to feel that evaluations made by other teachers were more helpful than student questionnaires. So whenever considering a new appointment, we went out of our way to organize a colloquium in which the candidate's lecture would be heard by several colleagues, especially by those who taught and did their research in the candidate's field. Statements by these colleagues about the ability to teach made it possible for me to write something quite concrete and specific on his or her ability to teach.

Lage: Would these things be discussed?

Brown: Absolutely. Everything was discussed at great length. [laughter]

Lage: What was the tenor of these discussions?

Brown: They were great fun, long, and windy.

Lage: What about the feelings between colleagues? Were the discussions heated?

Brown: We never got angry. We had disagreements but the meetings of our tenure committee (professors who were associate and full professors

with tenure) were nearly always sparked by perceptive comments made in good humor. I thought of them as intellectual feasts.

The Loyalty Oath Controversy

- Lage: We didn't talk at all about the loyalty oath and what effect that had on the department, how the department reacted to that.
- Brown: There was a lot of strong feeling. That was when Kantorowicz left us.
- Lage: That is what I've heard. What was he like? Tell me a little bit more about him.
- Brown: I don't know too much about his background. I know from talking with him that he was friendly, had a great sense of humor, and had broad intellectual interests. He was highly regarded by his students. He felt strongly about the loyalty oath and left because of it. Others also felt strongly. I personally didn't get so deeply involved. I signed the oath without too much hesitation. I suppose I should have taken a stronger position about it, but somehow it didn't bother me that much.
- Lage: Was it divisive within the department?
- Brown: No. I think it was pretty much an individual matter. No one held anything against anyone else because of what he or she did or did not do. I remember Jim King felt very strongly that the president and the Regents were wrong in requiring us to take an oath that we were not communists.
- Lage: He was against it?
- Brown: Yes.
- Lage: It didn't become a situation of taking sides within the department?
- Brown: No. We didn't divide up on that. The student uprising in the sixties was a different matter.
- Lage: We're going to get to that next time.

The Gender Issue: Only One Woman History Professor

- Lage: Are there any more things that you think we should talk about the fifties and your first chairmanship? We didn't really talk specifically about your chairmanship of the department [first term as chair, 1957-1961].
- Brown: When I talked about our appointments and Carl Bridenbaugh's influence, we were talking about the fifties.
- Lage: Yes. In those days did anybody think about, Why don't we have more women professors, or--
- Brown: We had one or two.
- Lage: You had one.
- Brown: We had a very distinguished woman quite early, Adrienne Koch in American history. She was with us quite early, and very distinguished.
- Lage: But with you gentlemen on search committees, did the gender issue arise?
- Brown: There was a feeling that we ought to have more women professors. But we would not have favored the selection of one who didn't measure up academically.
- Lage: Were there very many in the hiring pool?
- Brown: Usually not. For many of the positions to be filled, there wouldn't be a single woman candidate. There just weren't that many around. We would have welcomed the chance to extend an offer to a woman if she had been academically qualified.
- Lage: Okay. The question didn't come up too often, it seems, the way it did later.
- Brown: It just didn't come up, because it wasn't forced on us at that time. Affirmative action was not yet passed by the courts and the government.
- Lage: Did Adrienne Koch take part in the governance of the department?
- Brown: No, she didn't. I had a great respect for her but, for some reason, she did not seem to be liked that much by her colleagues in the American field. I don't think it was because she was a woman.

She was not considered for such positions as chairman or vice chairman of the department.

Lage: Would she serve on search committees and things like that?

Brown: Undoubtedly she did that. I can't remember the details.

Increasing Secretarial and Administrative Assistance as Department Chair

Lage: I am just trying to get a picture of these earlier years.

Brown: One thing that stands out in my memory of those early years was that we really had only one secretary (Mildred Radke) in a department that had over twenty professors, about one hundred teaching assistants, and several hundred graduate students working for advanced degrees in history. That was a big problem on which I spent hours and hours of time.

Lage: Why did it become a problem at that time?

Brown: It was a problem because a clear line existed between academic work (teaching and research) and nonacademic work (filing, typing, filling out reports, drawing up budgets, and administering programs), and relatively well paid members of the academic staff were using an increasingly large percent of their time on nonacademic matters, thereby decreasing their time for, and undoubtedly reducing the quality of, the work they were paid to do. Most of us were writing letters and administering programs that should have been handled by nonacademic members of the staff, which was one secretary.

Lage: She must have been busy.

Brown: She was very busy, but there was so much that she couldn't do, and much that she did not want to do. Chairmen who preceded me tried to correct the situation by hiring secretaries, usually on a part-time basis, to help her. But those hired to assist her usually did not stay long, soon finding a job more to their liking. Mildred was a very gentle and conscientious lady who was well liked by everyone, especially the graduate students. She thought of herself as the chairman's secretary and could not and would not assume responsibility for anything as complicated as the budget and administering a departmental office.

We felt that she should not only have more help but that we ought to get someone else to do some of the clerical chores being handled by the chairman or other members of the department. But we couldn't move. The people hired to help would soon leave, and we could not hire anyone to take over such matters as the budget because a department of our size was entitled to only one administrative assistant, a position that was held by Mildred Radke. In talking with officials in the university's personnel office, it became quite clear that if we wanted someone to handle such difficult matters as the budget we had two options: either have our present administrative assistant do it, or fire her and get someone who could. And we couldn't fire her. She was doing what she wanted to do very well, and everybody liked her. Neither the department nor the union of nonacademic employees would have put up with that. But it was pointed out, over and over, that our department could have only one administrative assistant and that position was held by Mildred Radke.

Lage: Regardless of size.

Brown: Possibly some units in the university were entitled to more than one administrative assistant, but not the history department which, along with English and political science and mathematics, was one of the four largest departments on campus.

Finally we thought of making room for a new administrative assistant by having Mildred take a lower rank, but retaining her present salary. The personnel office said it could accept such an arrangement if Mildred could. After long conversations with her, she finally agreed to step down if she could keep her current salary. She realized that we needed someone who would take on more administrative responsibilities, and that she would soon be retiring. We also tried to make the change easier for her by putting her desk in a prominent place and giving her special responsibilities with undergraduate majors, which numbered a thousand or so at that time. Then we found a very able and energetic woman to be our new administrative assistant, Janet Purcell. Thereafter, a history department office gradually emerged around the chairman's office on the fourth floor of Dwinelle Hall and the big room beside it where hundreds of history majors and graduate students came for information, all departmental telephone calls were made, and secretarial services for the faculty were centered. To the side of that big room was our faculty mail room. And beside the chairman's office (and across the hall) additional rooms were gradually acquired for the chairman's secretary, the administrative assistant (Janet Purcell), an assistant to the administrative assistant, an assistant for graduate studies, an assistant for undergraduate studies, a secretary for the holders of endowed chairs, and the storage and copying of teaching and

research materials. By the time Mildred retired, the office must have had a staff of ten people.

Lage: It may be destined to get smaller again with the budget cuts.

Brown: Could be, but my guess is that cuts will come first in other areas: fewer professors (there are already fewer members of the department than when I retired); more professors at junior ranks (almost no new appointments are now made at the tenure rank); and less money for books, research materials, and travel. As teaching and research become affected more by the use of electronic teaching aids and computerized databases, the department will probably need even more clerical assistance, not less, especially if our department continues to hold the lead in creative teaching and research.

Lage: What is secretarial assistance--isn't it assistance for academic work?

Brown: Certainly it is, but there is an area of assistance that is nonacademic (which is done by secretaries and assistants who are nonacademic employees of the university) and that is academic (which is done by graduate students who serve as teaching and research assistants and who are academic employees of the university). It is often difficult to draw the line separating assistance from actual teaching, especially when a teaching assistant spends more time with individual students than the professor being assisted, and for research, when a research assistant digs up most of the data incorporated in a research paper published by the professor being assisted. Even secretaries must feel that they are getting into teaching when helping a professor write evaluations of research papers written by his students. But the line is important: it differentiates assistance from the academic functions of a university, without which the teaching and research of a professor would suffer.

The value of assistance is easier to see in the fields of science but more difficult, especially for the outsider, in the humanities and social sciences. But unless that value is recognized and funded, teaching and research in those disciplines are sure to slide toward mediocrity and stagnation.

Nonacademic assistance is more often seen and measured in terms of assistance to the teaching and research of an individual professor but it is far more important for those who have taken on administrative responsibilities (such as the chairmanship) and who serve on key committees (such as special committees for new academic appointments). The need is particularly heavy for the committee appointed to decide which of the hundreds of applicants

will be admitted to the graduate division for work toward the Ph.D. degree in history. This heavy burden would be far heavier if there was no assistant to open up all these packets, put the recommendations and transcripts in order, make tables showing just how each student compares with others in grades and SAT scores, and handle other clerical chores.

Every new teaching program creates additional administrative burdens that can be best handled, in terms of cost and the teaching-research function of professors, by clerks and typists. Let me give two examples of how two generously funded programs have greatly enhanced teaching and research and, at the same time, increased the need for additional help from the office staff. Such administrative-assistance burdens are always increased with every new generously supported teaching-research program; and a distinguished department attracts, and is made more distinguished by, these new programs. Almost every professor in the history department regularly receives research grants that enable him or her to take off as much as a full year for research and as frequently as every three years. And each grant involves considerable paperwork, much of which can and should be handled by a secretary or assistant. Also, the department as a whole receives generous grants that, while enhancing teaching and research, add to the administrative burdens for which assistance is required.

Endowed Chairs and Professional Promotion Policies

Lage: What grants do you mean?

Brown: I would like to comment on two: our endowed chairs, and the so-called anonymous fund.

When I was last chairman, we had five or six endowed chairs and I hear that there are now at least two more. It now takes around one million dollars to endow a chair. So everyone knows that the history department has been generously treated. Each endowment provides funds not merely for the salary of the chair holder but support for teaching and research. But the department is presented with the additional burden of budgeting and processing all endowed-chair expenditures. [Editor's note--endowed chairs have not traditionally paid the base salary of faculty who hold the endowed chair.]

But before going into detail about my experience with that particular administrative burden, I feel impelled to say something about the larger question of whether we have used our endowments

according to the wishes and expectations of the donors. I have an uneasy feeling that those who have given the university millions of dollars for chairs may have been thinking or assuming, as others have, that these endowments would enable the department to hire distinguished professors from other universities to teach and do research in new fields of history. To my knowledge, no such limitations have been spelled out in any of the existing endowments, although some are limited to appointments in the fields of American or European history. But I wonder if the donors or their heirs would not be disturbed to find that (1) very few appointments have gone to professors not already in the department, and (2) the history department at Berkeley, with its six or more chairs, has no more professors than the history department at UCLA which, in my days at least, had no chairs at all. Those two points may not bother living or prospective donors, but our presidents and chancellors, in their endeavors to obtain more chairs should be quite certain, not necessarily in writing, that the donors are not motivated to endow chairs by hopes and expectations that are not likely to be met.

Having aired one concern about our chairs, I might as well air another. This is that the very existence of chairs, especially since they tend to be awarded to persons already in the department, creates a special professorial rank that a majority of our professors can never attain. That is a break with the established tradition--which I think most of my colleagues would agree has been an important source of departmental strength--that any man or woman appointed to the position of assistant professor (a ladder appointment) will never be prevented by the absence of a budgetary provision (an FTE or full-time equivalent) from moving to the top of the academic ladder.

Unlike Ivy League universities where there are never enough budgetary slots at the associate professor level to permit the promotion of every assistant professor to tenure, we have never been constrained by such a situation. No blockage of this kind has kept any assistant professor from rising to a higher rank or from rising, at least during my years as chairman, to a higher pay scale within his or her rank. But the existence of chairs does present such blockage for a majority of our full professors. This surely creates uncertainty, if not disappointment and resentment, for many.

I know that this made George Guttridge, at least before he himself was awarded a chair, wonder whether chairs were good for the department. Others have claimed (with little or no valid evidence to support their claims) that some professors have accepted appointments at other institutions because they did not receive, or saw no chance of receiving, a chair appointment at

Berkeley. I have detected no deterioration of collegiality as a result of having chairs, but this "ladder blockage" is a concern I feel impelled to draw to the attention of those who will be involved in the department's future growth. A few things have been done, and will surely continue to be done, to prevent non-chair-holding professors from feeling that they have been demoted.

Which brings to mind a proposal that was brought before the statewide Budget Committee when I was a member in 1965-66. This was that we abandon the practice of considering every professor for advancement to the next highest pay scale after a specified number of years. The person proposing the change argued that (1) too many professors were being advanced to higher pay scales whose teaching, research, and service records were mediocre and (2) too many outstanding professors were not being advanced far enough or fast enough. Every member of that select Budget Committee except me favored the proposal, maybe feeling that they were (or would like to be) among the outstanding professors who should be treated better.

Anyway, my objections were strong enough to convince the statewide Budget Committee that we should check back with our respective senates before putting the proposal to a vote. At the next meeting, each member of the committee came back to announce (in many cases with considerable surprise) that his particular campus was overwhelmingly against dropping the tradition of requiring a consideration of advancement after a prescribed number of years. Most members of the Academic Senate on each campus must have felt not only that they had been properly promoted and advanced but that they did not want their university to gravitate toward a situation, seen elsewhere, in which a professor assumes he will not be promoted unless he obtains an offer of higher rank and pay from some other university. Such a situation surely constitutes a drag on, if not an obstruction to, creative teaching and research.

In an attempt to avoid such discontent, I made a point of trying, and usually succeeding, to obtain accelerated advancements and promotions for professors with particularly strong teaching and research records. And I am convinced that it was because of such efforts that Joseph Levenson, for example, turned down offers from Eastern universities before telling me that he had received those offers.

In sum, I value our traditional policy of relatively regular promotions and advancements and would not like to have it weakened by the possession of so many, but not enough, good chairs.

I say "not enough" with conviction because it is clear that the chairs provide financially meaningful recognition for outstanding historians and, in addition, give these professors extra funds for teaching and research. Both add prestige to the professors and their department, as well as luster to their teaching and research records. So although I am concerned that our use of the endowments may not be in accord with the hopes and expectations of the donors and that, if we are not careful, the chairs may lead to a deterioration of morale among those who are destined to be no more than a professor of history, we should have more chairs, not less.

-Lage: Didn't you want to say something about the administrative burden of endowed chairs?

Brown: Yes, I would like to get back to that. One day during my second term as chairman [1972-1975], it was revealed that each chair endowment had a rather large sum of income that was not being used. This was because the terms of each endowment stipulated that none of its income, even savings created when a professor receives a grant for full-time research, could be used except for the salary, and research and teaching, of that particular chair holder. And since each one of our chair holders was a distinguished scholar who regularly receives such grants, his endowment had considerable savings that could not be tapped even for the pay of a replacement while a chair holder was on leave. After noticing a constant increase in these savings for each chair, one of the budget officers brought this to my attention. He was apparently uneasy that these savings would continue to grow and eventually attract the attention of auditors. He was sure that something ought to be done, but he could think of nothing that would meet the terms of the endowments.

This was the beginning of studies and discussions that took up much of my time for months. After studying the terms of each endowment, I became convinced that we would be acting in accord with the expressed wishes of each donor if these savings were spent to enhance the teaching and research of our chair holders. But further consultation with budget officers convinced me that dividing up the savings among the chair holders and allowing them to spend the money for teaching and research in whatever way they wanted would be unacceptable. That would have caught the eye of university auditors looking for irregular expenditures of nonbudgeted funds.

So then I talked with each chair holder in an attempt to find out how he could best use the funds that had been accumulated in his particular fund. Some saw no need for more research materials or travel, or for additional research assistance, but all wanted

some help on typing, although not enough to warrant the employment of a full-time secretary for each chair. That led to a plan by which some savings from each chair were pooled for the employment of one full-time secretary (equipped with a modern word processor) to provide secretarial assistance to all chair holders. Then a budget was drawn up to include other kinds of teaching and research assistance that would be in accord with the needs and accumulated savings of each chair.

Even when that was worked out, the budget officers balked: they could not decide whether this was acceptable or not. Finally, after I pressed them several times for an answer, a secretary called to say that I could go ahead and spend the money as proposed. But she made it quite clear that I would receive no written approval for such action. As far as I know, the thousands of dollars accumulated in the various chair funds every year are still handled in that informal way. But each payment--whether for a salary, computer, books, or travel--must be documented and reported, requiring considerable paperwork that, I hope, no longer has to be done solely by the chairman.

Lage: The endowments do not support the salary of a professor, as I understand it.

Brown: Yes it does, although in some cases the income from the endowment does not cover the professor's full salary.

History Department Library, Lounge, and Telephones

Lage: You said that there was another area in which generous financial support had increased the need for greater nonacademic assistance. What was that?

Brown: I was referring to the surprising announcement, suddenly received from the chancellor's office, that we would be receiving thousands of dollars a year from an "anonymous fund" given by a donor who did not want his or her name revealed. The income was from a block of stocks given to the Berkeley campus to support teaching and research in first one department and then another. When the income exceeded a certain figure (one hundred thousand dollars I think it was), the amount above that figure was to go to a second department. And then when that department began to receive more than that amount in a single year, a third department entered the picture. Our department was surprised and pleased to hear that we were second on the list, and that this money was to be used only for the enrichment of teaching and research in nonbudgeted ways.

We had a windfall of thirty or forty thousand dollars to spend in the very first year, and the amount continued to rise while I was chairman. I presume the department continues to benefit from the anonymous fund.

As you can imagine, much time was devoted to thinking up new and better ways to use this money. In addition to setting up special scholarships for promising and needy graduate students, we established a student-teacher lounge (in which I recently attended a colloquium session) and a history department library (where I recently located a new book written by a colleague). Both of these were instituted while I was chairman. Both took a lot of work to establish and both required, and still require, a considerable time and work (not academic in character) to maintain. So here we had, and still have, a generous annual gift that enables the department to strengthen its teaching and research in new and marvelous ways, but that also increases our administrative burdens born by nonacademic members of the staff.

Lage: It sounds so plush compared to today's worries about state budget cuts.

Brown: It really did seem plush. All of that financial support may have helped us to get good scholars to come, and to stay when they got here.

Lage: And probably contributed to the life of the department and graduate students, I would think, the kinds of things you are describing.

Brown: Yes. I was in that library recently and they tend to have, among other things, all recent publications of the faculty in the history department and the major books used in the upper division courses so history students have ready access to the things they ought to be reading.

Lage: Nice.

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Brown: Yes. Both the lounge and the library were for extending and deepening communication between professors and between professors and their students, especially important in a department with a faculty and student body as large as ours, and where classes, especially for undergraduates, are so big.

Lage: I suppose other things were done to place professors in closer contact with their students, and with each other.

Brown: Oh yes, two changes come to mind: one was minor but took a lot of time and trouble, and one was a failure.

Lage: Let's first go into the troublesome one.

Brown: That was an attempt to get a regular telephone installed in each professor's office. When we moved to Dwinelle Hall early in the fifties, we had telephones that would enable us to do little more than call and be called by others with an office in the same building. It was impossible for us to call or be reached by a student.

In an attempt get regular telephones I ran into first one stone wall and then another. I assumed that the way to get something like this done was begun by having our departmental budget increased enough to cover the cost of installation and operation. But to get a new budget entry of that sort required documented cost estimates that would then be subjected to review. And it was made clear that the reviewers would reject the request if costs were disproportionately high for a department that had a budget as low as ours.

I began following that rough and winding path when someone suggested that I talk to Gloria Copeland, who was then (and continued to be until her death) Chancellor Clark Kerr's secretary. It didn't seem to me that a secretary could be of any help on a problem of this sort, but I was getting frustrated. So I went to see her. As soon as I told her my problem, she had a suggestion that was amazingly simple and produced immediate results. It was that I just go ahead and put a new telephone system in. Which I did. I found that I had more authority as a departmental chairman than I realized. Anyway, the cost was covered somehow and no questions were asked. I still have trouble believing that this nagging problem was solved so easily.

Experiments in Teaching: Lecture Classes and Proseminars

Lage: That is surprising. And what was that you tried to do that ended in failure?

Brown: I tried to have lectures for the huge undergraduate course on American history (History 17 A and B) recorded on tape and played in different rooms at different times. I had this done after circulating a questionnaire to all students enrolled in that class. They were asked this question: Would you prefer to hear the lectures given by an outstanding lecturer, and hear them on TV? Or

to hear lectures by an ordinary lecturer in a big classroom? There was an overwhelming preference for hearing the lectures by the best lecturer on tape. So I proceeded to ask Professor Charles Sellers, who all agreed was the best lecturer in that huge required course for lower division students, to give his lectures in Wheeler Auditorium and have them taped for replays in small rooms around the campus at different times of the day. We even arranged to give all students enrolled in the course the opportunity to hear some lectures directly in Wheeler Auditorium.

So the 1,500 or so students enrolled in the course were not divided up into three or four huge sections taught by three or four different professors but signed up for the one course taught by Charles Sellers, some hearing him directly and others hearing only on TV. And teaching assistants were on hand at the TV lectures so that the students could become involved in discussions of the questions raised. When the term was over, we again polled the students to see whether they preferred this arrangement over the former practice of dividing all enrolled students into three or four sections taught by any American history professor who would agree to take on that assignment. Again the results were overwhelmingly in favor of taped lectures by an outstanding lecturer, such as Charles Sellers.

But in the following year I took sabbatical leave to go to Japan as a Fulbright scholar, which gave me full time for research in Japan during the entire academic year. And during that year, when Professor Kenneth Stamp was acting chairman, the experiment was scuttled. I have never heard just why, but I assume that it was opposed by colleagues who felt (quite strongly) that the lecture system would be undermined by this approach and that contact between students and professors would not be closer and more personal but more mechanized and impersonal. They were right so long as the saved teaching time was not used for tutorial or small-group instruction. So I did not suggest that the taping experiment be continued.

Lage: Were no other moves made toward small-class instruction?

Brown: Yes, there were two, one was quite successful and the other was discontinued.

The successful one, initiated by the undergraduate committee while I was chairman, required that every history major take two successive proseminars in his chosen field of history. Since each major must produce a substantial research paper toward the end of these two proseminars, some students dread the requirement--possibly the number of history majors has even declined because of it. But some students become so excited by the research they go on

for deeper historical research in that same general area. Because the research experience generates intellectual excitement in so many, the department has continued to require two proseminars and I hear that it has become a model followed by other departments.

Lage: And the one that was dropped?

Brown: That was the idea that the introductory lecture course for undergraduates be taught jointly by two or three professors specializing in different areas of the Far East, and that each professor teach a proseminar-type section. I remember working with David Keightley and Fred Wakeman in this way and finding that the students in my small section on Japan, even though they were only freshmen or sophomores, raised interesting questions and made thoughtful comments about the character and significance of such literary classics as the Tales of Genji and Kokoro. The papers they wrote were surprisingly good. I am sure that many, if not all, thought this was a great course, and that each participating professor saw this an ideal way to teach it. But again the experiment was dropped because there were not enough East Asian professors to teach the course in this rather complicated way, year after year.

Some Thoughts on the Value of Positive Learning and Project-oriented Teaching

Lage: Do you think that instruction in history will continue to be centered mainly on huge lecture courses in which there is little or no contact (except through teaching assistants) with individual students?

Brown: Since I was in Japan for ten years after retirement, I have not been in close touch with the department's thoughts and plans about the instructional program. But I have heard nothing to suggest that any substantial change is being contemplated. And that I regret, for I am convinced that teaching in the humanities and social sciences generally (not just in history) will become more effective--inducing more of the intellectual excitement that enriches the learning process--if more of our students, beginning with history majors, were to become engaged in what I call positive learning (talking and writing), as opposed to negative learning (listening and reading). Of course every form of instruction involves a mixture of the two, and most individuals prefer one over the other. But as teachers we should be concerned about what produces the best results (the broader and deeper understanding of human experience), not what is easiest and most interesting.

My own experience with lecturing and seminar teaching in the university, as well as in the California Abroad Program and in the Starr King School for the Ministry, makes me quite certain that students are apt to become more excited about their study when actively engaged in discussing questions, or writing out answers for the review of their classmates and the teacher. This is more likely to happen only, I am convinced, when they obtain a taste of positive learning in a small-group teaching situation. But I don't think that my colleagues feel as strongly as I do about the importance of positive learning, and therefore you shouldn't hold your breath until further advances toward small-group teaching are made, especially since such advances will require (1) that the number of pro-seminar type courses be increased by having each professor give more of his her time to the teaching of small courses, (2) that the number of lecture courses be reduced, possibly by a greater use of tapes, and (3) that units of credit for courses be measured differently: not so much in terms of how many hours per week the professor is in contact with students, as the number of hours per week each student is expected to spend fulfilling the requirements for a course. Each of these changes will be difficult to make, and are not apt to be made if there is no special enthusiasm for what I call positive learning.

Lage: Can you give me an example of what you mean by positive learning?

Brown: I could give several, beginning with the excitement that I personally experienced from preparing my own seminar papers as well as from writing my M.A. thesis and Ph.D. dissertation, while I was a graduate student at Stanford. But I would like to stress what happened to a young economist who was studying at Doshisha University when I was director of Japan's California Abroad Program.

This was a young undergraduate economics major from Berkeley who had already studied Japanese for two or more years (receiving A grades) and was therefore admitted to Doshisha for enrollment in Japanese economics lecture courses. After about two months he came to complain that his studies were so boring and worthless that he was thinking of dropping out of the program and returning to the U.S. He said that the lectures were not only hard to understand but contained nothing very interesting. Feeling that he ought to be investigating some significant economic problem, and knowing that nearly every Doshisha professor taught a seminar for undergraduates who were required to write a graduation thesis, I asked if there was not some aspect of the Japanese economic situation that puzzled him and that he would like to investigate.

In the ensuing discussion he came up with two or three economic questions that he was interested in. So I suggested that

he pick out the most interesting question, do some reading and thinking about it, and then go to the professor whose books and courses were in or near that economic field and ask if the professor would admit the student to his seminar for research on that subject. The student's initial reaction was that the professor would want his students to work only on problems he had assigned and would not be interested in anything a foreign student might want to explore. But I suggested that he first do some reading and thinking about his problem and then go the professor and tell him, in Japanese, just what he would like to do. Which he did, and he came back the next day to say that, to his great surprise, the professor was most enthusiastic about having a member of his seminar work on that particular problem.

Then I worked with him on a course plan for the following semester, one that was focused on his proposed seminar research. I managed to give him extra units at UC for his seminar work, and arranged for him to sign up for only lecture courses relevant to his research, and suggested that he do what he could to focus his study in those courses on matters connected with his seminar study allowing him to spend most of his time on research.

Even before the new term began, I detected a definite change of attitude; and within a month or so he had glowing reports of exciting exchanges that he had had with his professor and with fellow members of his seminar. Then I did not see him often, for he was obviously immersed in study and had no time for socializing. At the end of the term he handed his professor and me a fifty-one-page report written in Japanese, a thoughtful and analytical presentation that earned him a grade of A. At the end of the term, he did not return to the U.S. immediately but stayed on in Japan several more weeks more in order to do some further work on his research project. Since then, I have not heard from him but my guess is that he returned to Berkeley for graduate work in economics and he is, or soon will be, a professor of some distinction in East Asian economics.

When talking to my colleagues about the desirability of creating course changes that will permit more history students to go down the research track as early as possible, they tend to agree that that is the graduate-student way for a student to become truly excited about learning history. But they usually go on to express the view that only a truly able and highly motivated student (not the ordinary undergraduate) will elect to go down a road that requires so much time and effort.

Lage: Isn't that true?

Brown: It is true that the ordinary undergraduate will not willingly sign up for a course that is going to require a lot of work and, horror of horrors, a long written paper. But my own experience, and what I hear about the success of project-oriented teaching in secondary schools, convinces me that almost any student (but especially a history major at Berkeley) can and will discover, through conversation with a thoughtful and empathetic teacher, some aspect of his life and experience that he'd like to know more about.

When I was in Tokyo a few years ago, I read a newspaper article about the successful results of an experiment being carried out in an elementary school in Sacramento, a school that was following the teachings of a pre-World War II French educator (whose name I have forgotten) that project-oriented teaching is likely to create a thirst for learning. I would like to locate that school and find out more about the nature and results of its approach. In a recent conversation with a teacher who deals only with mentally handicapped children, I was told, quite emphatically, that the project approach makes even a handicapped child amazingly interested in learning.

Lage: So how do you think this approach could be worked into the history department's instruction of history majors?

Brown: I do not envision a program that is radically different from what we now have, but one that places research (a central aspect of required proseminar and of graduate work toward an advanced degree) at the core of the entire major program.

Lage: But would that lead a student toward over-specialization?

Brown: I don't think so. No undergraduate is likely to become excited about what really happened in some unheard-of Civil War battle. He or she is more likely to be curious about the broad cultural significance (the economic, social, political, and even religious ramifications) of sports (basketball), technology (interactive computers), art (ballet), human relationships (love), group dynamics (home), economic power (Haas [School of Business]), political control (Willie Brown), education (UC), or spiritual empowerment (Moonies). In discussions with a good teacher, a student is sure to discover an urge (if he does not already have one) to understand why something is interesting and personally important. That could become the starting point of a life-long search for answers and understanding that will continue to pay high educational dividends, possibly producing scholarship.

The project approach (as it already exists at the graduate level or as it might develop among undergraduates) is more likely to lead to an increasingly deep and broad understanding of one or

more segments of human life, even among undergraduates who have no liking for difficult courses in which written papers are required, if (1) a teacher is present who can and will stimulate, guide, encourage, and help individual students to search--on their own--for answers to questions that the students feel must be answered, and (2) there are times and places where such a teacher can meet, individually or in small groups, with students who are to be introduced to the project approach to learning.

I think that most history professors are teachers who can successfully lead undergraduate students into historical research, and that the history department can and should set up and staff enough proseminars to enable every history major to enroll in one of these during every term of his junior and senior years at Berkeley. But doing so will be difficult and troublesome and costly, requiring a considerable decrease in the number of lecture courses, a sharp increase in the number of small classes and tutorials, a rather fundamental change in the idea of what constitutes a unit of credit, less attention to examinations and examination grades, and even different ideas about what constitutes good teaching and being a good student. So such change is not going to come soon. But I am convinced that this is the direction in which a strong and innovative department will eventually move.

Lage: With your interest in teaching and all your administrative roles, I wonder how you kept up your research and writing.

Brown: Well, I did not do as much as I would like to have done in either administration or writing. But I kept working at both, actually finishing my book on Nationalism in Japan while I was working pretty hard at being director of the Asia Foundation in Hong Kong there. I haven't gotten into that yet, have I?

Lage: That is going to come later. I want to get into your scholarly work, but I thought we take care of this institutional--

Brown: Yes. I did try to organize my time and usually did not go down to the university in the mornings. I would do my research and preparation for my classes, the kinds of things I should be doing as a professor, in the mornings at home. My colleagues and the people at the office seemed to understand that. I was of course available if some kind of a crisis came up, but I didn't get that many calls. They realized what I was doing in the mornings. All the other things, the departmental work, committee meetings, and actually, my course teaching were done only in the afternoons.

Lage: Very good.

V THE TURBULENT 1960s AND 1970s ON THE BERKELEY CAMPUS

[Interview 4: April 11, 1995] ##

The Free Speech Movement and Its Effect on Teaching

Lage: Today we are going to start with all the turbulence on campus in the sixties and what you remember of certain key events. Let's start with the Free Speech Movement. In '64 that came to a head.

Brown: All right. Mario Savio and some of the incidents at Sather Gate I recall very well. Especially when the Berkeley police got trapped in a car at Sather Gate, and students were standing on top of it and it couldn't move. Everybody was in a good humor. The police couldn't get out, but people were bringing them cokes and snacks. Cameramen were all around.

Lage: Did you go down and take a look at things?

Brown: I saw it, yes. I saw the car top being smashed in by too many people standing on top of it.

The thing that impressed me most was the good humor of everybody, the police and the students, even when the police were surrounded and unable to move. Still there was good humor everywhere.

The other incident I remember was when Sproul Hall was occupied by the students. That was much more tense because the police took students off to jail. My friend Bill Bouwsma's son was taken in. Bill told me about going down to bail his son out. That was a much more unpleasant development.

Faculty reactions varied greatly. Some got so disgusted that they accepted offers at other universities. But there were others, such as myself, who felt that teaching became more interesting in the months and years that followed the Free Speech Movement. It became more interesting because students seemed to

be constantly raising questions about social issues. They were more thoughtful and kept raising questions about the relevance of what was being taught, and how it was being taught. They were asking, it seems to me now, whether the books they were reading and the lectures they were hearing had any relevance to their own immediate and personal problems, such as whether they should obediently go to war against people on the other side of the world, people who seemed to be no threat at all to the rich and powerful United States. Were their studies helping them to understand, and act responsibly about, racial discrimination in this country? Were their studies helping them to understand themselves and make the right decisions about the future?

In the face of such questions and concerns, I found that my ideas about what to teach, and how to teach it, were changing. I found myself not simply raising questions about Japanese history that I thought were interesting but getting into problems that I was sure would be relevant (and therefore interesting) to my students. Indeed I am inclined to think that my later excitement about positive teaching, noted above, arose from thoughts and ideas that were made stronger, and more clearly articulated, during those years of the Free Speech Movement when I was being bombarded by questions of relevance.

As you will recall, I have come to feel rather strongly that the focus of study by the undergraduate history major (and probably all undergraduates in the whole of the humanities and social sciences) should be focused on "positive" studying and writing about a project or problem selected by the student himself. Since the project would be selected by the student, it would be one that he or she thinks is relevant (important) and one likely to arouse a great thirst for learning.

Lage: Were these kinds of questions raised informally, or were they subjects of formal meetings?

Brown: Both inside and outside of class. I liked that. The discussions all became much more lively and interesting during that period. Later on that kind of lively intellectual curiosity was not as strong. Students became much more interested in training themselves for a career. The old intellectual liveliness was missing.

Faculty Politics: Committee of Two Hundred, Faculty Forum

Lage: In Henry May's book, he said there were serious threats to scholarly detachment and to intellectual discipline. That is sort of a negative take on it.

Brown: He was more or less on the other side of that fence. He was a little bit turned off, I think, by student demands and student complaints, and also by the so-called left-wing members of the faculty known as the Committee of Two Hundred.

Lage: A faculty committee?

Brown: It was more like a faculty group or political party. In those days the entire faculty was sharply divided into three groups or parties. To the left were those who were very sympathetic to the ideas and views expressed by the leaders of the Free Speech Movement. They had regular meetings and referred to themselves as the Committee of Two Hundred. Out of such meetings arose plans for new courses and ways of teaching. I attended a meeting at which one rather radical professor was asked a question phrased something like this: "You have been talking about the desirability of smashing the established order. What kind of order do you think will emerge when and if our present one is smashed?" The answer was: "I do not know. But it is bound to be better."

Not many went that far, but within the Committee of Two Hundred a number of definite programs were developed for a "new kind" of teaching. Several of these were quite popular and aroused a good deal of interest but as far as I know none lasted. But that should not be given as proof that the Free Speech Movement had no effect whatsoever on education at the University of California.

Lage: What were the effects if there were no definite changes in courses or programs?

Brown: I have tried to say that my own ideas about what to teach and how to teach were changed, and I have a feeling that the ideas of other professors were also subjected, consciously or unconsciously, to considerable change in and after the Free Speech Movement of the 1960s. This is a problem in American intellectual history where I am no specialist, and Henry May is. Henry would probably deny that his ideas on education were changed during the years of the Free Speech Movement. And so I have arrived at a position that is probably at variance with those of our specialist in American intellectual history. [See Henry May oral history interview, in process]

But I dare to do this not only because I see change in my own approach to the teaching of Japanese history but feel that I detect such change in other members of the faculty.

Just a few days ago I was reading a statement made by Ira Glaser of the American Civil Liberties Union. There he points out that both the conservatives and the liberals make much of the sharp turn that came in the thoughts of Americans about morality after about 1960. He says that there are two competing visions about what happened then: the "freedom" vision and the "authoritarian" vision.

On the freedom side, Glaser places caring and thinking people who understand that morality is not measured by what happens in the privacy of the bedroom but by how society treats its people: whether or not justice and fairness prevail; whether or not people are equal before the law; and whether or not it is safe to be different in a world in which the majority rules. On the authoritarian side he places those who say that we are a nation in moral decline: that "something terrible happened in the sixties that loosened the wonderful moral bonds of the fifties."

Being on the side of freedom, as I am, Glaser goes on to say that since the 1960s we have become fundamentally "more moral" than we were in the 1950s. Then he goes on to say that the authoritarian Merchants of Virtue (like Pat Robertson, William Bennett, and Newt Gingrich) are close to winning the debate and are imposing their pious standards of morality on private and personal behavior. They are willing to punish people and force them, by law, to observe only the style of personal behavior that they approve. And they are willing to use the power of the state to achieve their definition of morality.

Finally Glaser says that in the 1950s, in the days when the authoritarian conservatives think everything was wonderful, women were basically limited to the kitchen, racial segregation and subjugation prevailed, gay men and lesbians were forced to live secret lives of terror, disabled people were furtively hidden, loyalty oaths were required, and people lost jobs for holding the wrong views. All these badly treated people now--since the movements of the 1960s--fare somewhat better.

This and other things I've read leave me with the distinct impression that we came to think and act somewhat more humanely after the Free Speech Movement of the 1960s, which of course was not limited to the Berkeley campus.

Lage: You mentioned three faculty groups, the Committee of Two Hundred on the left, and what about the group to the right?

Brown: That group was not organized but was quite outspoken about how wrongheaded the students were. Professors who associated themselves with this group seemed to feel that anything the students said was wrong and that all their demands must be rejected. Most every department had professors who aligned themselves with this conservative group and in some areas of the university, such as in engineering, they were a strong majority.

Lage: How about the middle group?

Brown: That resulted in the formation of the Faculty Forum at the time of electing members to the new Policy Committee.

Lage: A committee of the Academic Senate?

Brown: Yes, the Policy Committee was a new committee of the Senate. It was set up to represent (to take action in behalf of) the Senate on all policy issues. At that time of student unrest, important issues were constantly arising and it was agreed that a strong committee should be set up to handle such matters--it was undoubtedly thought of as being parallel to the Budget Committee which had been set up, back in 1923, to represent the faculty on faculty appointments and promotions. But while members of the Budget Committee were appointed by an elected committee (the Committee on Committees), members of the new Policy Committee were to be elected directly. It was a wise move to make and nobody objected. But as the election approached, we found that the Committee of Two Hundred was moving to seize control of this powerful new Policy Committee.

Lage: How could they do that?

Brown: They made up a slate of candidates (not too many and not too few) that all of their group would be urged to vote for.

Realizing what the "left" was up to, several in the history department (including Martin Malia and myself) called a meeting of people who we thought would want to do something to head off the distinct possibility that academic policies would be placed under the control of a radical minority that included less than 10 percent of the entire faculty. What we did was to set up our own slate of candidates who would represent the views and feelings of the large number of people who had not identified themselves with either the right or the left. For the most part this middle group had not been immersed in the debate over the Free Speech Movement. They had continued to be immersed in their teaching and research, often not even attending academic meetings. But most of us were appalled to learn that the "left" was moving to take over the new governing body of the Senate. And we began calling people in this

group, reminding them of what was going on and asking them to vote for a few select "middle road" candidates. We also asked them to do some calling on their own.

Lage: Who were some of the people involved?

Brown: There were a number from various parts of the university, including departmental chairmen who were known to be persons of considerable influence. Nat Glazer was there from sociology. Martin Malia was also present and active. I was chosen as chairman of the new Faculty Forum.

Lage: This was unusual, I would assume.

Brown: Yes, the first time this had happened. We almost succeeded too well. We were a little bit unhappy that nearly all of our people were elected.

Lage: I see. You wanted to get a mix on the committee?

Brown: A little more of a mixture would have been better.

Lage: Do you remember who came in as chairman of that committee as a result of that vote?

Brown: No, I do not remember who became chairman, but I do recall that the single left-wing candidate who won was Carl Schorske, also from history.

Lage: This must have been right in the midst of the Free Speech Movement, is that correct?

Brown: Probably in 1965 or 1966 when I was on the Budget Committee. I was in Japan between 1967 and 1969.

Lage: That helps set it. Do you remember Alex Sherriffs?

Brown: I remember him, yes. He was on the conservative side.

Lage: We have an oral history with Alex Sherriffs from his Reagan gubernatorial era. He says that the loudspeakers for the FSM were kept in the history department office. I wondered if you knew or recalled that?

Brown: I didn't know about that.

Lage: Neither does Gene Brucker. I don't know if it is true, but I just thought--

Brown: I don't know either. It could very well have been. Somebody like Charlie Sellers might have arranged that. But it wasn't a history department action and did not have history department approval, I am quite sure.

Lage: So were most of the history department moderates?

Brown: Yes, I would say most of them.

Lage: Was there tolerance for different points of view within the department?

Brown: Feelings ran fairly high.

Professor Franz Schurmann

Brown: [H.] Franz Schurmann, do you recall his name?

Lage: Yes.

Brown: He was very much on the left. So much so that he was quite intolerant of those who did not feel as he did about the rightness of what the students were saying and doing. He would not even speak to some of his colleagues on the right, but was more decent to those of us in the middle.

Did I tell you about his coming in to see me one day? I hope this wasn't skipped.

Lage: I think you told me off the tape when we were just meeting informally, but we want to be sure not to skip it.

Brown: He, along with Charles Sellers, was one of the most active supporters of the Free Speech Movement.

Lage: What was his field?

Brown: He held a joint appointment in history and sociology, and in history he taught courses in the history of China.

His appointment in two different departments came about because he had such a wide range of interests and capabilities that Chancellor Kerr, who was among those who wanted to have him appointed, asked him what he would like to teach. And his reply was that he would prefer to teach courses in history and sociology. He had come to Berkeley soon after receiving his Ph.D.

at Columbia to teach courses, as I recall, in some Eastern language such as Persian. Quite soon, he impressed a number of people with his knowledge of so many Asian languages and with the depth of his knowledge of the history and culture of several Asian societies. So when he indicated that he would like to have a half-time appointment in history, a committee was set up and a half-time appointment was recommended. Joseph Levenson, who later wrote a book with Schurmann entitled China: An Interpretive History, must have been a strong supporter of the appointment.

Lage: He was an impressive person.

Brown: He was impressive. I remember having lunch with him and a Japanese visiting professor who knew little or no English. Franz held his own in our discussion of problems in Japanese history, although he had done more work in other languages (such as Chinese) and in the culture of other parts of Asia.

But some time in the seventies, during my second term as chairman, Franz came into my office after completing the final lecture in his course on medieval Chinese history to announce that he never wanted to teach that course again. I was startled, to say the least, because he had originally wanted to teach in that field and I knew that around 200 students were enrolled every time he taught it. I learned that now, after the Free Speech Movement, he no longer was interested in the early social and intellectual history of China. When I asked him what he wanted to teach, he said he would rather teach a course on something like power politics and Asia.

Lage: I think he was interested in Vietnam especially, I remember his getting very involved with the anti-Vietnam war movement.

Brown: That's right. He had just published a big and interesting book entitled The Logic of World Power: An Inquiry into the Origins, Currents, and Contradictions of World Power [Pantheon, 1974].

Lage: It was probably centered on China.

Brown: Yes, but not entirely. I remember reading the book and discovering that it was essentially a comparative analysis of three communist revolutions: the Chinese, Vietnamese, and Cuban ones. And the setting of all three was world politics. Anyway, I asked him what he wanted to teach, and he indicated that he wanted to teach a course in that general area.

Lage: A course in revolution.

Brown: It wasn't entitled that. I have forgotten what the title was. By then we had an undergraduate proseminar course that any professor could teach, and so there was no problem in getting him signed up for a proseminar in the area of his current intellectual interest. I remember hearing him say that he liked the new assignment.

Determining Curriculum: Coverage and Faculty Interest

Brown: Which brings me to the view that I have often expressed, that a professor really ought to teach in the area of his research interests. I tried to apply that principle to other cases, one such as Bill Bouwsma, who had been doing research in the field of Christian history. I asked him one day why he didn't teach a survey course in Christian history. He said he would like to do that, and he did. He has continued to teach it after retirement. This has always been a popular course and he likes it.

Lage: Is that the way a new curriculum is developed?

Brown: Yes and no. Traditionally courses in history have been set up and assigned in accordance with what I call the coverage principle, which means that survey lecture courses (as well as graduate seminars) exist for all the main cultures of the world. Years ago it was decided that we should have survey lecture courses on the United States, Latin America, England, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Russia, China, and Japan. Later, professors were hired to teach courses on India, the Near East, and Africa. What was taught in these courses varied with the research interests of the professors teaching them, but the course pattern was generally in accord with the coverage principle.

But in recent years (since the Free Speech Movement), there has been a change. As the catalogue indicates, more and more courses are on historical issues of special interest to the professors teaching them. Thus courses are now being defined not simply in terms of coverage but according to the interests of the professors teaching them.

Lage: Is that usually done with the department chair rather than a curriculum committee?

Brown: There is a course committee in the university that approves all courses.

Lage: In the Academic Senate?

Brown: There was, and probably still is, a course committee for each college. As I recall, whenever a professor or his department wants to set up a new course, a form has to be filled out indicating the title, the number of units of credit a student will earn by taking the course, the course number (all upper-division courses have a three-digit number beginning with one), and a short description. The chairman sends that on to the course committee, which gives its approval if the usual academic standards are being met.

Lage: So, really, your hiring of faculty is the thing that eventually determines your curriculum?

Brown: It goes both ways. The traditional course offerings have much to do with the department's decision to recommend a new faculty appointment. That is, if the professor teaching a well-established course retires or moves to another university, the department commonly assumes that there should be a replacement who specializes in that same field of history. But the character of the course is sure to reflect the interests of the new appointee who may, in addition, redefine the course or offer one or more new ones in or near that same field.

Lage: There have been a lot of changes over the years.

Brown: Yes.

Brown Helps Prevent an All-University Strike, December 1966

Lage: Let's get back into these turbulent times. When there was so much uproar on the campus, was there difficulty--you mentioned some professors left. I don't know if you want to talk about specific cases, but was it difficult to recruit faculty?

Brown: There weren't that many who left, and it wasn't that serious. But there were a few.

Lage: Anyone from history?

Brown: Henry Rosovsky, who was in my field of Japanese economic history, left at that time and went to Harvard. He has become a very distinguished dean at Harvard, and it was reported that he received an offer to be president of Yale, which he turned down. He left at the time of the Free Speech Movement.

Lage: Do you think he left because of that?

Brown: He often said that was his major reason for leaving, but there were undoubtedly other factors. Just the chance to go back to Harvard may have been a major one.

Lage: Is that still a great attraction overall?

Brown: It depends on the person. As I think I have had occasion to mention, Bill Bouwsma went to Harvard and came back. He liked it better here than there. One can never be absolutely sure why anyone decides to leave--a spouse's preference for life in one area or another often makes more of a difference than we realize.

Lage: Right. Without it being mentioned anywhere.

I am wondering about your role in heading off an impending strike. I know that you can't recall the year of that incident precisely. Could it have been in this earlier period, during the FSM? Did it have anything to do with the meeting at the Greek Theatre?

Brown: No, the Greek Theatre episode and the threatened strike were about a year apart. It must have been in 1964, after the resignation of Chancellor Strong, that the famous meeting was held at the Greek Theatre. Thousands of students and teachers, as well as the press and the police, were present to fill the Greek Theatre. Since there was no chancellor at the time, center stage was occupied by the deans and departmental chairmen who had apparently selected Robert Scalapino, then chairman of the political science department, to be their spokesman. The most dramatic point in the meeting came when Bob was just beginning to make his speech. Mario Savio suddenly appeared on the south side of the stage, walked slowly toward the podium where Bob was standing, deliberately took the mike from Bob, and began to make his own speech as Bob meekly retired to his seat and students were applauding wildly.

Joe Levenson later made this apt remark that went something like this: "In one minute Bob was the leading candidate for the position of chancellor, but in the next he was just an ordinary professor." Not only was Bob's position in the university undermined, but his views toward students and the Free Speech Movement were greatly changed. Until that moment, he seems to have thought of himself as understanding the students and what they were saying. But after that, and apparently because of it, he became very critical of what the students were demanding and doing. So that by the time of the threatened strike, he was definitely aligned with right-wing members of the faculty who were disinclined to accept any of the demands linked to the calling of a general strike.

Lage: Tell what happened. You mentioned taking a role in developing a faculty resolution that ended the strike.

Brown: My part in what I call "the strike weekend" began with my reading the Daily Cal [Californian] on Friday evening. In it I read about a large number of students voting to call for a general boycott of classes after the following Monday unless the chancellor dropped all charges against student leaders and accepted certain other demands. The thousands attending the meetings, plus the support they were receiving from the faculty throughout the university, suggested that most classes really would not be held after the following Monday. Moreover, statements made by university officials left the strong impression that student demands could not and would not be met. The situation looked pretty bad.

As I mulled over the matter during that rather sleepless Friday night, I gradually came to the conclusion that a way could be found to stop the strike. (I suppose that being chairman of both the Berkeley and statewide Budget Committees at that time had something to do with the feeling that I could and should do something to head off a general strike.) The idea was to have the Academic Senate pass a resolution that would urge the chancellor to drop disciplinary charges against the students and also to yield to the more reasonable parts of their other demands.

I drafted a resolution that I thought most of the faculty could accept and that might defuse the student mood for a strike. But before getting in touch with the current chairman of the Academic Senate about calling a special meeting and contacting other senate leaders in an attempt to formulate a resolution that would produce the desired results, I asked my colleague and friend Irv [Irwin] Scheiner to come down to my house to talk over the situation with me. That session with Irv made me confident that this was the direction in which to move.

The remainder of that rainy weekend was spent in meeting the chancellor, officers of the senate, chairmen of senate committees, departmental chairmen, and leaders of various faculty groups to do two things. First, arrange for a special meeting of the senate the following Monday morning. Second, see what individuals thought ought to be added to or subtracted from the proposed resolution. It was literally and figuratively a stormy weekend. Just a few minutes before the Senate meeting in Wheeler Auditorium, Chancellor Roger Heyns called me into his office and asked that a further revision be made. It was a tougher response that I could not accept, one that I thought the faculty would reject.

In the various weekend consultations it had been agreed that the resolution should be introduced by Mike Heyman, who was then chairman of the Senate Policy Committee. We also made sure that certain individuals who we had worked with on the wording of the resolution, and who were on the fringe of the left or the right, would speak in its support.

That senate meeting in Wheeler Auditorium was attended by nearly a thousand professors, probably more than had attended any other meeting during the years of the Free Speech Movement. Students were crowded outside the front door listening to the proceedings by loudspeakers.

Speeches in support of the resolution were thoughtful and convincing, but opposition was expressed by both the right and the left. A motion was made to revise the wording but was voted down. Then the resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority vote. [See Appendix A]

As we were leaving Wheeler Hall after the meeting, we were amazed to see hundreds, maybe thousands, of students lined up on each side of the Wheeler steps, clapping and cheering as we left. Since the students had been listening to the proceedings by loudspeaker, they knew exactly what had happened and were obviously pleased that the faculty had made a sympathetic and reasonable response to their demands. Such spontaneous applause from so many made us quite sure that popular backing for the strike had been dispelled. And it had.

Although I did not participate in the senate proceedings of that day (neither making the motion or speaking in favor of it), it was generally known that I had been involved in formulating the resolution. I was therefore thanked and congratulated by many. But I was taken aback by two conflicting comments about the role I had played. One was by a political scientist affiliated with the right. And the other by a historian on the left.

The right-wing political scientist was my friend Robert Scalapino, who called to say, that same Monday evening and with a tone of sadness and anger, that I (Delmer M. Brown) had "sold the university down the creek."

The historian was Professor Carl Schorske, the only left-winger elected to the Senate Policy Committee, who is said to have made this hyperbolic statement to a mutual friend (William Bouwsma): "Delmer has singled-handedly saved the university." [laughter]

If Carl really did say something like that, it suggests that the resolution was closer to the leftists than to the rightists. That we did stand left of center was suggested by a question raised by Professor Lynn White when he was serving with me on the statewide Budget Committee. It was right after our Berkeley senate meeting that he blurted out: "Has the Berkeley faculty lost its senses?" He wasn't really expecting an answer and I did not try to give him one.

Lage: You were definitely behind the scenes.

Brown: I certainly was not out in front.

Lage: I am curious as to why it was an Academic Senate response rather than an administration response. It seemed that most of the demands, the students put to the administration.

Brown: Yes, the demands were against the administration, but the administration was in a hole and seemed to realize it. An increasingly large number of students were making a stand for the right to speak out against racial discrimination and against being drafted into a seemingly senseless war being fought on the other side of the globe. The anger was initially and basically directed toward a government that was responsible for the enactment and enforcement of laws rooted in racism, and in the right of the state to force all able-bodied men to put their lives on the line at a time of war, even if the war did not seem to be for national defense. But their anger was gradually directed against the university when chancellors, vice chancellors, and student deans began to discipline students who were opposed to enforcement of such objectionable laws and regulations.

As is well known, the Free Speech Movement all began when students were disciplined by the university for using a table, located a few feet inside university grounds, for organized political protest. That was followed by the enforcement of other restrictive rules, such as ones against the use of loudspeakers on campus, particularly on the steps of Sproul Hall. But the movement was made far more intense by the enforcement of rules against campus "sit-ins," resulting in more than a hundred students being hauled off to jail. It was then that Chancellor Edward Strong was forced to resign, creating the unsettled situation in which Mario Savio snatched the microphone from Bob Scalapino at the Greek Theatre.

I had had considerable contact with Chancellor Heyns before the students called for a general strike in 1965. As one of the seven or eight professors appointed to the Faculty Search Committee which recommended his appointment as chancellor, and

having attended the meeting that the committee had had with him before he decided to accept the offer, I was somewhat familiar with his outstanding administrative record. I had moreover become quite sure that he would be just the kind of chancellor we needed at that time. And he did prove to be very astute in the handling of student intransigence.

Nevertheless, there was a gradual buildup of discontent that led to the threat of a strike not many months after his arrival. I do not remember the details of students' complaints in those early days of the Heyns chancellorship, but know that more and more students were becoming irritated that their leaders were being penalized, over and over, by infractions of rules and regulations that were thought to restrict their freedom of speech. So their number-one demand was that all penalties against their leaders be dropped.

Beyond that, the students were insisting that the university discontinue using Berkeley police for the enforcement of university regulations and that students be represented on senate committees. Chancellor Heyns undoubtedly felt, as probably most any other university administrator would have felt under similar circumstances, that he could not yield to such demands, particularly to the one that penalties for violations of university rules and regulations be dropped. So the unrest continued to mount, reaching a degree of intensity that made it look quite certain that a general strike would begin on the following Monday. The chancellor apparently felt that he could not yield to such demands, especially since the Regents and the public at large expected him to reestablish control over his "unruly" students.

But those who worked together on the senate resolution felt that the faculty could do something that could not be done by the chancellor, although I do not recall anyone explaining our actions in that way. Chancellor Heyns probably realized that by allowing, even cooperating with, those of us pressing for a senate resolution, he was extracting himself from a rather nasty bind. Again, I don't think anyone saw his activity or non-activity in this way at that time. But by leaning on the faculty to do something that would head off the strike, allowing the faculty to take the blame for being soft on students, he avoided taking either of two rather treacherous courses of action.

The first was to compromise with the students, which would probably have driven the Regents to fire him. And if the chancellor had taken the opposite law-and-order course (enforcing university regulations even more strictly), he and the university probably would have been plagued by more disruption for a much

longer time. That too might have led to his resignation or dismissal. So he appears to have decided to sit back and let the faculty take the lead, but without ever saying (maybe even to himself) that this was his intent. My son Ren has suggested that the chancellor may also have realized that the students had worked themselves up into such a stew about the unfairness and arbitrariness of university administrators (indeed of all persons in positions of authority) that they would have been suspicious or irritated by any statement or decision he might have made.

So the faculty's "compromise" resolution was accepted by both the chancellor and the students, and the strike fizzled out. In a sense the faculty did something that the chancellor could not have done. But it should be pointed out that the resolution was not an administrative act but a set of recommendations made by an overwhelming majority of the faculty. In sum, the students could and did take the advice of their teachers, even though they were in no mood to listen to another decision or statement made by a university official. [See Chapter VI for a fuller account of this incident.]

Opposing Visions: Control or Freedom

Brown: While the resolution seems to have removed the threat of a general strike, it led the public to bracket the Berkeley faculty with their radical students and the Free Speech Movement. Gradually the Regents and the general public (as well as Lynn White and other conservative professors) became more vociferous in their condemnation of students and faculty for a "radicalism" that they claimed had gotten out of hand.

As the conservative view spread throughout the state and was directed at students and faculty in all parts of the university system, Clark Kerr's position as university president was weakened. This seems to have been due largely to what was being said in the media about the university, but especially in political speeches by the governor. More and more people were holding Clark personally responsible for the radical behavior of both faculty and students; and about two years after the Senate resolution was passed, Clark was fired by the Regents at a meeting attended by the governor.

As a member of the statewide Budget Committee at the time, I was privileged to be sitting where I could see and hear what the Regents were saying and doing on that historic occasion. Like other members of the faculty present, I tended to think of the

Regents who opposed the president as political pawns of the governor. But I don't think I realized how much they were being influenced by an electorate that, under the influence of the governor's campaign speeches, had come to hold President Kerr personally responsible for the "radicalism" that was "running rampant" on UC campuses. Chancellor Heyns's position, too, was apparently undermined, but he did not resign until 1971.

Lage: Were you associated with Chancellor Heyns at other times of student trouble?

Brown: Yes, in 1971 (the first year of my second term as departmental chairman and Roger's last year as chancellor) I was at one of the chancellor's regular meetings with departmental chairmen when he asked if it was not about time to reinstitute the regulation against the use of loudspeakers on the steps of Sproul Hall. He went on to say that the situation had quieted down to such a point that he was inclined to think the students would not be much interested in whether or not loudspeakers could be used at a place near university classrooms.

Most of us were appalled that he should even be thinking of such a move. He did not seem to realize what a powerful symbol of the Free Speech Movement loudspeakers had become. We finally convinced him that such action would surely rekindle the Free Speech Movement, and he dropped it.

It made us wonder why he had brought it up. He was surely wishing, consciously or unconsciously, to be pictured as a strong chancellor who had finally succeeded in bringing the Free Speech Movement under control, apparently not realizing that historically any new freedom (especially if it was linked with a strong popular movement) can seldom be destroyed by those from whom it was originally taken. But Roger was obviously thinking and acting like a good chancellor, trying to stay on the good side of the Regents and the public, and was not thinking of himself as a champion of freedom.

Lage: So do you now think you saved or undermined the university by fathering a Senate resolution that stopped the strike?

Brown: I alone did virtually nothing. I have been talking mainly about what I did and thought at particular times in the past, which has prompted me to say things that may give the impression that I am taking credit for action taken by many members of the faculty. I do take credit for initiating the first moves on that rainy weekend. But what followed could have happened only because many others wanted to do something to head off a breakdown of the educational process.

Now, as to whether what was done saved or destroyed the university, I would say that it "saved" us to the extent that it prevented a lengthy cessation of instruction. And since Berkeley still ranks, according to most assessments, as one of the leading universities of the country, we can logically conclude that UC was not "sold down the creek." But who knows what the university would be like if its authorities had succeeded in keeping the Free Speech Movement under "control"? Or if there had been a general strike that lasted weeks and weeks?

What one is likely to conclude about the effects of faculty action on that occasion depends on whether he or she stands on the side of control (an authoritarian) or on the side of freedom (a liberal). I am pleased to be identified as a liberal. Which means that, old as I am, I am delighted whenever I or another human individual achieves freedom, with responsibility, from arbitrary authoritarian control: control that provides no benefit to those under control and only maintains and increases power for the controllers. So my answer to your question has a noticeable liberal bias.

More on Effective Teaching and Educational Reform

Lage: Is there more to say about the effects of the Free Speech Movement on the quality of undergraduate teaching?

Brown: I feel that my own ideas about effective teaching changed after the Free Speech Movement. I have already talked about a growing preference for encouraging all students, even at the undergraduate level, to center their study on a problem, question, or project that is important to individual students.

Since those turbulent times, I have come gradually to feel that the university needs to change undergraduate instruction rather drastically. It should be moved, I think, in the direction of project-oriented study centered on questions that a student raises and that impels him or her to spend more time on writing, talking, and thinking about what he reads and hears, and less time on listening, memorizing, and quoting what others have written or said.

But if a meaningful shift is made in that direction, we will have to drop, or drastically revise, the old system of giving fifteen hours of credit to a student for fifteen hours of contact with a professor, making little or no distinction between three contact hours per week in a lecture course attended by 800

students and three hours per week in an undergraduate seminar for ten. Credit should be given, as I see it, for the hours that a student spends in all types of learning, not just that which is centered on listening to lectures and reading the books recommended or required by the lecturer. More importantly, we should give him credit for time spent, under professorial guidance, on the investigation of a problem of his or her own choosing. That would mean credit for time spent on writing, reading, and discussing his or her project with others. Learning of this positive type should take up at least half of the time an undergraduate student spends on learning at a good university like the University of California.

Lage: A proseminar would then be half of the full unit load?

Brown: At least. And it should yield at least one half of the credit a student receives for a week's work during a given quarter or semester.

Lage: And a proseminar would also be half of a professor's teaching load?

Brown: Yes, but that brings up another knotty problem: how should a professor's teaching load be measured? That too will have to be changed if we make a meaningful shift toward what I call positive learning and teaching.

Lage: What kind of a change do you think should be made?

Brown: It is generally assumed that a professor should devote about half of his time to teaching and the other half to research, with administrative responsibilities entitling him or her to an appropriate reduction in teaching. That provides a rough but acceptable and flexible yardstick.

But if we turn to positive learning and teaching, we will have to figure out a different way of measuring a professor's teaching load. Just what kind of a change should be made will have to be worked out by the faculty in consultation with the administration, and it will have to be understood and accepted not only by faculty and students but by Regents and taxpayers as well.

But by measuring the teaching load at present, we keep the emphasis on lectures in concrete. An hour of teaching a small class in which students are engaged in investigating particular historical problems is not so time-consuming as preparing for and delivering a one-hour lecture, mainly because teaching in a small class is centered on the problems and questions that a student

raises after the reading, writing, and talking that he has done since the last meeting.

If we are going to provide enough small-class courses to keep the expense down, we will have to make the following interrelated changes: (1) Increase the number of courses each professor teaches without creating a situation in which he or she will be spending more than one-half of his or her time on teaching-related work; (2) Increase the number of small courses taught by each professor while decreasing the number of his or her lectures (logically a rigid formula should be avoided since some professors will prefer to lecture and others may decide never to lecture again); (3) Decrease the number of hours that a student is required to spend in a class every week by giving him learning credit for time spent in preparation for small classes; and (4) Increase the number of small-class courses, and decrease the number of lecture courses, that each student takes. Just how far we should go in each of these four directions will require considerable study, consultation, and even experimentation. That probably means nothing will happen, although I am still convinced that we should make undergraduate study--in history at least--more interesting, exciting, and "relevant."

Most professors in history will probably say that they favor the positive approach but still oppose extending it to undergraduates for one or both of the following reasons: undergraduates are not interested in, or capable of, investigative study; and, it will cost too much.

As I have tried to say somewhere above, even the dullest student can become excited (under the guidance of a good teacher) about positive learning. Moreover, I feel certain that a positive program can be devised that will cost no more money than we are now spending.

But even if my colleagues can be convinced that their reasons for objecting are wrong, they probably will still oppose change. Consciously or unconsciously, they probably will still prefer talking to a captured audience about their historical findings (I still like doing that so much that I still accept almost every invitation to talk about my research, even though I usually receive little or no honorarium). And about this business of trying to stimulate an ordinary undergraduate to become excited about historical investigation, they are likely to say something like this: "That is for the birds. I do not have to do that even for graduate students--they already have it or they would not sign up for my seminar."

So nothing is likely to happen, which I deplore. Our university rates high mainly because of the creative research done by members of the faculty in so many disciplines. But why should it not also rate high for its teaching? If positive learning creates excitement for making an in-depth study of and writing about a special problem, why shouldn't our undergraduates (as well as our graduates and the students at various small colleges) be leaders in that kind of learning and teaching?

Lage: Is it possible for such change to be made by a strong chancellor or president?

Brown: Possible, but not likely. It is hard to think of any chancellor or president as having that much interest in positive learning and teaching. As is generally known, administrators at big universities are now selected mainly, it seems, for their ability to raise money.

So I can not see such changes occurring because they are pressed by a strong chancellor or president. For that matter, no such change is likely to be made by a faculty committee. Even if a committee made up of thoughtful professors interested in the improvement of teaching came up with some excellent recommendations, these are sure to be emasculated or disregarded for convincing reasons. The entire endeavor is likely to end up as an experiment that is abandoned because of the lack of teachers and money.

Faculty Conservatism Regarding Educational Change

Lage: You gave a breakdown of faculty politics--left wing, right wing, and the great middle. Is there a similar breakdown of conservatism and new ideas toward education?

Brown: There is this kind of split in most departments. I don't know that there is a parallel with attitudes toward students--there might be. The people on the left side may be the ones who are more inclined to consider new ways of teaching, although I hadn't quite thought of it that way. But I think the people on the conservative side may also be the ones more likely to oppose new kinds of teaching. I don't know.

Lage: I have heard people say that the faculty is basically quite a conservative body about issues of educational change and what is called faculty welfare under the faculty committee. Would you agree with that?

Brown: Oh, that's true. There's no doubt about that. Most of us like to keep things as they are.

Lage: In those types of issues, do you think the faculty is basically conservative?

Brown: I think so. Again, it is dangerous to draw that generalization. I think of a radical professor as one who is willing to consider basic change in teaching. There are a lot of faculty people who are radical in that sense. But on the whole, you are right, they are pretty conservative, and don't change that much. Particularly in the matter in the field of education, it is amazing how traditional we are, how closely we follow the old line, the old way of teaching. The old course format is still followed. The most conservative position we have is about lectures, which emerged in the Middle Ages when there weren't that many books around. Now there are plenty of books and TV and computers.

Lage: Is there any more you would like to say in relation to the history department or the university in general?

Brown: No, I don't think I need to say any more.

Lage: Okay. It may come up later because we are going to talk about recruiting faculty. It does seem like the faculty you recruit sets the curriculum.

The Vietnam Era, Brown's Role with the Asia Foundation

Lage: One thing we didn't get into when we talked about the turbulent sixties, do you remember much about how the Vietnam War was different from FSM or what the issues were?

Brown: With Vietnam, of course, the feelings of the students became much more intense. The movement really heated up then. I don't recall any details or incidents that I feel like I should go through.

Lage: Somewhere in your notes I ran across that you mentioned a letter to President [Richard M.] Nixon on the Vietnam issue. Is that a time to bring this up?

Brown: I talked with him once, and wrote a letter to him a decade or so later. The talk was in 1953 when I was the Hong Kong representative for the Asia Foundation, and when Nixon (then vice president of the United States and chairman of the president's

Foreign Affairs Council) came to Hong Kong on his way back from a visit to Southeast Asia.

When VIPs came to Hong Kong, it was customary for officers in the American Consulate to plan just how that important person was to be entertained and briefed. Before he or she arrived--Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt was one who came through while we were in Hong Kong, and whom we met in a reception line--usually the visitor would be shown the schedule, which gives him or her a chance to request changes. When Vice President Nixon saw the schedule, he noticed that it provided for the usual briefings, receptions, and dinners, plus a half-day cruise around Hong Kong on a luxurious yacht. Nixon's response was surprising: he did not want to spend his time cruising about in a yacht and requested, instead, that arrangements be made for personal meetings with at least two Chinese refugee intellectuals (distinguished Chinese intellectuals who had fled from communist China and were then living in Hong Kong) and with one American who had some in-depth understanding of the Far East and was not an employee of the State Department.

So the yacht-cruise was canceled and meetings were arranged with Chinese intellectuals. One that he talked with was a distinguished historian (whose name I have forgotten) who was helped by the Asia Foundation (while I was there) to start a Chinese college that became, and still is, the most important Chinese institution of higher learning in the British colony of Hong Kong. Unlike the University of Hong Kong, it was a Chinese university where Chinese scholars taught Chinese students in Chinese.

The American Consulate selected me as the American who had some in-depth knowledge of the Far East and who was not an employee of the State Department. They told me that I was to meet with the vice president at five p.m., and that our meeting would follow meetings with two Chinese intellectuals and precede an official dinner at six o'clock.

Although I am a Democrat who has never voted for Nixon in any of his several bids for public office, I was pleased to be selected for this meeting and was on hand at the appointed time. But it was five-thirty before the vice president appeared. Having been told that his dinner party was scheduled for six o'clock, I was sure that the meeting would be quite short.

But it was at least an hour long, lasting well beyond the time when he was supposed to be at the dinner party. I soon discovered why he was running late: he was asking difficult questions that had no simple answers. When I got home that night, I remember telling Mary that I had faced more difficult questions than those

that were asked during my three-hour oral examination for the Ph.D. at Stanford, about thirteen years earlier.

In this case I was not facing five professors who took turns asking questions in their special fields of expertise, but facing the vice president of the United States. Only the two of us were in the room. There was no informal chit-chat. He began immediately asking questions about the desirability and possibility of opening up relations between the United States and China. And I soon realized that questions arose from knowledge and experience that he had obtained as chairman of the president's security council (I forget its exact title) that included the secretary of state and other cabinet officers with responsibilities in foreign affairs. Most of the questions revolved about whether, and if so how, the United States should open up relations with communist China.

I was surprised to hear such questions from Nixon at that time because, as you will recall, that was a time of widespread fear of communism and Nixon had already become known for his anti-communist stance. To my surprise, he was already convinced that the reestablishment of trade with communist China would strengthen the American economy. Since relations with communist China actually were reestablished during Nixon's term as president, it is clear that, as early as 1953, he was already thinking about steps that he and Henry Kissinger later took to open up relations with communist China.

I can remember pointing out that because of the authoritarian character of the communist regime, moves in this direction would have to be worked out with communist leaders themselves, and that at every step of the negotiations careful attention would have to be given to political and ideological questions, not just to economic ones. The position and power of the overseas Chinese all over Southeast Asia (not just in Taiwan) was also discussed. But the most amazing aspect of that hour-long session with the vice president, with only the two of us present, was that he was busily taking notes on what I was saying. (Needless to say, no notes were taken by the professors who asked questions during my Ph.D. examination at Stanford in 1940.)

After the Hong Kong visit, the vice president spent a few days in Tokyo and San Francisco on his way back to Washington, D.C. While in San Francisco, he talked with my boss, the president of the Asia Foundation, who later told me that Nixon had said something like this: "You have a good man in Hong Kong but, since he is a specialist on Japan, you have him in the wrong place."

Because the vice president had made such a remark to the president of the Asia Foundation in San Francisco, I was approached immediately about spending another year with the foundation as its representative in Tokyo. Knowing that it was university policy to permit no faculty member to take leave for longer than one year, I had to say that I could not agree to spend another year with the foundation unless that was agreeable to the history department and the chancellor, who was then Clark Kerr. I was in Hong Kong when the subject was brought up, and therefore do not know precisely what was said and done. But I do know that the president of the Asia Foundation made a request directly to university officials, that Vice President Nixon's statement was mentioned, and that it was claimed I was needed for important work in Japan. Eventually I heard that a further extension of my leave was granted, making my leave one of the longest, if not the longest, ever granted to a professor at the University of California. This meant that I would be on leave (without pay) from the university for two and one-half years.

Before agreeing to extend the leave, Chancellor Kerr seems to have consulted with the history department which agreed, but I gather rather grudgingly not only because the leave was excessively long, but apparently because my colleagues were not among Nixon's most enthusiastic supporters. When I returned to the university two and one half years later, I remember Chancellor Clark Kerr called me into his office and said, "Please don't ask for another long leave." [laughter]

Lage: Did Nixon impress you?

Brown: Yes, and no. I was impressed by the energy and time that he was devoting to the solution of very difficult and intricate problems in foreign relations, explaining why he could and did (with the help of many others such as Henry Kissinger) reestablish relations with communist China. He had really studied the Far Eastern situation and asked important questions. But I was still not sufficiently impressed to vote for him as a candidate for the presidency.

Lage: Why not?

Brown: For two reasons. First, he seemed to be a man who would do most anything to gain and retain political power. Second, he seemed to be intent on strengthening the economic and military power of this country but not much interested in improving the life of ordinary people.

Lage: And what about the letter that you wrote to President Nixon?

Brown: That was written toward the beginning of my second term as chairman of the history department (probably in the autumn of 1971) after I had experienced the student movements in both Berkeley and Tokyo. As I think I have said elsewhere, I was director of the California Education Abroad Program between 1967 and 1969, when student unrest was rampant in Japan and when opposition to the Vietnam War was spreading to students throughout the industrialized world. Soon after returning from that two-year stint, I was offered a summer appointment as a visiting professor at the Colorado State University in Fort Collins.

The course I taught there was on the power of nationalism in three Asian "revolutions": in Japan after 1868, in China after 1953, and then in Vietnam a decade or so later. A study of books being written about the three suggested that a powerful ingredient of each was an upsurge of nationalist feeling whipped by the real and imagined military aggressiveness of outsiders. It was clear that Japanese nationalism (later tabbed ultranationalism) was aroused by the fear of aggressive action by Western powers, that the communist revolution in China was intensified by feelings of nationalism engendered by the Japanese military activities on Chinese soil, and that the communist revolution in Vietnam was gaining strength because of the presence of American troops within Vietnam. In all three cases, outsiders enjoyed military superiority but could not restrain revolutionary drives for independence.

The British had also faced nationalist fervor for independence but seemed to understand (after the success of the American revolution) that such revolutions for independence could not be restrained. So India and other parts of the British Empire were given a high degree of independence without wars of independence. But the Japanese and the Americans seem not to have learned that lesson. Such thoughts about the power of nationalism stirred up by aggressive military actions by neighbors (even distant ones) led me to conclude that the fighting in Vietnam was strengthening, not weakening, an independence movement that was being presented to the American public as the threatening spread of communism.

And as prospects for victory in Vietnam became more and more remote, and the student opposition stronger and stronger, I came to the conclusion that (as in other cases, times, and places) this was a war that the United States, as strong as we were militarily, could not win. And I therefore took several days off to write a long letter to President Nixon in which I first reminded him of the talk we had had in Hong Kong, then went into my findings about the power of nationalistic feelings (especially when foreign troops were on native soil), and recommended that we take the position that we had achieved our military objectives and withdraw

American soldiers from Vietnam. Although I wrote several pages in trying to make these points clear and convincing, I received no answer. And I do not even have a copy of the letter I wrote.

Lage: Did you remind him of your meeting?

Brown: Oh, yes. I tried to be as diplomatic as possible, reminding him of the conversation we had had in Hong Kong. I think I probably indicated that it was because of him that I had been transferred to Tokyo, and went on from there to say as best I could why it was that we should get out of Vietnam. I tried to take the position that we had won all that we had wanted, that we had won the war, but that we should leave because we would never win against that kind of opposition. It was becoming a disaster.

Lage: Were your views about Vietnam influenced by your study of Japan and the Far East?

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Brown: Yes. I had written a book on Nationalism in Japan (published in 1955) and had taught courses (first at Fort Collins and then at Berkeley) in which I had compared the power of nationalism in Japan with that in China and Vietnam. As a result of such study, involving considerable reading of other studies being made at that time, and long discussions with students and colleagues, I had become convinced that the United States had become involved in a bloody war that we could not win.

Since my letter was not answered, I do not know whether it was received or, if so, how. Although the Nixon administration did open up relations with China in 1972, and the U.S. did begin withdrawing troops at about that time, I see no evidence that Nixon ever seriously considered the cessation of bombing raids. But when I was in Japan in 1976 (on a year of research) I went to a reception given by the U.S. Embassy for Ambassador Ural Johnson where I got the impression that the letter had been received, possibly creating something of a stir.

To explain how and why I got this impression, I should sketch my relationship with Ural. Back in 1935 and 1936 Ural and his wife Pat spent their summers, as we did, at Lake Nojiri in the Japanese Alps. Ural and I were then devoting several hours a day to the study of Japanese. He was then a young foreign service officer assigned to three years of full-time study on the language. He and his wife Pat, who we were very fond of, frequently joined us at bridge; and Ural and I also played tennis together. So when Ural was serving as U.S. Ambassador to Japan in the late 1960s, and I was director of the California Abroad

Program in Tokyo, Mary and I were invited to lunch at the U.S. Embassy and saw them on several other occasions. After his term as ambassador, he rose to the position of undersecretary for the Far East, a position that he was probably holding when I sent off my letter to President Nixon. The letter might well have been forwarded to him as undersecretary for the Far East.

Anyway, when I met Ural at that reception in 1976, he obviously remembered me but was cool to the point of being rude. His coolness to me, coupled with the pro-war views toward Vietnam that he had recently expressed in a speech delivered at the International House of Japan, made me wonder if he had not read my letter to Nixon and decided (if he had not already done so) that I was one of those "soft-on-communism liberals" who was making it so difficult for the president and his administration to push the Vietnam War to a successful conclusion.

Lage: Did you tell me that your son had been involved in the anti-war movement?

Brown: He was a conscientious objector. My son Ren's position about the Vietnam War probably also influenced my thinking about that operation. I admired him for his position. Ren spent two years in a hospital doing alternate service as a conscientious objector.

Lage: Children do influence.

Brown: Yes.

Lage: Keep your thinking alive.

Brown: Can I bring in another incident about student opposition to the Vietnam War?

Lage: Yes.

Brown: In response to a request made by an anti-war student group, our church scheduled a meeting with them. They had decided that the meeting should take the form of a series of discussions between an anti-war student and a church parent. They had apparently assumed that any parent from that hopelessly conservative church would be in favor of the war and therefore a person whose thinking they would have to change.

Well, I volunteered to be a parent in one of those discussion sessions which were held, one after the other, in the presence of the assembled crowd. But since I had been talking at length with my son Ren about the war, and also teaching and writing (and even writing a letter to President Nixon) about the no-win situation in

Vietnam, what I said was not what the students had expected to hear. Indeed they seemed anxious to bring my session to a close promptly so they could move on to the expected type. A fellow member of the church later said I was a good actor, leading me to point out that I was not acting but talking as I had talked with Ren.

Lage: [laughter] You were supposed to learn something from them.

Brown: Right.

Lage: Which church was that?

Brown: First Congregational Church in Berkeley.

Lage: The students did get very busy with organizing and educating.

Brown: Yes.

Brown's Second Chairmanship, 1972-1975 ##

Budgets, Class Size, Videotaping

Lage: Should we try to cover the history department in the seventies during your chairmanship?

Brown: I might just draw some conclusions. It was still a period of growth. The FTE situation was getting tighter.

Lage: So the budget was not as loose.

Brown: That's right.

Lage: Do the structural budgetary matters affect the curriculum?

Brown: Yes, indirectly and differently. I say indirectly because the budget was not for a particular set of courses but for a definite number of faculty appointments. That is, the budgetary unit was a teaching slot that was and still is referred to as a full-time teaching equivalent or FTE. Of course, the department's decision to use an FTE for an appointment is based on the decision of the department, which is officially made by the chairman but he makes a decision only if it is approved by a majority of the associate and full professors, the tenure committee. And that decision is based on what courses we think should be offered. These might be

ones formerly taught but, for some reason or another, are not now being given. But they might also be new courses that we think ought to be added to the offerings of a history department attempting to provide undergraduate and graduate instruction in all important areas of history.

A review of the appointments made during the postwar years will show that in years immediately following the Bouwsma Revolution, when there was virtually no restriction on FTE, several appointments were made in new fields of history. Conversely, in later years (such as during my second term as chairman) when the FTE were harder to get, appointments tended to be limited to established areas of history where, because of retirements or resignations, we felt that new appointments had to be made. In early years, we even made two appointments in the same new field if the second appointment was for a man or woman of great scholarly promise. Although we probably made as many appointments per year in later times of budgetary stringency, these tended to be of the traditional sort: for teaching in areas of history in which enrollments had always been quite high. The earlier years were therefore more interesting. Then we could and did make appointments in the history of science, as well as in the history of India, Africa, and the Near East.

But by my second term in the 1970s, we were restricted by budgetary tightness, and additional FTE had to be justified in terms of student enrollments. Since the number of enrollments in history had always been high, we were usually able to keep an FTE that had been freed by a retirement or resignation. An actual loss of FTE did not occur until after my second term. What counted most thereafter was the number of student contact hours, the number of students that were taught during scheduled classes in one week.

Lage: Not even the supervision of graduate research or--

Brown: No, not research, not advising, not class preparation, not public lectures. Only hours of actually teaching in scheduled classes multiplied by the number of students enrolled. It was of course assumed that every teacher taught graduate courses as well as undergraduate lecture courses--no professor was hired only for lecturing in undergraduate courses, or only for seminar instruction. It was also assumed that at least two hours a week were devoted to advising. But budgetary calculations seem to have been based mainly, if not exclusively, on the number of contact hours.

Lage: Are all the professors as conscientious as you in attending to seminars and advising within the constraints of the contact-hour system?

Brown: Oh yes. Many were more conscientious than I was. For many, the training of graduates for a career of teaching and research in our special fields of history (what was done in graduate seminars) was far more interesting than undergraduate lecturing, although excitement about research tends to spread to lectures on related topics. So I don't think that budgetary constraints had much of an affect on our teaching. Whether we spent a lot of time on small-class instruction or advising depended on what we felt impelled to do, and not very much (or little at all) on how many contact hours were being accumulated for budgetary purposes.

Lage: So the number of students enrolled in a professor's lecture course did not matter that much?

Brown: Oh yes, it carried a lot of weight with budget officers. Moreover, a professor usually took considerable pride in, and was held in considerable esteem by his or her colleagues, for teaching a lecture course year after year with an enrollment of two or three hundred students. And a professor who taught a large lecture course usually had ten or more students enrolled in his graduate seminar. But it was also readily understood that the largest classes were likely to be in the modern period of American or European history, not in medieval or ancient periods of Chinese or Near Eastern history. So professors of courses in modern U.S. courses, especially if they satisfied the American institutions requirement, were usually large. And the seminars of those professors were also in great demand. So professors specializing in the modern period tended to be quite busy with teaching, making it difficult for them to find time for research or for taking on such administrative chores as those born by a departmental chairman.

Lage: Because the amount of money allocated, or the number of FTE assigned to a department is based largely on the number of students taught in approved courses during a given week, and large lecture courses account for most of these contact hours, I can see that the offering of proseminars for undergraduates would be considered very costly.

Brown: True, although objections were not usually made in terms of money but shortage of teachers. Of course to get more teachers, we had to ask for more FTE. And everybody knew that it was difficult, if not impossible, to get more FTE for a program that would decrease the number of student-contact hours. It would be like asking for more money because you don't need it. So I can not see how the

history department, or any other department in the humanities and social sciences, can make the shift toward positive small-class instruction without an entirely new way of evaluating what a professor does. Instead of the present tendency to think, plan, and budget in terms of the total number of students enrolled in approved courses, we would have to adopt a formula that assigns less weight to number and more to student.

Lage: How could you do that?

Brown: It would be very difficult, and probably impossible at a big public institution like the University of California, but I think it can be done and ought to be done if learning at the undergraduate level is to be made challenging and exciting for each exceptional student admitted to UC Berkeley for study in the humanities and social sciences. It would be possible only if the "number-of-contact-hours" principle is scrapped and replaced by something like a "number-of-proseminar hours" principle.

If some such new principle were worked out and implemented, it would probably have to be done by a committee or commission of professors and students committed enough to the idea of positive learning to devote much time, thought, and experimentation to redefining standards for study load, teaching load, and course format in ways that will deepen the urge of students to learn.

Lage: Once the new principle is defined, and the number of small classes are increased, the number of large lecture courses will logically be reduced.

Brown: Of course, introductory lecture courses will still be needed, but the total number of hours devoted to lectures by most every member of the department each term should be drastically reduced. Special lectures on a professor's current research will also be needed, for they are sure to stimulate students who are working on projects in that particular area of history. In order to satisfy these two types of need, while reducing the number of history lectures offered during each week of a semester or quarter, we probably should scrap the current tradition that every professor will normally give one lecture course, and every student will normally take two or three lecture courses, per term. Instead of sticking to that old pattern, we should offer introductory lecture courses needed for students who sign up for proseminars in a particular area of history, plus the specialized lectures each history professor wishes to give. If we stop thinking of a lecture course as automatically involving three to five hours of lecturing per week for an entire term, and think mainly of what lectures a student needs, and a professor wants to give, we are sure to have more teacher-time for small-class instruction.

Lage: Putting lectures on TV would also save teacher-time, wouldn't it?

Brown: Sure it will. But as the Sellers experiment (discussed above) showed, we have to replace the "contact-hour" principle with something like the "proseminar principle." Since a taped one-hour lecture by a professor can not be properly counted as a contact hour (especially if played for successive terms and years), the use of tapes reduces a department's contact hours and weakens its case for additional FTE.

As I have said, I was not here when the Sellers experiment with TV tapes was dropped. I assume that the professors condemned the experiment as a mechanized substitute for personal contact but also claimed (and rightly so under the "contact hour" system) that the lecture courses would be devalued, thereby undermining the department's entitlement to a proper share of FTE.

Lage: Their jobs depend on it.

Brown: You might put it that way. Anyway the experiment was dropped.

Some months ago I was talking to Dr. Paul Leonard, formerly president of San Francisco State University. He said that, while he was at San Francisco State, he carried out a similar experiment with students hearing a lecture on videotape. That too was dropped because, he said, it was too much of a threat to the faculty and to the lecture system on which undergraduate instruction was based.

Lage: The physics department did something similar with their Physics 10 during the same era.

Brown: Oh, really? Did it collapse too?

Lage: I think it did. I don't know how long it lasted, but I hadn't heard that explanation.

Brown: In this day and age, videotaping is something I think the university ought to consider. It shouldn't replace the lectures but be a way by which great lectures can be repeated and seen by many at other times. A good lively lecture ought to be thought of as a professor's report on his own research and findings, but when his interests change, maybe that is when his old lecture should be taped so that other students can use it and be stimulated by it, rather than having it given over and over by the same man every year even though his research interests have shifted.

Lage: I remember reading the Fybate notes for some lectures and sitting in a lecture hall and hearing, word for word, what had been said

in previous years. Well taken notes. Maybe the professor was using the Fybate notes too.

Brown: Instead of Fybate notes, why couldn't we have a library of videotapes for student assignments? A lecture should logically be placed on videotape when a professor feels that the subject has been fully developed and when he has become more interested in working up lectures on some other issue. Taping would of course eliminate the element of personal contact (although contact in a class of 1000 is quite remote), it would free time for teaching small courses and give students--at later times and in different places--the opportunity to hear lectures developed by the lecturer (or some other lecturer) and on subjects which he is currently investigating.

Lage: Does it bother you that students, in signing up for undergraduate proseminars, may not have the framework? Say they became interested in a problem in Japanese history but had not had the survey course to give them sufficient background to understand it.

Brown: Of course they should have a certain familiarity with the field in which they want to take a proseminar in, but I would not favor the flat requirement that a student signing up for a proseminar in Japanese history be required first to take a particular survey lecture course in Japanese history, especially if he or she has elected to work on a problem for concentrated study. Indeed, it is unlikely that he would have such an interest without some prior knowledge or experience with life in Japan. He might have obtained this knowledge or experience by having spent some time in that country, by having taken courses on Japan in other disciplines, or by having personally read a few good Japanese novels or seen some gripping Japanese movies. Indeed the most interesting undergraduate studies might very well be written by a man or woman with a spotty introduction to Japan who builds his or her framework while taking the proseminar. That could be done by reading books that are needed to provide a wide-angle view of his subject, or by simultaneously signing up for the survey lecture course in that field.

Department Chairman's Role in Faculty Appointments

Lage: How much influence does the chairman have over who is hired?

Brown: Until after World War II when a chairman served for an indefinite number of years, he (Professor Bolton) seems to have hired and promoted professors pretty much as he pleased. But with the

practice of appointing a departmental chairman for a term of no more than five years (after all members of the department have been invited by the dean to express their preferences), the influence of a chairman over appointments and promotions has been greatly reduced. He still appoints selection or promotion committees, still writes departmental recommendations for appointments and promotions, and still contacts appointees about actions being taken or considered.

A certain amount of influence is exerted in each of these three activities, but only if the chairman does his homework, is discriminating, and expresses himself convincingly. In selecting professors for service on appointment and promotion committees, it is always important for a chairman to pick individuals who are sure to read critically and thoughtfully the writings of each leading candidate and to recommend the appointment of the one with the greatest distinction, not just the favored student of a member of someone on the committee, or of a good friend at some other university. In writing recommendations, the chairman of a great department like ours should try to show, as convincingly as he or she can, that the nominee is the most promising historian to be found at any English-speaking university in the world. And when talking to the candidate, an attempt should be made to supplement information about rank and salary with affirmations of respect and need for that scholar's presence on this campus.

I am reminded of hearing (while I was on leave in Japan) that Professor Thomas Smith of Stanford had not responded to our offer of an endowed chair, although considerable time had passed since the offer was made. As soon as I heard about this in a letter from Joseph Levenson, I got on the phone and called Tom from Tokyo. My calling him from Japan (probably in the middle of the night because of the eight-hour time differential) and insisting that we needed him at Berkeley seems to have helped him make up his mind. At any rate he soon decided to accept our offer, becoming a continuing source of strength and prestige for the history department.

Lage: Where is the influence on appointments? It sounds very diffuse.

Brown: The greatest influence is exerted by the three members of each appointment committee, professors whose teaching and research interests are in or near the field where the department has decided an appointment should be made. Ideally and usually, the committee's recommendation is based on a thorough study of the writings and record of the leading candidates and of other scholars in that field and at that rank. The committee's recommendation is then reviewed by the tenure members of the department. After the Bouwsma revolution of 1957, tenure reviews

became long and rigorous. So the departmental recommendation later written by the chairman was and is essentially a boiled down, and hopefully more punchy, version of what the selection committee had recommended. Since this is done after the recommendation has been subjected to a searching review by tenure members of the department, the decision about who is to be hired is not really made by the chairman but by professors whose research and teaching interests are near those of the persons being considered for appointment. Professors took, and still take, these assignments seriously and do their homework well.

Lage: So you do not take credit for the remarkable growth of the department during your two terms as chairman.

Brown: Not much. I have often taken the position that any new program or development usually is, and should be, initiated by professors who are actually teaching and carrying out research in the area of program development, not by a chairman, dean, chancellor, or president. The validity of this view was underscored for me when my colleague Professor Martin Malia came into my office one day to complain that course offerings at Berkeley in his field of Slavic studies were much weaker than at Harvard. After hearing him out, I suggested that he do something about it. He was obviously surprised by my suggestion, apparently assuming that there was nothing he could do but complain to the chairman.

So he asked what in the world he could do? Which led me to recommend that he consult with two or three of the most distinguished Slavic professors at Berkeley, decide just which distinguished Slavic scholar should be added to our faculty, and then go together to the chancellor and ask that an FTE be made available for such an appointment. Martin was taken aback by the idea. But he did get his colleagues together, and they decided just who should be added to the Berkeley faculty. Then they asked for an appointment with the chancellor and went in to his office to explain how the weakness of the Slavic program at Berkeley could be removed. Immediately after that meeting, Martin came in to tell me that they had got what they wanted: that the chancellor had decided, while they were in his office, that an FTE would be assigned for such a new appointment in Slavic studies.

I was inclined to think then, and still do, that any new program is more likely to be implemented if it is initiated by professors who are actually teaching and carrying on research in that particular field. If it is initiated, on the other hand, by an administrator (chancellor, dean, or chairman), it is sure to fail if the professors in the new program are not enthusiastic supporters of the program. But when initiated by the professors themselves, support is assured from the start.

Lage: Would that be true also of a new emphasis on proseminars for undergraduate majors in history?

Brown: I think so, especially at a large university like ours. Conceivably, a dean who had experienced outbursts of student enthusiasm for learning when investigating problems of their own choosing in seminar-type courses might convince some members of his faculty to experiment with this kind of teaching. But at a place like Berkeley such an approach at the undergraduate level is not likely to be seriously considered until a group of professors become sufficiently enthusiastic about it to do the planning and to devote time and energy to experimentation. Then if they can show, clearly and definitely, that a large percentage of the mediocre students enrolled in such research suddenly developed a great thirst for learning, maybe they should be able to convince the dean of Letters and Science that all undergraduate major programs in L&S should be focused on instruction of this type.

But that is not likely to happen at Berkeley where most professors are so immersed in their own research that they do not have the urge to get involved in stimulating undergraduate interest in learning by investigating his or her own relevant and exciting historical problem. My guess is that undergraduate instruction will gradually move in this direction but that the lead will be taken at small colleges where more attention is given to teaching than to research.

Affirmative Action and Proposed Changes to the Tenure Committee

Lage: Did the hiring processes change between these two periods? I keep thinking about affirmative action, which became an issue about '73 when HEW [Department of Health, Education, and Welfare] investigated the campus.

Brown: Yes, I know. We felt there was not so much of a problem in history because we had employed women already. Furthermore, we weren't worrying about government contracts--we didn't have such contracts in history. We approved the idea of hiring more blacks and women, but we insisted that scholarship was the main factor, not gender or race. I think the department has held to that line pretty well.

Lage: It seems, though, that some departments, maybe all departments, have cast a broader net as they are looking for candidates than they used to. Was that something you were aware of?

Brown: A change did take place in the 1970s, at the time of my second term as chairman. But I don't think that casting a broader net is the right way to describe the change. Instead, I think we would prefer to say that while the net was cast just as widely in the 1960s, affirmative actions laws and regulations now required us to publicize all openings. So that any person of either gender or any race, who felt that he or she was qualified, might apply. So although our net was cast as widely as before, many more fish appeared in the net. The record will show that more whites and blacks were added to the staff but I do not think any appointed historian was brought to our attention solely by that individual's personally submitting an application. Usually, if not always, that individual had come to our attention through his or her own publications or by way of a fellow historian at another university. And yet more women and blacks were appointed after the 1970s, and so we were undoubtedly influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by the new emphasis upon finding and employing qualified historians who were not white men.

Lage: When did this change come? Was that a university requirement?

Brown: I think that we began to publicize all vacancies by the time of my second term.

Lage: So you would get a larger pool?

Brown: We had many applicants for every new position.

Lage: Before that, had it been mainly calling Harvard or--

Brown: The main approach earlier was contacting the most distinguished scholars in that particular field and getting them to write and make suggestions. Not simply getting them to name names, but to give us their impressions and their thoughts as a result of reading what had been written by scholars in the field. We asked: "Who is turning out the best studies, and who is the real comer in your field?" We would ask a number of people and get them to think not simply about their own students but about all those who were coming up with new ideas and theories.

Lage: When you were chair of the department the second time, was there any new set of young Turks in the department that were working in a particular direction?

Brown: The only young Turk movement that I remember, and I think this came in my second term, was when our assistant professors came to feel that they should be included in tenure committee (associate and full professors) meetings when new appointments were being considered. Since most of the assistant professors were producing

distinguished studies and were confident of reaching tenure, and felt that they would be associated with any new appointee as long or longer than any member of the tenure committee, they rightly felt that they should have something to say about each new appointment. Most associate and full professors felt, however, that permitting every assistant professor to participate in the consideration of all new appointments might put one or more individuals in the position of consciously or unconsciously opposing an appointment because it might weaken his own chances of promotion to tenure. In other words, a conflict of interest might cause assistant professors to oppose an appointment that would be best for the department.

I and several other tenure members of the department sided with the young Turks on this issue, feeling that we could spot, and deal with, cases in which there was a conflict of interest. But most senior members of the department felt rather strongly that this might be a very disruptive change to make. After long discussions of this issue at a meeting of all members of the department, it was put to a vote. And when the votes were counted, the number of those favoring the inclusion of assistant professors in meetings devoted to the consideration of a new appointment was precisely the number of those who were in opposition. That meant that it was up to me, as chairman, to cast the deciding vote.

This put me in a bind. I really was in favor of the change but also realized that senior members of the department were convinced that it was a bad move. So I announced that I wanted some time to think this out and would let them know, in writing, within a few days. After mulling it over for several hours, I wrote a letter in which I explained that I was making a distinction between my vote as an individual member of the department and my vote as chairman. As an individual, I was in favor of including assistant professors in all tenure committee meetings, but as chairman I had reached the conclusion that a change in the composition of the tenure committee (our most important committee) should be made only when favored by at least two-thirds of the department. To do otherwise might induce destructive tension and conflict. So I, as chairman, voted against the change.

Lage: That was carefully thought out.

Brown: I know that David Keightley, who is a professor of Chinese studies now and has gotten all kinds of honors and awards, was a key young Turk at the time. He was a little unhappy at my decision. But he has recently become chairman. I have not yet asked him what his position on that issue is at present.

- Lage: When you took that position, was it to avoid controversy, or did you really feel strongly about it?
- Brown: No, I felt this change would have been disruptive, that there would have been too many unhappy senior professors about this arrangement. It seemed to me that it was good for the department not to make such a drastic change without more support from more people.
- Lage: When you are talking to ex-Chancellor Bowker at church, you can quote something he said in his oral history to him. It is just being finished, his oral history. He said that history, English, and sociology were very academically conservative and male-oriented departments, but they began to appoint women in the seventies. How would you react to that?
- Brown: We were academically conservative, all right. And what else?
- Lage: And male-oriented.
- Brown: I think probably that is true. I think the female members of the history department today would say it still is male-oriented. Maybe the males themselves would say that. They were certainly in the majority.
- Lage: Do you think that affected the way people looked at new candidates? Is that what male-oriented means?
- Brown: It is male-oriented in that the department is dominated by men. That does not mean, and I don't think Bowker means, that we were opposed to the appointment of highly qualified female professors of history. We never took that position. I think most members of the department would say that we always have been and still are in favor of appointing women who are outstanding historians. I don't think, however, that there has ever been any feeling that we should not hire a woman simply because she was a woman. We have never felt, as far as I know, that we should not hire somebody because she was a woman. If she doesn't measure up, if she's appointed only to increase our quota of women faculty members, I don't think anybody would have favored appointment. Maybe some women would take this position, but I don't think so.
- Lage: Maybe this came after your time, or maybe it never occurred, but was there any administrative pressure to make the faculty more diverse, either by hiring more women or minorities?
- Brown: I don't remember any orders. I don't think we ever got to the point of saying, "This FTE must be filled by a woman." There were various kinds of announcements from the U.S. government and the

president's office advocating and urging that we do more to increase the number of women on the faculty. I think our response consistently was: Yes, we will certainly hire a woman, if she is the most qualified person in the field for which we wish to make an appointment.

Confidentiality in Hiring Recommendations

Lage: Another thing Bowker brings up, and maybe this was after your chairmanship, but during his chancellorship there was a lawsuit to make the history department give up its faculty hiring files. They subpoenaed the faculty hiring paperwork of the history department. The history department refused to give it up. Do you recall that at all?

Brown: I was not chairman at that time, but I heard about it. Clearly this was requiring the department to disclose letters that we were under an obligation to treat as confidential. It had become a tradition that letters of recommendation and evaluation for new appointments (and also for promotions to tenure) should be kept confidential because we wanted to know what another historian in the same field really thought about the value, originality, and quality of the candidate's writings. We were sure that we would not get frank and honest evaluations in letters that the candidate was free to read. So the department logically objected to producing letters that we had obtained with the expressed or understood promise of confidentiality.

But laws and the courts came down on the side of openness. Which meant that we had to find other ways of obtaining frank and honest appraisals. And so gradually the department had to resort to a more extensive use of the telephone.

Lage: Which is completely undocumented.

Brown: Yes. A situation was arising in which people wouldn't write what they really thought.

Lage: So you had to follow up the letters with phone calls?

Brown: Yes, or talk to people at meetings. This is probably true today. It affects all recommendations, those for scholarships as well as those for promotion and appointment. Now a student is asked to indicate, on the recommendation form, whether or not he or she waives the right to read this recommendation. I am inclined to

think that students who waive the right do so because they realize that an open recommendation is probably not going to mean much.

Lage: Do the better students waive that right?

Brown: I have not made a study of this, but I have a hunch that that may be true. The better students may realize that the recommendation is not going to mean that much if they exercise their right to read it. Moreover, they may also realize that the recommendation is going to be full of high praise anyway, and assume that the praise will carry more weight if it is not read by the person recommended.

Faculty Teaching Loads

Lage: Over the years that you were with the department, were faculty teaching loads reduced at any particular time?

Brown: I think I may have had something to do with that. When I was first appointed chairman, three courses at a time was the normal load. I started reducing the course load for heavy administrative assignments such as for vice chairman and the chairmen of key committees. Gradually two courses became the standard load.

Lage: The standard regardless--

Brown: It seems that way. I haven't really checked.

Lage: That was just on a departmental basis, it wasn't a campuswide decision?

Brown: I don't know that there was ever a campus-wide ruling on it. It just sort of gravitated in that direction. This is a big problem, and a tricky one. Some teachers spend an awful lot of time teaching with a low course load. The number of hours of teaching, the number of classes you teach, is really not a very clear indication of the amount of time given to teaching, especially if teachers give a lot of time to talking with individual students, which is not considered a part of the teaching load.

Lage: Or developing a new course.

Brown: Yes, I remember dealing with the dean and his budgetary officer about the number of FTE the department might obtain the following year, and hearing the budgetary officer make calculations in terms of the number of "contact hours" in history--that is, the number

of students enrolled in history courses times the number of units of credit obtained. (It was of course assumed that one credit hour meant one "contact hour" per week in a given term.) Since our department had an unusually large number of classes with big enrollments, we had a good "contact hour" record and were therefore entitled, at that time, to about as many FTE as we wanted. Whether the teaching was good or bad was not taken into account. And small classes were expensive in that they did not add much to the number of history "contact hours."

Lage: Very deceptive statistics.

More on Curriculum

Lage: When you look at the course catalogue now, the history courses are very different from those that were offered in the fifties, say. More social history, more ethnic history, women's history, all kinds of specialization.

Brown: I don't think this is the result of a history department change of policy, or even maybe a change in the history department chairman's position. I have a feeling that it's primarily a result of change in the views and interests of individual professors. Every change arises mainly, if not exclusively, from the wishes of each individual professor.

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Lage: They're not debates about what direction should the curriculum take?

Brown: I don't think that is an issue that comes up departmentally, but it may. I am not even sure that the chairman takes an active role in these new directions, but he may.

Lage: Even in your time, there were changes. When you came, there was a lot of political and diplomatic history.

Brown: Yes. Those changes, I think, were largely changes that were made because individual faculty members wanted change.

Lage: Are they responding to trends in the profession, or what are they responding to?

Brown: There are lots of influences on them. They change because of what they read, and what they hear from their colleagues, and what they

hear from the students, and what they read in the newspaper. There are complex influences on them. They probably themselves are not in a very good position to say why they have taken a particular position, why they have changed the structure of their course and so on. But I am sure definite changes have taken place and that the influences have been complex.

Lage: They don't all come out of a committee meeting. That's gratifying.

Brown: I don't remember this being a subject of committee meetings, but maybe that has happened since my day.

[tape interruption]

Lage: You had a follow-up thought here.

Brown: This business of changing of courses is related to the idea of reforming education as a whole. It is not a dean or an official that makes the difference. Not even committee meetings, departmental meetings, and so on. What matters is the interest of the individual professor. From the interest of an individual professor comes the drive for reform and change, not from higher up on the academic ladder. Only if a group of individuals (such as the young Turks of the 1950s) take the same position do you build up a force for change.

Lage: Okay.

Regional History and Changes in the Discipline

Lage: I wanted to ask you one thing else that goes back into our previous interviews that was brought up by the Bancroft Library meeting yesterday, in the Arthur Quinn lecture. It has also been raised at other times, but Arthur Quinn commented on Gene Brucker's faculty lecture about the history of the history department. As he sees it, another side effect of this interest of the history department in raising its level and becoming world class, shall we say, was a diminishment of California history and history of the West as being kind of provincial, and of interest in the Bancroft Library as well. Would you have any comment on that?

Brown: I can see that Mr. Quinn might detect some diminishment of California history and history of the West in years that followed what I have been calling the Bouwsma revolution. But I do not

think the diminishment was all that clear or substantial, or that it resulted from a definite departmental position. Of course, leaders of the revolution (May, Stamp, and Bridenbaugh) were professors of American history and did not share the position of Professor Bolton and his students who felt that U.S. history should be seen and taught in the context of American history as a whole. But that did not mean that they objected to historical study and research in such fields as California, the West, and even Latin America. Appointments were made in western and Latin American history after the revolution. If fewer appointments were made in those areas, it was not because--we would all insist--fewer historians of distinction were available for appointment in those areas. As I think I noted above, we were not much restricted by a limitation of FTE (especially in my first term) and we were not that much preoccupied with what fields of history should be taught.

The main questions was: Who is developing new and exciting studies of history? Of course the revolution was in a sense a continuation of the two-stage revolt, first against chairman being appointed for life (as Professor Bolton was), and secondly against a departmental majority (including Bolton students) that seemed not to be very discriminating in recommending appointments.

Lage: Chairman for life?

Brown: Yes, the chairman-for-life tradition. That made the chairman very powerful. He had an awful lot to say about appointments and promotions and everything else that happened within the department. That tradition had been pretty much dropped by the time that I arrived at Berkeley. Professor Paxson was chairman when I arrived, and Professor Hicks shortly after that. Hicks was, I think, followed by Professor King. We had a succession of chairmen. Not for life, but just for three or four years.

Lage: So Bolton really put his stamp on the department, and he had a specific historical emphasis.

Brown: Yes. The thing that he was most interested in was the history of the Americas. He felt that just history of the United States without considering the history of the other parts of the Americas --Canada, South America, and Latin America--just didn't make any sense. So he instituted courses in the history of the Americas, and that was a required course at the lower-division level. That kind of interest meant that many of the appointments were in that field, and other fields were not given appropriate attention, I guess is what most of the "revolutionaries" would have said.

When his term ended, a shift went in the other direction. Then more attention was given to other fields of history. It was then that I came in as a professor of Japanese history. Chinese history and various other fields were represented. In that process, the history of the Americas program was downplayed, and the history of the United States became stronger. We continued to teach a Latin American history, but I think it is fair to say that less attention was given to appointments in the Bolton tradition. Nevertheless, we still offered courses in Latin American and Western history. I remember the appointment of Professor [Gunther] Barth in Western history, and Professor [Walton] Bean still taught a popular course in California history.

Lage: Lawrence Kinnaird?

Brown: Yes, Lawrence was one of the several students of Professor Bolton. Others were Professors James King and Engel Sluiter.

Lage: In the historical profession as a whole, was there less of an interest in regional history? Regional history seems to be making a revival right now.

Brown: That is probably so, although it has always seemed pretty strong. There was a lot of interest in that field all during the years that I was in the department. One of our professors, Professor George Hammond, was director of Bancroft for several years. Later Professor Hunter Dupree of the history department was acting director. So the history department was consistently connected with the Bancroft Library. Later on, Professor James D. Hart was director and from the English department. But he was respected by historians. We all still feel that the Bancroft Library is important.

Lage: I am glad we covered that.

VI THE ACADEMIC SENATE, BERKELEY AND STATEWIDE

The Committee on Budget and Interdepartmental Relations at Berkeley

Role and Selection of the Committee

Lage: I want to take a look at the Academic Senate a little more specifically, maybe starting with the Committee on Budget and Interdepartmental Relations, the famous Budget Committee. I know it is very powerful, and I would like you to give a description of how it works and how you see it in terms of its power.

Brown: Its history is long and interesting. It emerged first in 1923, I am told, with a faculty revolution against the president. I am not sure why they were discontented with him at that particular time, but as a result of the revolt, the so-called Budget Committee was set up and the president agreed that he would make no faculty appointment or promotion until he had received and considered a recommendation from the faculty Budget Committee.

Such recommendations continue to be made to chancellors by budget committees on each campus, as well as to the president by a statewide budget committee. Although these committees are housed and administered somewhat differently on the various campuses, the basic function remains the same: to make recommendations on faculty appointments and promotions that are then considered by a chancellor or president before final decisions are made.

The statewide committee does not deal directly with appointments and promotions but with policies and issues about what can and should be done to attract distinguished scholars to our faculty and to keep them here after they have been hired. For example, when I chaired the statewide Budget Committee in 1965-66, I remember that we made recommendations to the president on two important personnel questions. In both cases our recommendations were accepted by the president. The first question was how the

university should use several million dollars that had been set aside by the state for merit increases the following year. The simple and easy answer was to divide up the money according to rank, giving the most senior professors the largest increases. But after a long and detailed study of the faculty salary situation throughout the country, we decided that a larger percent of the increase should be awarded to junior faculty members.

The second question (which we discussed earlier) was whether the university should drop the practice of requiring that every professor be considered for advancement after a prescribed number of years at each step of his or her rank. As noted above, we recommended that the requirement not be dropped. And it was not.

The five members of the Berkeley Campus Budget Committee (now seven) are always appointed by the Committee on Committees, the members of which are elected by faculty members holding the rank of assistant professor or higher, referred to as the Academic Senate. It was customary, and I hope it still is, for the Committee on Committees to make their selections from a list of persons submitted by the Budget Committee.

Lage: That does not sound very democratic.

Brown: It wasn't, but I am inclined to think that in this case a more democratic process of selection would not be in the best interests of the university. In my year as chairman of the Berkeley Budget Committee, the Committee on Committees decided to recommend one or two persons not recommended by us. And I met with that committee to explain why we thought they were making a mistake.

The Appointment and Promotion Process

Brown: Before I get into that, I should say something about the extent to which our recommendations were accepted, and how this strengthened the reputation of Berkeley as a university where the faculty played a decisive role in appointments and promotions. During the three years I was on the Budget Committee, in probably only a dozen or so cases did the chancellor (or the vice chancellor of academic affairs) refuse to accept what the Budget Committee had recommended. There was no case in which he decided to appoint a person not recommended by the Budget Committee, or rejected a recommended promotion. When the chancellor's decision was not precisely as recommended, the difference was always over the salary to be paid an appointee or the timing of a promotion. The chancellor consistently came down on the side of generosity. He

invariably took the position (usually in a meeting with us) that "this is the salary I think we must offer to get so-and-so", or "I think we have to promote so-and-so now to keep him or her from going elsewhere." And we never objected to decisions made on such grounds because we shared his desire to get and hold distinguished members of the faculty. Moreover, the chancellor often based his position on knowledge gained from a personal conversation with the individual being appointed or promoted.

Although all appointments, and almost all promotions, were based on recommendations made by the faculty (not by the president or chancellor), it should be pointed out that those recommendations were made only at the final stage of a rather long and rigorous review process which began with a departmental decision made by the chairman, in consultation with other professors of the department, to recommend a new appointment in a particular field. Then the chairman appointed a search committee that assumed the responsibility for publicizing the opening, studying the candidates' writings and recommendations, and recommending the appointment of the most distinguished candidate. That committee was and is always made up of at least three professors whose teaching and research are in or near the field in which the proposed appointment is to be made.

So this was and still is a key point in the recommendation process. The chairman appoints a selection committee made up of professors who know the field in which the proposed appointment is to be made, and who are sure to make their selection on the basis of a rigorous and discriminating study. That study is then written up and circulated to all members of the tenure committee (or department) before a scheduled meeting at which the report is subjected to a critical review. Only after that review has been made does the chairman write a departmental recommendation based on what the selection committee has proposed and what other members of the department have said or written at the time of the review.

Supported by copies of the candidate's writings as well as by recommendations written by respected scholars in the field, the chairman's recommendation is then sent to the dean. The dean may have his own say about the case before sending it on to the Budget Committee. Then the one member of the Budget Committee responsible for recommendations in that particular area suggests the names of at least three professors (one from the department making the recommendation and two from related fields in other departments) to be appointed to a confidential review committee. His suggestions are then proposed at a Budget Committee meeting where the final decision is made as to who should serve on that special review committee.

Lage: Then what?

Brown: Then the whole file (everything submitted by the departmental chairman and comments that might have been added by the dean) is sent to the chancellor's office where a secretary familiar with established procedures arranges to have the committee formally appointed by the chancellor. She also arranges meetings of the committee and familiarizes it with rules of confidentiality and the requirement of a written report (drafted by a chairman selected by the committee) based on a rigorous and independent review. After the committee's report is drawn up (after an extensive reading and discussion of the evidence) and approved, the entire file, plus the report of the special committee, is sent back to the Budget Committee for its final review and recommendation.

Lage: So there is a lot of study by specialists at three different levels before the Budget Committee makes its recommendation?

Brown: Yes, anyone who has had experience at all levels of the recommendation process is sure to say that while the initial study and recommendation by the departmental selection committee is crucially important, the confidential recommendation of the special review committee (members of which are selected by the Budget Committee but appointed by the chancellor) is critically decisive.

The Value of Confidentiality and Courage

Lage: What do you mean when you say that the recommendation of that special committee is confidential?

Brown: In the first place no one outside the Budget Committee and the chancellor, and their secretaries, are told who has been appointed to that committee. In the second place, its report is seen only by the chancellor and members of the Budget Committee. Furthermore, the Budget Committee recommendation is a confidential document read only by the chancellor or vice chancellor who makes the final decision.

Lage: In this day of more and more openness, is all that secrecy necessary?

Brown: As is true of student evaluations, it is difficult if not impossible to obtain a frank and honest evaluation of a professor's achievements in teaching, research, and public service (the three established criteria for appointment and promotion) if it is known that the candidate will be able to read his own personnel file. No

one wants to be really honest, especially in writing, about the achievements of a friend, colleague, or professor who teaches and carries on research in the same department. And if we receive only assessments that the candidate may read, we are without good evidence for deciding which candidate is the most qualified person for appointment or promotion. Oral reports are not very useful in the recommendation process unless they are written down, and they are virtually useless if the evaluator realizes that what he is saying will be read by the candidate. Honest evaluations by colleagues are hard to get, even when all personnel documents are kept confidential. Berkeley professors seem to realize, however, the importance of confidentiality and do not object to it.

Certainly I did not object when the dean asked my secretary to take my personnel file to him so that he could keep it in his office during the years that I was chairman. So I have never seen the confidential letters that were written about me when I was first appointed or when I was later promoted to tenure.

Questions about what is in the file are raised only when a junior professor is not given tenure.

Just this morning (June 1, 1997), I was reading in the San Francisco Chronicle about an assistant professor at Stanford who was denied tenure and was claiming that the dean did not appreciate the kind of research he was doing. Stanford must have a recommendation process somewhat like the one we have at Berkeley, which means that the person's failure to obtain tenure probably was based on a thorough study of confidential assessments made by distinguished scholars in related fields of study, and that the assessments were subjected to several levels of review in terms of clearly-defined criteria for promotion. But confidential assessments and reviews can not be revealed. So that puts the dean on the spot: he will be condemned and attacked in the mass media, and maybe in court, for a decision based on assessments that he can not reveal.

We had a case like that when I was in my first term as chairman and when a young assistant professor, a popular teacher, was not promoted to tenure. Articles in the Daily Cal claimed that the department was not interested in good teaching and that this was another case of a good teacher "perishing" because he had not published enough. When a reporter for the Daily Cal came to me for an interview, I said I would write out a statement for him but did want merely to answer questions orally. I had already gotten into trouble with General MacArthur, as you recall, because of press releases based on an oral interview.

One surprising result of my statement in the Daily Cal was that a professor in another department wrote to compliment me and to say that he had learned for the first time about Berkeley's recommendation process. My guess is that he had not yet been asked to serve on a review committee. His letter indicated that not only the students and the general public but professors at the lower rungs of the academic ladder were not fully aware of the existence and value of our confidential review system.

Lage: But don't you think the move toward openness will continue?

Brown: Yes. And this probably means that frank confidential letters of appraisal will no longer be written or requested. I have long thought openness would lead to the appointment and promotion of second-rate scholars: that this would surely lead to a drift toward academic mediocrity. But now I am not so sure. So long as we retain our review process with its confidential in-house assessments, appointments and promotions might well continue to be awarded only to first-rate teachers and scholars. But this will happen only if reviewers at each stage of the recommendation process really do their homework: see and hear the candidate in teaching situations, read and study the results of his or her research, and write a discriminating assessment in terms of the three established criteria for appointment and promotions (teaching, research, and public service). Requests for "frank appraisals" from professors at other institutions often do tempt them to vent irritation over some real or imagined slight and to make comments, made under the cloak of confidentiality, that have only a tangential bearing on the quality of the candidate's teaching and research.

So maybe we should stop asking for assessments that a candidate will not be allowed to read. And maybe we should tell members of a special review committee appointed to consider a case of promotion to tenure that if they recommend against tenure, the veil of confidentiality may be lifted: that their report (including the names of those who signed it) may be read by the candidate if he or his lawyer makes such a request. Negative recommendations might then be worded differently but still be negative: they would be less likely to condemn the candidate as a lousy teacher whose publications are rubbish, and more likely to demonstrate that the university can easily find a man or woman in that field who has far greater academic promise. But such openness leaves this troubling question: Will members of the review committees have the courage (nerve) to rationally and thoughtfully recommend that a friend and colleague be deprived of tenure? I submit that such courage or nerve is needed, over and over and at numerous points in the university's educational process. And if it is not exercised

constantly and by many, the quality of teaching and research at the university is sure to decline.

Lage: Do you remember cases in which the lack of such courage seemed detrimental?

Brown: Oh yes. Such cases are hard to forget because it is at such times that each professor has to ask himself such questions as these: Can I and should I be tough-minded at the cost of losing a friend? Can I be academically discriminating and a considerate colleague at the same time? How can I be party to kicking out of the university a person with whom I enjoy discussing historical issues and playing golf? Every time an assistant professor is considered for promotion to tenure, we are all forced to do some soul-searching that can be quite painful. So we tend to remember these cases quite well, even recalling emotional exchanges that we would prefer to forget. So I have no wish to run through either the cases in which we recommended against tenure or in which tenure was granted in the face of considerable opposition. That would not do me, or others, any good.

But there was an incident pertaining to the allocation of research funds that I feel impelled to air. This came when the department's scholarship committee announced its intention to divide all available scholarship funds equally among those requesting financial assistance. I was appalled. I remember asking: Do you mean to award a senior professor, who apparently intends to spend most of his time abroad sight-seeing, an amount of money equal to that for an assistant professor who may be on the verge of turning out a really exciting book on an important historical problem? In response to such questions, a member of the committee said something like this: Who are we to judge whether one colleague's research is more worthy than that of another?

At the end of the ensuing discussion, the department agreed that the funds should be awarded on the basis of merit, not divided equally. But the dilemma we constantly face was openly confronted and dealt with. We came to realize, once more, that in order to function effectively and creatively as tax-supported teachers, we had to make judgments about each other that we customarily make when deciding to approve a graduate student's Ph.D. dissertation or to decide whether to give an undergraduate a course-grade of C or B. At the university as well as at church, we have to learn just how, or whether, judgment can be linked with compassion.

Lage: And why do you say that the confidential recommendation of the special review committee is critically decisive?

Brown: Because my years on the Budget Committee lead me to conclude that this committee seldom, if ever, rejects a departmental recommendation that is not first rejected by the review committee. Although the membership of the review committee, as well its report, are confidential, my experience at different stages of the recommendation process makes me quite sure that at the time of the Bouwsma revolution (when the chancellor and the president decided to offer a tenure appointment to Professor Bouwsma even though an overwhelming majority of the department had recommended someone else), the administration and the Budget Committee came down on the side of the young Turks only after and because the young Turk position had been endorsed by the special review committee. To this day, I do not know who was on that committee or what was said in its report. And I doubt if anyone else knows or remembers, or can gain access to the record of what was written and said at that stage of the review. But I still say that recommendations made at that stage were, and probably still are, critically decisive.

Lage: So what happens after the report of the special committee comes back to the Budget Committee?

Brown: The entire case is again studied by the member of the committee responsible for handling recommendations submitted by that particular department. After reading over and studying the entire record, he drafts a recommendation that is then considered, and often revised, by the committee as a whole. Then the final recommendation is sent to the chancellor or academic vice chancellor for decision and implementation.

Lage: I can see that the Budget Committee was the organ through which the faculty exercised its right (gained in 1923) to recommend appointments and promotions before a decision was made by the president or chancellor. You must have been pretty busy.

Brown: Yes, we were busy, and everybody seems to have realized that we had an important job that took a lot of time. Consequently, anyone appointed to it was usually permitted to reduce his teaching load by half, and excused from serving on other committees. We had our own office with a secretarial staff and extensive personnel files. Only members of the committee and our secretaries could enter that room, and only we possessed keys to it. It was not unusual for one or more members of the committee to be at his desk until late at night, as well as on holidays and over weekends.

Lage: Since the Budget Committee stood at the top of the process by which all faculty appointments and promotions were recommended, were you frequently asked for information about individual cases, or asked to give someone special consideration?

Brown: Although most everyone knew who was on the Budget Committee--we were selected by the elected Committee on Committees, and our appointments were reported in the minutes of the Academic Senate--during my three years on the Budget Committee no one ever asked me about a particular case or tried to influence me for or against an appointment or promotion. With one notable exception. One day a professor complained to me that he had not received an accelerated merit increase. But he seemed to be blaming his colleagues, not me or the Budget Committee. Anyway even he seemed to feel that he was getting out of line, and the committee did not reconsider his case.

Lage: How were members of that committee selected and appointed?

Brown: By the Committee on Committees, members of which were elected by the Academic Senate (made up of professors at all ranks). But the Committee on Committees made its appointments from a list recommended by the Budget Committee.

Lage: Earlier on, you started to explain why this seemingly undemocratic procedure was justified.

Brown: I thought, and still think, it is justified because senior scholars are more likely to be sufficiently wise and courageous to make tough decisions about whether a department's recommendation should be approved or rejected, especially when the recommendation is for an appointment of a distinguished scholar at a salary and rank well above that of any professor on the Budget Committee.

Lage: Did the Committee on Committees ever consider appointing someone to the Budget Committee that the Budget Committee had not suggested?

Brown: Yes, during my last year on the committee, and when I was chairman, we were told that the Committee on Committees was thinking of appointing a person or two to the committee that were not on our list and that were definitely not outstanding scholars in a disciplinary area to be represented. So I asked to meet with the committee. At the meeting, I took some pains to explain how important it was for the university to have professors on the committee who could and would make discriminating and sound judgments on who should be appointed and promoted. In doing so, I insisted that the Budget Committee needed to have at least one academic star (such as a Nobel Prize winner or a scholar who had received a number of offers from the country's leading universities), that other members of the Budget Committee should be senior professors widely recognized for scholarly achievement, and that no junior professor with a mediocre record should be included because he or she probably would be unable to take a strong and

independent position about the appointment of distinguished scholars.

Dealing with Troubled Departments

Lage: Was the committee cognizant of departments that might be considered weaker, troubled departments?

Brown: Yes, when considering a recommendation for an appointment or promotion in any department, we had to consider not only the special interests and concerns of the chairman who made the recommendation but those of the various contending groups within the department. Clear and well-known conflicts emerged in several departments over such basic questions as what constitutes good teaching and creative research. On teaching, some would claim that a good teacher is one who can deliver such interesting lectures that hundreds of students always sign up for any course that he or she teaches, while others tend to brand this kind of teaching as entertainment and to insist that effective teaching is only that which arouses enthusiasm for learning. Again some insist that good teaching is making sure that the student learns the basic facts about a subject (coverage), while others say that teaching is not really good until each student is stirred to raise questions about the interactive meaning of the facts.

On research, some would claim that creative research is essentially the discovery of a new body of knowledge, while others would demean this as legwork and claim that research is truly creative only when understanding is deepened by the development of theories (models, paradigms) about connections and relationships between diverse forces. In language departments, both teaching and research tend to be evaluated differently by native speakers of the language and those who deal with the language linguistically, philologically, or as an instrument of literary expression.

All these differences have to be taken into account by the Budget Committee when it sets up a special committee to provide an independent assessment of a particular recommendation. If one nominee to a special committee is known to be a strong advocate of a particular kind of teaching or research, an effort is made to add a professor of a different type, for it is assumed that all these different approaches to teaching and research have value, and that the department and university will be stronger, and perform their functions better, if academic diversity is nourished.

While such differences between professors do create problems and difficulties (especially for the chairman and administrators above), they should not be considered as signs of weakness but of intellectual vitality and strength. To be sure, they create problems for the Budget Committee, and therefore might be thought of as troublesome, but these problems should be faced and solved, not treated as signs of weakness to be eliminated. Indeed, we tended to feel that a department really was weak if such differences about good teaching and creative research did not exist.

There are other indicators of departmental weakness, such as having a chairman who does not do his or her homework, or operates as a self-serving dictator. But during my three years on the Budget Committee we did not consider any single department as being weak on either of these two counts. (Of course, some departments were less charged than others by intellectual differences, and some were less diligent than others in doing their homework on appointments and promotions.) The most valid reason for considering a department weak is that its teaching and research are not very distinguished. Since every major department at Berkeley rates as one of the strongest in the country, not one can be properly called weak. But back in the 1950s Chancellor Clark Kerr did ask Carl Bridenbaugh why the history department was so weak. It was assumed by the young Turks that he was saying we lacked distinction in teaching and research.

Anyway, we felt the department was weaker than it should be. That is why we took the bold step of writing individually to the dean to recommend the appointment of Bill Bouwsma (later elected president of the American Historical Association) instead of the person favored by the majority of the department. It should be noted that actions to remove this weakness were not initiated by the chancellor (who simply fired his question), or by the dean or departmental chairman, but by six junior members of the department who individually wrote letters to the dean. So while members of the Budget Committee may be cognizant of weak or troubled departments, they are in no position to initiate corrective action. All they can do is make certain that appointments and promotions are granted to distinguished scholars.

Lage: Do you remember any particular examples from this time? Any particular controversy?

Brown: Not when I was on the committee. I do remember that, before or afterward, a couple of departments became so deeply embroiled in controversy that an appointment of a chairman from outside the department was either made or considered. While such action may have been based on what the Budget Committee or its special review

committees had written about a department's recommendations, I am quite sure that corrective action was not initiated at any point within the review process. Such action was taken by the chancellor or dean.

In the history department's "revolution", the Budget Committee and the special review committee undoubtedly played a key role in the decision-making that led to Bill's appointment, but I repeat: that appointment was not initiated by the chancellor, the dean, the Budget Committee, or the departmental chairman, but by six young Turks.

Lage: So you never came to blows with the chancellor?

Brown: Absolutely not. He never favored one appointment and we another. As I have already noted, if there was disagreement, it was usually, if not always, over the salary to be offered an appointee or whether an associate professor should be promoted to full professor at that particular time. The chancellor consistently took the more generous stance: either he wanted to offer an appointee a higher salary than we had recommended, or to make a promotion to full professor that we had not recommended. In either case, members of the Budget Committee usually did not object, because the chancellor was usually trying to make sure that the candidate for appointment would accept our offer, or that an associate professor would not be tempted to leave.

Affirmative Action in Appointments of Faculty

Lage: Were there guiding principles that you had, maybe not even consciously, as you were reviewing all these cases from all departments on the Berkeley campus?

Brown: Oh yes, although I don't think there were any written guidelines other than the standard, but frequently revised, statement on the three criteria for appointment and promotion of faculty: superior teaching, creative research, and excellent community service. We were always intent on making recommendations that would assure, and provide recognition for, academic excellence and that were not influenced, negatively or positively, by such non-academic considerations as political preference, economic wealth, social position, or religious belief. And of course we tried our best to detect and discount all assessments that were sexist or racist in character.

Lage: Had issues of affirmative action come into play in the sixties?

Brown: A turning point came in the sixties. During my first term there was not much action of this type, but during my second term in the seventies there was a lot. And there was a change in who was "affirmed". After the sixties, we seemed to be preoccupied with the admission, appointment, and promotion (affirmation) of more women. But gradually the increase in the number of women came to be coupled with an increase in the number of Asians, especially those influenced by Confucian teachings on the importance of learning. Now, whenever we favor or oppose affirmative action, we seem to be thinking mainly of blacks and Hispanics. Not surprisingly, many women and Asians have come out in support of the Regents' recent move against affirmative action.

Lage: What is your own position?

Brown: I am in favor of affirmative action as I define such action, not as it is commonly thought of by those who oppose it.

Lage: How do you define it?

Brown: I would define affirmative action as any and all activity (laws, regulations, announcements, speeches, ads, sermons, demonstrations, et cetera) that advocates or affirms the right of any human individual to obtain any kind of training or work solely on the basis of merit. This means that I favor a strict and fair enforcement of laws and regulations that require admissions and employment to be granted only on the basis of merit and regardless of sex, race, or religion. That was what affirmative action meant to me when I was in my second term as chairman and when we were forced to publicize all openings, consider all applicants, and be prepared to prove that we had not appointed a white man to a professorship who was less qualified than a female or minority applicant. Under that kind of pressure, and with that understanding of affirmative action, more women and blacks were appointed to positions in the history department. We had made appointments of distinguished female historians earlier (such as Adrienne Koch and Natalie Davis) but after the days of the Free Speech Movement of the later 1960s, many more were appointed.

Lage: So you think affirmative action did make a difference?

Brown: Yes, I do, although that is a conclusion that can not be documented or proved. Some might say that we hired more women simply because more qualified female candidates were available at that time. On the other hand, some say that, under the pressure of affirmative action, we appointed some women mainly because they were women-- that we failed to recommend appointments solely on the basis of merit. My own view lies between those two extremes: that we consciously or unconsciously hired more women (and a few blacks)

because, under the pressure of affirmative action, more women and non-whites were receiving Ph.D. degrees in history and closer attention was being given to all applicants, not just to those who were white males.

Lage: Does this mean that you are opposed to quotas?

Brown: For admissions to the university, and appointments to its faculty, yes. The history department was never to my knowledge saddled with a quota (at least during my years as chairman) and I was therefore not forced to consider what position I or the department should take on this issue. But since the recent decision of the Regents, I have done some more reading and thinking about this problem and have come to favor affirmative action as defined above, because (1) this is likely to add diversity to the faculty, (2) being a public-supported institution of higher learning, the university has a special obligation to approve admissions and make appointments strictly on the basis of demonstrated ability and achievement in learning, and (3) the proportion of women and Asians admitted and appointed now seems to be about right.

Lage: How about the blacks and Hispanics?

Brown: Clearly the proportion there is not right. And it is wrong, even disgraceful, that this is so. But since the university is an institution of higher learning, and the problem of low admissions and appointments for these people should not be solved by lowering academic standards, I am inclined to think that we must rely on other social institutions (the family, church, pre-school, and school districts) for instilling in young people of these minority groups the will to learn. The university at this time and in this situation should concern itself only with higher learning, not with its earlier stages.

Lage: Wouldn't it be better if such a position were taken and publicized?

Brown: I think so. At present much of the public seems to feel that the Regents and the Governor are right to oppose affirmative action that is equaled with preferences and quotas for admissions, and to feel that members of the faculty and the chancellor are wrong to oppose what the Regents have said and done. In this situation, I am afraid that the taxpayers are becoming less willing to pay the high cost of running our university system.

Lage: Can anything be done to improve our image?

Brown: I am not sure that the chancellor or president can do much, but the Academic Senate might. Probably my thinking about this has been influenced excessively by the resolution that the senate passed

back in 1965 that served to eliminate the threat of a student strike. But I can not help thinking that a clear statement, approved by an overwhelming majority of the senate, would assure everyone that when we favor affirmative action we are not favoring preferences and quotas but affirming the right of everyone, regardless of gender or race, to obtain admission to the university solely on the basis of merit. Of course, some professors are undoubtedly in favor of preferences and quotas, while others will surely vote against any affirmation of rights for women and/or minorities. But my sense of what the faculty thinks (admittedly based on limited evidence) convinces me that most of them will vote for a resolution that comes down on the side of equality and fairness in admitting students on the basis of merit alone. And if such a faculty position were then publicized and explained--in newspapers and on TV--by university leaders, the public might come to look at the university in a better light. But this will not happen unless some committee or individual undertakes to formulate such a resolution and then sees that it is approved by the Academic Senate.

Lage: That sounds like a job for a member of the Budget Committee [laughter].

The Statewide Budget Committee, 1965-1967

Lage: Now let's get into the statewide Budget Committee, of which you were a member between 1965 and 1967. How did you get on that committee?

Brown: I must have been appointed by the chairman of the statewide Academic Senate and selected because I was a member of the Berkeley Budget Committee. The statewide Budget Committee was made up of one or two members from the Budget Committees on each of the nine campuses, and it was attended by the vice president of Academic Affairs. Meetings were always held just before, and on the campus where, a Board of Regents meeting was being held. This meant that we had the opportunity to attend these meetings as observers. (It was at such a meeting that the Regents, with Governor Reagan in attendance, fired President Clark Kerr.) The chairmanship of the statewide Budget Committee rotated among the chairmen of the campus committees. Berkeley's turn came in 1966-67.

Lage: And what are the functions of the statewide Budget Committee?

Brown: Unlike the Budget Committees on the nine campuses, the statewide committee did not make recommendations on the appointment and promotion of individual professors, and it did not have special committees reviewing and making recommendations on specific cases. Instead, it dealt with general questions about faculty salaries and promotions throughout the university system. Two particularly important questions were raised while I was on the committee: How should the several million dollars set aside by the state for salary increases to university faculty be distributed to professors at the three different ranks? And should we drop the old system of automatically considering every professor for a merit increase after the lapse of a set number of years at a step of our three professorial ranks?

To the first question, the easy answer was to divide up the money according to rank, giving the most senior professors the largest increases. But after a long and detailed study of the faculty-salary situation throughout the country, we decided that the university would be better able to attract promising scholars if a larger percent of the increase was awarded to junior professors. So we recommended a higher percentage increase for assistant professors than for full professors. That recommendation was accepted by the president and the Regents.

The second question was whether we should drop the requirement that every professor be considered for a merit increase after a prescribed number of years at a particular step within his or her rank. At first, most members of the committee favored the proposal, possibly assuming their own salaries would be increased if advances were made only the basis of merit. But as I thought back over my years in the U.S. Navy and compared its relatively automatic promotions with the more fluid policy of the army, I began to wonder if dropping the old system would not cause many professors to spend more time doing whatever it takes to get promoted (such as stirring up offers from other universities) and thus have less time and energy for his teaching and research functions. I became more certain that this might happen as I recalled stories of the politicking associated with promotions in the army and remembered how very little attention seemed to be paid to rank and promotion in the navy, at least in the offices in which I worked. I was astounded to find a senior officer doing the same kind of a work that was being done by a very junior office sitting at the next desk. All officers and enlisted men seemed intent on doing their job well and promptly, not on whether someone else had more salary and a higher rank or on trying to do what they could to rectify some real or perceived disparity. Everyone seemed to think he was being paid enough and would, sooner or later, receive a proper promotion. So I gradually came to favor and appreciate the

navy way of handling promotions. And that probably affected by thinking about the proposal to drop the old, relatively automatic, way of handling promotions and merit increases at the university.

In this connection I was probably also influenced by conversations with professors of history at Stanford. They told me that promotions and merit increases there were very hard to get and that Stanford did not have anything like the UC requirement that a professor be considered for merit increase and/or promotion after the lapse of a fixed number of years. My friends at Stanford complained bitterly about their being able to get advances or promotions only when they received good offers from other universities. I did not think UC professors would really like to go down that road. So I spoke up against the proposal that we discard the old arrangement. But I could not convince other members of the statewide Budget Committee that they should reject the proposal. After considerable debate, we decided not to take a position on it but wait until the next monthly meeting, but to find out in the meantime what committees and persons on our home campuses thought about it. At the next meeting, one member of the committee after another reported that, on his particular campus there was a strong (almost unanimous) view that the present system of advancement should not be scrapped. [laughter]

Lage: That is interesting. Even though you were the only one on the committee--

Brown: At the beginning, yes. UC professors generally seemed to feel that they were being properly treated and that if they continued to do their best to perform as good teachers and productive scholars, they would eventually obtain proper recognition.

Lage: Was it as powerful a committee statewide as it was on the campus?

Brown: In a way it was more powerful. As you will recall, it was made up largely of chairmen of campus Budget Committees; its recommendations were at the personnel-policy level; all our meetings were attended by the vice president of Academic Affairs; we met at the time and campus of a monthly meeting of the Board of Regents; and our recommendations went through the vice president to the president and the Regents.

Lage: Would you look at the appointment of University Professors?

Brown: Logically we would, but I do not recall having such a case during the two years that I was on the statewide Committee.

Lage: That sounds like the place for it. I know that during these years and even earlier, there were questions about allocations of resources between campuses, about whether Berkeley was going to suffer from the development of new campuses.

Brown: I do not remember that questions of this type came up when I was on the committee but I do remember, at an earlier time, considerable discussion and debate on the Berkeley campus about the pros and cons (mostly cons) of centering resources in some new fields at one campus or another. But since no noticeable reductions were made at Berkeley (at least in the Asian field), I did not become particularly excited or bothered about what was being proposed or done.

I do recall some stormy weather about an agreement that was reached between Stanford and Berkeley libraries: Berkeley was to concentrate on the acquisition of published sources and academic journals, and Stanford on perishable materials. The agreement made a lot of sense since money for acquisitions was limited on both campuses. Today, East Asian students and scholars working in the East Asian area have extremely rich resources precisely because Stanford has spent more money on modern materials and Berkeley on published classics and academic journals.

The Firing of President Clark Kerr

Lage: Do you remember any other issue in which you became involved?

Brown: Yes, one in which I was involved peripherally: the firing of President Clark Kerr by the Board of Regents when Governor Ronald Reagan was present. Because that was the year I was chairman of the statewide committee, I was in University Hall in Berkeley on the day this occurred. Like other people milling around the building that day, I was preoccupied with trying to predict, and understand why, each of the Regents would be for or against the president. And like most others, I was surprised by the outcome. Later, we had a very well-attended meeting of the Academic Senate at which I proposed a resolution that was seconded and passed. It criticized (I forget the verb that was used) the Regents for allowing politics to affect its decisions on university affairs. It is well known that the Board of Regents was intended, from the start, to shield the university from the vagaries of current political differences. And here they had become an instrument of Reagan's effort to follow up on the anti-university and anti-Kerr

position that he had taken during the gubernatorial campaign. He had made political capital out of blaming the university, and particularly its President Clark Kerr, for allowing the Free Speech Movement to "get out of hand", and now he was apparently trying to gain additional political capital out of personally attending the meeting of the Board of Regents and getting Kerr fired.

Lage: Were you favorably disposed toward Clark Kerr as president?

Brown: Yes, most members of the faculty were. As you will recall, he not only asked why the history department was so weak but was instrumental in providing the FTE we needed for making our department one of the strongest in the country. (In a conversation that I had with Clark a few years ago, he clearly felt good about the part that he had taken in what I have called the Bouwsma revolution.) The creation of the tutorial-oriented campus at Santa Cruz, too, was largely his idea (he apparently was thinking of his own Swarthmore College as the model), and apparently it was his plan to make each campus strong in particular areas, thereby reducing the amount of public funds used for the same type of teaching and research at all campuses. Although many felt that he might have handled the FSM better, most of us felt that he had been an excellent president at a rather difficult time.

Lage: Did you have personal contact with him?

Brown: Yes, on two or three occasions. The first came after my return to the university from leave for two and half years to head first the Asia Foundation office in Hong Kong and then their office in Tokyo. Since this long leave was not in accord with policy, and was unusual, he politely but firmly requested that I make no more requests for such a long leave of absence.

Then when I was chairman, and Chancellor Kerr had returned from a trip to Southeast Asia, he called me to say that he had been in contact with a rather famous specialist on Southeast Asian history who had indicated an interest in receiving an appointment from Berkeley. This information was reported at a meeting of the tenured members of the department, who considered the man more like a popular journalist than a distinguished historian. Maybe our less-than-enthusiastic response was due also to the old tradition (going back to 1923) that appointments and promotions should be initiated by the faculty, not the Chancellor. At any rate, he accepted our negative response.

Lage: He would suggest--

- Brown: Yes, but not demand, or make an appointment, until he had received a recommendation from the Budget Committee, which of course would not make a recommendation if it had not been initiated by a department.
- Lage: So there is this relationship between the faculty and the administration--
- Brown: Yes, a relationship that, together with generous funding by the state, has enabled the university to become a really distinguished institution of higher learning. The relationship was centered on the functions of the Budget Committee and its special review committees. If an appointment is not initiated at the departmental level, and then recommended by the faculty through the Budget Committee, it is not made.

Chairing the Academic Senate at Berkeley, 1971-1972

- Lage: Let's talk a bit about chairing the Academic Senate. Was that the first year of Albert Bowker's term as chancellor?
- Brown: Yes, Bowker was chancellor from 1971 to 1980, and in 1971 I was appointed chairman of the history department for a second term, and was also appointed by the Committee on Committees as chairman of the Academic Senate. So I was called on to make a short welcoming speech, in behalf of the faculty, at his inauguration held in the Greek Theatre.
- Lage: It looked like things had settled down by that time, or else the minutes are incomplete, because they only show two meetings.
- Brown: There were surely more than two--I can distinctly remember events of three. But you are right, things were pretty quiet by that time. I do recall Chancellor Bowker attending at least two meetings and, at the end of one, saying something like, "You run a tight ship." One issue being worked out then with the Policy Committee was the employment of a person to represent the Berkeley faculty at Sacramento. I remember serving as an ex-officio member of the Policy Committee when this was being discussed.
- Lage: What was the purpose of that?
- Brown: It was to represent faculty interests directly in Sacramento.

Lage: Would that have been a statewide program?

Brown: I think that was for Berkeley alone. The same sort of development may have occurred on other campuses. I am not sure.

Lage: It wasn't a time of great upset on campus, at least.

Brown: No. We had a couple of well-attended meetings, but only the question of whether we should have a paid representative in Sacramento seemed to be of much interest.

Lage: What made Chancellor Bowker say that you ran a tight ship?

Brown: I suppose it was because I was trying to increase attendance by doing what I could to see that we consider only recommendations presented by committees, and to keep the debate from becoming irrelevant, repetitive, and boring. This was also how I tried to handle departmental meetings. At both the departmental and Academic Senate levels I tried to avoid meetings when there was no definite committee recommendation to consider, and to keep the meetings as short as possible. Our departmental meetings were generally held at 5:00 in the evening--I may have been influenced by President Sproul's practice of calling meetings at that hour, just before dinner [laughter]. I remember, too, that Sproul placed the most important items of business at the end of the meeting, when those in attendance were not apt, because of hunger, to let the proceedings drag.

Special Committee to Review Foreign Language Instruction

Lage: Oh, there can be an awful lot of meetings in these organizations. Were you on other interesting committees, other than the Budget Committee?

Brown: There were many, especially review committees. But three special committees seemed especially important. The first came back in 1959 or 1960, I believe, during my first term as departmental chairman, when I was appointed by the chancellor to head a special committee to review foreign language instruction on the Berkeley campus. The second came in 1965 when I was appointed by President Kerr to a special faculty committee charged with recommending a new chancellor. The third came two or three years later when I was asked by Chancellor Michael Heyman to head a special committee charged with reviewing the East Asian Library. All three were

important assignments. Should I get into a bit of detail about each?

Lage: Please. Why was a study of the foreign language situation important?

Brown: It was important because a number of professors whose graduate students were required to use one or more foreign languages for research were complaining that courses in the established language departments were not giving their students the kind of language training they needed: namely, a working knowledge of the language obtained within a reasonable length of time. Because I was one of the complainers and was also chairman of my department, the chancellor set up a special review committee and made me its chairman. It was a good committee made up of influential persons (even chairmen) of various foreign language departments. We had many meetings and reached four interrelated conclusions.

First, that the appointment and promotion of professors in all language departments was based on their achievements in special areas of the language (linguistics, philology, or literature), not in applied linguistics or the teaching of foreigners how to speak, read, and comprehend the language for study and research in one of the disciplines. Second, that most of the basic language instruction (the first two or three years of course work in the language, and the major portion of a language department's offerings) were usually handled by native speakers of the language or by graduate students specializing in some such academically "respectable" area as philology or literature. Third, at the time of appointment neither native speakers of the language nor advanced graduate students usually had had any training or experience as language teachers, and almost never were given ladder appointments or tenure on the basis of demonstrated achievement in language teaching. And fourth, since language teachers could not hope to reach the professorial ladder by teaching the language well or by developing new methods of teaching their students--in record time--how to speak and read the language for research, there was little or no incentive for appointing or promoting professors who were specialists in what is called applied linguistics.

(Later on, when I was director of Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies in Japan, I discovered that great advances were being made in applied linguistics in some universities, largely in programs under the rubric of English as a Second Language, but, as far as I know, not in established language departments at Berkeley.)

Lage: So what did you recommend?

Brown: We recommended that a special school or department of applied linguistics be set up at Berkeley. I remember working hard on the report and obtaining unanimous support from the committee. But after it was submitted, nothing happened.

Lage: It was rejected?

Brown: As far as I know, it was not explicitly rejected by the chancellor or anyone else. It was simply a recommendation that was not implemented.

Lage: Why was that?

Brown: Because no one, including me and other members of the committee, moved to set up a new applied linguistics institute, school, or department. No one (including me) had either the urge or the time to undertake such a task. Departmental chairmen who were on the committee, including Ed Schaeffer who was then chairman of the Department of East Asian Languages, probably did not make such a move because they realized, consciously or unconsciously, that a new applied linguistics department would assume the responsibility of teaching first- and second-year courses in Chinese, Japanese, and other East Asian languages, and would therefore be taking over a large portion of the instruction traditionally handled by the Department of East Asian Languages. And this, they must have reasoned, would drastically reduced their hours of instruction and their case for FTE. That is, giving up introductory language teaching would surely result in a definite decline (if not demise) of established language departments. So even though a chairman who was a member of our committee might have favored the creation of a new unit of applied linguistics, he probably had no urge to press for change that would undermine his own position and that of his department. So nothing happened.

I still think that substantial improvement in the teaching of foreign languages will come only with the development of new techniques for teaching all four dimensions of the language (hearing, speaking, reading, and writing) by specialists in applied linguistics receiving proper recognition and experimenting with computer techniques for interactive self-study. But the most significant advances will probably not be made in established language departments at Berkeley where no special importance is assigned to achievement in applied linguistics but elsewhere.

Search Committee for Berkeley Chancellor, 1965

Lage: And how about the search for a new chancellor?

Brown: That assignment was not so onerous, and more gratifying. We were appointed by the president and charged with advising him on the selection of our next chancellor. We first invited suggestions from the faculty, which resulted in several members of the special committee (including me) being named as possible candidates. So we agreed that no member of the special committee would be considered or recommended for the post of chancellor.

Lage: That was when [Glenn] Seaborg left, do you think?

Brown: No, Seaborg's term ended in 1961, and we met in 1965. Clark Kerr, as president, set up the committee and fed names to us for consideration. I am quite sure that he was the one who first suggested the name of Roger Heyns.

Lage: Does the faculty favor bringing someone from outside? Or did you feel that in that particular case that was appropriate?

Brown: The faculty has no fixed position on whether the chancellor should be from inside or outside the UC system. I think our previous chancellor, Chang-Lin Tien, was a member of the Berkeley faculty, wasn't he?

Lage: Yes, before he went to UC Irvine as vice chancellor.

Brown: There is no fixed rule, but we agreed that no member of the special selection committee should be a candidate.

Lage: That was safer, I am sure. Did you have anything to do with helping Heyns learn about the campus?

Brown: Before turning to your question, I would like to say that "safer" does not quite describe the position we took. Rather I would say that we took this position because we undoubtedly realized that no member of the committee would have been a generally acceptable to the faculty, the president, or the committee itself. If there had been one among us who had been a strong candidate, he would logically have been asked to resign from the committee.

Now as to your question of helping Heyns to learn about the campus, I should say that that was not our responsibility, although

we did have a meeting with him just before we made our final recommendation. That meeting was held at the chancellor's residence when Roger startled us with this question: "What would you expect me to achieve during my term as chancellor?"

Lage: Did you think it was a good question?

Brown: Yes, it was an excellent question.

Lage: And how did you answer it?

Brown: I do not remember in detail, but probably we all had something to say about our desire for leadership that would help to improve the public image of Berkeley, an image that had been badly tarnished during and following the Free Speech Movement.

Review of the East Asian Library

Lage: And how about your third special committee assignment?

Brown: That came just two or three years before my retirement in 1978 when I was asked by the chancellor to chair a committee charged with reviewing the East Asian Library. Every department and institute of the university is usually reviewed by an outside professorial committee every five years. So this was a periodic review, but it was also a response to complaints from faculty in the East Asiatic field who maintained that the acquisition of books, particularly in the Chinese field, was inefficient if not wasteful. There were also some rumors about a careless, or possibly fraudulent, use of funds.

A key member of the committee was David Keightley of the history department, a professor who had been especially unhappy about irregularities in the acquisition of Chinese books. He spent many hours checking holdings in various fields of Chinese studies and found many duplicate purchases, as well as great gaps in our holdings. We also listened to reports from various members of the EAL staff. The majority of the committee reached the conclusion that the librarian should be replaced since we did not think that he was capable of changing his rather irresponsible way of administering library affairs. But one member of the committee, a man who held a high position in the main library and who had recently backed this EAL librarian for promotion, was opposed to

the majority position. That member of the committee could not see any incompetence and could not therefore go along with the majority of the review committee--he actually wrote a long minority report.

Before any action was taken on our recommendation, I left for Japan to take over (after retirement) as director of the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies in Tokyo. But I later heard that there was quite a battle over whether our recommendation should be implemented. The member of the committee who had written the minority report seems to have done his best first to block the removal of the librarian, and then, when this failed, to exert his influence to see that the new librarian should be another professional librarian, apparently recognizing no value in having him replaced with a scholar familiar with materials written in an East Asian language.

The committee had recommended that the librarian be replaced by Professor Donald Shively of Harvard, a scholar in the field of Japanese literature who had had considerable administrative experience. The Shively appointment was finally made, but only after the lapse of some time. It seems that the appointment was finally consummated because of strong and persistent support by Robert Middlekauff, a professor of history who was then holding the position of dean. The earlier conflict within the review committee, as well as the later conflict over who should be appointed as the new librarian of the East Asian Library, were two notable by-products of a continuing tension (in the area of library policy) between the faculty who use the library for research and teaching and the professional librarians who are specialists in cataloguing, acquisitions, circulation. In this case the faculty won, but it is probably a temporary victory, although Don was replaced recently by another scholar: Thomas Havens, a historian who obtained his Ph.D. in Japanese history under me.

Lage: Why do you think that was just a temporary victory?

Brown: Because I assume that librarians will have more to say about the appointment of persons to head the various branch libraries. But maybe they will succeed in getting professional librarians to head the EAL library only if they can find candidates who are familiar with Asian-language materials. Moreover, for that job, and probably others, it is also important to appoint persons who can raise money. My guess is that a scholar is more likely to have the clout and contacts needed for money-raising than a person whose qualifications are limited to training in the various fields of library science.

A Fuller Account of Preventing the All-University Strike, December 1966

[Interview 5: April 24, 1995] ##

Lage: Since our last session you did a little research, as an historian will. You found some answers to the unanswerable. [See pages 151-156]

Brown: Do you want me to tell you how I found about it?

Lage: Yes, tell about what happened.

Brown: In our last meeting, we were talking about the motion that I made. I was unsure of the date. We hadn't found any Academic Senate minutes that said anything about a resolution of that type in those years. Still, I remembered that it had happened. As we were talking, I said something about Lynn White objecting to what the Berkeley faculty had done.

Then it suddenly dawned on me that we were then both members of the statewide Budget Committee. I was chairman of the statewide Budget Committee as well as the chairman of the Berkeley Budget Committee in the year 1965-'66. So, I went to the Academic Senate office, and the secretary kindly gave me the volume of minutes for that academic year.

Sure enough, I found the minutes of this special meeting that had been called for December 5, 1966. It had, I think, the biggest attendance that a senate up to that time had had. There were 1,045 persons present. It was in Wheeler Auditorium. I remember the occasion very well. I was talking to somebody about the attendance of that meeting just a few days ago, and they said that this must have been two-thirds of the entire senate, which is roughly true. I remember that around 1,500 professors were members of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate at the time. I also know that in a given year, roughly one-third of the faculty was away on sabbaticals. So this meant that most everybody on campus was there.

It was a very sticky time because on the previous Wednesday, there had been a to-do in the Sproul Hall Plaza, at the table of the United States Navy recruiting office. They were trying to get recruits. There was a demonstration there, a sit-in. I don't know what all went on, I was not there. It was reported that the

police, probably the police of the city of Berkeley, had arrested several students--seven or eight, as I recall. That caused the other students to become angry, and more and more meetings were held.

On Thursday, several hundred students met together and issued demands on the university. That was fully covered in the newspaper. Students stopped going to classes, not in masses yet, but something like a fourth of the students stayed away. I think this was on Thursday. On Friday, there was another student meeting attended by roughly 8,000 students, according to the Daily Cal. On that day too, fewer and fewer students went to class.

Two departments, anthropology and sociology, voted as a department to support the students in their demands. That was on Friday. A huge number of classes were not held. Because further demands were made on Friday, it was anticipated that on Monday we would have a full-blown strike.

As I read the newspaper on that rainy Saturday morning, I got the urge to do something. I suppose I had the urge because I was then chairman of the Berkeley Budget Committee and also chairman of the statewide Budget Committee, which, as I explained in an earlier part of this interview, was a powerful and important committee. We worked hard on everything that came up. I suppose that position made me feel a bit responsible. Anyway, I began thinking about what response the faculty logically could and should make to these student demands, a response that hopefully would prevent a strike.

After jotting down a few things that I thought we might be able to say, I called Irv Scheiner. I asked him to come down, and he did. He was an assistant professor, but a man of good judgment. I thought he would be a good man to talk with.

After our meeting, I went alone to other key faculty people, such as Mike Heyman, who was then chairman of the Policy Committee. That committee has a long, interesting history. I think it had been established just two years before as a result of an earlier student upheaval.

Then I called Arthur Kip, who was chairman of the Academic Senate. I remember going to his office on that rainy morning, and he didn't really feel much of an urge to do anything over the weekend. But I think he must have been the one who called a special meeting for the following Monday morning.

Then after that, we started having meetings, one after the other, and all day Saturday and Sunday.

Lage: Were these informal?

Brown: Informal meetings. We would call various people who we knew were interested. Incidentally, already there had been a meeting of 200 faculty members, mostly people on the left, people who were sympathetic with the students and the students' demands. They had come out in support of the student demands.

Lage: Did you get any of them in your meetings?

Brown: Yes, I got a lot of those people to come and meet with us, to see if they could agree to a resolution of the type I was formulating. Charlie Sellers must have been one of those, because in the minutes of the meeting, I see that he is the man who seconded the motion. I know he had been a very active member of that radical left group.

Lage: Did you get in any of the more conservative professors?

Brown: That was why we were so busy, we were calling everybody. We were trying to do two things: to build support for the motion, and to get various people to participate in formulating it. I remember Henry Nash Smith, a very distinguished professor of English, coming to one of our meetings. Carl Schorske too was consulted--he was very prominent at the time and, as I recall, a member of the Policy Committee.

Lage: Where did Henry Nash Smith line up in the spectrum?

Brown: He was on the radical side. Sometimes it was called the Committee of 200. Charlie Sellers was on that side. On the right side, the more conservative side, were a lot of people like Bob Scalapino and Henry May (another historian). But most of the faculty were in the middle and associated with what was called then the Faculty Forum. The Faculty Forum was already in existence and I was its chairman. So maybe it was in that capacity that I felt I should do something.

Anyway, after all these discussions all weekend long, we came up with a resolution that we thought many could accept. I remember having a meeting in Dwinelle Hall, in my office, of concerned people, including Mike Heyman. That was when Chancellor Heyns called me in to his office. He made a personal request that I change one of the clauses. I can't remember which one now, but I expect he wanted to be a little more tough on the students. But we

couldn't change it at that late moment. At least, that was the position I took, and I think he was a bit unhappy about my response.

Lage: Was it your feeling that you couldn't change because you had worked it out with other people?

Brown: So many other people had become involved in working this out, I just didn't feel like I singlehandedly could make a change, and there was no time left for further consultation. I probably also felt that we shouldn't take a stiffer stand.

Anyway, it was submitted, and Mike Heyman, who was chairman of the Policy Committee, was the right one to move the resolution. He had the job that made it natural for him to take that position. Then, I see by the minutes that Charlie Sellers, who was representative of the left-wing group, seconded it. I guess it is fair to say that the resolution was more left than right.

A substitute motion was moved. This was revised to say: "We express confidence in the chancellor." It was approved and then the original resolution was passed. It recommended that charges against the students be dropped and that a committee or commission be established to explore various ways of giving the students more say in university governance. There were five points to the resolution.

Lage: We are going to attach this as an insert. I think it is pretty important. [See Appendix A]

The other thing was opposing the use of external police force.

Brown: We didn't think it was right to have external police brought in, except under very special circumstances. We spelled that out. I think even the right side didn't want police from the outside.

Lage: Were strong feelings expressed? Do you remember the meeting?

Brown: It was a normal Academic Senate meeting. Everyone was calm and rational, no anger. But there was concern and a lot of people wanted to say something about it. There was this substitute motion by the right, about which there was a good deal of debate. After that was turned down, and after [Reginald] Zelnik (another history department professor, who is now chairman of the department) moved that a sentence be added to the clause about student governance.

That is there. That was passed. After that passed, the original resolution went through by a pretty big majority.

Lage: Seven-hundred-ninety-five to twenty-eight.

Brown: Over 100 abstained.

Lage: One hundred and forty-three abstentions. I wonder what type of person abstained.

Brown: The whole right side. If they didn't vote against it, they abstained. These were the ones who didn't want to yield one iota to student demands. They felt that the students had no right to make demands of this sort, and were against it.

Lage: What happened after the meeting? What effect did the meeting have?

Brown: In an earlier interview I talked about the students all lining up on the outside and clapping as we left. I don't think I have ever heard or seen this at any other meeting. The students were all gathered outside Wheeler and applauded. They were obviously pleased.

Lage: There must have been speakers so they could hear. I remember some of those meetings.

Brown: They were listening to it over radio, I think. They knew everything that had transpired in the meeting. I think it was being broadcast outside. I don't know just how. That was a surprising development. I think I have told about the reaction of Professors Schorske and Scalapino, their personal reaction to my part in it. And to Lynn White. I don't think I have anything further to add.

The end of the strike was attributed to the action of the faculty and the ASUC student body, which also voted to ask that the strike come to an end. There were still some complaints and still some unhappiness among some students, but there was no strike.

Lage: It is an interesting study in the power of the faculty versus the administration. Did the administration then take up and follow these suggestions?

Brown: They did. It is assumed that what the faculty recommended the administration would accept, and apparently they did. I do know that the recommendation of a committee to study the student

governance was set up. Action was taken along that line. As I recall, one student at least was appointed to almost every Senate committee, except the Budget Committee. I don't think one ever got added to the Budget Committee.

Lage: [laughs] You kept that sacrosanct.

Brown: I think for good reasons. We felt that would make it less likely that the committee could function effectively, respect confidentiality, and get true and honest judgments about the academic qualifications of people we were considering.

Lage: That's understandable. Do you remember any further discussion with Chancellor Heyns following this?

Brown: No, not after the meeting. I think it was assumed by everyone, the administration too, that the administration would go along with the recommendations made by the faculty.

Lage: Because you do hear that the University of California faculty is stronger than most probably anywhere else.

Brown: As I explained earlier about the revolution back in 1923 when the Budget Committee was set up, the faculty did get into a stronger position. It is stronger at the University of California than at other universities around the country in this important area of promotions and appointments. That carries over into other things, too. There are times, of course, when the administration does things that the faculty has not approved of, but it is usually on a minor issue. It doesn't happen that often.

Lage: I am very glad you have found this out.

Brown: Yes. I am amazed that as an historian, I was four years off on something I was so deeply involved in. [laughter]

Lage: Well, perhaps those years do tend to blur together, one raucous meeting after another.



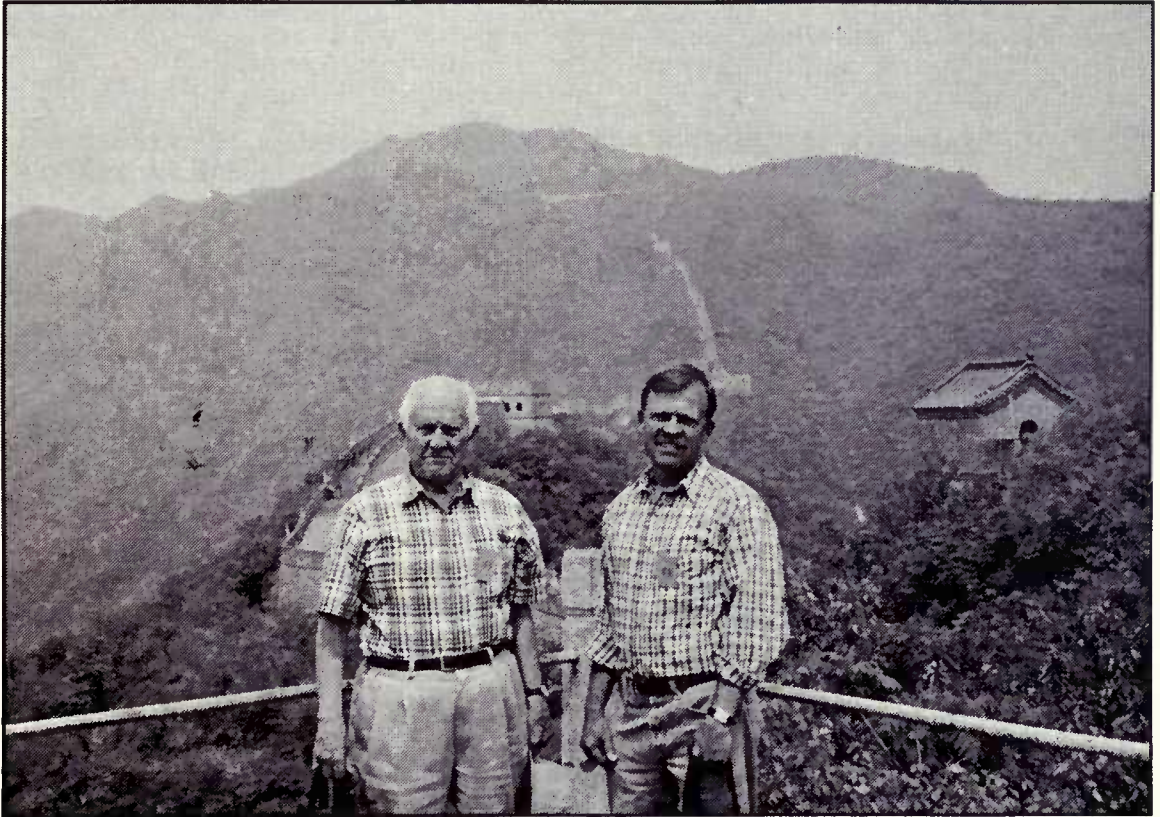
Mary, Ren, and Delmer Brown, 1980.



Delmer Brown with wife, Margaret, and friend, Ichiro Ishida, at Ishida's home in Japan, circa 1990.



Taking part in white stone carrying ritual during the sixty-first Rebuilding Ceremony at the Ise Grand Shrine in 1992.



Delmer Brown and son, Ren, on the Great Wall of China in 1998.

VII THE CENTER FOR JAPANESE STUDIES, THE INTER-UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR JAPANESE LANGUAGE STUDIES, AND BROWN'S SERVICE AND RESEARCH ABROAD

The Center for Japanese Studies and the Strength of Japanese Studies in Berkeley

Lage: I would like you to say more about the Center for Japanese Studies, how it came about. We talked just a little bit about it and about the library, but not too much about what it meant to have a center that was interdisciplinary.

Brown: The Center for East Asian Studies came first, probably in the 1950s. Centers for particular areas of East Asia came a few years later, probably in the 1960s. And then the Institute of East Asian Studies emerged as an umbrella organization with centers for each major area of East Asia. But professors in these centers and institute continued to be full-time employees of established departments--this was true for even the chairmen of the various centers. A center or institute was not and is not, therefore, a teaching unit of the university but a unit made up of professors whose teaching and research interests are in the East Asian area or in one particular part of it, and who are interested in working with scholars in other departments on programs of an interdisciplinary character.

Although the centers, and their umbrella institute, did not develop many projects in which a problem was jointly investigated by scholars of different disciplines, they have succeeded in strengthening East Asian research and teaching in important ways. They have brought East Asian teachers and students together for colloquium sessions in which research reports (often from professors at other universities and from Japan) are heard and discussed by teachers and students (especially graduate students) from several departments of the humanities and social sciences.

And the centers have been important instruments for procuring financial support for a wide variety of teaching and research programs in the East Asian field. Just as the origin and development of the Institute for East Asian Studies were linked with the emergence of a separate and strong East Asian Library (at early stages Boodberg, Bingham, and Brown were associated with both), so the growth of separate centers for Japan, China, Korea, India, and Southeast Asia were involved, from the start, with procuring money for the development of strong library resources in those particular areas of East Asia. But more significant still is the success these units have had in obtaining funds for the research of both professors and graduate students.

Importance of the East Asian Library

Brown: Now getting back to the Center for Japanese Studies, that center has had, from the beginning, remarkable success in three developments that account for UC Berkeley's reputation for having one of the strongest, if not the strongest, Japanese studies program outside Japan. The first development was its remarkable collection of books on Japan (mostly in Japanese) that makes Berkeley one of the best places, if not the best, in the western world for a student or professor to learn about Japan. The current librarian of the East Asian Library (EAL) is Professor Thomas Havens who received his Ph.D. in Japanese history under me and who, before returning to Berkeley, was chairman of the history department at Connecticut College. Havens has not only continued to strengthen the Japanese collection but has been working with Chancellor Tien in obtaining money for, and planning, a multimillion dollar EAL that is to be located to the north of the new annex to the Doe Library. Under Havens, all collections have been strengthened by the use of computers which not only make it easier to gain access to the materials we have but to those held in other libraries throughout the country. Moreover, he is now adding further strength by supporting projects for the electronic publication of important sources and studies, making it possible for students and scholars anywhere in the world to subject these materials to computer research.

The second development is the approximately twenty professors who specialize on Japan and are in the following departments: history, East Asian languages, political science, sociology, economics, School of Business, anthropology, art, music, and architecture. Many have achieved great distinction and together they are an impressive group, placing Berkeley up there with (some would say above) Harvard, Columbia, and Stanford as a place for a

serious graduate study leading to the Ph.D. degree in some field of Japanese studies. The existence and influence of the Center for Japanese Studies have contributed to the building of an outstanding group of professors, most of whom use Japanese sources in their research.

Language Training at the Inter-University Center

Brown: The third development is the emergence of remarkable support for graduate students working toward advanced degrees in the Japanese field. This goes beyond having a distinguished library and professorial staff and includes special language training, and generous grants of money for research assistance. In addition to having an East Asian Language department that offers excellent courses at different levels (ranging from beginning courses for hundreds of students to advanced courses in the reading of ancient texts for a few), many graduate students are recommended for admission to, and given financial support to attend, the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies in Yokohama (formerly in Tokyo). This is for an intensive study of Japanese at the advanced level. Taught by Japanese teachers who teach in Japanese, the training lasts for a full academic year and requires a student to spend most of his or her time talking, reading, and writing Japanese, or listening to Japanese. By the end of the program, he or she should be able to use Japanese (freely and easily) in the profession of his choice--no longer just teachers specializing in such traditional areas as history and literature but practitioners of business, law, engineering, and medicine who want to use Japanese professionally.

From my ten years as director of that program, between 1978 and 1988, I know that many, probably most, of our country's most distinguished specialists on Japan and in a wide range of disciplines are graduates of the program that we have come to know as IUC [Inter-University Center]. And the Center of Japanese Studies at Berkeley has been linked with IUC ever since the two first came into existence back about 1960. I was at the New York meeting at which IUC was first set up, and I may have been chairman of the Center of Japanese Studies at the time. Other chairmen of the center have also played key roles in its founding and operation, especially Professor William McCullough of East Asian Languages and Professor Thomas Smith of History. Professor Elizabeth Berry is a graduate of IUC and is my successor as professor of Japanese history in the history department. And other professors in the Japanese area at Berkeley have graduated from IUC and are active in the Center for Japanese Studies.

Generous Support for Research

Brown: Monetary grants for research by both professors and graduate students have been too numerous for me to itemize or remember. But there is one special grant, a million-dollar one made by the Japanese government, that cannot be forgotten. That grant was made into an endowment providing an income of approximately \$100,000 per year, depending on the amount of interest currently earned. That grant was one of twelve of one million each made to the twelve American universities associated with IUC. That is, if Berkeley had not been one of the universities linked with the founding and operation of IUC, it would not have received such a grant, income from which is still used (as decided by a committee made up of professors in the field of Japanese studies) for the support of research by professors and graduate students.

Most of the money has gone to graduate students because professors have usually obtained fellowships for research in Japan at sabbatical time (or more often) from either the Japan Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, the National Endowment for the Humanities, one of the two Fulbright Commissions, or the Friendship Commission. Talks with colleagues specializing in European and other foreign areas suggest that those of us in the Japanese field are fortunate to have so many foundations and agencies to turn to for help when faced with the need to spend time abroad for research. Graduate students also usually obtain a one-year fellowships from one of these agencies when working on their Ph.D. dissertations. From my five-year stint on the Fulbright Commission (the Japan-United States Educational Commission) between 1979 and 1985, I know that Ph.D. candidates from Berkeley are usually judged to be worthy of Fulbright fellowships

Linkage between the Center for Japanese Studies at Berkeley, the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies in Japan, and the several funding agencies of both the Japanese and U.S. governments is most clearly revealed in the founding and operation of IUC. To begin with, as chairman or former chairman of the Center for Japanese Studies, I was the Berkeley representative at the meeting in New York when IUC was set up. Second, I and two other Berkeley professors (Thomas Smith and Bill McCullough) have been both chairmen of the Center for Japanese Studies and Directors of IUC during about one-third of its history. Third, ever since about 1960 both the Center for Japanese Studies at Berkeley and IUC have been generously supported by agencies of the Japanese and U.S. governments, particularly by the Japan Foundation (Japan), the Department of Education (U.S.), and the Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission (Japan and the U.S.).

Lage: How does having the center lead to getting money? Was it having a center staff who help you get money?

Brown: I am not sure that we had a staff at the beginning. What enabled us to get the support we needed was that we could and did approach foundations not as individual scholars working on our particular books but as a group of scholars teaching and carrying out research in the Japanese field and sharing common problems and needs. Later on, we did obtain clerical assistance which of course helped us to make requests for funding at the right time and in the right way. But we received no funding until we had convinced a foundation or agency that we were competent scholars working on an important aspect of Japanese life.

One of the things done by the Center for Asian Studies was to set up an East Asian Studies program for three degrees: the A.B., M.A., and Ph.D. This was done even though the Center for East Asian Studies never had, as far as I know, a faculty member of its own. Appointments were always in one of the established departments.

However--I had occasion to talk to a student about this just a few days ago--we still normally don't recommend that students get a Ph.D. in the East Asian field because that kind of a degree will not help them get a job. There are not many East Asian departments around the country that employ people with a Ph.D. degree in the broad field of East Asian Studies. Even the U.S. government seems to be more interested in hiring a person who has a Ph.D. in one of the established disciplines. There is a tendency, for instance, to ask a student who has a Ph.D. in East Asian Studies: "What are you a specialist in?" So we tend not to recommend that a student get a Ph.D. in East Asian Studies. So there are not many who do.

I remember one student who did. I was on his Ph.D. examination committee. I can't remember his name, but he was getting his Ph.D. in East Asian Studies. He had a very broad subject and insisted that he knew what he wanted. I don't know whether he ever got a job or not.

Lage: Did you examine him differently? Did you expect him to have the in-depth knowledge of Japanese studies?

Brown: No, I did not expect him to know as much about Japanese history as a candidate writing a dissertation in that field, and I presume that other members of the committee had no such expectations. Since he was planning to do his dissertation research on some subject that merely crossed our various fields, we were inclined to think of him as a non-specialist in our particular disciplines.

Service with the Asia Foundation in Hong Kong, 1952-1954

Lage: I don't want to forget the Asia Foundation. You mentioned it in connection with a story about Richard Nixon, but we really didn't talk about what you were doing there. Let's start there because that was an early aspect of your service abroad. You were with that organization between 1952 and 1955, first as its representative in Hong Kong and then in Tokyo. How did you get this position with the Asia Foundation?

Brown: My first contact with the Asia Foundation was through Mr. James Stewart, a vice president of the organization, who came to our Berkeley home one evening to ask if I would consider spending a year or more in Hong Kong as their representative.

Since I knew virtually nothing about the organization or what it was trying to do, I had many questions about its aims and policies. Stewart was very patient and clear about both, explaining that the foundation's purpose was to strengthen overseas Chinese cultural institutions--especially in the fields of education, publication, and entertainment--that were free, that is, not under the control of communist institutions and/or ideology. He also made it quite clear that the Asia Foundation functioned as a foundation, offering monetary grants to free Chinese cultural activities that were in serious economic trouble. Because I had become critical of U.S. aid programs focused on the support of organizations set up and controlled by the U.S.--not by the local people who were ostensibly being aided--I was pleased to hear him say, quite emphatically, that it was the policy of the foundation to support only programs that were initiated and run by the Chinese themselves, not by Americans.

But there was another aspect of the appointment that was appealing: the opportunity to live, work, and study among the Chinese people just as I had once lived (for six years) among the Japanese. Although one of my fields for the Ph.D. had been the Far East as a whole, and although I had studied Chinese (Peking dialect) for a year at Stanford, I had a strong urge to seize the opportunity to learn more about Chinese life and culture by direct contact. And the urge was strengthened by the knowledge that Japan had always been located within the Chinese cultural orbit. Moreover, my wife Mary and my son Ren (only six years old) seemed to like the idea, although my daughter Charlotte (then fourteen) obviously did not. We must have assumed that living abroad would enrich her education. Anyway, we decided to accept the appointment.

Lage: Did you have tenure at that time?

Brown: I had tenure by the time this decision came up.

Difficulties of Bridging Two Cultures

Lage: This seems like a good time to quote something to you from an interview with Elizabeth Huff. She quotes Mr. Boodberg. He said of somebody who stayed eight years in Japan (maybe it was you), "It cannot be done. You may not, without jeopardizing your whole brain and soul, forsake your own cultural heritage and try to take on another."¹ Does that sound like Mr. Boodberg?

Brown: [chuckles] That sounds like Mr. Boodberg. It is connected with his decision not to go back to China after he started teaching here. He was from Russia and he had faced this problem himself. This has happened to people over and over. Not to me, although I guess I got pretty close.

A number of people seem to have stayed in Japan--he says eight years?

Lage: Yes.

Brown: There are a number of famous examples, such as Lofcadio Hearn, who lived in Japan many years. He was an American, a distinguished man in American literature. He went to Japan and loved it so well that he continued to stay on and on. He married a Japanese wife and became a Japanese citizen, but ended up a very unhappy man. He never really made it as a Japanese, it is said, and resented it. He never was fully accepted, and was very unhappy about it. There are also cases of Japanese who have lived abroad a long time and really got into troubles, psychological and cultural, that were very difficult.

I can't say that I got into that trouble. I always considered myself an American pretty deeply rooted in American culture. But I have lived in Japan twenty years, much more than eight. After I retired, I went over there for an additional ten years. When my first wife, Mary, died in Japan, I was tempted to retire there. In a sense, I suppose I was saying to myself that I would be more at home retiring in Japan than in the United States. I mulled over

¹ Elizabeth Huff, Teacher and Founding Curator of the East Asiatic Library: From Urbana to Berkeley by Way of Peking, Regional Oral History Office, University of California, Berkeley, 1977, p.149.

this question for several weeks before finally deciding to retire in the United States.

Lage: Was this right at the time of the death of your wife that you had these thoughts?

Brown: Yes. I had already decided to quit the Inter-University Center Program just before she died. Then when she died, I wavered. The question was, what do I do next? For months, I kept changing my mind, but finally decided to return to the U.S.

Lage: Do you think that was the right decision?

Brown: Definitely. I think I would have faced the same problem that Hearn and others had. You really can't make that kind of shift and be happy with it. I think that is the reason I came back. It was the right decision.

There is an awful lot about Japanese culture that would be awfully hard to take. It was much easier for me as director of the center. I had a job there, and an interesting job, with the title of director. All Japanese seemed to have special respect for anyone who held such a title. So it was an easy and pleasant way to live. But as a retiree living there, I can see that it would have been very difficult.

Lage: Yes. Well, we got out of our chronology, and I'm the culprit. But that's very interesting, I think.

Asia Foundation as a Weapon Against Communism

Brown: We were talking about the Asia Foundation. Do you want me to go on about that?

Lage: Was anti-communism mentioned in all of this? We are in the Cold War here.

Brown: Anti-communism was not simply mentioned, it was a powerful ideological force that accounted for the willingness of the U.S. government to fund such an operation, as well as for the tendency of many observers to think of the Asia Foundation as one of the weapons that the U.S. was using in its attack on (or defense against) the spread of communism. But after hearing what the foundation was doing, and how, I saw it not as a weapon against communism but as an arm of support for democratic ideals: free political choice, religious freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of

the press, educational freedom, free trade, equal human rights, et cetera.

Lage: But since the Asia Foundation was financed by the American government, wasn't there a tendency to brand its programs as government-supported attacks against communism?

Brown: Yes, both the leftists and the rightists tended to see the foundation's programs in that light.

The leftists (those sympathetic to communist ideas and practices) were consistently critical of any government-supported activity that either attacked communism or backed democratic alternatives. Rightists, on the other hand, were so preoccupied with striking down the communist enemy that they not only endorsed support for democratic alternatives (and direct military action) but tended to think of foundation programs as non-military weapons against communism. Such views from both the left and the right were made more plausible by the political and intellectual anti-communist climate of that day.

Even within the foundation itself, some individuals were prone to value a given foundation program more for its anti-communist thrust than for its support of democratic values, such as freedom and justice. I well remember a heated exchange that occurred at a meeting of Asia Foundation representatives in Hong Kong when I made an impassioned plea that we concentrate on what adds strength to the free way of life, not on what undermines the communist system. In making this pitch, I recall characterizing the former approach as a positive one arising from confidence in the power and popular appeal of liberalism, and the latter as a negative approach produced by the fear that communism would prevail. At the close of that meeting, I remember James Stewart, vice president in charge of foundation operations, making a concluding remark that went something like this: "Our approach should be characterized by health, not stealth."

Assisting Refugee Chinese Intellectuals

Lage: What were some of your programs of health?

Brown: There were many about which I wrote long reports and made recommendations for financial support. I do not have copies of those documents and therefore can not give you names, dates, and monetary amounts. But I do remember getting the foundation to approve liberal financial backing for three important programs

initiated by refugee Chinese intellectuals. The first, and probably the most significant, was helping (with money) a group of refugee Chinese scholars to found a new Chinese college. I remember calling Jim Stewart in San Francisco and gaining his approval for the purchase of a building, at a cost of \$100,000 Hong Kong, that was to be used by the new college as a student dormitory. By obtaining such support, the new college gradually became strong and has become Hong Kong's leading Chinese university. We also helped a big book store, a motion-picture company, a research center, and a publishing house (all recently founded by Chinese refugee intellectuals) to become thriving institutions.

Knowing that we were putting a considerable amount of money into educational programs, Professor John Fairbank of Harvard University urged me to recommend support for the Hong Kong University, a British institution. He was a friend of the Englishman who headed the university. As I recall, John and his wife were even staying in the chancellor's official residence at that time, and saw to it that Mary and I were invited to an elegant dinner there. But I could not recommend support for a British university. That would have been a violation of the established principle that we should limit our support to free Chinese institutions created and operated by Chinese people. I don't think John understood why I could not recommend support for the Hong Kong University. He seemed to resent what I had to say--he was never again as friendly toward me as he had been.

Lage: I suppose you had many persons coming to you with proposals that you could not justifiably support.

Brown: Yes, almost every day. But I had on my staff a Mr. Yu who was a very knowledgeable and reliable Chinese intellectual refugee who helped me to avoid such traps. He and others helped us to make certain that we were giving careful consideration only to proposals made by individuals or groups that had already started a store, company, institute, or college and only needed a little more help to make that organization a viable and effective cultural enterprise.

The Openness of the Chinese People

Lage: In your year and a half in Hong Kong, did you feel that you learned much about the Chinese and their culture?

Brown: Yes and no. I met and talked with a number of Chinese intellectuals, especially those associated with programs we were supporting. But since it was foundation policy not to interfere with, or attempt to control, organizations to which we were giving financial help, I did not see much even of the distinguished Chinese historian who founded the emerging Chinese University. But just by living in Hong Kong for a year and half--with our two children in British schools, with two or three Chinese live-in servants, and with my daughter and I studying Cantonese together--we could not but get a certain sense of how Chinese attitudes and beliefs differed from those of Americans and Japanese.

Lage: For example?

Brown: I was both surprised and delighted to find how open and outgoing the Chinese were. That was not something that I had read in books or heard in lectures but something that hit me, day after day, in all sorts of contacts with Chinese individuals.

One day I was driving my car down one of the main streets in downtown Hong Kong when a middle-aged Chinese woman ambled out in front of me, apparently unaware of an approaching car. Instead of blowing the horn at her (which was what was normally done there), I reacted in a Berkeley fashion: stopped and waited until she got out of the way. Then just as she was right in the middle of the street, and was about ten feet in front of me, she suddenly saw my car. She was, of course, startled. But what she did then was truly startling and surprising to this foreign visitor. She did not jump, run, or scream but simply stopped, looked at me, and laughed. Her laughter was so hearty that I laughed too. So here was a "close call" that produced not an expression of fear or anger but laughter by us both, and without either of us ever saying a single word. I couldn't believe it, and I still can't. [laughter]

Lage: I suppose you have other stories like that.

Brown: Oh, yes. I would like to add one about our daughter Charlotte, which tells us something about that open and outgoing character of the Chinese people. (Charlotte, by the way, had come to like living in Hong Kong, had some good friends, and did not want to leave Hong Kong when we moved to Tokyo in 1954.) One day she came home from school with three or four girlfriends and announced that she had invited them for lunch. Mary was taken aback because Charlotte had said nothing to indicate that she had any idea of doing such a thing.

But our three live-in servants (one Cantonese man and two female relatives) reacted quite differently. Instead of being put out or irritated, they seemed delighted and happy to have the

opportunity to throw a party for Charlotte and her friends. One dashed out to buy some things and the others set to work on a feast that was served promptly, and in style, at the dining room table on which they had spread our best silver. The girls were all pleased by the luncheon. But we concluded that our three Cantonese servants may well have been the most pleased of all, which was hard for us to understand.

Lage: Did they speak English?

Brown: The man could do pretty well in pidgin English, and most communication was through the man. But Charlotte and I also talked to them in Cantonese, which also told us something else about Chinese behavior. Since I had already spent several years in Japan where I had worked pretty hard on the language and was seizing every opportunity to use it, I had become accustomed to a definite reticence (if not downright refusal) of a Japanese who knew English to talk with me in Japanese. But this was not how the Chinese reacted to our attempts to speak Cantonese. Instead of being put down by an assumed charge that their English was deficient, they were delighted to speak to foreigners in Cantonese. It did not seem to matter that the level of communication had dropped to a pretty low level or that it might have come off better in pidgin English. Indeed, after trying out our Cantonese on our Cantonese male servant (he was more like a butler), we found him initiating conversations in Cantonese. All Chinese that we met seemed pleased to find that a foreigner was studying and using his language, whereas most Japanese who have studied English (and the study of English in Japan is required during a major part of one's secondary education) are so bent on using their English that they tend to be unresponsive to a foreigner speaking in Japanese.

Life in Hong Kong

Lage: Is there anything else you would like to say about your year and a half in Hong Kong?

Brown: I do feel impelled to admit that we were really not living among the common Chinese people of that British colony. To be sure, our work was mainly with Chinese refugee intellectuals. But I had virtually no contact with the thousands of poor Chinese who had fled to Hong Kong from mainland China, most of whom were living in hovels that could be seen all over the mountain slopes behind Hong Kong. I did walk up and down the muddy paths of such a settlement once or twice, and saw the filth and smelled the stench in which those miserable people lived. But my contact with them was limited

pretty much to beggars that pestered us for a handouts and "look-see" boys who wanted to "protect" our parked car, and who were likely to see that something bad did happen, such as having gum pressed into keyholes, if they were not employed.

I should admit that our life in Hong Kong was more like that of British colonials who had dominated the political, economic and social life of the Chinese on that island ever since it had been taken from the Chinese at the end of the Opium War in the middle of the nineteenth century. Indeed, for the first six months or so of our stay in Hong Kong, we lived in a grand apartment on the Peak that was rented from a British business executive who had returned to England for home leave. So we inherited his three live-in servants, used his plush furnishings, and went to and from downtown below in our chauffeur-driven "limousine" (a new Dodge). Occasionally we would ride the tram that is still used by tourists must go to the Peak and who walk the path around the Peak to see the spectacular views of one of the world's most beautiful harbors, right up there with San Francisco and Sydney.

Not only that, the foundation office was a plush penthouse apartment with several big rooms, a good air-conditioning system, and a tennis court. It was used for Charlotte's birthday party, which was well attended, well supplied with food, and well entertained with live music.

As the foundation's representative there, I received a much higher salary than at Berkeley, had several juicy perks (such as a chauffeured car), and traveled first class at foundation expense. Our social life was largely with high officials and their wives of the U.S. Consular Service or the Hong Kong government, or with wealthy Chinese couples who were parents of Ren's or Charlotte's school mates. We were definitely not commoners working and living among ordinary Chinese people and therefore did not experience, or learn much about, the life of the ordinary Chinese man or woman.

Lage: You must have met some very interesting people.

Brown: We did indeed. I should have been keeping a journal then, but I wasn't. I can remember meeting and talking with a distinguished woman writer who had just written a novel based in Hong Kong, but I cannot now remember her name or the title of the book she had written. I do recall meeting and talking with such distinguished visitors as Max Lerner, as well as with the current Hong Kong reporters for the New York Times and Time magazine. And in addition to having that talk with Vice President Nixon, we attended receptions for such dignitaries as a U.S. senator and Eleanor Roosevelt.

I will never forget such episodes as the following. One, our entire family sailing around the island of Hong Kong in a twenty-four foot yawl owned and operated by the foundation's assistant representative, Tom Scott. Two, Mary's and my overnight boat trip to Macao where we saw armed communist guards on duty a hundred yards or so away, had some first-hand experience with Portuguese colonial rule, and visited a casino where gambling was about as intense and serious as in Reno. Three, my many pleasant games of golf as a member of the Hong Kong Golf Club, which had a short course on Hong Kong itself for a bit of golf after work or over the weekend, as well as two eighteen-hole courses located north of Kowloon close to the border of communist China where we would spend a whole day playing a game and sharing good food and drink at the fancy clubhouse.

Fourth, dinner parties at the famous Hong Kong Press Club where I heard the foundation's representative in Thailand tell about seeing, and becoming personally involved in, a fire-walking ceremony one night in the outskirts of Bangkok. Fifth, attending (with our friends Beth and Jimmy Turner who were visiting us) ceremonies associated with the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, when Ren and one other American student in the Hong Kong public school's first grade objected to the principal's decision to skip singing "God Save the Queen" that morning because there was so much to do. Sixth, being awakened one Sunday morning, at about six in the morning, when our Chinese neighbor was celebrating his birthday by setting off a string of five-inch firecrackers that began at the top of his six- or seven-story building and ended at the ground. Never had our ears been pierced with such noise for such a long time, and it was really unnerving to be awakened in that way at that early hour. Charlotte said she woke up dreaming that a bulldozer was falling from the Peak into the harbor below.

With the Asia Foundation in Tokyo, 1954-1955

- Lage: When you became the foundation's representative in Tokyo, I suppose you faced an entirely different situation.
- Brown: Yes, very different. In Japan, I was not dealing with Chinese intellectuals who had escaped from communist control but Japanese intellectuals who had been cramped or stifled by years of authoritarian military control and by the miseries and impoverishment attending a disastrous military defeat. In Hong Kong, many schools, publishing houses, and motion-picture studios had come under communist control, but not in Japan. Although the influence of Marxist thought could be readily detected in scholarly

publications in several fields of Japanese learning and communication, direct communist control was not that extensive or serious. What concerned officials of the Japan Foundation was that educational, communication, and entertainment activities had been restricted and stifled, first by years of ultranationalistic control and then by poverty and deprivation.

Lage: Why did you decide to go to Tokyo right after your year and a half with the Asia Foundation in Hong Kong?

Brown: There were several interrelated factors that Mary and I discussed at some length before deciding to move to Tokyo if the department and university decided to make another exception to its sabbatical leave policy. I would never have accepted the offer to go to Japan if that meant severing my ties with Berkeley.

Lage: Did you consider giving up your career as a historian?

Brown: Toward the end of my year in Tokyo, the Asia Foundation's president asked whether I would consider a permanent appointment with the foundation as its vice president. Mary and I did some thinking about making a change at that time, but I was not interested enough to ask about the duties and salary of the proposed position. As exciting as it was to work with prominent intellectuals and government officials in various countries of Asia, figuring out how U.S. money could and should be used to strengthen free and democratic cultural activities, I had experienced great satisfaction (even joy) from doing research and teaching in Japanese history at Berkeley. There I could dig freely into any aspect of Japanese history that interested me and work with distinguished scholars studying Japan in other disciplines. I could not and would not give up my career as a history professor at Berkeley. So I gladly returned to the campus at a much lower salary with no perks, no say over how to use large sums of U.S. money, and no meetings with the high and mighty of either Asia or the U.S.

Promoting Democratic Education

Lage: What sorts of programs did the Asia Foundation support in Japan while you were its representative?

Brown: Many programs had already been started and developed by a staff that included two distinguished Japanese writers, an able and efficient administrative assistant (Mary Walker, who had been registrar at Mills College), two American assistant representatives

(one was Dick Heggie, who later became a foundation representative in other countries, director of the World Affairs Council of Northern California, and mayor of Orinda), and my predecessor Noel Bush, who had been with Time and written a good book on Adlai Stevenson.

Probably the most interesting and significant program, which was just getting started and needed attention, was in the field of democratic education. This was headed by distinguished scholars of different disciplines who had decided that like-minded educators in key universities around the country should get together regularly to sponsor the publication of books and a magazine--as well as to organize numerous speeches and panel discussions--on the nature, meaning, and development of free and democratic education. By the time I arrived, an organization called the Association for Democratic Education had been set up by these distinguished educational leaders, and plans had been laid for establishing branches in various educational centers around the country. I immediately became involved, as did others on the staff, in meetings with Japanese leaders of this lively and promising program. It is apparently still going strong and has been an important factor in a gradual but definite turn toward liberal and democratic values, away from authoritarian ones. When I was in Japan as director of the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies about twenty-five years later, I discovered that some of the scholars I had been associated with as the Asia Foundation's representative in Japan were still active in the association's program, and at least one had become a distinguished university president.

Acquiring English Publications for Japanese Libraries

Brown: Two other programs, both of which were started during my year with the Asia Foundation in Tokyo, were important and interesting enough to remember. One was a book program centered on acquiring early editions of scholarly English publications. These were collected and distributed, without cost to recipients, to college libraries around the country. These libraries wanted American scholarly studies but could not, in those economically depressed times, afford to buy them. The idea of doing this was first suggested to me by Professor Shannon McCune, the brother of Professor George McCune, a specialist in Korean history who was my colleague at Berkeley until his early death a few years before. Shannon had been collecting and distributing early editions of books on his own, and had discovered that there was a great thirst and need for such scholarly books, especially in the social sciences and

humanities. So I recommended that the Asia Foundation take up Shannon's program and expand it by making a methodical check of university libraries and publishing houses all over the United States.

At least one person in the San Francisco office began devoting full time to such work, soon discovering that there were two major sources of early editions. The first was undergraduate libraries at American colleges and universities that customarily purchased numerous copies of books required reading for students enrolled in introductory courses. Then when a new edition came out, only the new edition was required reading, leaving the library with the problem of what to do with all those copies of an earlier edition that nobody ever checked out. Librarians apparently could not even get enough money for these early-edition books to pay the cost of getting rid of them. They were therefore delighted to have the Asia Foundation take those books, especially since they were to be given to impoverished Japanese students and teachers. One big library after another began storing up all early-edition copies of all textbooks--even in physics, chemistry, and medicine--which were then picked up by an Asia Foundation truck for shipment to Japan.

The second source was large publishing houses that wanted to reduce storage costs by getting rid of books that were not selling: often old editions but sometimes first editions that were being purchased only by libraries.

The Asia Foundation would bear the dollar cost of having all these thousands of books picked up and sent off to San Francisco for shipment. In Japan, too, the foundation bore the yen cost of making sure that the right books were sent to the right libraries in different parts of the country. We had at least one person in the Tokyo office who spent all his time receiving, sorting, and sending books to libraries scattered throughout Japan. And the demand for such books continued to increase. By the time I left Tokyo, the Asia Foundation was becoming widely known and greatly appreciated for its generous book program.

Soon Asia Foundation representatives in other Asian countries began requesting that the book program be extended to their parts of Asia, which was done. Consequently, when I was in San Francisco a year or two later, I saw a huge storehouse that was used for receiving, sorting, and shipping early-edition books to several different countries of Asia. It was amazing to see what a big operation had emerged from Shannon McCune's idea and experiment. Possibly it was because of the success of that program that led the president of the Asia foundation to approach me about becoming vice president.

Encouraging the Employment of American English Teachers in Japan

Brown: The second program started while I was in Tokyo was a rather modest English-teacher program. Quite early much attention had been given by the Asia Foundation and other U.S. agencies to helping Japanese teachers of English to travel and study in the United States. But little or no attention was being given to American students who wanted to teach English in Japan and thereby gain an opportunity to learn something firsthand about the language and culture of that country. My own experience teaching English in Japan had led me to feel strongly that this was a particularly good way to build bridges of understanding between the peoples of two entirely different cultures. So I recommended, and the foundation approved, the appointment of three recent university graduates of American universities to teach English at three Japanese universities.

The three young men selected were good choices. They made a good impression at the schools where they taught, and they learned enough about Japan and the Japanese language to become specialists on Japan either in American government offices or American schools.

But the program's total payoff included the influence it exerted on other foundations and on both Japanese and American funding agencies. First the U.S.-Japan Fulbright Commission began using some of its money for the employment of American English teachers, and more and more schools were managing to hire foreign teachers on their own. A few years later the Asia Foundation quit using any of its money in this way. But the modest trickle of young Americans going to Japan for one-year stints of teaching English to college students (as well as to Japanese college teachers of English) gradually developed into a flood. At present the Japanese government itself gives, every year, rather generous grants to around 800 recent American college graduates who teach English at Japanese schools during a full academic year.

In the 1980s when I was director of the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Center in Tokyo, I did something else that may have helped to turn that trickle into a flood. That was done when the Asahi newspaper set up a panel discussion between leading Japanese educators. It was to be publicized in newspapers and over the air. In addition to including Japan's minister of education, and prominent presidents of outstanding Japanese universities, the organizers of the program invited Mike Mansfield (then U.S. Ambassador to Japan) to participate. Mike (I dare to call him by his first name since he called me Delmer) said that I was the one who should be invited to participate in the program, which was to be entirely in Japanese. So I got the invitation and appeared before floodlights and microphones to talk with famous

Japanese educators--in Japanese--about "internationalism in Japanese education."

The main point of my remarks was that a regrettable educational imbalance (not just a trade imbalance) existed between our two countries. I noted and deplored the fact (which I could back up with information obtained as director of IUC and as a member of the U.S.-Japan Fulbright Commission) that there were roughly eight times as many scholarships granted to Japanese students for study in the United States as for American students to study in Japan. I fielded several questions about this and felt that everyone present recognized that such imbalance was educationally undesirable. Therefore when the Japanese government announced, a few months later, that a huge number of fellowships were to be offered yearly to foreign students (mostly Americans) to teach English in Japanese schools, I could not help feeling that my remarks had had some influence, although I am sure many others had made the same point both before and later.

Appreciative Reception for the NBC Orchestra in Japan, 1954

Lage: You outlined the book program that was started at that time. That would have been one of the things that you sponsored as well?

Brown: Yes, and there were some other projects that I will not forget. One was the Asia Foundation's part in the first postwar appearance of a distinguished American symphony orchestra, the famous NBC orchestra which became known for concerts broadcast nationally on radio. Japan's leading newspaper, the Asahi, got the idea of having that orchestra brought to Japan. Being the leading newspaper, it had no trouble raising the money needed to fly the entire orchestra to Japan for a series of concerts in cities all over the country. But because the Japanese government was then restricting the use of yen for the purchase of dollars, the Asahi could not purchase enough dollars to cover the cost. So they came to the Asia Foundation for financial assistance. Since the Asahi was not one of the free and democratic institutions that needed financial assistance, we had to think of some way to funnel some of the income from the sale of tickets to institutions that needed help. I have forgotten the details of the plan we devised, but it involved an agreement by which the Asahi would provide free, or nearly free, tickets for good but impoverished student organizations.

Since we had worked with the Asahi newspaper (and with officers at the American embassy as well) in developing this

program, Mary and I received tickets (I hope we paid for them) to attend the first concert given at the Hibiya Hall in Tokyo. It was an unforgettable concert, not only because the music was good but because the hall was packed with Japanese who were wildly excited by what they were hearing. And the orchestra did the right thing at the right time by having the musicians stand up and play the Japanese national anthem Kimigayo. This shocked and stirred everyone present, even Americans like us.

I say "shocked" because we suddenly realized that although this was music that we had heard many times in the past, it was seldom heard during the seven or eight years that had elapsed since the end of World War II. That was because General MacArthur and the Allied occupation had properly linked that song with Japanese nationalism, which had become rampant before and during the war and which the occupation was doing its utmost to dampen, especially since it was generally assumed that this song had been associated--in the hearts and minds of all Japanese individuals--with Japan's aggressive war against the Allied powers. It was, in other words, linked with Japan's religious nationalism, then commonly referred to as Japanese "ultranationalism." During my six years in Japan before the war we seemed to hear it constantly, day or night. We heard it whenever the school had a gathering of any sort: whether celebrating a holiday, gathering for a sports event, or simply going out on something akin to a school picnic. And whenever we walked down any street at any time of the day or night, we were sure to hear the song being played over one blaring radio after another. Most foreigners became rather sick of it, largely because it was always played so loud over speakers that seemed to transform the song into screeching noise. But for the Japanese, hearing and singing Kimigayo was being a Japanese. It must have given them a sense of meaning in those years of disastrous military defeat.

But here in 1954, after seven or eight years of occupation when the song (and everything associated with it) was frowned on, it was almost never heard. And here, all of a sudden, and from the instruments of this famous foreign orchestra, came that song, played in an unbelievably beautiful way. Everybody stood up and seemed about to cry. And when it was over, the applause was deafening. From then on, the music seemed to get better and better and everyone in the audience to become more and more delighted with what they were hearing.

At a reception held after the concert, Mary and I talked with several individual members of the orchestra who were of course pleased and moved by the appreciative reaction of their audience. One man made this interesting and significant remark: "Because of that appreciative response, we have never played better." And judging from the newspaper reports of subsequent concerts given in

major cities of the country, they continued to play well to one full house after another, until the very end of a tour that must have lasted more than a month.

I could not but feel good about having recommended the grant of a fairly large amount of money (in the neighborhood of \$100,000 as I recall) that made it possible for the Japanese people to hear some good music by a distinguished American orchestra. In order to understand just how much this orchestra was appreciated, we need to remember too that, for years, the Japanese had not been simply deprived of hearing their national anthem played properly but had not been hearing that much music at all, good or bad.

To understand what that meant we need to recall too that a very large number of Japanese individuals had developed a taste for Western music, which is quite different from traditional Japanese music played on such traditional Japanese instruments as the samisen, the shakuhachi, and the koto. Although Japanese music was delightful--even to this foreigner who is not very musical--many Japanese individuals--even in prewar years--were spending much of their time and money listening to Western music, especially symphonies. I remember being quite impressed that one student after another told me how many times (often as many as twenty) he had gone to see and hear Diana Durbin in the movie entitled One Hundred Men and a Girl. I also recall that coffee shops, even in that distant city of Kanazawa, were frequented by students because at these coffee shops records of music composed by Mozart, Beethoven, or other distinguished Western composers were played. Having seen such evidence of a lively and growing interest in Western music, I could easily understand the popular appeal of the NBC concerts, and such later developments as the emergence of more than twenty symphony orchestras in Tokyo and the rise of famous Japanese musicians in various forms of Western music.

Lage: Do you remember what symphony it was?

Brown: It was called the NBC Symphony.

Lage: Not connected with a particular city?

Brown: No, not at that time.

Director of the California Abroad Program in Japan, 1966-1969

Lage: You have been mentioning the IUC. Why was it set up and who was behind it?

Brown: Before we get into that, I think I would like to talk about another stay in Japan that came before my retirement from the university in 1978. This was a two-year stint, between 1966-69, as director of the California Abroad Program [CAP] at the International Christian University [ICU] in Tokyo. Later there were two additional appointments, both of which came after I retired from the directorship of the Inter-University Center in 1988.

Lage: Okay, let's take up that segment of your career which was, I presume, one aspect of your being a professor of Japanese history in the Berkeley history department.

Brown: It certainly was. Indeed, I was not on leave from the university when serving as director of CAP between 1967 and 1969. I continued to obtain my salary from the university while heading that program in Japan and was even building up leave entitlement while I was holding that job.

Lage: How did you get into CAP in 1967?

Brown: I had just finished my three-year term on the Berkeley Budget Committee, ending with one year as chairman of both the Statewide and Berkeley Budget Committees. I had been spending so much of my time on matters outside teaching and research that I looked forward to a time when I could become, once again, full-time involved in Japanese history.

Lage: Why did you decide to accept the directorship rather than continue on as a teacher in the history department?

Brown: I was consciously or unconsciously breaking away from two aspects of university life that were pulling me away from research and teaching, although I was of course continuing to write and offer courses. The two pulls were Budget Committee problems and student discontent. Both had absorbed much of my time and energy; and it must have been because of my desire for a break from such interests and concerns that led me to say later on (at a graduation speech at the American School in the spring of 1978) "I fled from student protests at Berkeley only to become involved in students protests in Japan."

But there was also a positive side to my motivation: the prospect of teaching and studying Japanese life in Japan. Although I had many students in Berkeley who had spent some time in Japan, and even some who had learned to speak and read the language quite well, I missed the sense of immersion in Japanese life that comes from living and working there.

Lage: How about the program itself? Did it have an appeal?

Brown: Certainly it did. I had developed the urge to enter a career of studying and teaching Japanese history because I had lived in the country, not because of classes I took at Stanford, and so I was sure that the education of American undergraduates would be greatly enriched by a year of study abroad. I even came to feel that my courses in Japanese history should be taught in Japan, not in Berkeley. So the junior-year-abroad idea, which had emerged many years ago in several colleges around the country, had a definite appeal.

Lage: Did it turn out to be as exciting as you thought it would be?

Brown: More so. I say that because I witnessed, first hand, a remarkable intellectual transformation in so many California students as a result of their year in Japan. Of course the students who entered CAP were not average students: they were admitted into the program only if they had a B average. But I was amazed to find how many moved, during their year in Japan, toward a career in which they would continue to learn about the life of the Japanese people. Some even decided to become professional learners in one discipline or another. Three of my students went on to receive Ph.D. degrees and to become professors: Bill Steele from the Santa Cruz campus got his Ph.D. at Harvard and is now a professor of Japanese history at ICU; Peter Wetzler received his Ph.D. under me at Berkeley and is now teaching Japanese history in different colleges in Tokyo; and the student from Hong Kong (whose name I cannot remember) got his Ph.D. at Harvard and became a professor on the Davis campus of UC.

Although it was very interesting to be lecturing on and participating in discussions about Japanese history in classes of students who were experiencing Japanese life first hand, I probably gained even more satisfaction from teaching a small seminar for undergraduates that included Bill Steele and the Chinese student from Hong Kong. They both wrote papers on the history of a Buddhist temple located right beside the ICU campus. They immediately saw and appreciated the fact that they were into a research project that was not going to be handled in the traditional way: using books and articles in the library. Instead, they went directly to the temple, met the priest, and asked him--in Japanese--if he had any materials that they could use for exploring the history of his temple.

The priest was both surprised and pleased. In all his years at that temple he had not been approached, even once, by anyone from ICU. And here he was being approached by two foreign students who were asking questions in Japanese about the history of his temple. Since no one had ever asked such questions, he did not know how to reply. He was so intrigued by them and their project

that he wanted to do what he could to help. So he led them into the temple's storehouse to see what they could find.

One thing they dug out was a century-old map of the surrounding area. It showed who owned which parcel of land and what was produced on it. The location of shrines and temples, rivers and lakes, and roads and paths was also indicated. But for some reason the map was cut up into dozens of pieces. But to the delight and amazement of the two students, the priest offered to let them take the pieces to the dormitory to see if they could piece them together.

A few hours later, the students phoned to ask me to come to their dormitory to see what they had found. They had spread the pieces out on the floor of the main room in their dormitory and had fitted them together. We were all excited by this old map. It provided much valid evidence about the economic, social, political, and religious life of that part of Japan a century or so ago.

Then we began trying to figure out how this kind of evidence could be used. It was unlikely that the dozens of other students living in that dormitory would allow them to monopolize the living room floor for prolonged periods of research on an old, cut-up map that, when pieced together, was around ten feet square. Someone came up with the idea that it should be photographed, which would be costly. I agreed to dig up the money.

I should have explained that different sections of the map were in different colors, indicating something about the economic or political character of each piece of land and adding greatly to its value as a source of information about the Mitaka region one hundred years ago. The photograph of the map, which was taken after it had been pieced together, was large and clear enough to make all the characters readable and the borders between different types of land distinguishable. So it became a very important source of information about various facets of life in that region approximately one hundred years earlier.

When I was in Tokyo again last May (1996), I was invited to deliver a lecture at ICU on The Great Goddess Amaterasu, and while I was on campus I was taken by Bill Steele (then a senior professor and dean at ICU) to the room where that picture still hangs. It was a pleasure to see that it is still an honored possession. The discovery of that map, the subject of that picture, was certainly a high point in my two years of teaching at ICU, when two seminar students got really excited about research with an on-site and face-to-face character. That excitement may well have been a factor in their becoming professional learners and university professors: one at the International Christian University, and the

other at the Davis campus of the University of California. That sort of thing did not happen often enough in CAP.

Lage: What do you mean?

Brown: I mean that not enough courses taught at ICU took California students outside the classroom and library and into the homes and institutions of the Japanese people. I felt that we were not doing enough to make use of the opportunity to become engaged in on-site and face-to-face learning. To be sure, there were some courses, such as archaeology courses taught by Professor Edward Kidder in which his students actually did some digging in archaeological sites on the ICU campus. There were also courses in sociology that required students to write papers based on personal interviews with off-campus Japanese persons. But my impression was that most courses in the humanities and social sciences were centered on classroom lectures, required reading, and papers based on the use of library materials, just as at home.

Lage: But that sort of teaching must be very hard and time-consuming.

Brown: That's right. And most courses at ICU are taught by Japanese teachers whose students are Japanese, and who are committed (like us) to the traditional lecture system.

Lage: Are you suggesting then that more CAP courses should be taught by American teachers?

Brown: No. The UC policy is to have its year-abroad courses taught by the teachers of the host country, and it's a good policy. Stanford's is different. Most of its year-abroad programs are taught in English by Stanford professors. I remember hearing Professor Peter Duus say that his course in modern Japanese history at the Stanford program in Kyoto was much like the one he offers at Stanford.

Lage: Then how can CAP do more to seize the opportunity of on-site and face-to-face teaching, as you put it?

Brown: I doubt if anything more can or will be done, because we are too much constrained by the traditional lecture system, as are the host universities wherever CAP exists.

Lage: What might be done if there are no such constraints?

Brown: I remember being forced to work out an answer to that question when two professors came to see me at the time I was director of IUC during the 1980s. They were setting up a new junior-year program for a group of midwestern colleges, and they were looking not only for someone to head it but for ideas about how it should be set up.

Their questions led me to suggest a tutorial arrangement by which a Japanese specialist in economics would serve as tutor of undergraduate majors in economics. To make this tutorial approach work, the tutor would have to have special qualifications. He or she should not only be an economics scholar of some distinction but rather good in English, for I was assuming that most American undergraduates in the program will not be able to communicate on economic questions in Japanese. The tutor should also have imagination and compassion. Finding and training such tutors in the fields of economics, sociology, anthropology, history, politics, and art would be the main responsibility of the American director, who should of course believe that the tutorial approach is the best way for an American undergraduate to learn Japanese in a hurry and to achieve some in-depth understanding of Japanese economics.

I remember thinking of one particular economist who had become a tutor at IUC at about the same time. He was Mr. Mutsuji Nakano, a man I have known since he was a student of mine in Kanazawa, over sixty years ago. After graduating from the Fourth Higher School in Kanazawa and the Tokyo University, he began working for one of Japan's leading brokerage firms. For six years he was head of that firm's New York office. Then when he retired, he volunteered to work with IUC students planning to use their Japanese in business or in teaching economics at the university level. He was not only an economist with a vast amount of experience in the world of finance but had wonderful ideas about how a student might learn more Japanese economic terms in a hurry; and he enjoyed meeting and talking (always in Japanese, although he had a good command of English) with his students outside the classroom. At least two of his students have become economics professors at American universities. One of them (Professor Michael Gerlach) became a professor in economics at Berkeley. So I probably had Nakano in mind when I was talking about the tutorial approach to learning about Japanese life in a year-abroad program.

Lage: Were the two professors convinced that this was the way to go?

Brown: Yes, to such an extent that they asked if I would be willing to give up my job in Tokyo and be the director of their new program.

Lage: But you refused?

Brown: Yes. I have often wondered if that was not a mistake.

Lage: Why?

Brown: That would have given me a chance to experiment with tutorial teaching for year-abroad students in Japan. I was convinced, and

still am, that this would accelerate a student's mastery of Japanese, especially the kind used in his major field, and add excitement as well as depth and breadth to the learning process.

Lage: It's too bad you didn't take up the offer.

Social Life, Kyoto and Tokyo

Brown: Yes, but I was also interested in the IUC program and, moreover, we (especially Mary) were not that much interested in moving from Tokyo to Kyoto.

Lage: Why was that? Kyoto is often said to be the most interesting city in Japan.

Brown: That's true, especially for persons drawn to Japan's ancient culture. There is no other city in Japan where one finds living cultural institutions with such deep historical roots. But we had lived in Kyoto during most of 1975-76 when I was in Japan for research. And that was a pretty hard year, particularly for Mary, because we lived in a huge old house that was so poorly heated that Mary became quite sick around Christmas time, just when we were being visited by my sister Margie, her husband Jack, and my niece Jacquie.

Since there were not many other Americans in Kyoto, our social life was not nearly as interesting as in Tokyo where Mary belonged to an amazing women's club called the Round Table, made up of Japanese and foreign women who had traveled widely and whose husbands held such important positions as ambassador, or chief executive officer of some corporation with branches in various parts of the world.

Lage: I can see that would be interesting. Do you have some story about Mary's associations with members of the Round Table?

Brown: I have many, but there is one that I will never forget and that comes to mind whenever conversation comes around, as it often does, to computers and to Hewlett-Packard.

Once a year members of the Round Table had a party to which their husbands were invited. At one of these, held at the residence of some foreign ambassador to Japan, we were playing bridge with a distinguished Japanese woman (who had studied in the United States and who was the daughter of the head of the Matsushita corporation) and her Japanese husband (who was the

current head of Matsushita). Because we had played a rubber rather quickly and were waiting to move on to another table for a second rubber, there was time for some conversation which I tried to start by throwing in the comment that both Hewlett and Packard had been classmates of mine at Stanford early in the 1930s.

I had known that Matsushita was associated with Hewlett-Packard because I had seen a huge building near our house in Ogikubo with the name Hewlett-Packard on a big signboard at the front gate, preceded by the name of Matsushita. I had also heard that there were at least a hundred of these Hewlett-Packard buildings scattered around Japan, and that all were linked with Matsushita headed by the husband of Mary's Round Table friend. I felt quite sure that he would know all about those rich and powerful American computer executives: Hewlett and Packard.

But to my surprise, he had to repeat their names two or three times, and with a puzzled look on his face. Suddenly he said, "Oh, yes, that is one of our operations, isn't it?" He was a pretty bright and intelligent man. So I assume his slowness in recognizing their names may have been due to unfamiliarity with my American pronunciation of their names. Or (and this may be a better explanation) his corporation was so big and powerful that the Hewlett-Packard subsidiary was too small and insignificant to come to mind quickly.

Japanese Student Revolt, 1967

Lage: That is interesting. What else do you recall from your two years as director of the CAP in Tokyo in the sixties?

Brown: Two aspects of our lives during those two years added much zest, and considerable trouble, to my position as director. First, we lived in a house on campus and were involved in many different facets of student life, not just classroom teaching. Second, the first several months of our stay were made quite confusing, as well as educational, by a student revolt that was far more violent and disturbing than the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley.

Lage: How did you get involved with these non-educational sides of student life?

Brown: Because I was director of CAP, not just a visiting professor. As director of a program in which approximately thirty-five UC undergraduates were enrolled, I was responsible not only for seeing that they received credits and grades at UC for courses taken at

ICU, but for handling such difficult problems as housing, scholarship/loan payments, extending/renewing visas, and the enforcement of dormitory rules.

Even now I shudder to think of all I had to do when a female student arrived at the airport without a visa, and another time when a boy was picked up for possessing and using drugs, which is a very serious charge in Japan and over which I spent many hours serving as the boy's interpreter while he was being questioned by the police. Involvement with non-academic sides of student life was also compounded by our living on campus where any student was encouraged to drop in on us at most any time and for most any reason. Both of us enjoyed such associations, and did quite a lot to extend them, such as throwing big parties at Christmas and Thanksgiving, and inviting students to stay with us when recuperating from some illness. Moreover, we had a big house, a live-in maid, and adequate air conditioning and heating. So all this was a source of pleasure and joy, not complaints.

Lage: And how about the Japanese equivalent of the Free Speech Movement?

Brown: For several months that was what we lived with, day and night, because that was when radical students "liberated" ICU's main buildings. For months I was not even able to enter my office or hold classes. I recall walking by one important building and seeing a sign that read, "Dogs and communists not allowed!"

Lage: Why the antipathy to communists?

Brown: To the radical students who had seized control of the campus at that time, the communists were not radical--they were "compromising sissies" bracketed with dogs.

Lage: These were the radicals with whose leaders you arranged a meeting with Professor Charles Sellers?

Brown: Yes, and I think Charlie was shocked with a radicalism that was aimed, as they put it, at "destroying Japan's capitalistic control system."

Lage: Since you could not go to your office or classrooms, what did you do?

Brown: Mostly we attended meetings. There were two types: negotiating sessions between the students and the faculty, and meetings of the faculty in which we tried to decide what position we should take on the current student demand. These meetings were called Taishu danko, or "mass negotiating session."

Lage: Did you participate in the mass negotiation sessions?

Brown: I attended every one of them, but all talk (negotiating) on the faculty side was by the president or a dean, not by individual members of the faculty.

Lage: Where did you sit? And what was the general layout of a mass negotiation session?

Brown: Sometimes I sat on the stage of the auditorium. At other times I sat in the auditorium seats with everybody else, which was always packed with several hundred students and other people connected with the university, such as faculty wives and secretaries.

Lage: What was the seating arrangement on the stage?

Brown: At the middle of the stage were two rather big tables in the shape of a "T." At the table toward the back of the stage--the top of the T--sat the student leaders. In the middle sat the head of the radical group that had "liberated" the campus. He was the moderator of the mass negotiating session, decided what was to be negotiated, and who was to participate in the negotiation. He was flanked by high-ranking officers of the student movement.

Then at the bottom of the T toward the audience sat other student leaders on the left, and university officials on the right. Seniority was represented by a person's position at the table: on the faculty side the president sat closest to the table at the top of the T, and the highest student officers (who were not at the head table) sat opposite the president. Then behind the student side of the table, other student leaders were seated, just as some or all of the faculty were seated behind the table where the president sat. As a foreign teacher, I was seated about as far from the central table as I could get. And sometimes I would not sit on the stage at all. But I attended every one of those meetings, which usually began at one in the afternoon and lasted until around nine or ten at night, every other day.

Lage: What was the general mood of these meetings? Was there yelling and screaming?

Brown: No, I recall none of that, but these were very serious affairs. I recall no laughter and no jokes. Every word spoken by anyone was listened to and thought about. Every statement had been considered carefully and was precisely worded. Indeed, the verbal confrontation was so serious and prolonged that one faculty leader after another got sick and was hospitalized, often leading to his resignation from his post and to cancelling any further appearances at a negotiating session.

Lage: Every day this would happen?

Brown: Every other day. In between we had faculty meetings, and the students had their meetings, getting ready for the next negotiating session.

Lage: What were the issues there? Anything like the issues in the United States?

Brown: In both cases the students were objecting to actions and policies of the administration. In the U.S., the students were objecting mostly to actions that were considered to be violations of free speech. But at ICU the issues tended to be in the area of tuition costs and the cost of meals at the student dining room, although complaints and demands were soon made about what the administration had done or was doing in other areas.

Lage: So these seem to be all local issues having to do with the university-student relationships, rather than with politics?

Brown: Yes, although the students had a lot to say and write about the administration of the state. They seemed to see the university as an arm of the state and as manifesting the evils of state control. That is why that radical leader dared to tell Charles Sellers that their aim was "to destroy the entire capitalistic control system."

I am inclined to think that in both the United States and Japan student discontent at the local level was fed by deep social concerns, such as those arising from the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement in the United States. That is, the students were striking out against all authority when they rose up against authority at the university.

Lage: Did this have an effect on the university's administration?

Brown: It certainly did. There was a series of changes in deans and even in the presidency. And these changes, in which even foreign professors were involved, indicated to me that members of the faculty seemed to have much more to say about the selection of a new president than American professors do. This conclusion is drawn from what I saw and experienced as a member of the faculty at ICU at the time of their most serious student upheaval as well as from what I experienced as a member of the Budget Committee (and also has a member of the selection committee that recommended the appointment of Chancellor Heyns) at Berkeley.

Lage: What did the faculty have to say about the selection of a new president at ICU?

Brown: Selection seems to have been made solely by the majority vote of the faculty.

Lage: And you took part in such a selection at ICU?

Brown: Yes, I will not soon forget that occasion, a long faculty meeting at which we were trying to decide which of two candidates for president we should vote for. (It seems to have been generally understood that ICU's board of directors would go along with the faculty's majority vote.)

After hours of discussion, each one of us voted for the candidate of our choice. When the votes were collected and counted, we discovered that both candidates had received the same number of votes. Whereupon, the president asked for three minutes of silent prayer, after which we voted again. During the minutes of silence, I changed my mind. I had at first voted for a man who was a friendly and open-minded man that all foreign professors liked. But during that period of silence, I came to the conclusion that the other candidate--a man who was closer to the rebelling students and rather cool toward foreigners and the international dimension of ICU--would probably be a better president for ICU at that particular time. And when the votes were again counted, the man I voted for won by one vote. Others too may have changed their minds, but I had the uneasy feeling that by changing my vote, I had caused the more radical teacher to be elected president. I was so uneasy about this that I never told anyone (except Mary) what had happened during those few minutes of silence, especially since the newly elected president's term of office was not that successful.

Lage: And you were in charge of the California Abroad Program, so what happened with the students from California?

Brown: Since no classes were held for several months they were pretty much on their own. The program collapsed while the strike was on. The situation had seemed pretty bad in Berkeley, but classes continued to be held. In Tokyo it was much worse: classes were not held for several months. In Berkeley the problem was solved by compromise and negotiation, but in Tokyo it was solved only with the intervention of the police, who forced the students to leave the buildings they had been occupying.

Lage: What a time. Did that change your outlook at all when you came back to Berkeley? You came back to continued turmoil at Berkeley.

Brown: Yes. But the situation was entirely different here. I suppose the experience in Japan made me feel that the compromise approach that we adopted back in 1966 was the way to go. If both sides continue to be angry and rigid, then a resolution can be achieved only by

the use of force, which is especially deplorable at an institution of higher learning.

Thoughts on Internationalism in Japan

Lage: You mentioned that you might have cast the deciding vote for the election of the new president of the ICU, and that this made you uneasy. Why were you uneasy?

Brown: Mainly because many Japanese felt foreign visitors should not have the right to vote on such important personnel matters. If they had learned that I had cast the deciding vote, the anti-foreign movement would have been fueled, and the international character of the International Christian University weakened.

Lage: Are you suggesting that the "International" in International Christian University was not very strong?

Brown: I am. Throughout my two-year stay at ICU, I heard (and often became involved in) discussions of questions such as "What is internationalism?" or "Is ICU really an international institution of higher learning?"

ICU was international in several respects. Not only was the word "international" in its name, it had many foreign professors, probably offered more courses in English than any other Japanese university, had many Japanese professors who had studied in the United States, required all students to take courses in English, and was known to be the best place for a Japanese student to learn about the outside world (especially the English-speaking part of it). Nearly everything said in student and teacher meetings were translated into English (if spoken in Japanese) and into Japanese (if spoken in English). California students admitted to an ICU dormitory were usually assigned to a room with three Japanese students. And yet foreign students and teachers (not just American ones) tended to feel--and frequently say--that there was more anti-foreign sentiment on the ICU campus than at other Japanese universities. This can not of course be proved or disproved, but we constantly saw and heard things that seemed to support it.

For example, at the time of the student uprising, which was a critical time in which feelings and behavior patterns appeared in high relief, foreign students were excluded from all organized student activity. Visiting foreign professors were always allowed to speak and were politely heard, but we got the impression (seldom if ever explicitly stated) that this was a Japanese problem that

should be handled only by the Japanese members of the faculty. Then there was the disinclination of Japanese professors to converse with a foreigner professor in Japanese, although some of us had spent most of our lives working on the language. Moreover, both foreign students and teachers seemed to find it easier to make friends with Japanese not connected with ICU.

What seemed to be anti-Americanism was of course fed by the fact that ICU was founded by grants of large amounts of American money. Two other developments gave the institution a definite American stamp: most of the American-style homes on campus were built by American money for American professors; and such key offices as vice president were for years held by American professors. But by the late 1960s most of the financial support was coming from the Japanese, not from Americans. So it was logical that we saw signs of reaction against control and domination, which we tended to interpret as a deterioration of internationalism.

Lage: Were you wrong?

Brown: Yes, we were wrong, but also right. We were wrong in the sense that internationalism (intellectual interest in all aspects of life in other nations of the world) is probably stronger in Japan--and probably is still stronger--than anywhere else in the world. No country on earth translates so many foreign books into their native language; no country on earth has as many of its citizens travel to foreign countries; and I think no other country forces its students to spend so much time on the study of foreign languages. Foreign movies, foreign music (classical and jazz), foreign fashions, foreign sports, and foreign studies in all disciplines probably receive more attention than in any other country of the world. Indeed, "internationalism" is in the air: every university, city, company, and social organization seems to be doing its utmost to be more international than its counterparts. After living in Japan and hearing so much about the outside world on TV, I came to feel that America is quite provincial.

Lage: So why do you say that internationalism was deteriorating at ICU?

Brown: Because anti-Americanism and nationalism, which was particularly strong before and during World War II, appeared to be getting stronger and internationalism (its polar opposite) weaker.

I remember getting into a discussion in the 1980s headed by a professor of Tokyo University, and aired on radio, in which I came right out and stated that internationalism was not very strong in Japan. Of course that was difficult for my Japanese friend, a specialist on American history at the Tokyo University, to take.

He therefore was quite interested in why I (and another foreigner on the panel) took such a position. As I recall, my point was that Japanese interest in foreign countries and foreign people was superficial: that they were largely interested mainly in what they could see (and take pictures of) and in what they could learn that would help them increase to their profits, or write something that would sell well. I think I also tried to say that the Japanese did not seem to be trying to understand the ideas, feelings, and beliefs of foreigners, or to become engaged in in-depth conversations with the people of other nations. I had convinced myself (but certainly not the Japanese to whom I was talking) that their internationalism was not particularly strong, and was becoming weaker.

Lage: Do you still think so?

Brown: Yes and no. I still think that internationalism in Japan does not run very deep, but it probably runs deeper than in the Western world. While in Japan I could see, and sometimes get upset by, superficiality in Japanese interest in the outside world. But after getting back home, I soon noticed that our interest--and probably that of people in other parts of the western hemisphere--is even weaker and more superficial than in Japan.

Lage: What made you realize this after returning home?

Brown: Probably the difference between the international outlook of Japan and that of the United States was most clearly revealed when I returned home and became chairman of the board of outreach at my church, the First Congregational Church at Berkeley. That board was not only responsible for the church's outreach in Berkeley but in the world outside. And having just returned from Japan, I began to wonder if any of the money contributed to foreign missions was being used for the support of the International Christian University. So I made inquiries and found that although money for foreign missionary work was declining sharply, some money was going to the International Christian University.

So I got in touch with the ICU Foundation in New York. I even wrote a letter, as the chairman of outreach, saying that I had just spent two years at ICU and felt that we should not be spending money on projects which were blatantly American, explaining that there was an increasingly strong Japanese reaction to ICU's American character. Dr. Hal Shorrocks, who was then vice president at ICU, recently sent me a copy of the letter that I wrote. He was interested in, and in agreement with, what I had written. But the ICU Foundation apparently was not, since I did not even receive a reply. My guess is that the foundation officials in New York could see nothing wrong with gifts that had an American stamp, and felt

that that was what induced Americans to continue supporting missionary work in Japan.

Second Thoughts on Christian Missionary Work

Lage: Did your thinking about nationalism and internationalism affect your thinking about the Christian mission?

Brown: Indeed it did. But my living in Japan, and especially my study of religious change in Japanese history, had led me to question the traditional missionary approach and even to doubt whether it should be supported.

Since Mary's father (Dr. Charles A. Logan) and her uncle (Dr. Harry Myers) had spent their entire lives as missionaries in Japan, and since other relatives and friends were missionaries, I have been continuously in contact with persons involved in Christian missionary work within Japan. During the six years that we were in Kanazawa, nearly all of our social life was with Americans (no more than about a dozen) who were missionaries. And when we were married at Lake Nojiri during the summer of 1934, nearly all the hundred or so who attended the ceremony were missionaries. And during our summer vacations at Lake Nojiri and Karuizawa, our social life was mainly with missionaries. So my doubts about the missionary enterprise arose on the edge of the mission field. And having been a member of churches where we were constantly asked to give pennies to missionaries who were "saving the heathens," I should have been tuned to, and sympathetic with, the missionary program.

The first jolt came when I discovered how well the missionaries lived. Although I felt I was doing pretty well (living in a three-bedroom house with a live-in maid), I soon discovered that all the missionaries lived in much better homes and in a rather grand style. Two missionary families in Kanazawa not only had bigger and better houses but had their own tennis courts. It was not quite the picture of missionary life that had been drawn for me at church in the United States. But I finally got used to that, but then began to wonder about "converting the heathens" when hearing sermons preached by Dr. Logan and my friend Reverend Howard Norman, a missionary in Kanazawa during much of our stay there. Howard's sermons were rather scholarly and intellectual, but those of Dr. Logan were really meant to convert.

I remember going once with Mary to hear him preach at a small church in the mountains behind Tokushima on the Island of Shikoku.

Dr. Logan spoke Japanese very well; he spoke earnestly from a deep Christian faith; he really liked Japan and the Japanese people; and he had a great sense of humor. His sermons were delightful and the crowds that came to hear him were entranced with everything that he said.

But it was about that time that I began to wonder if it was right for him and other missionaries to urge Japanese individuals to tear themselves away from their ancient religious roots. And I think that the more thoughtful missionaries, including Dr. Logan himself, must have been wondering about this. It must have been because of such doubts that Dr. Harper Coates, the missionary who had preceded Howard Norman in Kanazawa, became engaged, with a Japanese scholar, in writing a two-volume study of the life of Hōnen (1133-1212), a great Buddhist reformer often compared with Luther. Other missionaries who have lived and worked long in Japan began to think less and less of converting the Japanese and more and more of teaching them about Christianity and living the life of a Christian in their midst. We all have come to realize that religion is a core element of national identity and that becoming a Christian for a Japanese is getting pretty close to denying his Japanese-ness. So I am afraid I have become rather lukewarm about Christian missionary work, especially that of fundamentalist churches that tend to reject not only all Japanese religious beliefs but those of other Christian denominations.

Family Life and Research in Japan, 1960 and 1975-1976

Lage: Well, let's get back to the next periods of stay in Japan. What were they?

Brown: Both before and after that two-year stay at ICU I was in Japan for a year of research. The earlier one came in 1960 when I was in Japan for research on a Fulbright research scholarship, and the later came between 1975-76 when I was a humanities research scholar. During neither of those year-long periods of research did I have teaching and administrative responsibilities, although I gave some lectures, and we met socially with both Japanese and American friends.

During the 1960 stay Ren was with us, and Asakura-san (the live-in maid and cook who had been with us in 1956 when I was with the Asia Foundation) came to live with us, although she had apparently not been working since that earlier year in Ōmori. I have fond memories of Ren's excitements and experiences. He and Asakura-san were very fond of each other. We recall that he often

came home with something to tell us about what had happened at school. Before coming into to report to us, he would usually first dash out to the kitchen to tell Asakura-san, in Japanese, what had happened.

We often recalled the occasion when he went to dinner with us and some Japanese friends to a downtown Japanese restaurant. While we and the friends were still talking, Ren asked if he could go home (across that huge city of Tokyo) alone. Our Japanese friends were amazed that he would dare to do such a thing at the age of ten or eleven, but they were more amazed that we would give our permission. Both we and he were confident that he would have no trouble. Sure enough, when we got home he was already there and had fascinating stories about what he had seen and done on the various trains and subways he had taken.

Ren also surprised us when the time came to go home to Berkeley. He wanted to go alone by Japanese freighter, although we had decided to return by air. We were a little slower to agree to this, mainly because travel by ship was more expensive. But we finally gave in. So we saw him off in Yokohama and met him in San Francisco. When he yelled down to us from the upper deck, we were surprised to hear that his voice had changed. On his way across the Pacific, alone, he seemed suddenly to have become a man.

During that year I was asked to give a paper in Japanese before a group of scholars at the Tokyo University. I recall spending days and days on that lecture, having a Japanese friend correct my Japanese and listen as I read it. Before that assembly of Japanese scholars I seemed to be doing all right until I got to page 23. There I had to stop because that page of the manuscript was missing. I must have left it home. So I stopped reading, reported that I was missing a page, and told them in my own Japanese words what I had written on that missing page. I must have been quite flustered but I was amazed to discover that my audience suddenly became quite interested in what I was saying. Not only that, when the time came for discussion, most questions were about what I had said on page 23.

I do not think I ever again tried to deliver a speech from a written manuscript, for that experience convinced me that reading it, either in English or Japanese, does not arouse much interest.

Lage: How about your stay in 1975-76?

Brown: Most of my time that year was devoted to research connected with the completion of Ishida's and my joint translation and study of the Gikanshō. Social life was quite limited since we spent the first part of the year in Sendai and the latter part in Kyoto,

where we stayed in a huge house (near Kyoto's Imperial Palace) that was very hard to heat. We did have visitors from the United States: first Yale and Helen Maxon came, and then my sister Margie, her husband Jack and their daughter Jacquie were there for Christmas. Helen attracted attention by painting pictures in the garden of the Meiji Shrine. And my niece Jacquie--a beautiful high school blond--created a community stir, especially among young Japanese men in the neighborhood, when she went out to do the shopping for Mary, who was in bed with the flu. Although Jacquie knew no Japanese, she was always able to get all the help she needed in buying groceries. We also had another niece, Jan, the daughter of my sister Mary, in Kyoto that year. She was there as a missionary teacher. We enjoyed several evenings with her and her co-workers.

Director of the Inter-University Centers for Japanese Language Studies, 1978-1988

- Lage: Tell me more about the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies in Tokyo, and your directorship there.
- Brown: I was at a meeting in New York back in 1959 when the establishment of such a center was first talked about. It was called by professors from Stanford University who had obtained a generous grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for the support of a Japanese program that was proving difficult for Stanford alone to carry out. So professors in Japanese studies from about a dozen American universities met to discuss how the money might be used for the advancement of Japanese studies in the United States as a whole. I represented Berkeley.

We agreed that what was needed most was a year-long, intensive program in Japanese at the advanced level, one that would make it possible for our best graduate students to learn enough Japanese--in Japan--to use it effectively in research and writing in any of the several disciplines. Twelve universities were associated with the program from the start. These included Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Chicago, Michigan, Vancouver, Washington, Berkeley and Stanford. (I forget the other two; maybe they were Cornell and UCLA.) All twelve had specialists in Japanese studies and were training graduate students that were in dire need of intensive Japanese-language training.

The program known as the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies (IUC) had a rather shaky beginning on the International Christian University (ICU) campus, which was later

plagued by the student upheaval, of which I already spoke. The upheaval in 1969 affected the program because the man who then headed it was also ICU's vice president. He was too busy with student affairs to give the IUC much attention.

The program was having so much trouble that the IUC governing committee (made up of one professor from each of the twelve universities) decided to appoint a new director: Kenneth Butler, a young doctoral candidate in Japanese linguistics at Yale University. He was a very energetic and imaginative director who moved IUC to a building in Kiyoi-chō (near the Akasaka Hotel) in downtown Tokyo, where it continued to be based for the next twenty years. He also put together an excellent teaching staff and outlined a program of intensive language instruction that has continued to be used, without much change, down to the present day.

Lage: What was the program like?

Brown: Several basic principles were consistently and rigorously followed. First, no teacher was ever to speak to any student in English, only in Japanese. Second, all instruction was to be in small classes (seldom more than five in a class). Third, the students were to be drilled in all four forms of language use (speaking, hearing, reading, and writing) but with special attention to speaking and understanding what is heard. Fourth, each student was and is expected to devote full time to language study, not only spending most of every weekday in class but spending several hours before class in preparation, listening to tapes for the next day's class. Fifth, class sessions were based on the use of materials prepared by the teachers, which introduced basic and commonly-used forms of Japanese speech. Sixth, each student was urged to develop contacts that would enable him or her to use Japanese constantly in social situations outside IUC.

Lage: What was your position in it?

Brown: I was director of the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies (IUC) for ten years between 1978 (the year of my retirement) to 1988.

Lage: How did you get into it?

Brown: I got into that job immediately after retirement because Bill McCullough, who then represented Berkeley on the IUC governing committee, called to ask if I would be interested in serving as director of IUC for one year while the committee was searching for someone to take the job on a permanent basis. He explained that Kenneth Butler had suddenly resigned and that the committee had not had time to find someone to replace him, adding that the committee

had agreed I should be asked to take the position for a year and that I should be invited to go to Tokyo (at IUC expense) for a few days to look at the situation before deciding whether to accept. As I recall, Bill said that the committee felt I was well qualified to fill the job, not only because I had been a regular professor at one of the universities in the consortium but because I had had considerable administrative experience as chairman of the history department and was fluent in Japanese.

I did go to Tokyo for a look-see and I remember talking with (or rather listening to) Kenneth Butler who was really upset by the IUC governing committee's "acceptance of his resignation." Neither he nor anyone else ever told me exactly what transpired at the meeting at which his resignation was accepted, but he probably said he would resign if certain demands (such as a higher salary) were not met. And the committee simply decided that those demands could not be met. In any case, Ken was quite angry, taking the position that the future of IUC was hopeless because of its weak and unreasonable governing committee. He was not at all helpful in supplying information that would enable me to decide whether to accept the appointment. Indeed, he said or implied that I should not accept it--that the situation was so bad that neither I nor anyone else could salvage the program.

Lage: Then why did you?

Brown: I was challenged. I knew that the program was important and felt that I could keep it going, maybe even strengthen it. Moreover, I attended a meeting in Hawaii with representatives of the three funding agencies, each of which had been turned off by what they felt was a sloppy and irresponsible way of handling the large amounts of money each had been granting to IUC. I discovered that there was no regular budget. So in my discussions with the three representatives of the major funding agencies, I first assured them of my intention to establish regular budgetary and accounting procedures. Whereupon I obtained assurances of continued support. So that meeting made me feel quite confident that I could keep IUC going, and maybe strengthen it. I agreed to take the job for one year.

Lage: Then why was it that you were there for ten?

Brown: I never agreed to stay for a ten-year term, but only decided, year after year, to stay on one more year. That yearly decision was made at the annual meeting of the IUC governing committee, always held at Stanford in the spring. A number of decisions were made then, including the selection of students for the following academic year. But at each meeting the committee also had to decide who would be appointed director for the following year. I

had become so excited by this program, and by associations with bright and promising students from all over the English-speaking world (every year we usually had at least one interesting student from Australia, England, or Canada) that I kept saying, year after year, "I am available for one more year."

Lage: Did you succeed in making IUC stronger?

Brown: To some extent, but not as much as I had hoped.

Lage: In what ways?

Brown: I did manage to set up regular budget and accounting procedures that seemed to satisfy the foundations that their funds were being spent carefully and wisely. Also I established a magic number (a total-assets figure) which audited reports were geared to. A precise account of all funds received and spent was extremely difficult to get, not only because we received funds from several sources but because we were also receiving dollar funds from Stanford for yen-expenses in Tokyo. The exchange rate would usually change between the time Stanford sent the money and the time we received it in Tokyo. But we devised a system by which we could figure out all these exchange gains and losses and create a report, centered on the magic number, that the auditor used as the basis of his calculations. That is, if all expenditures minus expenses since the last report did not give him the magic number, he knew that something was wrong. Establishing a magic number target for each monthly report was applauded by the administrative office at Stanford and, as I heard later, the Chinese Language Center in Taiwan (also administered by Stanford) was pressed to follow suit.

Immersion in Japanese Language for Professionals

Lage: How about the program itself?

Brown: I do not think I did much to improve that. Its basic strength lay in excellent methods developed earlier by Ken and the Japanese teachers who were quite outstanding, mainly because they were enthusiastic, bright, and compassionate people who really liked to help promising foreign students to speak Japanese correctly, and to comprehend it fully when spoken by others.

But I think I did strengthen the program somewhat by urging both teachers and students to begin, as soon as possible, using the kind of Japanese spoken and written in a student's chosen

profession. I remember helping and encouraging a medical student to become associated with doctors in a clinic where research was being carried out in the area of his special interest. After that, he became more deeply involved in the study of Japanese, and I began hearing high compliments from doctors associated with him. In general, however, the teachers did not favor establishing such professional connections, taking the position that it was more important, at that early stage in the study of Japanese, to concentrate on basic vocabulary and speech forms. But I gradually convinced a few that early immersion in the language of the student's chosen profession strengthened his enthusiasm for language learning.

The experience of several individuals, as well as that of myself and a German colleague in Kanazawa, convinced me that this approach would pay high dividends. One young man's case (a man by the name of Lambert) will not be readily forgotten. He had just finished his A.B. in the Claremont College system and was planning to enter law school as soon as he graduated from IUC. He had taken the trouble to commute into Los Angeles for the study of Japanese during the last two years of college, achieving results in Japanese that (along with an academic record that made us quite certain he would become a distinguished lawyer) led to his admission to IUC, where most of the students admitted were already enrolled in some graduate school. He had learned a lot of Japanese and had gained admission because he had set his sights high and had worked hard. It was therefore not surprising to have him say, when the program was only three or four months along, that he would like to audit a course at Tokyo University in the area of law in which he hoped to become a specialist. The teachers were appalled that he should even be thinking of such a thing: in their view he was still a rank beginner in the language and, furthermore, even practicing Japanese lawyers were not permitted to audit law courses at Tokyo University. So when he came to me, he was discouraged and disappointed.

During our conversation I suggested that he do the following: (1) go to the law department of Tokyo University and find out which professor was teaching his kind of law and was teaching a course that he would like to audit; (2) check out and read a Japanese article or two published by that particular professor; (3) go to that professor's office during his scheduled office hour, introduce himself properly in Japanese, and explain that he is making an intensive study of Japanese in order to use that language in dealing with Japanese clients; and (4) ask for his advice on what he might do to learn that kind of Japanese as quickly as possible, without ever mentioning a wish to audit his course.

Before the lapse of three days (probably before he had had time to do any reading of any legal articles written in Japanese), he came rushing back to my office to say that the idea had worked. He went on to say, with great excitement, that he had found the lawyer who was teaching just the kind of law he was most interested in, had gone to his office hour, had introduced himself in Japanese, and had asked for his advice about what to do to learn more of the kind of Japanese in a hurry. He reported that the professor was very friendly and, after a few questions and comments, said, "Probably the best thing to do is to audit my class, and become acquainted with other students taking it." That was just what he wanted to hear. He became so intent on attending that class at Tokyo University and socializing with Japanese law students that he missed some classes and assignments at IUC, probably convincing the teachers that they had been right to reject his idea of auditing a law course at Tokyo University.

But I was convinced that learning the kind of legal Japanese he would need as a practicing lawyer made him a far more enthusiastic student of the language. I do not know what happened to him after his graduation, but I feel quite sure that he obtained his law degree and has become a successful attorney with a number of Japanese clients who would prefer to take up American legal problems with an American lawyer who can discuss those problems in Japanese.

Because of what happened to Lambert, and to several other men and women, I think Japanese instruction at IUC has come to place a heavier accent on early submersion in the language of a particular student's chosen profession.

Trying to Develop Interactive Computer Programs for Language Study

Lage: You suggested or implied that you failed to gain acceptance of some other ways to strengthen the IUC program. What were they?

Brown: One was the idea that study should be focused on the mastery of Japanese idiomatic expressions. A wide range of Japanese written and spoken texts were used at IUC that included numerous idiomatic expressions. But I felt that while these introduced a student to such forms, and permitted him to get a feeling for what they meant, it did not assure mastery of their use in a wide range of situations. I did convince one or two teachers that such an approach might produce good results; and I and my associate director, Professor Kiyoko Takagi, set to work placing on computer

a rather exhaustive list of idiomatic expressions built around key verbs. But that job was never finished (I still have printouts of all that was done). No teacher had the time or desire to complete the list or to use it as a basis for interactive computer programs aimed at enabling a student to master the use of linguistically related idioms. So that effort was not successful.

Lage: And was there something else?

Brown: Yes, I became convinced that each student could learn more Japanese in less time if he were to be or she were to become immersed in self-study by computer. I had seen enough elementary language lessons on computer to realize that such study could be made more interesting if the study of vocabulary and grammar were to take the form of interactive games. The value of that approach, especially for the highly motivated learner, has been demonstrated in other languages and at the beginning level in Japanese. But the market for a program at the advanced level, and in the various professions, is so limited that computer companies are not willing to spend a lot of money in developing such programs. I did manage to get a couple of young teachers to begin working on building such a program, but it was so time-consuming (and they were so busy with their teaching) that they did not press on. I felt certain that we could pick up foundation support for an imaginative computer program, but not enough preliminary study and experimentation was ever done to submit a proposal. And then my wife got sick, and I decided not to take the directorship for the eleventh year.

I wrote an article in Japanese on the subject, which attracted considerable attention. And I even approached a Japanese linguist on the Berkeley campus about computerized interactive programs for the study of Japanese at the advanced level. But he was not interested enough to do anything, probably because he saw it as an expensive and troublesome approach that might even undermine traditional ways of teaching Japanese on the Berkeley campus. I feel quite sure that this is the best way for a highly-motivated student to learn more Japanese in less time, but it is a way that will not be developed soon, and probably never at such educational institutions as IUC or the University of California in Berkeley.

Lage: Why do you say that?

Brown: Because, just as in the case of establishing a department or school for applied linguistics, entrenched interests will be opposed. Moreover, computer companies are not likely to develop such complicated and expensive programs for such a limited market. Computer programs for the advanced study of Japanese will eventually be developed, I feel quite sure, but only if and when a Japanese teacher of his own language obtains foundation support

that will enable him to obtain needed help for creating such a complicated but promising program.

The California Abroad Program in Japan, 1991-1993: Recommending Program Improvements

Lage: I think we should go back to the other program in Japan with which you were involved: the California Abroad Program. How did you get into that?

Brown: I got into it three different times as director: first, between 1967 and 1969 when I headed the program at ICU. I have already talked about that. But I was with the program twice after retirement: first in the autumn of 1991 when I became director of the program for Southern Japan and was based in Kyoto, and second, in the academic year 1992-93 when I was appointed director of the entire Japanese program that included instruction on at least eight Japanese university campuses. During the first half of second term I administered the program from the California Abroad office at ICU, but in the last half of that year this was done from my home in Walnut Creek, making rather extensive use of a fax machine, my computer, and the telephone.

Lage: Was that still an important and strong program?

Brown: I would say that it is still very important, but not strong enough.

Lage: Why was it important?

Brown: It was and is very important because it adds a dimension to undergraduate education at the University of California that gives our leaders of tomorrow a sense of reality about life in other parts of today's world, and at a time when our own safety and prosperity are becoming more and more deeply enmeshed in relations with other peoples. It is old hat to say that wars will end and peace be established only when the people of different nations begin to understand and to communicate thoughtfully with neighbors outside their national borders. But the importance of such understanding and communication is also a prerequisite for mutual economic growth and technological advance.

In my years with the California Abroad Program in Japan, time and again I have been impressed with how that year's educational experience has whetted student interest in the fears, hopes, and aspirations of the Japanese people. One student after another, including me, has shifted to some sort of specialization in

Japanese studies after a year or so of residence and study in Japan. So I consider the program not only important, but a national necessity.

Lage: And why is not strong enough?

Brown: I feel that the programs of study has not been sufficiently tailored to the intellectual needs and interests of our students. Essentially, a student in the program is required to add enough units of credit to allow him or her to graduate from his or her campus on schedule, within four years. That means that a student will take a sufficient number of courses at a particular Japanese campus that have been designed for, and taught to, Japanese students--not for English-speaking students from across the Pacific Ocean. It is of course good for our students to take Japanese courses taught by Japanese teachers for Japanese students, rather than taking UC courses taught by UC professor abroad as is done in the Stanford program. An increasingly large number of UC students go prepared to enroll in courses taught in Japanese. But I have come to feel that it is usually very uninteresting, even dull and deadening, for a student to slave away at Japanese courses that do not stimulate him or her to make an in-depth study of a particular aspect of Japanese life.

Lage: What can be done about that?

Brown: During my last two terms as director, especially when I was stationed at Doshisha University in Southern Japan, I gradually became convinced that each student's study should be focused on the investigation of one or more problems that have been selected by the student himself, preferably in consultation with an advisor on his home campus. In that case the student will logically obtain seminar-type instruction for his papers, and only take lecture courses that have some relevance to the subject being investigated. Experience with two different students--one was a woman majoring in political science from the UCLA campus, and the other was a man majoring in economics from Berkeley--has made me quite certain that this is the way for a student to obtain maximum educational benefit from a year of undergraduate study at a Japanese university.

The woman from UCLA was determined, even before she arrived in Kyoto, to make a study of the political and economic problems attending the building of Kyoto's subway system. She interviewed both political and business leaders in trying to find out just what was done by whom to get that subway system built. I talked to several of the Japanese leaders who had been interviewed by her, and they were deeply impressed by her ability to raise and understand complicated questions (in Japanese) in the politics and economics of subway construction in Kyoto. Then she wrote a long

paper (in Japanese) that not only earned her a grade of A but must have aroused in her a thirst for knowledge that has not been quenched.

The case of the man from Berkeley made an even deeper impression on me. He had received A grades both in his study of Japanese and in his economic courses. But when I first had a long talk with him--two or three months after his arrival--he had become bored, discouraged, and ready to give up the program and return home. He made such comments as these: "I can learn more about the subject of that Japanese course by taking a course in that subject at Berkeley." "The lectures and readings are very hard to understand, but when I work hard to figure out what has been said or written, I find that I have not learned much that is interesting or relevant."

I finally asked if there was not something about Japan's economy that had aroused his curiosity. "Of course," he said, "I have a number of questions, but the courses I am taking teach me nothing in those areas." So I asked him to pick out a question that, to him, was both important and interesting. He quickly outlined one, which I have now forgotten. But I remember asking why he did not go to an economics professor in that general area and ask if he could enter his seminar and work on that question. His answer was, "Oh, he wouldn't let me do that. He has his own ideas about what questions are important and should be studied." But I said, "Why don't you try him?" And I suggested that he do a little preparatory study, indicate what he had read on the subject (in Japanese), and explain what he would like to do and why.

That was such a rash and bold step that he hesitated to move. But finally he did, and came back with the report that this professor was actually quite enthusiastic about his problem, as well as about the hypotheses he had proposed. So he was enrolled in the seminar and began working on a subject that took most of his time, leaving very little for other courses he was taking. In the spring term he signed up for additional seminar work, and fewer lecture courses in unrelated fields.

Then he began to develop real enthusiasm for his investigation. After that I seldom saw him. But at the end of the term he submitted a 53-page report in Japanese that impressed us all. And when I left Kyoto at the end of the academic year he was still there, doing more study on that same topic. I do not know what happened to him after that. I wish I knew. But I would wager that he returned to Berkeley for graduate work on Japanese economics, received his Ph.D. degree in that field, and has become an increasingly distinguished scholar at some institution of higher learning in the United States.

Lage: Did you do anything to institute such an approach in the California Program?

Brown: Yes, I wrote an annual report in which I made two recommendations for program improvement: One, that each student be required to write a study-abroad paper to be submitted at the end of the year; and two, that administrative costs be lowered by requiring students to do more of their own paperwork when registering for courses in Japan and when trying to obtain equivalent credit on their home campuses. I still have a copy of that annual report.

Lage: What was the reaction to it?

Brown: My successor in Tokyo, a woman professor from the Irvine campus of the University, said that she favored the paper approach and would try to implement it. But only silence has come from the Santa Barbara office about my suggestions for saving money.

I doubt if the required-research-paper approach will be implemented, mainly because it will require more work by both the director and the individual student. And I doubt if the suggestions for cutting back on paperwork will ever be adopted, for that might endanger the jobs of several people in the Santa Barbara office. It was surely read there with some horror, accounting for virtually no contact with that office after my term ended. If you read my report, you will probably see why I made those recommendations and why they were not adopted.

VIII BROWN'S RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS IN JAPANESE HISTORY

Research as a Graduate Student

Lage: Don't you think we should now turn to your research endeavors down through the years? Did any of your experiences in Japan move you to undertake research on particular subjects?

Brown: They certainly did. It was the questions, surprises, and shocks experienced during those first six years in Japan that first moved me to learn the language well enough to use it for reading what the Japanese themselves were thinking and writing. These experiences also motivated me to start translating source materials on the feudal lord Maeda Toshiie (1538-1599), whose castle was located in Kanazawa--I passed it every day on my way to and from the Fourth Higher School. Finally these experiences and the curiosity aroused by them led me to decide to return to Stanford for graduate training in Japanese history, rather than to enter law school as originally planned.

Over and over I have said that it was not the undergraduate class in Japanese history that created in me a desire to become a professional historian, but my curiosity about various aspects of Japanese life that were aroused during those six years of life in Kanazawa.

That desire, however, was almost destroyed during my graduate training at Stanford between 1938 and 1941. I am convinced that it was weakened, most of all, by the drudgery of working for good grades in courses only tangentially related to research and teaching in the field of Japanese history, and also by studying under professors whose lectures and examinations emphasized, with notable exceptions, coverage and memorization, not historical analysis. Even Professor Yamato Ichihashi, a Japanese scholar teaching courses in Japanese history at Stanford, dampened my enthusiasm for research on Japan because he, having been trained as

an economist at Harvard, seemed to have no interest at all in my attempts to use Japanese sources for the study of questions about historical developments in the province of Kaga, where I had lived. He gave me an "A" in his seminar, but had nothing to say about the problem I had taken up or about the sources I had used, merely suggesting some changes in the wording and punctuation of a few sentences.

I concluded that I had made a mistake in not going to Harvard, where there was no specialist on Japan and where I would probably have had to work in East Asian languages rather than in history, but I stuck it out and obtained encouragement and stimulation from Professor Lynn White, a specialist in medieval European history. Preparations for a three-hour oral examination in six fields of history by six professors made me quite ill: there was just too much history and too many books to cover in such a short period of time. I passed the oral, but I know that I did not do well in such fields as Latin American and English history.

I was thinking of dropping out of the Ph.D. program at Stanford when officers of the marine corps, the army, and the navy approached me about applying for a commission as a Japanese-language officer. I think I went into some detail about that earlier.

During the war, and while I was a Japanese language officer in the U.S. Navy, my interest in historical research was gradually restored, probably because I had finished all the courses and examinations required for the Ph.D.--what was left was only research on the dissertation, which I knew I would enjoy. Moreover, the work I did in the navy, "breaking" or recovering Japanese codes, had a research character. Anyway, as soon as the war was over, I received a fellowship that enabled me to go to Harvard for research on my dissertation. And in the autumn of 1946 I was appointed assistant professor of history at Berkeley at a salary that was less than half of what I would have received if I had accepted the offer to stay on in the navy. Once more, I had the urge to make a career of probing for the answers to puzzling questions about cultural evolution in Japan.

While at Stanford and under the influence of Lynn White, my research interests changed from Kaga history (about which I did nothing after the seminar paper that I wrote for Professor Ichihashi) to the consequences of Japan's adoption of two important modern techniques: that of defeating an enemy by a massive use of firearms, instead of relying on such traditional weapons as daggers, swords, spears, and bows and arrows; and that of minting and using large amounts of gold, silver, and copper coins for use as media of exchange in a rapidly expanding economy, instead of

relying solely on barter and the use of rice as the principle medium of exchange. My study of how the introduction and widespread use of guns had increased the power and control of lords was written up as an M.A. thesis and later published as an article in the Pacific Historical Review.¹ And my work on the development of money economy in sixteenth-century Japan and its link to an incipient commercial revolution was written up as my Ph.D. dissertation and later published by Yale University.²

Japanese Nationalism and Studies of Shinto Thought

Lage: Your experience in Japan must have had a lot to do with your book on Japanese nationalism.

Brown: Yes, those six years in Kanazawa before the outbreak of World War II exposed me to puzzling manifestations of one of the world's most amazing outbursts of nationalism. And while I was a U.S. naval intelligence officer in Pearl Harbor during the war, I heard and read of nationalistic behavior by Japanese soldiers that was even more startling and puzzling. For example, a friend, who was a marine officer on duty in the South Pacific, told me that when he was walking along a country road in Guadalcanal a haggard and starving Japanese soldier suddenly dashed from his place of hiding to attack my friend, swinging his sword and yelling "Long live the emperor!" That desperate man apparently knew full well that he faced immediate death from my friend's loaded revolver but was nevertheless determined to give his life in one mad act of service to the Japanese emperor.

That and other tales I heard and read in those years left me with a strong urge to find out what nationalism was, how it had evolved in Japan, and why it came to exert such power over the actions of so many individuals and groups. So as soon as my Ph.D. dissertation was completed, I began digging into questions in the area of nationalism. And this work led to the my second book, Nationalism in Japan: An Introductory Historical Analysis.³

¹"The Impact of Firearms on Japanese Warfare, 1543-98," The Pacific Historical Review (May, 1948) pp. 236-253.

²Money Economy in Medieval Japan: A Study in the Use of Coins (New Haven: Institute for Far Eastern Languages, Yale University, 1951).

³Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956. Reprinted by Russel and Russel, 1971.

Lage: And that led you into studies in Japanese religion?

Brown: Yes. My research for the book on nationalism made me quite curious about powerful religious roots to that ideological phenomenon. Clearly Japan's "ultranationalism" flowed directly from and around an old and officially endorsed belief that each successive emperor of Japan was a divine descendant of the Great Goddess Amaterasu and that each Japanese individual belonged to a well-ordered and sacred "state polity" or "state-body" (kokutai) headed by the divine emperor.

The Great Goddess Amaterasu was a Kami, and Kami worship is known as the Shinto religion. So I was impelled to dig into the nature and evolution of Shinto, especially that part of it that is called State Shinto, focused on the worship of the Great Goddess as the founder of Japan's "unbroken" and divine line of emperors. But State Shinto had emerged and taken its basic character from ancient and popular forms of Kami worship, indicating that I needed to know something about Shinto as a whole and about the way Shinto was connected with other religious and cultural movements in Japanese history.

Lage: How did you get started?

Brown: By first agreeing to translate, along with Professor James Araki of the University of Hawaii, key articles and chapters written by Japan's most distinguished scholar of Shinto thought: Muraoka Tsunetsugu (1884-1946). I took on this difficult and tedious task not simply because of my desire to find out exactly what this famous scholar had written concerning the nature and evolution of Shinto but also because I was asked by a committee of scholars to assume responsibility for doing a Muraoka volume in the UNESCO series, published by the Japanese Department of Education.⁴

Vitalism, Priestism, and Particularism

Lage: Did Muraoka's studies have any influence on your later study of Shinto?

Brown: I was especially interested in his conclusion that three persistent characteristics of Shinto worship and belief had deeply colored the

⁴Tsunetsugu Muraoka, Studies in Shinto Thought, Translated by Delmer M. Brown and James T. Araki, Classics of Modern Japanese Thought and Culture, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, 1964).

whole of Japanese cultural history. These were kōkoku shugi ("imperial-country-ism"), ijitsū shugi ("physical-reality-ism"), and meijō shugi ("bright-and-pure-ism"). I still write and teach that Shinto worship has three basic characteristics, but my study has led me to think of them differently: as vitalism, priestism, and particularism. Each has been studied and made the subject of lectures and publications, but not in that order.

Particularism came first. That was the subject of the paper read at the First International Conference on Shinto Studies in Claremont, California, in 1965. A dozen or more eminent Shinto priests and scholars were present. They obviously were interested in my thesis and were complimentary; and the paper was published in the Proceedings (page 9-16). A few months later a follow-up conference was held in Tokyo at which several Japanese scholars delivered papers on particularism. No one could deny that Kami-worship at shrines all over Japan had been limited, consistently and throughout history, to the people residing in a particular geographical area, that one particular Kami was believed to dispense his or her blessings on those particular people in particular ways, and that each shrine had been traditionally associated with a particular priestly power who stood above and controlled the people of his or her particular area.

But not one--unless it was my friend Professor Ichirō Ishida--came right out and accepted my theory. That would have been like a Christian pastor or scholar admitting that some Buddhist writer was correct in the way he characterized Christian worship. But I feel that the theory has helped me and my students to understand Kami-worship anywhere in Japan, and all through history. It is especially helpful if we see particularism as standing on one side of a polar tension between particularistic and universalistic beliefs and practices, with no belief or practice ever being absolutely at one pole or the other. Although Kami-worship (Shinto) has been predominantly particularistic, the Shinto-oriented new religions of Japan lean toward universalism: they claim that their Kami can and does dispense its blessings to anyone in any part of the world. Moreover, even some ancient Shinto shrines (such as the Tsubaki Grand Shrine near Nagoya) have broken away from the established tradition that their Kami exerts its power only in one particular geographical area. We must admit that some Christian denominations (some more than others) are particularistic. But I still feel quite certain that the characteristic which most clearly sets Shinto apart from other religions of the world is its particularism, as opposed to the universalism seen in such world religions as Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam.

The second characteristic that I worked on was vitalism. I read a paper on that subject at the Second International Conference of Shinto Studies held in Tokyo during the year 1967, a conference that was probably attended by a hundred or more Shinto priests and scholars. Even Prince Mikasa, brother of Emperor Hiroto, was there. As far as I know, my paper was not made the subject of another Japanese meeting, although it was published in the conference Proceedings.⁵ I got the impression that most everyone accepted the general proposition that any Kami worshipped anywhere in Japan, at any time and place, is believed to have the spiritual power to create, enrich, protect, prolong, or renew any form of life right now. The case for life-affirmation (vitalism) in Shinto seems to be underscored by the widespread assumption, throughout the history of Shinto, that any Kami abhors anything associated with death. Indeed the worst pollution (tsumi) is anything--such as corpses, blood, and illness--associated with death or the approach of death. Consequently, I have never seen a graveyard within the compound of a shrine and, as everyone knows, a funeral or memorial service is customarily held at a Buddhist temple, not a Shinto shrine. Belief in the life-giving or creative power of a deity is prominent in most religions, but it is especially prominent in Shinto. So most everyone seems to accept this characterization, although usually preferring some other tag or description.

The third characteristic, priestism, was worked out last. I have discussed this at length with students in one seminar after another. But I have not yet written up my conclusions, except for a brief outline in the introduction of Volume 1 of The Cambridge History of Japan.⁶ In developing this paradigm I have been talking and thinking about the importance of the ancient and persistent belief that any Kami is more apt to bestow its blessings if approached by a man or woman (priest or priestess) who is believed to stand closer to the Kami than anyone else in the community. Although most organized religions in the world have priests or priestesses, in Japan their positions seem especially important, not only when rituals are held at the sanctuary but in all life of the community, especially in its political life.

The great prestige and power of the priest, what I call priestism, is probably more pronounced in Buddhism, but it fans out into organizations and activities outside the boundaries of

⁵Continuity and Change: Proceedings of the Second International Conference of Shinto Studies, 1967 (Tokyo, n.d.), 169-181 (English), 170-186 (Japanese).

⁶The Cambridge History of Japan Volume 1, 13-16.

religion, giving most political, economic, and social leaders and aura of sanctity or charisma. Under the ideological weight of kokutai thinking, after the turn of the twentieth century the emperor was thought of as the head of the state-body. All parts of the state-body, such as the family, were thought of as integral parts of a unified Japan that is divinely created and ruled; the head of every unit in society was depicted as having a divine (Kami-connected or priestly) role within Japan's state-body. And although religious freedom is guaranteed by the new post-war constitution, and the ideology of State Shinto is no longer propagated in schools or in the mass media, one still sees the marks of the traditional (divine) role of charismatic leaders (priests) in surprising places and times. One readily detects these marks even in Japanese Christian churches, international business organizations, and radical student movements. I have dared to call priestism a powerful and enduring field of cultural energy that helps us to see and assess the importance of charismatic leadership in all areas of Japanese life.

You can readily see the influence of Muraoka in each of these three studies. I do not include his first characteristic ("imperial-country-ism") because that is, I feel, a characteristic of only one important part of Shinto, State Shinto. It is not a characteristic of popular Shinto, which is still strong and widespread and out of which State Shinto evolved. But imperial-country-ism thought was rampant before and during World War II; and it is intertwined with and reinforced by priestism, since that priestism is centered on the emperor who has always been thought of as a divine ruler descended in a single unbroken line from the Great Goddess Amaterasu.

Likewise, I have not used Muraoka's term "physical-reality-ism," but physical-reality gets close to the particular. And his idea of "bright-and-pure-ism" can be thought of as an aspect of vitalism, coming very close to "optimism," which is the third characteristic of early Japanese historical thought that I identify in my chapter on "The Early Evolution of Historical Consciousness."⁷

Association with Ishida Ichirō, and the Gukanshō

Lage: What was your next major study in Japanese religion?

⁷The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 1, 504-48.

Brown: That was a translation and study of a famous interpretative history of Japan written in 1219 by Jien (1155-1225), a Buddhist priest who had served four terms as abbot of Japan's strongest Buddhist order and who was a brother of Kujō Kanezane (1149-1207), a regent or chancellor between 1186 and 1196.

Lage: How did you get into that?

Brown: That was because of comments and suggestions made by Professor Ishida Ichirō, holder of the chair on Japanese cultural history at Tohoku University in Sendai, with whom I have worked and studied for the last forty years.

I think I should say something more about him and our association before I get into the part he played in our joint translation of that famous historical interpretation written over 775 years ago.

Developing a Relationship with Ishida Ichirō

Lage: I want you to talk about him.

Brown: One of the proposals made in the last months of my year with the Asia Foundation in Tokyo was that three Japanese professors specializing in Japanese history, politics, and education be invited to UC Berkeley for a year as visiting researchers.

In pressing for approval of this idea, it was pointed out that although professors in these fields were very influential in Japan, largely because of books and articles they had written, they usually did not need English for their teaching and research and therefore usually had no opportunities for study and travel abroad. But at Berkeley we had so many professors and students who knew Japanese that this would be a place where professors specializing in Japanese cultural subjects could function effectively, even if they did not know English, and in the process they would be broadening their intellectual horizons. Their own research and teaching would be enriched by the addition of a comparative outlook.

The idea was approved by the Asia Foundation and we set out to find a historian who would work with me, a political scientist to work with Professor Robert Scalapino, and a specialist in education to work with Professor Donald Shively. All three men selected were already prominent in their particular fields, but became far more distinguished after their year at Berkeley in 1956-1957.

In trying to figure which historian to invite, I sought suggestions from Charles Sheldon who was then in Kyoto working on his Ph.D. dissertation. Charles recommended Ishida, then a professor of Japanese cultural history at Doshisha University in Kyoto. We extended an offer to him and he accepted it.

Lage: Was he in history then?

Brown: Oh, yes, he had written several books in Japanese cultural history, and he was holding the chair in Japanese cultural history at Tohoku University in Sendai.

Lage: Did you know him well in Japan?

Brown: I didn't meet him while I was in the Asia Foundation, I just heard about him. I first heard about him through Charles, who later became--oh my, I don't know which strand to start following. When Charles was a graduate student of mine he had gone to Japan for a year of research on some grant. It was through him that I heard about Ishida. Ishida was a very broad, interpretive cultural historian who had interesting ideas, and was very productive.

Lage: Did Ishida teach here, then?

Brown: Yes and no. He was a visiting researcher and therefore did not offer courses, but he attended all classes of my lecture course in Japanese history, as well as my seminar for graduate students working toward the Ph.D.

In lecture classes the students or I would frequently put questions to him on the subject of the lecture. Because he was unable to discuss historical issues in English, all questions asked, as well as all replies and comments, had to go through me as interpreter. I think the students enjoyed hearing what a Japanese historian had to say about developments and issues in the history of his own country.

But the graduate seminar situation was quite different; every member of that seminar had been in either the army or navy during World War II and knew enough Japanese to discuss questions about Japanese history in Japanese. Consequently every seminar session, held in my house on Euclid Avenue, was conducted in Japanese.

As I recall, the class included four students who later became professors of Japanese history: Richard Miller (UC Davis), George Moore (San Jose State University), Charles Sheldon (Cambridge University), and Benjamin Hazard (San Jose State University).

Ishida himself was also working on an article on the subject of Zen and Muromachi culture that was later translated into English.

So Ishida, as well as the rest of us, were making research reports during the course of the seminar. It was probably the best seminar I have ever had, for the research of each student was made more interesting and challenging by Ishida's participation.

My guess is that all of us, including Professor Ishida, will say that this was one of the most interesting seminars we have ever attended.

Lage: Did they handle the Japanese language better than later students?

Brown: Yes. Much better.

It was not long after Ishida's year in Berkeley that I was asked to assume responsibility for having important studies by Muraoka translated into English and published as a volume in the UNESCO series, noted above. By that time Ishida had been invited to the Tohoku University as Muraoka's replacement. It was therefore assumed by everyone that Ishida had urged that I be selected for translating the Muraoka volume, although I do not think that Ishida has ever said that he made such a recommendation.

Translating Jien's Gukanshō into English with Ishida: The Past and The Future, 1979

Brown: When I was in Japan on a Fulbright research grant during the academic year 1959-60, I spent some time with Professor Ishida in Sendai, probably consulting him about difficult terms and concepts appearing in Muraoka's writings. One night we went together to hear a lecture by the distinguished Christian theologian, Dr. Paul Tillich. In the course of that lecture, which was given in English but converted into Japanese by a fairly competent interpreter, Tillich made the startling statement that an interpretative history which saw events moving toward a better future could be written only within the Christian tradition. He was implying that no such history had ever been, or would ever be, written in a country such as Japan that had a culture shaped and colored mainly by Buddhist, Confucian, and Shinto beliefs and practices.

Although Ishida made no comments during the discussion that followed, he was obviously upset by that statement and pointed out to me, on the way home, that two great interpretative histories were written in Japan long before anybody knew anything about Christianity: the Gukanshō (Foolish Views) written by Jien (1155-1225) early in the thirteenth century, and the Jinnō no Shōtō-ki (Authentic Account of Divine Emperors) written by Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293-1354) in the following fourteenth century. After much discussion and thought we decided to work together in translating the Gukanshō into English.

Several interrelated considerations led me accept his proposal. First of all, that interpretative history was written by a distinguished Buddhist priest whose thinking was obviously affected by assumptions about the creative power of certain ancestral Kami, particularly the Great Goddess Amaterasu; and I was still searching for the nature and effect of religion on Japanese nationalism. Secondly, I was convinced--after talking at length with Professor Ishida--that by digging carefully into what Jien had written I would be obtaining a much clearer sense of what this high Buddhist priest was thinking and writing on such matters as the religious dimension of cultural change in Japan. But the third and probably most important point was that Professor Ishida had convinced me this was an important classic that needed to be translated into English, and to be understood.

During the decade or so that followed I translated the entire medieval text three times, put Ishida's two articles about the Gukanshō into English, wrote an article about Jien and his ties, and authored the introduction. Working from the preferred published edition and utilizing an annotated modern-Japanese version prepared by Professor Ishida and his students, I set to work on turning out a draft translation of the interpretative Part II. (The chronological Part I was taken up later, although we constantly referred to it as we moved through Part II.)

Since Professor Ishida had studied English for years and had read numerous English books and articles, he could read my typed copies of the translations that I kept sending him. Usually his corrections and comments were written in Japanese but occasionally English words were inserted. I would then revise those sections and if alterations were considerable, I sent him a copy of the revision to check. The process was quite tedious and time-consuming, and we were often not sure that we had gotten important paragraphs right. What we needed was a long stretch of time together to discuss knotty questions at length.

An opportunity to do this for a full semester came in the spring semester of 1963 when we were both invited to spend the

entire spring semester as senior research scholars at the University of Hawaii's East-West Center. Both of us rented houses near the University of Hawaii campus and lived with our families in Honolulu for nearly six months. We had adjoining offices at the center and worked full-time on the Gukanshō. We would discuss, in Japanese and for hours at a time, sections for which I had drafted a translation but about which Ishida had doubts and questions. These sessions were always followed by a revision, which would then be read by Ishida and often subjected to more discussion. Our work together during that semester--interspersed with some pleasant times when our two families got together for some trip or party--resulted in what I call our second version.

But neither of us felt that we had yet gotten to the interpretative core of the Gukanshō. In Hawaii we had been involved mainly with the meaning of words and sentences, not yet coming to grips with the question of how Jien's basic assumptions and beliefs had led him to argue that Japanese history was moving inevitably toward a resolution of an increasingly bitter conflict between the military regime in Kamakura and the aristocratic order in Kyoto. This resolution will come, Jien wrote, only when the head of his branch (the Kujō) of the Fujiwara clan was placed in control of both the Kamakura regime and the Kyoto order. And he thought that such a resolution was inevitable because different principles (dōri), some Buddhist and some Shinto, had been forcing, and would continue to force, Japanese political life along an up-and-down path toward that resolution. He saw upward turns as times of improvement and downward turns as times of deterioration.

It also gradually became clear to us that, in Jien's interpretation, times got better under the impact of principles that had been created by Kami, especially the ancestral Kami of the imperial clan (Amaterasu no Kami) and the ancestral Kami of the Fujiwara clan, and that they got worse when Buddhist principles were strong. Because Jien was quite sure that history was being propelled toward a better future by the force of Kami-created principles, we decided that our translation should be entitled The Future and the Past.

Meanwhile Ishida was writing and publishing a series of articles on the Gukanshō interpretation and I was working up an article on Jien and his times. Also a new annotated version of the Gukanshō, including numerous scholarly notes, had been published by Iwanami Shoten. We therefore felt that it necessary to have some more time together in order to make sure that our translation would reveal just how Jien's basic ideas and beliefs were used to fashion his argument that the affairs of this world were moving, whether anybody liked it or not, toward that glorious time in the near

future when the head of Jien's branch of the Fujiwara clan would stand above both the military and non-military affairs of Japan.

That need was met when Ishida received a grant that allowed him a full summer of research in California. He and his wife spent most of the summer with us at our Tahoe cabin where Ishida and I again plugged away at the translation of the Gukanshō. This time we gave special attention to the meaning of key concepts and tried to make sure that the wording of important paragraphs and sections that showed just how Jien's future-oriented interpretation had been constructed. Time after time, I discovered that when one of these concepts became clear, I would have to rewrite an entire paragraph that we had thought, on the basis of previous work, was pretty good. As a result of intensive work during that summer--so intensive that the professor was irritated that we had not spent more time sightseeing--I redid most of the translation, calling it our third version which was the basis of what was eventually published by the University of California Press in 1979.

One review of the book, appearing in a Tokyo newspaper, said that this was the way translations of ancient historical texts should be made. My colleague and friend Professor Thomas Smith also made the comment (passed along on to me by another colleague) that we had not left any loose ends. I have also heard from professors at other universities (such as Professor Hilary Conroy of Pennsylvania University, a former student of mine at Berkeley) that the book is assigned reading for their courses in Japanese history. Since Professor Paul Varley of Columbia University has translated the second great interpretative history (the Jinnō Shōtō-ki), a comparative study can now be made by English-speaking students who are interested in the history of historical thought (historiography).

But as sure as Jien was that history was moving inevitably toward a time of improvement under a Kujō leader, that is not the way history turned out.

Lage: [laughs] That was what I was going to ask you: was he right? You have the advantage of knowing several centuries of subsequent history.

Brown: In 1221, two years after the Gukanshō was written, a war broke out between the military government in Kamakura and the aristocratic order in Kyoto. The Kamakura warriors won. Thenceforth governmental affairs were controlled by military men who held the title of Shogun, not by aristocratic heads of Jien's branch of the Fujiwara clan as Jien had argued would happen. Kamakura Shoguns had become quite powerful even before that civil war, leading historians to conclude that Japan's military-oriented feudal age

had begun back as early as 1185. But with the Kamakura victory in 1221, military control was firmly established and such aristocratic clans as the Fujiwara were left on the political sidelines.

Lage: But was it a good study of history?

Brown: It was a bad study in the sense that it failed to show just how history was destined to unfold, which was the author's objective. But it has been, and still is, a very important source for later historical study. It reveals what a Buddhist scholar thought and believed about the course of Japanese history from very early times to 1219 A.D. It is particularly valuable for what Jien had to say about the religious dimension to change, for he was a high-ranking Buddhist priest and a serious student of Buddhist teachings and history. Although Jien was an ardent Buddhist, his treatment of history discloses a deep, seemingly decisive, belief in the power of Kami-created Shinto principles.

Lage: That was a pretty big task to take on.

Brown: Especially since the Gukanshō was written in medieval Japanese that even Japanese historians say it is hard to understand. A number of different historians have made the comment, after hearing that Ishida and I were working on a translation of that classical study of history, "Oh, I can't understand what Jien was saying about history."

Lage: But Ishida knew this ancient language?

Brown: He not only knew it but he, as a distinguished scholar of Japanese cultural and religious history, was able to grasp both the depth and reach of Jien's thoughts and beliefs about the process of historical change in Japan before 1219.

Professor Ishida was then writing and publishing articles on Buddhist conceptions of change, showing us just why Jien's use of such Buddhist ideas as mappō (final age) had led historians to characterize the Gukanshō as a Buddhist interpretation of history.

Lage: What kind of interpretation would that be?

Brown: An interpretation of continuous deterioration over time, at least for a long time to come. Belief in such deterioration was based on ancient Buddhist scriptures written in China and other areas of the Asian continent, and then long studied by Japanese Buddhist monks before the turn of the thirteenth century. The idea of four distinct stages of deterioration after the death of Buddha had evolved from the doctrine of cosmic decline, through successive ages called "kalpas." The kalpic doctrine is outlined in an Ishida

chapter of The Past and the Future. There he tells us that long kalpas of improvement have been, and will continue to be, followed by long kalpas of deterioration. But the important point for those of us at this particular point in time is that we are passing through a long period of deterioration identified as the "final age of Buddhist deterioration" (mappō) that began in 1053 A.D., fifteen hundred years after the death of the historical Buddha. Marks of such Buddhist thought are detected in literary works written during the three centuries or so before Jien began writing the Gukanshō. Consequently the frequent use of mappō-related words in his account supports the view that his interpretation is shaped by Buddhist assumptions of continuing deterioration.

The influence of Buddhist kalpic thought is indeed strong, but as we worked our way through this translation project, it became clear to us that, for Jien, times of improvement in Japanese history--such as when Jien's ancestors had seized control over affairs at the imperial court, and again in the future when conflict with the military regime in Kamakura would be resolved--were not due to the force of Buddhist principles of deterioration, but to Shinto principles of creativity. Indeed Jien's pattern of change in Japanese history seems to have been shaped by a tug of war between Buddhist principles driving human affairs toward deterioration and Shinto principles driving them toward improvement, especially in the near future. So we are inclined to think that while Jien's interpretation is shaped by interaction between Buddhist and Shinto beliefs and assumptions, belief in the creative power of Kami is predominant.

The Process of Translation

Lage: When did you make the decision to translate the Gukanshō?

Brown: It was pretty much at the time when Ishida was telling me about this first interpretive history. When I said, "We ought to get that into English," he said, "Let's do it."

Lage: That was a pretty big task to take on.

Brown: Oh, yes. It was a big task, because it was written in the thirteenth century.

Lage: But Ishida knew the ancient language? Is it the language itself or the ancient style of the argument that makes it difficult?

- Brown: Both. Ishida was a specialist in that field. He knew that language, and agreed to produce a modern-Japanese version. That was the first stage in the translation process. He wrote a lot of footnotes and he had his graduate students help him--they do more of that in Japan than here.
- Lage: Team research.
- Brown: Team research. That is when I got into the action. We agreed upon the text to be used. I worked with that and his modern-Japanese translation to produce the first draft of an English translation.
- Lage: That wasn't your first experience, because you had done that before.
- Brown: He had helped me on the Muraoka volume, yes. But here we were working with a medieval Japanese text with two levels of difficulty, the Japanese words and phrases were different, and the interpretation--with a focus on the operation of divine principles --was complicated. Ishida himself kept struggling (and writing articles in Japanese) about Jien's interpretation. There were not only different principles for periods of deterioration and improvement, but points where Jien seemed to be uncertain or inconsistent. So when I would submit a draft of a particular section, he would often revise his modern-Japanese version, having clearly changed his own ideas about what a particular passage really meant.

In 1963 we were invited to the East-West Center of the University of Hawaii as senior research scholars. This gave us the opportunity to spend six months together on the Gukanshō. During those six months we had no teaching responsibilities, were assigned to next-door offices at the center, and had research assistance. Our families were with us and we each rented a comfortable house in Honolulu. We spent the whole of every day at the center. First he would go over my draft of a section, noting places where he thought changes should be made or considered. Then we would meet and talk about his questions and suggestions. In his presence I would sometimes try to work out phrasing that he could approve, but often it meant going back to my desk for more work on another draft, which he would again study and we would again discuss, sometimes for an hour or two at a time. But always in Japanese.

- Lage: His English was good enough to get a sense of--
- Brown: He could read, he could see what I was saying. Often, much of the conversation would have to be in the nature of explaining in Japanese what I really had said in English.

Lage: Painstaking process.

Brown: It took hours and hours, draft after draft.

I don't know how many drafts we made, but after going through it like this, the next stage was coming to an agreement about what key terms really meant. Such as the word dōri, for principle. We translated it finally as principle. It was a complicated word, and I think Jien's concept of it changed as he was writing. There were Buddhist principles and Shinto principles, and they were related to each other. But dōri stood at the basis of his interpretation, so we really had to understand it.

There were many other specialized terms such as mappō and others connected with it. There was also Buddhist conception of up-and-down change as moving through very long, rather long, and short kalpas. The whole of history is divided up into these kalpas, and it has been figured out that we are now living in the deteriorating half of the twentieth small kalpa of a middle kalpa of existence and deterioration. The Buddhists in Japan also became convinced that in the year 1052 the world entered the third Buddhist age (the age of final law), and that this final age will last for another ten thousand years or so. So the current small kalpa is not so small.

Lage: A very complicated historical concept.

Brown: That conception of the process of history was basic to Jien's interpretation. But as we discovered, it was not as basic as we had originally thought, because he himself thought things would get better, very briefly, if the head of his clan should take over. Principles that made him think things would get better were Shinto, not Buddhist, although he was a high-ranking Buddhist priest.

After getting a better sense of how those terms were basic to Jien's interpretation, I felt I had to rewrite many sections. I had been looking at it from the point of view of words and sentences and paragraphs, but now I was looking at it from the point of view of the overall pattern of analysis. Much of it, I felt, had to be rewritten because in earlier drafts not enough attention had been given to basic concepts.

Lage: It took more than ten years, because you published it in '79, you were in Hawaii in '63. I wonder when you heard Paul Tillich. It might have been when you were a Fulbright scholar, 1959-60.

Brown: That's right.

Lage: So it's more like twenty years.

Brown: Around twenty years, okay. I am glad to get that correct. Well, it was a long thing. I said, and I think it is right, that I probably rewrote everything at least three times, with Ishida going over everything.

Lage: Did you stay friends through all of this?

Brown: Yes, we still are. [laughter] It was great, in a way. I think it is the way to do translations of that type. I was invited to stay in the Ishida home in May of 1996, and I spent many hours talking with him about articles he has recently written, and about problems that he and other cultural historians are discussing.

One subject on which we spent several hours was his idea that historical change, especially in medieval times, had a replacement character: that a way of thinking about change was replaced by a new and different mode. I do not see change as coming in that way but as shifts and turns in an endless process of evolution. Consequently, when he talks about the emergence of a new way of looking at change, I am inclined to think that he is overlooking the likelihood that the new way is rooted in, and influenced by previous ways. I have tried to convince him that historical change has such a character, but he insists that, at least in the cultural changes he has been studying, he sees complete breaks. We will have to go at this again when I see him again next October.

Lage: It sounds like a very dynamic intellectual interchange, and an extraordinarily long project. Did you publish the modern Japanese version, too?

Brown: No, we didn't do that. That was done acceptably in the 1968 edition of the Gukanshō, the one that is Volume 86 of the Yikon Koten Bungaku Taikei series.

The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 1

Lage: Now let us look at some of the other things you published.

Brown: My next big job was serving as editor and contributor to Volume 1 of The Cambridge History of Japan.

Lage: How did you get into that?

Brown: In this case, Professor Ishida had nothing to do with it. Instead, I took on the editorship of Volume 1 because I was asked by Professor Marius Jansen of Princeton University. I remember his

approaching me about this when we were both staying at the International House in Tokyo, some time in the early eighties, after my retirement and after I had become director of the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies. He approached me in behalf of the four scholars who had agreed to serve as general editors of the six-volume collection of studies. The four were Marius himself, Professor John Hall of Yale, Professor Madoka Kanai of Tokyo University, and Denis Twitchett of Cambridge University. These general editors had already obtained financing for six volumes on different aspects of Japanese history from the beginning to the present, along the lines of the many other Cambridge history series published since about 1900.

As all professional historians know, these famous histories began with the Cambridge History of Modern Europe, and now includes multi-volume collections of historical studies of almost every major country or region of the world. For the last several years, one after another of sixteen volumes on the Cambridge History of China have been appearing, and now we will soon have a six-volume Cambridge History of Japan. Apparently the idea of producing these six volumes originated in consultations between Denis Twitchett (a specialist in Chinese history and an editor of one of the volumes in The Cambridge History of China) and Marius Jansen and John Hall, who had obtained their Ph.D.'s from Harvard at about the same time. Probably Professor Kanai was selected as the fourth general editor before, and in connection with, an approach to the Japan Foundation for funding.

Before I was approached by Marius, the general editors had already decided, probably in consultation with Japan Foundation officials, that there would be six volumes in The Cambridge History of Japan, a number undoubtedly dictated by the number of living specialists in Japanese history within the English-speaking world, as well as by the amount of money the Japan Foundation was willing to grant. I do not know the total amount awarded by the Japan Foundation but, as I recall, the author of each chapter was given two honoraria of one thousand dollars each: one when he or she agreed to write the chapter and the other when the manuscript had been finished and submitted. There was an additional honorarium for each editor. Probably honoraria and travel funds were set aside for the general editors, as well as money for the Cambridge University Press to help with publication.

The general editors had also decided who would edit the last five volumes on Japan: Professor Donald Shively (Volume 2 on the Heian Period), Professor Kozo Yamamura of Washington University (Volume 3 on the medieval period), Professor John Hall (Volume 4 on the early modern period), Professor Marius Jansen (Volume 5 on the

Meiji period), and Professor Peter Duus of Stanford University (Volume 6 on the Modern Period).

Lage: Why did they ask you to take on the editorship of Volume 1 for the ancient period?

Brown: I did not ask, but my guess is that they were scraping the bottom of the barrel. My research and writing had not been in the ancient period whereas the other five editors had done research in the periods of their respective volumes. Moreover, I had received my Ph.D. at Stanford whereas the other five had all received their Ph.D. degrees at Harvard. I presume that since no Harvard man had done distinguished work in the ancient period, and others were thought to be either unavailable or unsuitable, they decided to ask me and Professor Mitsudada Inoue of Tokyo University to be co-editors of Volume 1, approaching me first.

Lage: Then how was it that you became the sole editor?

Brown: Because I refused to be a co-editor, even if the other editor was a scholar as distinguished and respected as Professor Mitsudada Inoue.

Lage: Why?

Brown: As noted above, I had just finished ten years of work translating the Gukanshō with Professor Ishida. That experience had convinced me that editing Volume 1 would necessitate tedious and time-consuming consultations at two levels: first between the author and the translator, and again between the author and the editor. And if there was an additional Japanese-speaking editor, there would likely be an additional level of consultation between him and the author, the translator, and the other editor. Of course, it is important for the author to work closely with the translator and the editor if an English version is to be produced that is both accurate and readable. But joining Ishida in translating the Gukanshō had resulted in so many hours of face-to-face consultation that I could not see myself getting involved in a project in which the difficulties would be multiplied by having a Japanese-speaking co-editor. I therefore said I would take the job only if I was the sole editor, as were the editors of all other volumes in the series.

Association with Mitsusada Inoue

Brown: Possibly the general editors thought that two editors for Volume 1 might lighten the editorial load on each of them, and that I might be more apt to take the assignment if associated with a man said to be Japan's most distinguished scholar of ancient Japanese history. If so, I think they were wrong on the first count and only partly right on the second. Which tempts me say something about my associations with Professor Inoue, which began in Berkeley around 1950 and ended in Tokyo over thirty years later.

Lage: Please do.

Brown: I had of course done some reading in Inoue's writings and knew that he held the distinguished chair (kōza) of Japanese history at Tokyo University. It was therefore a surprise and a delight to have him contact me on his way home from a visiting appointment in India in about 1950, when we were both relatively young. I recall his attending my class just when I was giving a lecture on developments in ancient times, the area of Japanese history in which Professor Inoue had done most of his research and writing. During that hour I asked for his views about some points that I was making. I can't remember whether he spoke in English or Japanese, but probably the latter for in later years our conversations were always in Japanese. Anyway, the students were obviously pleased to hear comments from a distinguished Japanese scholar of ancient Japanese history.

He made a significant statement that I will not forget. It ran something like this: "As I traveled through Europe and the United States after a year of teaching and study in India, I moved through cultures that made me feel I was getting closer and closer to home." Along that same line, he said that the culture of India was so different from that of Japan that, during one year there, he never felt he understood the Indian people.

The second contact with Inoue came in about 1959 when I was in Tokyo as a Fulbright research scholar. I was one of the four American scholars invited to deliver an oral report on his research, at a public hall in downtown Tokyo that could probably seat more than a thousand people. The affair was sponsored by The Asahi Shimbun, Japan's leading newspaper. Our reports were to be in Japanese. Two others invited were Professor Edwin Reischauer of Harvard University (who later became the U.S. ambassador to Japan) and Professor Donald Shively, who I think was then at UC Berkeley. The third scholar invited, as I recall, was Professor John Hall who probably was teaching at the University of Michigan, before moving to Yale.

My participation in the program was unusual on several counts: first, I was the only person on the platform who had not received his Ph.D. degree at Harvard; second, I was the only who had not been born in Japan; and third, I was the only one who spoke in Japanese extemporaneously, not from a prepared manuscript. I am appalled that I dared to do such a thing before hundreds of people who had come to hear foreign scholars speak in Japanese about their research in Japanese history. I too should have read from a prepared manuscript but did not want to take the time to write it out and have it gone over by a native speaker of the language, as the other three had done.

I remember getting a laugh from the audience by explaining that I had not prepared a written speech because I had been so busy attending a festival (matsuri) in Sendai. My reference to the matsuri in Sendai suggests that my research interests were then shifting, under the influence of Ishida, from a national-socialist movement headed by Kita Ikki (1883-1937) (a movement on which I did a lot of work that year but never produced anything that was ever published) to the religious side of nationalism, ending with the two books discussed above and my association with Professor Ishida. When our reports were completed, questions from the floor were invited. Most of them were directed at me, probably because I spoke last. I remember that Ed Reischauer was asked a question to which his reply ran something like this: "I covered that point in my report." Well, Professor Inoue attended that show and was backstage to greet us at the end of the performance. I was pleased to see him and he was most gracious.

I had numerous meetings with him--about twenty years later--after I had agreed to be editor of Volume 1 of The Cambridge History of Japan and he had agreed to write a chapter on "The Century of Reform." I also received much help and advice from him about which Japanese professors should be asked to write other chapters. As I recall, four Japanese authors were suggested by Professor Inoue; and in each case he approached them before I did. The four were Professor Naoki Koijiro of Sōai University whose chapter was entitled "The Nara State"; Professor Takashi Okazaki of Kyushu University who wrote on "Japan and the Continent"; Sonoda Rōyū of Kansai University on "Early Buddha Worship"; and Torao Toshiya of the National Museum of History and Ethnology on "Nara Economic and Social Institutions".

As Professor Inoue began writing his own chapter, we had meetings with each other about such general questions as scope and outline, during which period he invited Dr. Takagi (my associate director at the Inter-University Center), Mary and me to his beautiful beach home in Kanakura. It was a delightful occasion, and Mary and I were both surprised to discover that he had such a

spacious and beautiful home in an area where we knew homes and lots were very expensive. Takagi Sensei later explained that he was descended from a distinguished Meiji leader and had undoubtedly inherited a respectable fortune.

Not long afterward he invited me to join him for an interview and picture-taking associated with the publication of his most recent book. It turned out that he wanted to have a picture of the two of us together, either for the book or its publicity. I never found out whether the picture was ever used, or if so how. Soon after that he became sick and died, before finishing his chapter for The Cambridge History of Japan. The difficulties I had in getting the chapter finished and translated, after his death, have been briefly reported in the introduction to Volume 1.

Having had such associations with Professor Inoue for twenty years, Mary and I were invited to his memorial service at a great Zen temple in downtown Tokyo. Although I had by then gone to numerous funerals and memorial services in Japan (beginning with a long Buddhist service in the thirties for several Kanazawa students who had died in the current epidemic) and have since attended several others in the United States, I have never seen one attended by so many people, maybe as many as a thousand. It was probably the only time Mary or I have been at a Zen memorial service, which was simple but impressive and centered around--as is true of all other memorial services in Japan (even Christian ones)--a big picture of the deceased placed in front of the most sacred place in the sanctuary and before which every person present pays his or her respects by putting, slowly and formally, a flower in front of the picture and bowing twice.

Association with Professor Torao Toshiya

Lage: Do you have anything more to say about your editorship of Volume 1 of The Cambridge History of Japan?

Brown: I could say a lot more about each of the seven authors that I was in contact with for the ten years or so that it took us to finish the volume. But I feel I should at least say something about two of them, because I not only worked with them rather closely for a long period of time but continued to be in contact with them after the volume was completed. One was Torao Toshiya (a specialist in early economic history) and the other was Matsumae Takeshi who is specialist on Japanese myth.

Lage: What was your association with Professor Torao?

Brown: My connections with Professor Torao were quite different, mainly because he read every sentence of each English translation and insisted that it say precisely what he had meant to say, nothing more and nothing less. He did not know English well enough to talk to me in that language about changes that he wanted to make but enough to be quite certain if it was not quite right. So I had many meetings with him after William Wayne Farris made his initial translation and after Professor Torao had indicated that he was not satisfied with it. Since I was then in Tokyo where I could be easily reached, he came to me many times with questions and suggestions for change. And after those consultations (in Japanese) I rewrote several sections, and after I had retranslated a section, there usually would be another consultation, for he would have questions to raise. In some cases his questions were based on a misunderstanding of a phrase that I had used, but frequently it would lead to another revision in which we would get a bit closer to what he had wanted to say. As a result of working through section after section of his chapter, we got to know each other quite well. Several times I visited him and became acquainted with the new National Museum of History of which he was then director.

It was because of this relationship that he came to me one day with a manuscript for a Chronology of Japan that was to be published by his museum. It had already been translated by a Japanese member of the staff who was quite good in English, but Professor Torao wanted me to go over it and make certain that it was correct and readable. I readily agreed to do that, but did not realize how much time it would take. Like so many other translations done by Japanese-speaking translators, many changes and revisions had to be made. And again after I revised a section, he would go over it carefully and come back with more questions and suggestions. I also suggested that changes be made in the original chronology, which he usually accepted. When that job was finally done, I received a copy of the Chronology of Japan and was surprised to find that I was listed, along with Professor Torao, as a joint editor. I was a bit put out by this. If I had known that I was to be a co-editor, I would have suggested more changes. Maybe that is why he did not tell me. But as a result of becoming a co-editor, I have received a few royalty payments, which have been appreciated.

Professor Matsumae Takeshi and the Power of Myth

Lage: And how about Professor Matsumae?

Brown: I did not have such close and continuous association with Professor Matsumae as with Torao while editing Volume 1 of The Cambridge History of Japan, but subsequent contacts with him have been quite interesting.

Our personal association began when I called on him while I was in Kyoto as director of the California Abroad Program in southern Japan to ask for additional information about some of the books that he had cited in his chapter on "Early Kami Worship." He invited me to come to his home where we could look up answers in his personal library. When I got there I was amazed to discover that he had a copy of every book and magazine about which I was asking questions. So it took no more than about thirty minutes to get the information I needed. But we kept talking and talking, for we were both interested in what the other was doing and thinking about early Japanese religious history. After three or four hours had passed, I suggested I leave. But he insisted that I stay on for dinner. And after dinner we continued to talk, which meant we were talking for over eight hours, until ten o'clock at night.

Since that contact was so interesting, I called him again when I went to Kyoto in the spring of 1996. That was a month-long trip that I took alone. I spent most of two days with him and his wife. Mrs. Matsumae had been in the U.S. with him during his year at the University of Indiana in 1975-76, and she had apparently made a serious study of English and wanted to use it. So I talked with her a bit, but Professor Matsumae--who had himself been a teacher of English in his earlier years--would speak to me only in Japanese.

We spent most of those two days going to old shrines that dated back to the beginning of the Heian period, over a thousand years ago. It was not a simple sight-seeing trip but an in-depth educational experience. At each shrine we met and talked to high priests, participated in a simple purification rite, and walked around the grounds as Professor Matsumae explained the historical and mythical setting of what we saw. It was fascinating, and after returning to the hotel on each of those two nights, I wrote up (on my laptop) notes on what I had seen and learned, and on articles and books that he recommended I read.

A few months later he wrote me about the publication of his collected works in thirteen volumes, and asked me to write an article for Volume 13, which was to be made up of his English writings. Since he has become known in Japan, as well as in the United States, as one of Japan's leading scholars of Japanese myth, and I had done considerable reading in his publications for my course on Shinto at the Starr King School for the Ministry in Berkeley, I readily agreed. By way of preparation I began reading

--again and more carefully--his autobiography completed in 1992. There I discovered that he had gotten into the study of Japanese myth because of his experiences during and after World War II. And as I read and thought about what had happened in those early years, I became convinced he was right. Moreover, I felt that his reaction to Japanese religious nationalism (to what he called Japan's Imperial-Country thought) was helping me understand both the destructive and constructive power of myth, not only in Japan but elsewhere. So I immersed myself in that project and soon found that I was writing about four times as much as I had agreed to. But I felt I had to keep writing because I was beginning to find answers to some important questions.

Finally I sent the manuscript off under the title of "The Making of a Shinto Scholar." Sure enough, the publisher could not allocate so much space to something not written by Matsumae himself. But Professor Matsumae liked what I had written and recommended that I have the whole published in some English journal and to produce a boiled down summary for his collected works, which I am now doing. And the article has become even longer.

Selection of Contributors, and Working with Japanese Scholars

- Lage: Let's get back to your editing of Volume 1 of The Cambridge History of Japan. You said you regretted that Professor Ishida was not invited to contribute a chapter to any of the volumes.
- Brown: Yes, I do regret that. But he is not really a specialist in any one period of Japanese history but in Japanese cultural history as a whole.
- Lage: You seem to have a lot of regrets about it. Did it lead to problems with these people?
- Brown: No. Well, [Carmen] Blacker got quite angry about the whole series, as I understand it. Not at me personally. I have never met her. I think she and others at Cambridge, I have heard, did resent being excluded from a series put out by their university. It was a Cambridge University project, and Cambridge University professors, distinguished ones, were not included. I guess that was the source of the problem.
- Lage: Were many Japanese scholars included?

Brown: More in some volumes than others. In the modern volumes, not many, but some. In my volume, for instance, most of the contributions are by Japanese scholars, because not too many Americans or English-speaking people have worked in that early period. In the Volume 2--incidentally, that volume is not out, even now--part of the problem is that they had to rely heavily on Japanese authors. When you have a Japanese author, you face a lot of problems, not just getting it properly translated. The Japanese are not accustomed to writing for the Western readers.

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Brown: The tendency of the Japanese--which is a tendency in this country too, I think, with American historians writing about American history--is to write just as they do when writing for the Japanese reader. So when an English reader reads this, he is apt to ask, "What's he talking about?"

Lage: Because there is too much shared knowledge?

Brown: That's right. There are a lot of assumptions. When writing for his own people, he assumes that the reader is going to know this and that. When the reader is from another culture, there is an awful lot that is not understood. There are just too many names and dates and events that don't mean a thing. It is almost unreadable.

Another problem is a general tendency, among Japanese historians, to deal with history descriptively. Whereas in the American history profession, we are much more interested in the meaning, the process of change, and the connections; in interpretation and analysis.

Lage: But in the descriptive history aren't there kind of hidden interpretations, maybe?

Brown: Yes. They may have been so well hidden you can't see them. [laughter]

Lage: They are not the subject themselves?

Brown: Right. Actually, most of my chapters had to be rewritten.

Lage: And did you have to do that?

Brown: I did most of that. It varied from chapter to chapter. Either I or the main translator had to do a good deal of redrafting. I did most of that. But each chapter posed a different set of problems. The chapter by Professor Inoue, for example, required a lot of work

even though he was a very distinguished scholar of ancient Japanese history, had studied abroad, and written many famous interpretative studies. The main problem was that he died before finishing his chapter. I found a very capable young American historian who was willing to translate what Professor Inoue had written. But he didn't have the time to do the reading required to write the last half. My associate director at the Inter-University Center, Takagi Sensei, who was also a distinguished scholar, agreed to take on that task. But the two halves seemed to lack unity. And so after doing considerable reading in various books and articles written by Professor Inoue, I spent a lot of time trying to make it into a chapter that would introduce the Western reader to the main historical contributions made by Professor Inoue during life of research and teaching in Japanese history. So I had to do a lot of rewriting.

Lage: But it still goes under the other author's name?

Brown: The chapter is "By Inoue Mitsusada with Delmer M. Brown." Miss Takagi did a lot of work on it, but since I had redrafted it, she didn't want to be considered a co-author. She said I ought to be the co-author. I tried to give her credit for the work that she did, but I ended up being listed as with Inoue.

Lage: I am wondering what reflections you might have on the benefits of looking at a culture or the history of a country from outside.

Brown: Now, did we really finish the earlier question? I am afraid that--do you remember the earlier question that you asked?

Lage: It was mainly about this Cambridge History.

Brown: You started off with a question about translation, and we got into the Cambridge History and its problems. I haven't dealt with them all--every chapter was a special case. I was the author of two chapters under my own name and also wrote the introduction. That was treated like a separate chapter. I was a co-author of two others.

Lage: Were these delicate issues, working with the Japanese authors and not being quite satisfied?

Brown: It was different in every case, but quite rewarding in a way. I would say the most difficult one, difficult in terms of the amount of time it took in dealing with the author, was with Professor Torao in the field of economic history. In that case, I didn't get in the picture at all. I was not included as an author, co-author, or anything. The translator, William Wayne Farris, didn't want to work with Torao on this. Professor Torao knew enough English to

read what had been written, and he wanted to have it right. I was the one to get it right, as it turned out, and we ended up with a translation quite different from the one done by Farris. His name is still on the chapter, and I think connections between what we did and what was finally published are hard to find. [laughter] We worked hours and hours, because Torao knew enough English to read what we thought he had written; and if he didn't understand it, I had to explain it. My talking with him was always in Japanese. So if he didn't understand it, I had to explain what we had written, and then he would have to either agree or disagree. If it wasn't quite what he had said, he would let me know about it. I really felt like I had to understand every single thing in order to get it right, just days and days--I don't know how many weeks, months that we spent on this.

Lage: You must be a patient man.

Brown: But I learned an awful lot about economic history through that process. I think that is probably one of the better chapters. It was historically oriented. He had a developmental process that was quite clear. It was short, but it was the way he wanted it, and I think it was good.

We really had to satisfy each other before we would agree on it. Somewhat like the process I went through with Ishida on the Gukanshō. I feel that is the only way you can get a proper translation done. If an American does it, he may think he understands the thing perfectly well, but he is primarily concerned with writing something that is readable and clear in English. The author knows what he wanted to say, and if that is not what is said in English, we have to work on it.

Lage: Both people, perhaps, are working through this fog of language differences.

Brown: That's right. I think more and more people feel that's the way that translations should be done. The final product, whether it is in English or Japanese, should be written by a native speaker of that language, but there ought to be a lot of give and take between him and the author to be sure that they have it right.

Lage: Then how did you deal with, it seems like almost a separate question, when you felt the chapter wasn't right for Western audiences, too detailed or not interpretive enough?

Brown: That creates a problem. Of course, whenever I redrafted a chapter, I always let the author see it. In general, he would accept it right away, making me wonder if he had really looked at the suggested revisions carefully.

Lage: When you sent it back to them, would you explain the reasons?

Brown: Yes, I tried to do that. Well, every chapter was a special problem.

Lage: This sounds like quite a task.

Brown: That's why I don't want to get into it again. The chapter on Buddhism, for example, was by Professor Sonoda Kōyū. He did an excellent job on the history of Buddhism as it moved through Korea on the way to Japan. The whole chapter was supposed to be about early Buddhism in Japan. He used up all the space he had and more before he really got to Buddhism in Japan. I had to boil down his excellent treatment of the spread of Buddhism in Korea in order to make room for a discussion of the spread of Buddhism to Japan, which is undoubtedly the most significant aspect of Japanese cultural history in ancient times, as well as later. I had to spend considerable time reading books that others had written on the history of Buddhism during those early centuries.

I learned an awful lot, and I think it is not a bad chapter. Again, I sent him a copy of what I did. I am not sure that he read it that carefully.

Lage: Are you a co-author on that?

Brown: Yes. I learned a lot in writing that. I had it read over by Lew Lancaster, who is a professor of Buddhism at Berkeley. He made a couple of suggestions that turned out to be worth another footnote or two that made it better and more valuable. Lew seems to think well of it. I think the chapter is useful for those looking into the field of early Buddhism. It is useful for me, anyway.

Lage: If you knew what this assignment was going to entail, would you have accepted it?

Brown: I think not. I spent far more time--I suppose I could have written two or three books on my own in the time that I devoted to writing and rewriting and looking into--

Lage: But still, you almost did write two or three books in doing it.

Brown: For some of the things that I devoted an awful lot of time to, my name is not indicated in any way as the author, like the Torao chapter.

Lage: Right. Well, look at all this oral history is revealing.

The Insider's Versus the Outsider's View in the Study of History

Lage: Would you have some general comments about studying a culture or the history of a country from outside the country versus from within?

Brown: That is a problem faced by every American historian who ventures to specialize in the history of people outside the United States. Just as an American historian usually has doubts about the depth and quality of studies of American history written by non-Americans, so the Japanese logically have doubts--which are not usually expressed--about the quality of studies made by non-Japanese persons, especially if they do not know Japanese and have not read extensively in the studies written by Japanese historians. The problem is especially acute in ancient history for there has been something of a Japanese boom in ancient Japanese history. Consequently almost any subject has been studied and re-studied, often for centuries. Not only that, an amazing amount of written sources are available, often written in a language that is difficult even for the Japanese specialist to understand. So a foreign historian dealing with any question in the ancient history of Japan faces three very difficult problems: the massive amount of source material; the huge number of studies made by Japanese scholars down through the centuries; and the difficulty of understanding the written language of those ancient times.

But as Sir George Sansom and others have noted, it should be easier for the outsider to look at issues objectively and comparatively. Of course, an outsider is not necessarily more objective, for he or she may have a particularly strong bias. Moreover, an outsider may not know as much about comparable developments in other cultures as a Japanese historian. But because we are looking at the Japanese development from another culture, our perspective is bound to be somewhat different. Whether that helps us to get closer to truth is questionable. The main questions are these: do we look closely at all available evidence, and do we think carefully about connections and interactive currents? To do this well is difficult for anybody but, in general, it is more difficult for the outsider.

When I am dealing with Shintoism, I look at it quite differently from Japanese specialists in Shinto history, who are usually Shinto priests. They are really looking at their religion from the inside. I look at it from the outside and am trying to make comparisons between that religion and my own religion, and between that religion and other religions that have come into Japan, such as Buddhism and Confucianism. I feel that that kind of comparison and that kind of objectivity, using religious studies

and other disciplines such as anthropology and sociology, helps me to analyze and, I hope, get closer to what Shintoism really is. I ought to be able to do that better than, say, a Shinto priest.

But it should be noted that most Shinto scholars are not priests but professors at one of the two leading Shinto universities in Japan: the Kogakkan University located near the Ise Shrine, and the Kokugakuin University in Tokyo. Both include a number of distinguished scholars, but there are many more at Kokugakuin University, which has thousands of students. It has a distinguished Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics that has published four English volumes of Shinto studies by professors associated with Kokugakuin. The work of putting these into English is done mostly by Norman Havens, who has a tenured position there. After completing all requirements but his dissertation for a Ph.D. degree at Princeton in Japanese religion, he spent a year at the Inter-University Center for Japanese Studies (before I got there) and then took this position at Kokugakuin. He has never returned to Princeton to get his Ph.D. degree. So Norman and all professors at those two Shinto universities make up a great body of Shinto scholars who are writing very important studies of Shinto.

When I go to Japan nowadays, I always go to see people at that university. Just a few weeks ago an agreement was signed between the University of California and the Kokugakuin University that allows us to work together on common teaching and research programs. What we are working on now is the joint creation of a Shinto database that will permit students and scholars all over the world--anyone who has a computer--to gain access to an increasingly large body of Shinto materials and also to do research in those materials by computer. We have already agreed to work together in translating that into English, and then putting that English translation into the Shinto database. Among these translations is the best and most recent dictionary of Shinto, which was produced in Japanese by a number of professors at Kokugakuin University. It is over 800 pages long. We are applying for a grant that will help us to pay students to do the work of translating this dictionary and placing it in the database.

Lage: Do the Japanese Shinto scholars ever reflect on your interpretations? Do they give you any feedback?

Brown: Not often, and for one reason: everything I write is in English, and most Japanese historians, especially those specializing in Shinto, do not read English easily and therefore can not be expected to take the time to work out what I have written. This is true even of Professor Ishida and Professor Torao. While both of them are very careful to work through a translation of what they have written or wish to put their name to, they are not apt to

spend a lot of time going over anything written by a foreigner about Japanese history. But I get a lot of feedback when I am talking with them in Japanese. And this is something I always seek and value when I go to Japan.

But there is an exception. I have just received a lot of valuable suggestions and ideas from Professor Matsumae Takeshi about an article that I have just written about his life, an article that I am entitling "The Making of a Shinto Scholar, that is to appear during the year 1998.

Lage: Wonderful. I think that is a nice way to end today. I've really made you talk a long time.

IX TEACHING

[Interview 6: May 1, 1995] ##

Foreign Language Study at Berkeley, and the Committee on Foreign Language Study

Lage: We were going to start today with some thoughts about foreign language teaching and studies. I know that is something you have been concerned with for a long time.

Brown: Yes. I first became concerned about this as a teacher of Japanese history when I first started teaching here. We had a number of students who were qualified in the language because they had been trained either by the army or the navy in intensive language programs that lasted one year.

But within a few years that supply of trained students disappeared. Then I began to have students who were seriously interested in pursuing a career of study in history and Japanese history, but their language competence was low. They had taken courses and received good grades at Berkeley; but when they got to Japan, they really couldn't get around in Japanese and, furthermore, really couldn't read Japanese historical materials.

So I began to complain a little about our language programs here with my colleagues working in other language areas, and they too were dissatisfied with what was happening to their students who took courses in their languages. We discovered a good deal of dissatisfaction with language instruction in all fields.

Lage: Not just in Asian languages?

Brown: Not just in the Asian field. Even in the European area, professors were complaining that their students were taking too long to gain enough proficiency in German or French to use materials in those

languages for historical research. Further discussion with professors in these and other areas would usually bring us around to the view that teachers in the foreign language departments were not really interested in such practical instruction: that they were more interested in teaching philology, linguistics, or literature. It was for achievement in those areas that they had been appointed and promoted, and it was on the basis of such achievement that they were making new appointments in the various language departments.

Lage: But this was probably true, wasn't it?

Brown: That's right. In almost every department, whether it was Japanese, Chinese, or whatever, it turned out that most language instruction was for students who wanted to learn to use it, either in traveling or in research. This teaching was usually done by native language speakers who had not usually been trained in teaching the language to foreigners. There were two types of teachers at this level. One was native language speakers, and other was graduate students who had gotten good grades. But in most cases, although they were competent in the language, they really hadn't had any specialized training in how to teach it.

Because of this complaint, Chancellor Strong set up a special committee and made me chairman. On this committee there were representatives of almost every foreign language department in the university. It was a big committee. It also included some people who had students who needed to know the language for research. We gave a lot of attention to the problem, and we wrote a long report, the main point of which was that the situation wouldn't be changed unless a special department or program were set up in which we would train and use specialists in the teaching of the language for actual use--not simply as an object for specialized linguistic or philological analyses.

Lage: Were you suggesting that students who were studying Japanese would go to this department?

Brown: Yes. We recommended the establishment of a new school or institute for teaching our students, as quickly as possible, how to speak, write, comprehend, and read the language as a tool for study and research in that particular cultural area.

Lage: So it would be the graduate students or instructors who would go to this school?

Brown: Yes, anybody who wanted to learn any foreign language. That would include freshmen and other undergraduates as well as graduate students and instructors. That is where you or I would go if we wanted to learn a new foreign language. It would be staffed by

people who not only knew that language but who had learned the best techniques for teaching it. At UCLA and a few other universities this sort of instruction is being developed for the training of those who wish to make a career of teaching English to foreign immigrants to the United States.

Lage: How did the language departments react to this?

Brown: At the committee meeting, they seemed to be in favor of it. In theory, they could see that language--at elementary and secondary levels--could be taught better by specialists who really knew how to do it, rather than just relying on native language speakers who had no training. That would allow regular members of the department to teach and do research only in specialized fields of the language, rather than how to speak and read it. They saw the merit of that.

As a result, as I recall, the committee recommendation went through unanimously, with even members of the various language departments favoring the establishment of a separate discipline, a separate school, in which appointments and promotions would be in terms of the proven ability to teach and do research in the field of practical language learning.

But nothing happened. I am not sure why that is, I am only guessing now. But I have a feeling that even the persons on the committee who were in favor of such a change were, in the end, against it. Why? Because if a change like that were made, the established language departments would have the foundations of their financial support weakened.

Lage: It sounds like it.

Brown: Most of the appointments in all departments in the university are made in terms of the student load within that department. And the student load in most of these foreign languages departments is principally the students who are in first-year, second-year, third-year language courses--not students specializing in the literature or philology of a particular language. If you had a separate school in which all of this language teaching was done, the established departments would lose most of the students they now teach.

I can see that if all of the Japanese and Chinese language teaching at the beginning level were handed over to another school, the East Asian language department would not have that much justification for new appointments in that department.

Lage: They probably support some of the graduate students that way also.

Brown: Exactly. A lot of the graduate students are teaching assistants in these elementary courses, even though they too have not had any training in how you teach this language to non-native speakers.

In Japan they have the same problem. This was also true in the teaching of English in Japan. That is a big, big program every school--

Lage: One that you took part in.

Brown: I took part in it for six years. I had no training in the teaching of English to Japanese. That's when I began to have misgivings about the whole language-teaching enterprise. Even today most English teaching is done by Japanese teachers who have gained a reputation in such specialized areas as Shakespeare, Chaucer, or some other literary figure. Very few have had special training in how to teach English to the Japanese. Most schools have a foreign teacher who, like me, has graduated from an American university and presumably speaks and reads English, but who usually has had no training whatsoever in how you teach this language to foreigners.

Lage: Two quick follow-ups. You say nothing was done about your report at Berkeley. What happens to these reports? Did you follow it up?

Brown: Yes.

Lage: Did it come in front of the Academic Senate?

Brown: No. It was a committee set up by the chancellor. And we sent our report to the chancellor. I heard nothing more about it after that. He may have raised some questions with some of the established departments, I don't know.

Lage: Or it could have gotten, with all of the turmoil on campus which followed that, maybe it just--

Brown: That might be. It was not too long after that that Strong got into trouble and resigned. That may have had something to do with the disappearance of the report, I don't know.

The California Abroad Program and Problems of Language Preparation among Participants

Lage: Okay. Then I wondered if there was more to say for the ten years you were director of Inter-University Center for Japanese Language

Studies. Did you have a chance to put forth some of your ideas in that?

Brown: First, before I get into the Inter-University Center, I should point out that I was in Japan between '67 and '69 as director of the California Abroad Program. We also had the language problem in that program, too. At first, most of the California students selected to go to the California Abroad Program in--

Lage: Now, this is the UC program for education abroad?

Brown: University of California program for undergraduates, mostly. A kind of junior-year-abroad program. That was first established in Japan around 1960. When I got into it in '67, it was already a worldwide program with California Abroad Programs in something like thirty different countries of the world.

Lage: And how many students, approximately, went to Japan?

Brown: In those days, we had between twenty-five and thirty every year. Now it is much larger, not just at the International Christian University [ICU] but in at least ten other universities as well.

Lage: Is the ICU where it was centered?

Brown: That's where the California Abroad Program was based, and still is.

At that beginning and because it was an undergraduate program and not many undergraduates had done any work in Japanese, the knowledge of Japanese was not required for admission. Consequently, we had many students who had no knowledge of Japanese at the time of their admission to the program, and they were not very well prepared for study in Japan.

Lage: Their classes had to have been taught in English.

Brown: Yes, in those early days they had only courses taught in English. And the courses taught in English were for the most part taught by Japanese who had studied in the States or in England, and who knew English fairly well. But they were not very demanding courses, and the students didn't find them that interesting, partly because the teachers were not experienced in teaching courses in English.

I felt that the program was pretty weak and recommended that no student be admitted to the program unless he or she had completed at least one year of university-level study of Japanese and received a grade of B or better. That was eventually done. Now some California students are even studying at universities where no English courses are offered.

- Lage: So some of them had to have quite strong Japanese.
- Brown: That's right. At Doshisha University, for example, which is also a Christian university, no courses are taught in English. There the students must have completed three years of Japanese language study before admission. Yet the students there also have trouble. With three years of Japanese, they really have difficulty getting anything out of the courses they are taking in Japanese.
- Lage: I am assuming they are taking courses alongside Japanese students, or are they courses designed for foreigners?
- Brown: There is only one course for foreign students, and that is not highly regarded. Each student's situation is different. Usually, many of the Cal students are Americans of Japanese descent and have learned some Japanese at home. If they have heard a good deal of Japanese at home, they do not have much trouble in a Japanese class. The ones who had the most trouble were Americans who had had no Japanese at home, just course work in the university. Even though they may have had three years of Japanese and received a grade of A, they still found it very difficult to get anything out of their Japanese courses. In other words, the Japanese that they were learning in American universities, even in good places like Berkeley and UCLA, didn't seem to be enough.

We couldn't help but reach the conclusion that the language instruction was still deficient, that something should be done about improving the quality of Japanese language teaching. My feeling, and that of several others--including Eleanor Jordan at Cornell who is a distinguished American teacher of Japanese--is convinced that some rather basic changes must be made.

The Use of Computers in Language Education

- Brown: I am inclined to think that language teachers have not begun to tap the potentialities of interactive teaching by computer. I have heard about such instruction in German and Spanish, and I also know that good programs have been developed commercially for the study of elementary Japanese. But virtually nothing had been done along this line for instruction in Japanese at the advanced level when I resigned as director of the Inter-University Center about ten years ago. And when I last talked to people connected with the Center, it seemed that nothing more had been done since my departure. I do hear about computers being used in language courses, but this apparently is only in the classroom. I think that truly remarkable results will be achieved only when interactive programs

can be used by the individual at home. Then he or she will be able to use it whenever he or she wants and as long as is wanted. If that freedom is also coupled with game-playing, I think that remarkable results would be achieved in the study of vocabulary, grammar, and idioms. Such study could be made fun, not just the usual drudgery. A student would be encouraged to move at his or her own pace, not simply trying to keep up with, or to pass, one's classmates.

Lage: It seems normal to have that one-on-one, and then have the classroom be a group situation.

Brown: Right. Of course, that's expensive. It's expensive to have that many computers, and also expensive to create the program, especially at the advanced level. At that level the market is limited.

Lage: The subtleties of the language, I think, would be hard to computerize.

Brown: Yes. But I still think that the potential is there. We have the technology for doing it. It makes sense to use these machines for self-teaching. Of course, you have to have the opportunity to practice the language with somebody and actually use it, but the use of computers for self-training has great potential which has not been tapped.

Lage: If we had that school of language studies, perhaps it would have been tapped.

Brown: Right. But I am afraid we are going to be very slow in taking any positive steps in that direction.

Lage: It is a complicated problem, I would guess.

Brown: Yes. And I faced this problem again when I was made director of the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies in 1978. That is a program primarily for graduate students who will need to use Japanese in their career. This is an intensive language program at the advanced level, after a student has completed two or three years of Japanese language study, or the equivalent, in an American university.

Lage: Were they primarily Americans?

Brown: A few English and a few Canadians and a few Australians, but all from the English-speaking world. The Center realized, from the beginning, that if you move into Japanese language teaching for people in other language areas (such as German or French), the

language teachers face a different set of problems. So the program has been limited to students from the English-speaking world.

Then we began to get teachers who had had some training in how to teach Japanese to foreigners. They were trained in a fairly distinguished government-supported institute. That was definitely a move in the right direction.

Lage: Did you observe a difference?

Brown: Yes. Without a doubt our best young teachers were those who had come out of that training program. But we had to hire some teachers who had not received such training. When I left, I would say a major part of the teachers had not had any special training. Although these were very conscientious, worked very hard, and seemed to really be interested in trying to get the students to speak the Japanese language right, and to read it easily and quickly, they did not seem to have that much interest in experimenting with the use of computers. I suppose they felt that to the extent you move down the computer direction, their own teaching responsibilities would be limited, maybe undermined. I don't know. Somehow there was no enthusiasm for it.

Lage: So it's hard to make change in all these different settings.

Brown: Yes. The teachers seemed to be convinced, as most teachers are in this country, that the way to teach is directly and personally. As soon as machines get into it, they assume the situation will get worse.

Lage: Yes. And you don't feel that way?

Brown: I don't feel that way. Of course, the personal touch is important and valuable. In language teaching there is no substitute for actually using it in a person-to-person conversation. But in such difficult areas as building up your vocabulary and improving your grammar, things of that sort, I am convinced that a computer can speed up the process considerably.

Lage: I would think so, as long as it is not seen as a substitute for those things you mentioned.

Brown: Yes. It should supplement it.

More on Education Abroad, 1991 and 1992-'93

- Lage: Do you have more to say about the California Education Abroad program? I know you wrote some notes before we started this about your thoughts on the particular program we have here and how it might be improved.
- Brown: As I mentioned earlier, I went back again in 1991--twice as a matter of fact--to be director of the Education Abroad Program in Japan. During my second term in 1992-'93, I was director of the whole California Abroad Program in Japan, which had programs in something like fifteen different Japanese universities throughout Japan.
- Lage: Fifteen different universities they have students going to? That is amazing.
- Brown: Yes. During that year--I could not be in Japan during the entire year because I had already committed myself to teaching at the Pacific School of Religion [PSR] in the spring. But I had the position of director for the whole year. I was in Tokyo for the first part of the year and in California for the remaining months. I did my directing, on this side of the Pacific, by fax machine and telephone. The university had supplied me with a fax machine which I used every day. There was a lot of paperwork.
- Lage: What was your responsibility?
- Brown: I had to approve the study list of every single student. Even if he or she had worked with teachers and members of the university and Center staff, his list had to be signed by me. There were also personnel problems, such as the appointment and promotion of members of the Tokyo Center staff. But probably the most difficult and time-consuming task was assigning grades that would be in accord with UC standards and would also be acceptable to the Japanese teachers. It was very difficult to make a Japanese language teacher understand that I had to give a student an A grade instead of the B originally assigned. Even though a particular student may have received a grade of A in every Japanese class taken at UC and had stood very high in language examinations at ICU, the teacher was positive that no matter how good and conscientious the student was, he or she deserved only a B.
- Lage: Did you relate to the students at all, or was that done--
- Brown: While I was in Tokyo, yes. As a matter of fact a good proportion of my day was spent talking to students. And then when I had to return to Berkeley, but was still director of the program in Tokyo,

there was considerable communication by telephone and fax. That was not satisfactory. The director should be in Japan.

At the end of my appointment I submitted a report in which I recommended two changes. First, give the students more responsibility for working out their programs and filing their study lists directly to Santa Barbara, and also give staff members the responsibility of handling a number of clerical matters traditionally handled by the director. In such ways, a director could be given more time for teaching--for talking with students about what they are studying in this foreign land. Each student has his or her own special problems in learning about some aspect of Japanese culture, and needs the help of someone who can see the situation from an American point of view. I felt that it was wrong to have a full-time senior professor spending most of his or her time on clerical matters. There are of course high-level administrative responsibilities that must not be shirked. But the director is always a professor in the UC system and should function as a professor. If not, the taxpayers should object.

The second recommendation was that the program be altered to emphasize individual research in a student's particular field of interest, not attendance at lecture courses and the assignment of grades based on examinations. During my three terms as director of the California Abroad program in Japan, I became convinced that, in general, students were not learning as much as they should about Japan during their one-year stays in that country. Although convinced that they learned much by living in Japan, I became quite sure that they were not learning nearly enough in courses they were taking in Japan. This was a particularly serious problem at Doshisha University, Tohoku University, and other universities where all courses were taught in Japanese. But even at ICU, where many courses are offered in English, one American student after another told me that it was too easy to get by--and even get a good grade--without doing much work; that the Japanese teachers were friendly and helpful but their lectures were not very stimulating or interesting; as far as learning about a particular area of Japanese life an American student would have learned much more from a course on his own campus; and that no class demanded as much reading or paper writing as at UC. This is regrettable because the program offers such an important opportunity to live and study in a foreign country.

I became convinced that the program of every student--it should be remembered that every student in the California Abroad program must have a B average to gain admission--will learn much more if he or she is encouraged and helped to work out a problem or research or study during the year. The project might be set up in consultation with advisers on the home campus before leaving for

Japan. Or it might be worked out in consultations with professors in Japan, and with the director, after arrival. The purpose should always be to get the student into a project that is of special interest to him or her. I found out, during my stay at Doshisha, that when a student has such a project, he or she will work hard and learn much while producing a substantial paper--often written in Japanese--that has real academic quality.

But I am not sure that either of the above recommendations will ever be implemented. Why? Because shifting the burden of enrolling in classes to the student will not only require study and work in Santa Barbara but undermine the position (justification for existence) of persons on the staff there. And the second recommendation will probably not be accepted because shifting a student's program away from lecture classes to a research paper will probably be opposed by many students who prefer pipe courses, and also by directors are not likely to be enthusiastic about spending so much time consulting with students about their research.

I think in most cases, the Japanese professors would be delighted to have a student come into his seminar with a project already in mind. That I know happened in several cases in Doshisha while I was there, and then a student should be encouraged to take only those courses that are related, have some kind of relevance to this project, and make that whole project the focus of the entire program. I actually got a few students to do this while I was in Kyoto. They developed great excitement about the program, and I think probably have turned out to be productive scholars in that field. I know of two or three who really caught fire when they got into some kind of research program.

As a result of that experience, I recommended that all of the students in all of the programs be required to have that kind of focus to their program. I think this would make the California Abroad Program far more exciting for all of the students. Now, of course, there is the argument that some students just can't think of anything like that and aren't advanced enough to do anything of that sort, et cetera, et cetera. All kinds of excuses are used. But I just can't buy them.

Lage: Or it could become a senior year abroad. They might be a little more ready for it.

Brown: That's a good idea, but it won't happen, because there is a requirement at Berkeley I know, and I think at other campuses too, nobody can graduate from Berkeley unless they have been there in their senior year. I know that the current director expressed some

enthusiasm about the proposal; she said she was going to move in that direction. So that may happen.

Lage: I have heard from Americans studying in Spain that they are not supportive of student initiative. The university at the undergraduate level, anyway, wants students to listen, take notes, regurgitate, and not think for themselves.

Brown: Well, the situation is sort of mixed in Japan. There is a lot of that among Japanese teachers. It is the tradition. The teacher lectures and the students take notes; and there is almost no discussion.

Lage: They are not supposed to challenge the interpretation.

Brown: No, no, almost no discussion and give and take within the classes. However, there is a Japanese interest in research. As a matter of fact, Doshisha University and the International Christian University both require all graduates to submit a senior thesis. As a result of that requirement, every professor has an undergraduate seminar in which students enroll when they are working on their senior thesis.

Lage: So these students would enroll in such a course?

Brown: This would be a logical course for our own students to participate in. I think the situation at most Japanese universities is good for moving in that direction. But you are quite right about the classes. Usually there is no discussion, no participation; the students listen and the professors talk.

Lage: Tell me, how is the California Abroad Program funded, and what kinds of support to the students receive?

Brown: The funding of the California Abroad Program--which now exists in more than thirty countries of the world--is always a problem. As I understand it, virtually no money is supplied by the state of California. Nearly all support comes from private gifts to the university, much taking the form of scholarships held by individual students.

The cost to the individual student always comes up, and it is my impression that rumors about the high cost of living in Japan causes many students not even to consider applying. During my years with the program I discovered that most student participants held some kind of scholarship during their stay in Japan. Many worked, and some were given special financial assistance by their families. But most of them were surprised to find that, in spite of the popular impression that Japan was one of the most expensive

places in the world in which to live, it was really not all that more expensive than living at their home campuses in California.

Lage: But the cost of living is so high.

Brown: No, including that. Everything that they spent during the year--cost of living, getting over there and back--doesn't seem to be that much more than they would be spending during a year at their home campus. This is not the official position of the California Abroad Program, and it is not what the individual student usually says in his letters home, or in his reports to the university. Rather it was what many of them have said to me in confidence. These are the students who have learned to eat as the Japanese do and who have also succeeded in obtaining lucrative jobs teaching English.

Lage: That is gratifying.

Brown: Of course, costs vary greatly from place to place, and individual to individual. But there is one cost that is very high and that cannot be avoided: the cost of getting to and from school by train or bus. Nearly everyone--including the Japanese, young or old--spend an hour or two a day getting back and forth to school or work. And train fares are very high. As for food, the students soon learn to eat like the Japanese do, and to avoid steaks and eating at downtown hotels and at famous restaurants.

Lage: They eat a lot of rice.

Brown: Yes, they eat a lot of rice, and fish. They soon find that it is much less expensive to have their main meal at noon, and at little restaurants on side streets where most Japanese persons have their lunches. A noon meal at a famous expensive restaurant is always much less expensive than in the evening, when persons on expense accounts do their entertaining.

Housing also varies greatly. But they soon find that it is possible to have a very nice place to stay, for very little rent, if they are willing to speak English to the family. And in recent years more and more universities have built special dormitories for their foreign students. In some case these are quite plush, and very inexpensive. Often a student at Nagoya University, for example, will have his own personal telephone, a separate bath, a common lounge, and even a place to do some of his or her own cooking. And the monthly rent is very low.

And they nearly always can easily find a job teaching English if they need more money. As a matter of fact, the opportunities--

it may have changed since I was there, but I think it is still true--that they can get a job teaching English that will pay them five or six thousand yen per hour. That gets up to around fifty dollars an hour if you are thinking in terms of dollars. The average student spends two or three hours a week teaching English. Some were so tempted by this opportunity to make money that they spent too much time teaching English. The Japanese government is always interested in this situation and the special problems created by it. But I think that most students are still supplementing their income by teaching English.

Research Expenses and Support

Lage: Let's talk about the sources of research support. I told you that I have interviewed people in many different fields, engineering and the sciences, and we always bring up the subject of where does the money come from to support the research.

Brown: Now you are talking about faculty research?

Lage: Faculty, and/or graduate student research.

Brown: Well, at the research level, I have often expressed the view--after talking to people in the history department and in other fields such as in French history, German history--that money for research can be more easily obtained for work in Japan than for most other parts of the world. In part this is because there are two programs that provide a lot of money for research. One is the Japan Foundation, which is supported by the Japanese government. There is nothing quite comparable to this, I think, in other countries of the world. Then in addition to that, we have the Fulbright program which in Japan is really two Fulbright programs. One is headed by the Japan-U.S. Fulbright Commission in Tokyo. I served on that Commission for five years as an appointee of the U.S. Ambassador to Japan. One half of the money spent by the Fulbright Commission came from the Japanese government.

Lage: Oh, it did? And half from our government?

Brown: And half from our government. Originally all the money was supplied by the U.S. government under the Fulbright Act. But when I left Japan, half of its money was coming from the Japanese government. Moreover, a number of donations had been made by wealthy Japanese industries. So more money was going to Americans for study in Japan.

Lage: From your experience on the commission, were they interested in particular areas of study or just the quality of the individuals?

Brown: Theoretically it was only the quality of the individual. Therefore when reviewing grant requests we rated each applicant according to academic promise and achievement. No field of research stood higher than any other. But the administrative head of the commission office, who always participated in our meetings, tended to assign greater weight to applicants who were women, or to teachers associated with one of the lesser known colleges or universities. I felt that the grants should go to people who were most likely to become a distinguished and influential scholar in some area of Japanese studies, not just anybody.

Lage: Just seeing if they like it or not?

Brown: Or those who are simply interested in the experience of living and working in Japan. In other words, there was a little bit of the old feeling that Japanese-American relations will be best served by having any American teacher spend a year in Japan, or by having any Japanese spend a year in the United States.

Lage: Not so much serious scholarship?

Brown: No. It was more a living-experience-abroad that they seemed to value.

Lage: I was just looking to see when you were on the commission. Member the Fulbright Commission '79 to '84 in Tokyo.

Brown: Yes, five years. I was appointed by Ambassador Mike Mansfield. As a matter of fact, he got me into several things while I was over there.

Lage: Did you know him well?

Brown: Since I was on the commission, I was always invited to a lot of the embassy parties and receptions. I saw him on those occasions.

Lage: Was he well regarded in Japan?

Brown: Oh yes, very highly regarded. I am inclined to think that the Japanese rate him the most popular American ambassador they have ever had, probably because he had a lot of clout in Washington. It was well known that he had served several terms in the U.S. Senate, had been a distinguished and influential chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and could and did do far more than follow instructions obtained from the Department of State. They felt and knew that on many cases he was not just reporting back to

Washington but making recommendations and then getting support directly from Congress. They liked having an ambassador who had such influence.

Lage: Anything else about support for research and how it might have changed over the years?

Brown: There are other foundations that support research in Japan. As I mentioned earlier, all twelve universities connected with the Inter-University Center each received a million dollars.

Lage: Was that from the Japanese government?

Brown: Yes.

Lage: So a lot of this is coming from the Japanese government.

Brown: Right. Just recently, the Japanese English teaching program was expanded so that 800 or more are sent to Japan every year. That is very important support for Japanese studies. These young people, after a year in Japan, learn the language quite well and develop a serious interest in some aspect of Japanese life. Many are becoming specialists in some aspect of Japanese life or another. This is tremendously important for Japanese studies generally.

Lage: That is interesting. I wonder if that is part of the government's aim, or do they just want to--

Brown: Yes, it is clear that the Japanese government not only wants to offer a larger number of students and scholars the opportunity to study and carry on research abroad but to have more foreigners, especially Americans, study in Japan. The sudden expansion in the number of American college graduates brought to Japan as English teachers for at least one year--and at a very good salary--came not long after the Asahi newspaper aired a program on internationalization in education during the year 1987, in which I was a participant and which came soon after Mary's death and before I resigned my position as Director and returned to the U.S.

For this program the Asahi newspaper invited about eight leading Japanese educators (including the current minister of education and the presidents of several key universities) and the American ambassador to Japan (Mike Mansfield) to attend a panel discussion on internationalism in Japanese education, a program that was to be broadcast and written up--in full--in the Asahi newspaper. But instead of accepting the invitation, Ambassador Mansfield recommended that he be replaced by an American educator who knew Japan and could participate in the program without the assistance of an interpreter, namely Professor Delmer Brown who had

taught in both in Japan and the United States and was then in Tokyo as director of the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies. So I was invited. At the beginning of the program, it was made clear that I was replacing Ambassador Mansfield.

A day or two later, what each of us said was written up (in Japanese and verbatim) in the Asahi Shimbun, Japan's largest and most influential newspaper. So it would be easy to find out what each of us said, and I might do that some day. But I remember quite well the point I made, which was that there was a definite imbalance in U.S.-Japan exchange programs. Having just completed a five-year term as a member of the Japan-United States Fulbright Commission (appointed by Mike Mansfield), I could show that there were many more (I had precise figures and percentages) Japanese students and scholars studying in the United States than American students and scholars studying in Japan. I remember being asked questions by the moderator that indicated that he was a bit shocked to hear of such imbalance. And, as I say, it was not long afterward that the Japanese government began offering hundreds of teaching positions to American college graduates. The timing suggests that my remarks had some effect but the same point was undoubtedly being made, over and over, by many others.

Graduate Students

Lage: Maybe we can talk about some of your graduate students, how you guided your graduate students, because there are a lot of different approaches. Do you notice different approaches within the history department?

Brown: Yes, there are probably as many different approaches as there are professors, and a given professor is likely to approach each of his students differently. Moreover, with the passage of time, a given professor is apt to change his mind on how graduate students should be trained.

In general, graduate training is centered on guiding, assisting, improving, and stimulating research on a particular historical topic or question, which is then written up as a report (seminar), thesis (M.A. degree), or dissertation (Ph.D. degree). Since it is assumed that a professor can best guide research that is in his particular area of expertise, a student's research is sometimes pretty close to that of his guiding professor. In some cases it is so close that one is tempted to conclude that the student has been asked to do research for his professor.

Lage: Is that a more old-fashioned or traditional method, or is that ongoing?

Brown: It is not so much a traditional method as one likely to be followed by young professors who are confident of guiding research only in their special fields. Sometimes one student after another continues to do research in that field, but in other cases (and this is where I found myself during the last part of my teaching career) the professor tries to make sure that each student does research about which he himself has a deep and abiding interest. I gradually became convinced that a graduate student is likely to become a creative and productive historical scholar only if he is constantly driven by the urge to obtain answers to historical questions that he himself has raised. That is a little more difficult approach but I think more and more professors are following that path: trying to get each student to develop his own historical questions, even his own research method.

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Brown: My dissertation was on money economy in medieval Japan. One of my earliest graduate students (Charles Sheldon, who received an appointment at Cambridge University in England) wrote his dissertation on economic developments in seventeenth-century Japan. It was obviously an extension of my interest.

If their interest was too close to mine, I was a little embarrassed. My feeling is that a student is much more likely to be a creative scholar if the area of research is picked out and developed by him or her, not me. I should not be telling them what to do, but letting them decide what to do. My function, I thought, was to encourage and help them to move into a problem that is theirs, not mine. This approach is a little more difficult, but I think more and more professors are trying to help a student develop his own research interest.

Lage: Do you think this is something the students have demanded over the years? Has the student changed?

Brown: In some cases students may demand it but, in my experience at least, most do not. Of course student interests continue to change but I am inclined to think that a student will insist upon making a particular historical investigation only after he or she has completed a considerable amount of historical study. Even then, he usually has not decided precisely what he wants to do.

In my first years of teaching at Berkeley I had a number of students who had been language officers in one of the military services, and even lived and worked for some years in Japan. But

most of them wrote their dissertation on subjects that had no connection whatsoever with what they had done during the war. There was however one notable exception: Royal Wald, who I had the pleasure of seeing again just a few days ago. After completing the U.S. Navy's intensive course in Japanese at Boulder, Colorado, he was assigned to duty with the OSS in China, where I presume he used his knowledge of Japanese for investigative work. And when he became a candidate for the Ph.D. degree under me at Berkeley, he chose to make a study of the Young Officer Movement that led to the famous February 16 Incident of 1936 when units of the army--under the leadership of young officers--rose up and almost seized control of the government. Roy certainly understood that this incident was an important turning point in Japanese history, and he was determined to find out why these young officers were so discontented and rebellious. His study has continued to be used and cited by persons who become immersed in questions about the subsequent drift toward war. But I myself was then working on a book on Japanese nationalism. So his interests were somewhat related to mine.

Lage: Are there any particular graduate students you want to mention who have been particularly outstanding?

Brown: There are several. I have had more than twenty receive their Ph.D. degrees under me as the chairman of their respective dissertation committees, and each one has been a special case to be remembered and appreciated. So I hesitate to pick out a few that have been particularly interesting.

If you had asked this question of me a few days ago, I probably would not have thought to include the name of Royal Wald, for example, because I have not been in contact with him for fifteen or twenty years. Moreover, he did not enter the academic field to become a university professor but became a foreign service officer in the U.S. Department of State. But since we spent an evening with Roy and his wife Mazie a few nights ago, I now realize that he may well be one of the most interesting of all. Although university professors, especially if their studies require that they spend some time outside the United States, do have many opportunities to travel and study in different parts of the world, foreign service officers such as Royal Wald usually come to hold very responsible positions in several countries, and for extended periods of time. Roy not only spent something like five years in the American Embassy in Tokyo--first in the political affairs division and then in the division of science and technology--but he had a rather lengthy stay in Poland while it was still a communist country, in Iran before the revolution, and in Egypt. Now he and his wife live in an interesting part of the world that I had never seen before last Saturday: the neighboring town of Clayton where

the Walds can see a spur of Mt. Diablo from their front-room window.

I might have missed mentioning Roy, but not the likes of Richard Miller, Ronald Anderson, Charles Sheldon, Wilbur Fridell, Hilary Conroy, Thomas Havens, Frank Ikle, George Moore, and Benjamin Hazard. These nine stand out because they have made distinguished contributions to our understanding of the life and culture of Japan, held professorships at distinguished universities, and stayed in touch. David Abosch (an analytical thinker) and Jack Harrison (an enthusiastic and stimulating teacher) have both published and become professors of Japanese history at the university level; but I have seen them only once or twice since they received their doctoral degrees. Philip Thompson, too, should be mentioned because he was a very bright and promising student who, like Dick Miller, raised fundamental questions about sovereignty in ancient Japan and translated such important ancient-history sources as rescripts handed down by eighth-century emperors and empresses. Philip spent a year on research under Professor Ishida at Tohoku University in Sendai and was then appointed assistant professor of Japanese history at Toronto University. For a year or two, he kept sending me portions of his dissertation, which were all very good. And I always wrote back to say that they were good. But for some reason--I heard that he had "psychological problems"--he never finished the dissertation. And presumably because he did not, Toronto did not promote him to tenure. He did not write me after that, but from others I heard rumors of divorce and suicide. What a tragedy!

I recall two other cases of persons that were very interesting but are not included in my list. One, whose name I can not remember, was very bright, had remarkable intellectual curiosity, and was blessed with a talent for historical analysis. I remember saying that he was one of the most interesting students that I had ever had in a graduate seminar--I often compared him with David Abosch. He intended to become a historian specializing in Japanese history. Knowing that he needed a working knowledge of the Japanese language, he signed up for a course in Japanese. But after a month or two he told me that he just could not cope with that language--that he did not have what it takes to make it a useful historical tool. He moved into some other field and I never saw him again.

The other might-have-been case was Dr. Peter Wetzler who was also a determined, hard-working, bright, interesting, and promising scholar but who did not become a tenured professor at a leading American university. I first came into contact with him when he entered my undergraduate class in Japanese history at the International Christian University in Tokyo. He was then a student

in the California Abroad Program where he met, and later married, a beautiful Japanese girl named Chizuko. After graduating from the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California he applied for admission to the graduate school at Berkeley so that he could work for the Ph.D. degree in Japanese history under me. During his graduate training he worked very hard and wrote excellent seminar papers. Mary and I often had dinner with Peter and Chizuko, both at our homes in Berkeley and at our cabin at Lake Tahoe. Toward the end of his graduate study he received a fellowship that permitted him to carry on research under Professor Ishida in Sendai, just as Thompson had done. Peter had a desk alongside several Japanese graduate students studying under Ishida and soon gained command of both written and spoken Japanese. He dug deeply into Confucian learning during the century or two that followed the Great Reforms of 645 and wrote a very good dissertation on an important problem in ancient Japanese intellectual history.

But during those years of research in Japan his marriage broke up. And although he received an assistant professor appointment at the University of Illinois after receiving the doctorate, he was not awarded tenure and had to leave. I do not know what went wrong at Illinois but the breakup of his marriage and his judgmental tendencies probably made it difficult for him to establish harmonious relationships with his students and colleagues. That is only a guess. Anyway he then went to Germany where he remarried and started a translation service. He knew English, Japanese, and German (which he had learned at home); and his new wife knew a couple of other languages. So they did translations in various languages and many fields. For several years his business seems to have thrived, but eventually (I have heard) his second marriage also broke up and his translation business folded. He then went back to Japan where he obtained a number of teaching positions, including one (as I recall) that involved teaching Japanese history in Japanese to Japanese college students. When I last saw him, I think he said he had married another Japanese woman and was doing what he liked most: teaching Japanese history in Japan. So he was a very interesting man--an excellent swimmer by the way--but he never became a productive scholar at an American university. That is no reason, however, why I should not list him as a particularly interesting graduate student.

Richard Miller, Specialist in the History of Japanese
Bureaucracy

Brown: Of the nine that I have listed I intended to speak first about Dr. Richard Miller, who was among the first to receive a Ph.D. in

Japanese history under my supervision, and with whom I was rather closely associated right down to the time of his sudden and early death about twenty years ago. Before he began working in Japanese history under me, he had already done considerable study in the East Asian language department where he had achieved competence not only in Japanese but in Chinese and, as I recall, in Tibetan and Mongolian as well. He also knew and collected East Asian art. Because of his interest in that area, I have often thought he might have become an even more interesting and creative historian if he had taken up subjects and problems in art history rather than institutional history. Because of his amazing collections of prints, paintings, pottery, fabrics, netsuke, et cetera, Professor Ishida once said, after a visit to the Millers in Davis, that their home was like a museum. Dick knew a lot about many things, even how to make money by buying and fixing up homes that could be (and were) sold for considerable profit. He was also an accomplished interior decorator and gardener.

It was at UC Davis that he produced the two volumes that are used and cited by anyone attempting to understand some aspect of the rapid and fundamental changes in Japanese life after the Great Reform movement of the seventh and eighth centuries.¹ Mary and I had lunch with him one day on our way to Tahoe, at the grand Victorian house that he and Marion had recently purchased, restored, and redecorated in an authentic Victorian style. That day is well remembered because Dick told me, in some detail and with great enthusiasm, just what he was doing on his current project: a study of Japan's eighth-century bureaucracy. After our lunch with the Millers we drove to Lake Tahoe and the next morning Marion called to say that Dick had had a sudden stroke and died a few hours after our departure.

That was a terrible shock, for Dick was far more than a former student. Shortly after he had completed his Ph.D. dissertation, I was appointed representative for the Asia Foundation in Tokyo where there was an opening for an associate director, and I recommended Dick. So we saw each other and worked together every day for a full year.

Lage: Was this before he did his scholarly work, his time with the Asia Foundation?

¹Richard J. Miller, Ancient Japanese Nobility: The Kabane Ranking System (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); Japan's First Bureaucracy: A Study of Eighth-Century Government. Cornell University East Asia papers, no. 19 (Ithaca: China-Japan Program, Cornell University, 1978).

Brown: Both before and after. He had of course completed his dissertation before I was appointed director of the Asia Foundation in Tokyo in 1955. While he was in the Asia Foundation--probably about eight years--he continued to study the language and culture of the Asian countries where he worked. But his major publications were produced after he left the Foundation to become a professor, first at the International Christian University in Tokyo and then at the University of California in Davis.

Because he spoke Japanese so well, and was a tall man who knew a lot about many things, he was able to establish meaningful contacts with prominent scholars--as well as with prominent literary figures and artists--with whom the Asia Foundation was working in trying to reinforce free and democratic ideals and institutions. Indeed he was so good that he stayed on with the Asia Foundation for several years, serving as the Foundation's representative in the Philippines (or was it Taiwan?) and Pakistan --where he picked up more artistic treasures. Then he contracted a disease that forced him to stay in bed for several months.

He continued, however, to wish that he could return to the academic life of teaching and research and therefore readily accepted an offer of a professorial appointment at the International Christian University in Tokyo. That was where he was teaching Japanese history when I went to that same university in 1967 as director of the California Abroad Program. So we and the Millers saw a lot of each other for another two years--we were colleagues in the same university and at a time when the student movement was boiling. Dick and Marion were then living in a small, old, and interesting house that had been built long before World War II, when that area had been the private estate of a local dignitary. The house continued to be a museum-piece--with a thatched roof, tatami floors, ancient gates, et cetera--but only the Millers wanted to live there. When we had dinner at that little house, everything was always in the ancient and beautiful Japanese style, and the food was always tasty.

One day when Dick and Marion were driving along the shore of the peninsula on which the Narita Airport is located, they came to a long stretch of ugly and desolate land that had been strip-mined. Noting that this cheap and undesirable property was located along a beautiful shore line, Dick got the idea that it could be restored. So he bought ten acres at a very low price. Then he had many truck-loads of topsoil hauled in, trees planted, and a beautiful little cottage built where he and Marion could spend their weekends beside the sea. We spent several pleasant days there with them. Not surprisingly, the value of the land increased rapidly and within a few years he sold a small part of the ten acres at a price

well above what he had spent on buying and restoring the land, and on building and furnishing that beautiful cottage.

Ronald Anderson, a Close Friend and a Scholar of Buddhism

Brown: Another person who received his Ph.D. degree under me in those early years was not just a graduate student but an old friend that I continued to see and enjoy right down to his death about fifteen years ago. That was Ronald Anderson who not only did his graduate work under me but got me a teaching position in Japan back in 1932. He traveled with me by boat from Seattle to Yokohama in September of that year, went with me by train from Tokyo to Kanazawa to introduce me to the new situation there, invited me to me to his home in Fukuoka for my first Christmas in Japan, went with me on a spring-vacation trip to Shanghai--which ended before we got to Shanghai--in the spring of 1933, shared a cabin with me at Lake Nojiri during the summers of 1933 and 1934, and served as best man when Mary and I got married at Lake Nojiri at the end of the 1934 summer. After that we continued to exchange letters, and when I returned to the United States I served as best man at his wedding. During the war we did not see that much of each other since I was in Hawaii and he was on the mainland. But with the close of the war, our paths crossed again because he was in Kyoto as a civilian employee of SCAP's education division during the summer of 1948 when I went to Japan as a consultant in higher education for that same education division. The SCAP education division was then headed by Colonel Donald Nugent, whom we had both known for many years, since all three of us had gone to Stanford and had taught English for several years in Japan during the 1930s. Shortly after that, Ronald and his second wife Lucile returned to Berkeley so that Ronald might work for the Ph.D. degree under me, creating a strange situation in which two old friends found themselves in a student-teacher relationship and with the teacher (me) being three or four years younger than his student (Ron).

But our friendship survived because Ronald was a bright and conscientious learner and I did my best to be helpful and supportive, and by not being, I think, unreasonably demanding and critical. He wrote an interesting dissertation on the Pure Land Buddhist sect with which he had worked while in Kyoto. Then he received an appointment at the University of Michigan. A few years later he accepted an offer to join the School of Education at the University of Hawaii in Honolulu, where he taught and lived until his death. While Professor Ishida and I were at the East West Center for joint research in the mid-sixties, Mary and I again had pleasant times with Ronald and Lucile. Then in 1984, when Mary and

I were home from Japan for a visit, Ren had a great party to celebrate our 50th wedding anniversary. Ronald and Lucile were of course invited--he had not only been best man at the wedding we were celebrating but had taken moving pictures which I still have. But they said that they could not attend. I telephoned to back up the invitation, only to discover that cancer on the side of Ron's face made it necessary for him to stay near his doctor in Honolulu. He died soon afterward.

Yale Maxon was my successor at that same Fourth Higher School in Kanazawa, and he too came to Berkeley for graduate work toward the Ph.D., not in history but in political science. Like Ronald Anderson and me, Yale had learned his Japanese in Japan. And like me, he received a commission in the U.S. Navy and was assigned to intelligence work in Hawaii. But he was on duty with the 12th Naval District Intelligence Office in Honolulu whereas I was with combat intelligence under Admiral Nimitz in Pearl Harbor. After receiving the Ph.D. degree, he taught at the Merritt College in Oakland.

So Ronald, Yale, and I have been associated with each other in different ways for over fifty years. All three of us graduated from Stanford, taught at the Fourth Higher School in Japan, used our knowledge of Japan and the Japanese language in the war against Japan, became involved in graduate work at Berkeley, and entered a career of teaching and research on Japan at the university level.

Charles Sheldon, an Outstanding Student and Scholar

Brown: Another interesting graduate student is also deceased, Charles Sheldon, whom I have already mentioned as the one who became a lecturer--English equivalent of professor--at Cambridge University in England. Sheldon and I first became acquainted when I was in Tokyo as a consultant for SCAP in the summer of 1948. That was when Charles, as well as my old friend Yale, were on assignments with what is known as the War Crimes Trial. Yale was serving as an interpreter for the lawyers who were prosecuting General Tōjō while Sheldon was in the documents division of the prosecution section.

Charles and I attended some academic meeting at which we were the only Americans present. The meeting was conducted entirely in Japanese. When he and I, as foreign guests, were asked to say something, it was assumed that we would speak in Japanese. Which we did. And that was when Sheldon became interesting, for he not only spoke naturally and fluently, but had mastered polite forms of speech for a public address and could even crack jokes and make

humorous remarks in Japanese. I was really impressed. Although his training in Japanese had been limited to a year of intensive training as a Japanese language officer, plus the experience he had picked up in Tokyo with the War Crimes Trial, he really had mastered it. Clearly he had been using and studying the language intensively during months and years in Japan.

I must have been of some interest to him, too, because some months later he wrote me to say that he had applied for admission to the graduate division at Berkeley so that he could work toward the Ph.D. degree in Japanese history under me. But his application was rejected because his grades as an undergraduate in Santa Barbara had been low. Since I had been so greatly impressed with his Japanese and I felt he had the makings of a scholar, I wrote a letter to the dean of admissions asking that his low undergraduate grades be overlooked. I expressed the view that he had become a learner during his time in Tokyo, obviously developing a curiosity about Japan and its culture that would last. That was the only time, I think, that I have ever asked that an admission-rejection be reconsidered. And it worked.

For his dissertation he followed my current interest in economic history by digging into the rise of Japan's merchant class at the end of the seventeenth century. When the time came for his dissertation, he was able to go to Kyoto for research. I wrote a letter of recommendation to Professor Kobata Atsushi, whom I had never met but whose books and articles on economic activities in medieval Japan were important for my own dissertation research. Professor Kobata did not simply meet Charles during an office hour but invited him to work at a desk in his study at the Kyoto University. Of course Charles was delighted to receive such special treatment and, during the year, gained even greater mastery of both spoken and written Japanese. The dissertation was later published as a book that continues to be used and cited.² After a short assignment in Washington, he received an offer to teach at Cambridge University in England, which he readily accepted. Although his salary was lower than it had been in the U.S., he wanted to go because his wife was French and welcomed the opportunity to be closer to her relatives in France.

In order to cover the cost of moving to England, and buying a home at Cambridge, he sold a collection of netsuke that he had put together during his stay in Japan. I remember seeing that

²Charles David Sheldon, The Rise of the Merchant Class in Tokugawa Japan, 1600-1868: An Introductory Survey. Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, 5 (Locust Valley, N.Y.: Published for the Association for Asian Studies by J.J. Augustin, 1958).

collection and being impressed by it. At a time when such carved ivory pieces could be obtained at an amazingly low price, he set out to get representative pieces--that is, one of each type (monkey, child, horse, fox, et cetera) of the ivory pieces that were carved into decorative objects (no more than two or three inches long) that were attached to the belt of samurai. These all dated from the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. He had also gone to the trouble of having a beautiful box made that had a little drawer for each of his netsuke. So when he moved to England he sold the entire collection, obtaining enough money to buy a nice home in Cambridge.

When Margaret and I spent a month or so driving around England, we stopped by that Sheldon home at Cambridge. Charles had died some years earlier but his French wife was still living in that delightful home. She showed us around the university, and her fondness for life there made us see and understand why he had enjoyed teaching and carrying on research in the field of Japanese history at Cambridge University.

Benjamin Hazard did his dissertation on the activities of Japanese pirates in medieval Korea, and after receiving the Ph.D. also was appointed to a position in the history department at the California State University of San Jose. He has worked on at least two fine books, one of them with George Moore.³

Ben was on duty with the army in Japan when I went there in the summer of 1948 as a consultant in higher education with SCAP. Ben had access to a jeep that made my life in Tokyo that summer much more pleasant, and also easier to collect books for the university--the East Asian Library had not yet come into existence. Ben and I also had a mutual friend, Imai Kichinosuke, who was head of the Maeda collection housed in the Sonkeikaku Bunko.

Still another interesting graduate student was Hilary Conroy who became a professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania. In addition to learning Japanese during World War II and electing to specialize in Japanese history, Hilary was a good musician, as was his wife, Charlotte. But they were different. Hilary preferred popular music and played by ear, and was apparently unable to read music. Charlotte, on the other hand,

³Benjamin H. Hazard, Eilyn Katoh, George E. Moore (editors), Japanese Books on Modern Japan. Japanese Bibliographies, no. 1 (Berkeley: East Asian Studies, Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1958); Takashi Hatada, A History of Korea. Translated and edited by Warren W. Smith, Jr. and Benjamin H. Hazard (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-Clac, 1969).

liked classical music, read music, and played beautifully. Each seemed to envy the musical abilities of the other. They were both tall and slender, and great dancers. Mary and I had an evening with them at the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo--that must have been around 1956 when I was with the Asia Foundation--and they wowed us, and everybody else, with their dancing. Not only that, they were good tennis players. So Hilary must have impressed his students at Pennsylvania in many different ways. He has edited several books and written numerous articles. His major book-length study is on Japanese militarism in Korea.⁴

Hilary is now retired but, as far as I know, has not returned to California, although a daughter of theirs is teaching Japanese history, or something else in the area of Japanese studies. The last I heard she was a professor on the Irvine campus of the University of California.

But there have been many other interesting students, such as Frank Ikle. Frank received some of his education in Switzerland, and therefore had mastered French and gained some familiarity with different aspects of European culture before spending a year on an intensive study of Japanese in the U.S. Navy. Frank wrote his dissertation on relations between Germany and Japan in prewar years. And after receiving the Ph.D. degree, he obtained an appointment at Reed College in Oregon. Later he moved to the University of New Mexico where he was to be appointed chairman of the history department.

Thomas Havens, Wilbur Fridell, and Janet Goodwin: A New Generation of Graduate Students

Brown: Another very interesting student of mine Thomas Havens who is now a professor of History and librarian of the East Asian Library on the Berkeley campus of the University of California.

Lage: Is that one we need to fill in?

Brown: Yes, because Tom and Bill Fridell and Jan [Janet R.] Goodwin were students of a new generation that had not learned Japanese before or during World War II, they did not have the benefit of a full year of intensive work in the language in either the army or navy. Bill learned his Japanese during some seventeen years of missionary

⁴Hilary Conroy, The Japanese Seizure of Korea, 1868-1910 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960).

work in Japan but both Tom and Jan started off with lots of course work in the language at the university level, followed by years of study and research in Japan. Probably Bill achieved greater mastery of the spoken language, but all three were able to carry out research in Japanese materials leading to the publication of numerous books and articles. Both Jan and Bill worked in the religious field where I have been concentrating my energies for the last fifteen or twenty years. Bill's research led to the publication of book in the mid-1970s.⁵

Jan was able to get to Japan for the study of the language while she was working on her dissertation. She worked in popular religious movements of ancient times. After receiving the degree, she obtained temporary appointments at colleges and universities on the West Coast, including USC. Now she is a professor at Aizu University in northern Japan. Her excellent book was published by the University of Hawaii Press.⁶ She also translated two chapters --one by the distinguished anthropologist, Okazaki Takashi, and the other by a leading scholar of ancient Shinto, Matsumae Takeshi--for Volume 1 of The Cambridge History of Japan. Her translations were scholarly and well written.

Bill taught in the religions department of the University of California at Santa Barbara. Bill died a few years ago but, Jan is now living in Los Angeles and seems to be devoting much of her time to an Internet web site (called H-Japan) which is heavily used by academics carrying out research in the Japanese field.

Tom Havens has made the greatest academic splash, for he has not only written six distinguished books in modern Japanese history but has held such high academic posts as chairman of the history department at Connecticut College and chairman of the Department of East Asian Languages and Culture at the University of Illinois, Urbana. Before that, he had served as editor of the Journal of Asian Studies, and now he is professor of history and librarian of the East Asian Library at UC Berkeley, which is reputed to be one of the two best libraries in the country. Now he is deeply involved in the planning, funding, and building of a new library that will cost some \$24 million.

Thomas Havens had studied only a bit of Japanese in Princeton when he came to Berkeley for work toward the Ph.D. in Japanese

⁵Wilbur M. Fridell, Japanese Shrine Mergers, 1906-12; State Shinto Moves to the Grassroots (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1973).

⁶Janet R. Goodwin, Alms and Vagabonds: Buddhist Temples and Popular Patronage in Medieval Japan (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994).

history. But he worked hard and completed all requirements for the degree in about three years, an astonishing feat. He apparently was able to do this because he did not have to work while he was a graduate student and because he was a hard worker and well organized. His papers, always handed in on time, showed an amazing amount of work in a wide range of sources. After completing his dissertation on Nishi Amane, he received an appointment at Connecticut College.

Tom has had several one-year grants for research in Japan and published six good books, averaging about one every four years. And they range widely. Beginning with a book on Nishi Amane (a writer and thinker of the nineteenth century) published in 1970, he has written books on agrarian nationalism (1974); the Japanese in World War II (1978); artists and patrons in Japan between 1955 and 1980 (1982); the Vietnam War and Japan (1987); and the rich Tsutsumi family (1994). His publications have all been based on extensive work in Japanese sources as well as on interviews with Japanese individuals who had first-hand knowledge of the subject being investigated.⁷

Lage: Were your later graduate students quite different?

Brown: Yes, they were younger and faced the problem of learning enough Japanese to use it for research. Not having had a year of intensive training in the language in either the army or the navy, they had to learn their Japanese in courses at an American university.

I remember saying that a graduate student in Japanese history should normally plan to devote one half of his or her time on the study of Japanese, and the other half on study for graduate seminars. Many also had to work, forcing them to spend an inordinate amount of time getting their degrees. One of the

⁷Thomas Havens, Nishi Amane and Modern Japanese Thought (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); Farm and Nation in Modern Japan: Agrarian Nationalism, 1870-1940 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War Two (New York: Norton, 1978); Artist and Patron in Postwar Japan: Dance, Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts, 1955-1980 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Fire Across the Sea: The Vietnam War and Japan, 1965-1975 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); The Ambivalence of Nationalism: Modern Japan between East and West (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1990); Architects of Affluence: The Tsutsumi Family and the Seibu-Saison Enterprises in Twentieth Century Japan (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, Harvard University Press, 1994).

brightest and most promising graduates to take seminar work under me (I can't remember his name) finally decided to withdraw from graduate school, saying that he just could not devote so much time to working on that impossible language.

Students who Entered Other Disciplines

Lage: Did any of your students, in either undergraduate courses and or graduate seminars, become professors in disciplines other than history?

Brown: Oh yes, I can think of five within the University of California system, four of whom are, or have been at Berkeley.

William and Helen McCullough were in my undergraduate class on Japanese history shortly after I went there in 1946. Later they both entered the graduate division for work toward the Ph.D. in East Asian languages and literature, and both were appointed to teaching positions in the East Asian language department. They worked together on a two-volume translation of the famous Eiga Monogatari.⁸

Bill became chairman of the East Asian Language Department. And after Don Shively moved to Berkeley to head the East Asian Library, Bill took over the editorship of Volume II of The Cambridge History of Japan. But because of illness, and after Don's retirement, the editorship of that volume was returned to Don.

Helen began teaching in the East Asian Language Department at about the time that Bill did, but as a lecturer. She was apparently not given a professorial appointment because she was a woman married to a professor in the same department. But in the 1970s when affirmative action was in the air, she finally became a professor. I remember supporting the move. Recently she has received a decoration from the Emperor of Japan for scholarly work in the field of Japanese literature.

Fred Wakeman came from Harvard to get his Ph.D. degree in Chinese history under Joseph Levenson, but audited my undergraduate

⁸Eiga Monogatari: A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period. Translated into English, with introduction and notes by William H. McCullough and Helen Craig McCullough (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980).

lectures on Japanese history and had a graduate seminar with me. Fred is now generally rated as America's leading Chinese historian, holds an endowed chair, and is director of the Institute of East Asian Studies. He has written several distinguished books.⁹

Chalmers Johnson sat in the front row of my undergraduate course in Japanese history and went on to get his Ph.D. in political science and to become a distinguished professor of Japanese politics at Berkeley. He is said to have received and turned down offers from such distinguished universities as Harvard but finally did accept an offer from the San Diego campus of the University of California. He has published a number of interesting and influential books. His most recent book is creating a stir.

Hans Baerwald too was an early student in my undergraduate course. He was born in Japan and knew Japanese so well that he had a responsible position with the Occupation. He took his graduate work in political science, obtained the Ph.D. degree under Robert Scalapino, and received a teaching appointment at the University of California in Los Angeles. In 1967, I followed him as director of the California Program in Tokyo, and in 1969 he went back to Tokyo for a second term as director. He is known for his contacts among prominent political figures and has written articles in Japanese about the Japanese parliament.

Carl Bielefeldt also took my undergraduate lecture course on Japanese history. Although that must have been at least thirty years ago, I still remember that his paper on some aspect of Buddhism was so good that I awarded him a grade and scribbled, "This is the best undergraduate paper I have ever read." He is now a professor of Buddhism at Stanford and has written such distinguished books as Manuals of Zen Meditation, published by the University of California Press in 1988.

A recent graduate student of mine at Starr King, Lisa Grumbach, has gone to Stanford to work under Carl. After graduating from Harvard, she spent about five years in Japan and has an excellent command of the language. She has great scholarly

⁹Frederic E. Wakeman, The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth Century China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Policing Shanghai, 1927-1937 (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1995); The Shanghai Badlands: Wartime Terrorism and Urban Crime, 1917-41 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

promise, especially now that she is working on religion under one of the country's leading Buddhist scholars.

Edwin A. Cranston says that he was enrolled in my undergraduate course on Japanese history, but I don't remember him as an undergraduate. He went on to get his Ph.D. in ancient Japanese literature at Harvard, and to become a Harvard professor. He contributed a great chapter to Volume 1 of The Cambridge History of Japan entitled "Asuka and Nara Culture: Literacy, Literacy, and Music" and recently completed a two-volume work.¹⁰

Now I have a new crop of students that have been working under me at the Graduate Theological Union [GTU] in Berkeley. There I have been teaching graduate students specializing in religion since my return from Japan in 1987. I keep saying that I have enjoyed teaching these students more than those at UC Berkeley. Probably that is because my own study has been primarily in the religious field ever since I started translating Muraoka's book on Shinto Thought, which was published in 1964. These more recent students include Lisa Grumbach who is now working for her Ph.D. degree at Stanford University, Mark Hara who is now completing his Ph.D. degree at GTU and teaching at a Christian seminary in Kobe, Japan, and Chizuko Saito who is doing research for her Ph.D. dissertation in the field of religious psychology at GTU.

One has already made quite a reputation for himself, Professor John Nelson, who is now a professor of Japanese studies at the University of Texas. John was working for his Ph.D. degree in the Anthropology Department at Berkeley when he heard from Professor George Williams of Chico State University about me and the course I was teaching on Shinto at GTU. So John attended that seminar and then received a Fulbright Scholarship that allowed him to spend a full year researching the Kamigamo Shrine of Kyoto, Japan. Since he had already lived in Japan five or six years before entering the graduate school at Berkeley, and had a Japanese wife, he was competent in both oral and written Japanese. Before coming to Berkeley, and while he was in Nagasaki, he has been investigating beliefs and practices at an old Shinto shrine. That work led to the publication of a book entitled A Year in the Life of a Shinto Shrine, which is now being used as a textbook in Shinto courses--not only in mine and his but in Professor Helen Hardacre's course at Harvard University.¹¹ John has been attending conferences on

¹⁰A Waka Anthology. Translated with Commentary and Notes by Edwin A. Cranston (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

¹¹John K. Nelson, A Year in the Life of a Shinto Shrine (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996).

Shinto all over the United States, and in Japan. He is now taking the lead in a project of the Shinto Center at Berkeley (I am the director) which is involved in a joint project with the Kokugakuin University of Tokyo in producing a Shinto database.

Lage: Is he in anthropology?

Brown: Yes, but at the University of Texas his subject is something like Japanese studies. His courses are really mostly on Japanese religion, probably the anthropology of religion.

Lage: Would it be different, then, from the way you would approach the same topic, he being an anthropologist and you being an historian?

Brown: Yes, I think so. As an anthropologist, he probably gives much more emphasis to comparisons with other religions and to anthropological thought about various aspects of religion. Moreover, he gives special attention to field work and descriptive studies of what really happens at rituals. I think I miss--regret, let's put it that way--that he doesn't have more of an historical interest, more interest in how things really got started and developed, not just what they are like now.

Lage: Did you have trouble with the problem that is always mentioned in the humanities: how long graduate students take to get their Ph.D. degrees?

Brown: We have always had that problem in the History Department. Tom Havens, however, was an exception. He got his degree in about the minimum length of time, about three years, because he was extremely well organized and very conscientious. He not only took care of all the assignments, but usually did something more; and he was always on time. He got through his program in a remarkably short time and has continued to write a book every four or five years since then.

I don't recall any of my students really spending too much time. When you work for a degree in the Asian field, you have this problem of language. That forces a student to spend much more time getting ready for research. A lot of my students didn't spend enough time. Some really didn't have an opportunity to work on Japanese in Japan, usually, until they were working on their dissertation. But most of them were able to get a grant from the Fulbright Commission or from one of the foundations for study in Japan while they were working on their dissertation, but not before that, and for no more than one year.

Lage: So they may not have had outstanding language?

Brown: Those who had spent a year with the army or navy, and lived long in Japan, were fairly well equipped. But later ones really didn't have enough language to use the materials easily or to discuss historical problems with Japanese scholars in Japanese.

Lage: Yes, the kind of things you had the benefit of.

Brown: I didn't have enough of it either. You really never get enough.

Lage: Well, maybe you just never have enough, but you surely had a lot of it. Have you had any Asian-American students, Japanese Americans who studied for the Ph.D. in Japanese studies?

Brown: Yes, but not many.

George Moore was born in Japan as the son of Lardner Moore, a missionary who was at his Lake Nojiri cottage in the summer of 1934 when Mary and I met and were married. George therefore knew the language very well. When he first entered my seminar, one summer, he was teaching at Piedmont High School. He took my seminar primarily to get some additional units required for advancement as a teacher in the Piedmont system. But he was so good and so bright and so interested in Japanese history that I encouraged him to go on for a Ph.D., which he did.

George wrote his dissertation on the Kumamoto Band of Christians that played an important role in the founding of Doshisha University during the 1890s. Shortly afterward, he was appointed to the history department at the California State University at San Jose. For several years he was departmental chairman.

Lage: That is a nice story.

More on Ronald Anderson

Brown: Ronald Anderson, who I mentioned earlier, was my predecessor at the Fourth Higher School in Kanazawa, Japan, and also obtained his Ph.D. degree under me at Berkeley. He had not served in one of the military services but, like me, had learned Japanese on his own while teaching English in Japan after graduating from Stanford. During World War II, he was an instructor in some civilian training program. And after the Japanese surrender in 1945, he went to Kyoto as an educational officer for SCAP (the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers). In that capacity he gave special attention to the hereditary position of priests in the Pure Land Sect of

Buddhism. But because SCAP authorities in Tokyo learned that Ronald had once been accused of communist leanings while teaching social studies in Redwood City High School, he was fired from his job and ordered to leave Japan within twenty-four hours.

After his return to the United States, he decided to enter graduate school for work toward a Ph.D. degree in Japanese history under me. He wrote his dissertation on the Buddhist sect that he had been studying and, after receiving his degree, was offered a professorship at the University of Michigan. He later accepted a teaching position at the University of Hawaii in Honolulu. His major publication was Education in Japan, published by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1975.

Ronald not only got me my first job in Japan (as his replacement at the Fourth Higher School) but was best man at my wedding at Lake Nojiri in 1934. Later I was best man for him when he married one of his Redwood City High School students. Although we were not in close contact during the war, I once had a long visit with him and his new wife Lucile in Kyoto, and we frequently saw them after Ronald was admitted to Berkeley for graduate work in history. So he was not so much a student as an old friend that I had known ever since we crossed the Pacific Ocean together in 1932 on the President Madison: I was going to my Japan for the first time, and he was returning to Japan to take up a teaching position at a higher school in Fukuoka, Japan.

Some Final Notes on Graduate Students

Brown: David Abosch's dissertation was on "Kato Hiroyuku and the Introduction of German Political Thought in Modern Japan, 1868-1883". After receiving the degree, he was appointed to the history department of one of the campuses in the Illinois University system. David was a bright and stimulating talker but, as far as I know, wrote no books.

John Harrison centered his graduate research on the Japanese development of the northern island of Hokkaido and then moved into a professorial position at a Florida university. John was a good friend of Royal Wald and, like David, seems not to have turned out a book.

George Bikle wrote his dissertation on Kagawa Toyohiko and taught at the University of California at Riverside for a few years but did not receive tenure. He is now outside the teaching

profession and living in Berkeley. I see him now and then at colloquia sessions on Japan.

The Graduate Theological Union, and the Study of Religion in Japan

- Lage: We haven't talked about your teaching at the Graduate Theological Union.
- Brown: I have really enjoyed my teaching there. As a matter of fact, I have been teaching ever since I graduated from Stanford sixty-seven years ago. So I guess teaching is in my blood and I must like it, because I don't really have to teach any more to make a living.
- Lage: Right. You are supposed to be retired, after all.
- Brown: The retirement pay at Berkeley is very good. I didn't really have to go take another job in Japan after retirement in 1977. I hesitated about taking it. They flew me over there to let me look at the situation, to see whether I would like to be director of that program for a year, and I stayed for ten.
- Lage: That was '77, right after you had retired?
- Brown: Right. I guess it was the teaching angle--I was not a teacher but the director. I did not teach any courses, but I was an advisor to all those bright students. I was the only American professor present; and the students were all graduate students in one field or another of Asian studies from some American, English, Canadian, or Australian university. And whenever they had a problem, they wanted to talk to me about it.
- Lage: Who were all studying the language?
- Brown: Yes, and very intensively. Many of them have become professors in colleges and universities in the English-speaking world. Professor Noble in the Political Science Department at Berkeley was a student at the center when I was there. Professor Beth Berry, who is my successor, had not studied under me but was at the center in an earlier year. Being associated with them--encouraging them and guiding them in whatever way I could--was rewarding. That was the kind of a teaching relationship that I enjoyed.
- My first wife died in that last of my ten years in that job.
- Lage: Did she mind going back for ten years in Japan? You had told me early on that--

Brown: No, no, she didn't say that she objected in any way. I don't think she did. She seemed to like it over there. Anyway, because she became ill, I decided to quit. And then when she died before the year was out--. I think if I had been asked to stay on, I might very well have done so. They had already started looking for a successor, and it was pretty hard to change at that point.

So I came back, and soon got an opportunity to teach at the Pacific School of Religion, one of the eight or so theological schools that make up the Ph.D.-granting Graduate Theological Union. And I jumped at it, I guess because I like to teach. These seminars on Japanese religion that I have been teaching--I call them seminars because they are small groups of graduate students--have been really exciting. I have said, and I think that I really believe, that my teaching at GTU--first PSR and now at Starr King School for the Ministry--have been far more rewarding and exciting than the seminars I taught at Berkeley.

Lage: Why is that?

Brown: I think for three reasons: First, the students are working for advanced degrees and have a special interest in my field of religion, sometimes in writing theses or dissertations in the area of Japanese religion. Second, it is neither a traditional-type seminar or lecture course, but is centered on the discussion of problems that the students and I face in our current research. Third, it provides excellent opportunities for me to air current theories about the evolution of Shinto, theories that lie at the core of research leading to the publication of my next book.

Usually no more than four or five sign up for the course, but each class has contained one or two who are have a deep interest in the evolution of Shinto, either because it is another religion that helps them understand their own Christian faith or because it is a religion they have grown up with and would like to understand. Several students who have taken my course have already achieved distinction in research and teaching.

These include John Nelson, Lisa Grumbach, Mark Hara, who is now a professor at a Christian seminary in Kobe, and Chizuko Saito, who is now a candidate for the Ph.D. in the psychology of religion at the GTU. This coming semester (1999), I will miss the first two sessions of the class because of the trip that Margaret and I will be taking to Southeast Asia, and those sessions will be handled by former members of that course (Lisa will take the first one and John the second).

I already mentioned Mark Hara, who had majored in physics at the Kyoto University and who, for reasons that I was never quite

able to fathom, decided not to on for an advanced degree in physics but to go to the United States for a special study of Christian theology. By the time he showed up in my seminar he had become deeply involved in the study of Paul Tillich (the man that made Professor Ishida mad and that led us to translate the Gukanshō into English). Hara was also asking questions about the symbiotic relationship between various elements of what might be called the religion of Japan: Buddhism, Shintoism, Confucianism, Taoism, and Christianity.

As we started discussing and advancing theories about the basic character of those strands, we gravitated toward the view that whereas Shintoism functioned on the life side of human concerns Buddhism did so on the death side. That is, the two religions were not antagonistic faiths forcing everyone to decide which of the two he or she belonged to, but complemented each other: the worship of Kami (Shintoism) functioning as a religious system by which human individuals obtained divine assistance in meeting life-needs (good health, good grades, good eating, good housing, et cetera, right here and now), and the worship of Buddha (Buddhism) functioning as a religious system by which human individuals obtained divine assistance in meeting death-related needs (consolation of the souls of deceased relatives, rebirth in some Buddhist heaven after death, et cetera). Thus, even today the Japanese tend to go to Shinto shrines or a special service after the birth of a new child, at the time of a wedding, or before taking an important entrance examination. But they go to a Buddhist temple for funerals, memorial services, and Obon (when the souls return to the family for a visit). As we got into an interesting exchange of views about the various elements of Japanese religion, Mark came up with the idea that Christianity had its own particular function: helping individuals to meet this-life needs through social service. This was an intriguing idea about which he wrote a very good paper and which has influenced my own thinking about how all religion affects the lives of people, both as individuals and as members of society.

I have just finished writing an article entitled "The Making of a Shinto Scholar," which is about the emergence of my friend Matsumae Takeshi as one of Japan's most distinguished scholars of Japanese myth. (I will soon be sending it off to the Japanese Journal of Religious Studies.) And in that article I find myself giving close attention to the way the various strands of Japanese religion seem to have functioned, in a symbiotic relationship to each other, in the emergence of Professor Matsumae as a distinguished Shinto scholar. He writes that his war experience in Borneo in the closing months of the Pacific War made him determined to devote himself to the study of myth, especially those myths that lie behind that fundamentalist, nationalistic, emperor-Great

Goddess-centered segment of Shinto that he and I call Imperial-Country Shinto. And that Shinto movement is the subject of another article that will be included in a volume on "goddesses and sovereignty" to be published by Oxford University Press. So Hara's ideas and thoughts get mixed up with those of many other students and scholars who have influenced and stimulated what I write and teach.

Lage: How interesting. Even though his focus is the Christian--

Brown: Right. But the connection between Shinto, the old religion of Japan, and Christianity as it is developing in Japan is a subject that he is very much interested in and in which he has done some clear and logical thinking.

Lage: Very fascinating. Why did your interest in Japanese history over the years come to focus on the religion, on Shinto?

Brown: My interest did not shift because of any particular person, event, or decision. It has been a long and gradual process--like history as a whole--with detectable stages. The interest in Japanese culture (their thoughts, beliefs, behavior, politics, economics, and social institutions) began, as I suppose it does with any historian, with the assumption that the best way to find about anything is to get back to its beginnings and study its symbiotic relationship to everything else (before, after, and alongside). Although I say I was interested in Japanese culture as a whole, and was trying to get at what Sir George Sansom called the "hard core of Japanese culture", like everybody else I had to narrow my studies down to something manageable. And that is where the change came.

First, I focused my attention on the life and times of one great military lord, Maeda Toshiie who was the founder of the Maeda clan, the heads of which were the daimyo of Kaga where Kanazawa was located. Then under the influence of Lynn White I moved off into the technological and economic history of the sixteenth century for my M.A. thesis and Ph.D. dissertation. But because of my experience with Japanese nationalism before and during World War II, I began to dig into the roots and character of that movement, only to find that I could get to its core only by delving into religious history. Why? Because Japanese nationalism obviously swirled about a widespread and deep belief that the Japanese people were integral parts of a sacred Nation Body (kokutai) headed by an emperor believed to be a divine descendant of the Great Goddess Amaterasu. So my later studies were, and still are, in that tricky area of intellectual and religious history. I say "tricky" because there we are talking and thinking about unseen power that can not be measured, counted, or weighed. That is one reason, I presume,

why not many historians dig into that area of human experience, but I suspect that those working in other areas would say that that the whole area of religion just does not seem important or interesting. I began to realize that it was and is important when I studied nationalism. Then I gradually came to see that the Japanese people had always thought of spiritual power as being an integral part of power as a whole. Indeed a common Japanese word for power (iryoku) is made up of two characters: the first one points to spiritual power and that is translated by such words as prestige, dignity, majesty, and authority, and the other that points to what we might called naked power (political control, economic, wealth, and the power of engines and machines and guns). And throughout Japanese history we find evidence that the government was always spending huge amounts of material and human resources on projects that were essentially religious in character, and had no direct relevance to such earthy matters as military defense, political control, or economic gain.

And gradually I have come to understand that leaders, at all times and at all levels of society, seem to have been consciously or unconsciously trying to strengthen their positions of control--especially at critical times--by doing whatever they can to supplement their physical power (achieved through armies and other governmental agencies) with spiritual power (achieved by patronizing the building of shrines, temples, burial mounds, grand capitals, et cetera). Indeed it seems that all political developments in the whole of history everywhere are constantly intertwined with religious developments, and vice versa. Even in this rich and strong United States of post-industrial times, politics is intertwined with religion, and religion with politics. Thus my reading and study has made me realize not only that a great new movement in Shinto rose in connection with Japan's efforts to build a Chinese-like Emperor, but that Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam (the great "world religions") all emerged in a symbiotic relationship with the rise of great empires.

So Shinto is no narrow slice of Japanese history but a religion that gives Japanese culture (not just Japanese religion and politics) its basic character. I tend to agree with those Japanese religious historians who say that Shinto, not Buddhism, lies at the roots of Japanese culture. Just as most Western countries like the U.S. have a culture that is Judeo-Christian, and Iran a culture that is Islamic, Japanese culture can be properly called Shinto culture. So the more I learn about Shinto the closer I seem to be getting to the "hard core of Japanese culture", and even to the essence of my own religion and culture.

Lage: Is that the kind of question that an outsider would ask rather than a Japanese scholar--what is the core--or not?

Brown: This would be true of Japanese too, especially if they are cultural historians trying to look at Japanese culture as a whole, such as my good friend Ishida Ichirō is. In his study of Japanese culture, religion is always at the center, and very important. Whether he is talking about art or literature or architecture, he soon gets into the religious part of the picture, recognizing and telling us about the importance of religion in those particular areas of culture.

Lage: So it is not just your outsider viewpoint.

Brown: No, it is not just the outsider. There are a lot of Japanese scholars working in the field of religion. Each one of them might say, too, if they were in an oral history project, that this is the most important part of their culture.

Lage: What about in our own culture? Do you think you could say the same thing about what's the core of our own culture?

Brown: That again would depend upon the cultural historian you talk too. But I am inclined to think that most of them would say that religion gives you the basic tone of their own culture, that that is where values emerge and affect all other elements of a culture. And I think that intellectual historians, if they look at the whole of intellectual life, would come out thinking and saying that religious beliefs and religious are pretty basic. Two good friends in the History Department, Professors Henry May and William Bouwsma, who I think would regard themselves as intellectual historians, both pay a lot of attention to religious ideas and movements in both their writings and teaching. I remember that Lynn White, although giving special attention to the effects of technological development in medieval European history, said in his medieval lecture course something like this: "You can not understand medieval European history without understanding the early history of Christianity."

Brown's Personal Religious Outlook

Lage: How about your own religious outlook? Does it have any effect on your studies or your choice of studies?

Brown: I am sure it does. I am in a kind of religious quest and have been, I guess, during most of my life.

Lage: As a Christian?

Brown: As a Christian, yes. Well, maybe I should say as a believer in God. I suppose my own quest has made me more interested in the religious life of the Japanese. So the connection between my career as a Japanese historian and my personal quest for religious truth and meaning are connected.

Lage: Has your religion evolved over the years?

Brown: Yes, it changes every day. [laughter]

Lage: We could do an oral history just on that alone, then.

Brown: Right! Just last week, I read a paper to the Outlook Club on fundamentalism. Did I mention that earlier?

Lage: No.

Brown: In this paper on fundamentalism, my own religious quest and my interest in Japanese religious history get connected up. Fundamentalism is breaking out all over the world and scaring us to death--in Oklahoma City, Waco, Texas, New York City, of course all over the Near East, Bosnia. And it is emerging now in Tokyo, in this recent incident you read in the newspapers about this right-wing religious group dropping this horrible poison in subways that causes instantaneous death to the people who touch it. All this fundamentalism is a scary thing.¹²

So in that paper I was trying to get into, and understand, that particular religious development. What is it? Why do people get into it? And what in the world do you do about people who are involved in it? How do you respond to it as a citizen and as an individual? We are encouraged to take up big problems like these as members of the Outlook Club.

Lage: Do you have that paper typed up?

Brown: I have it. Would you like to see it?

Lage: Yes.

Brown: I reached the conclusion that we first should decide what is fundamental to ourselves before we start making judgments about the

¹²Two of Delmer Brown's Outlook Club papers, "Fundamentalism" and "The Arab Nest," are in the Bancroft Library as supplementary materials to the oral history.

fundamental beliefs of others. So I tried to do that, writing a few paragraphs on what I thought were the most fundamental principles of belief. The position that I took there was different from the one I would have taken a few weeks before.

Lage: A few weeks ago, even? How interesting. Do you want to say--it was only a paragraph, so maybe you could reiterate it here?

Brown: Maybe I ought to quote from the paper.

Lage: Okay.

Brown: "I first start out with the conviction that the whole cosmos was created by a power, an intelligent power with intelligence, that I call God, although I can't see it or understand it or picture it. That is, the creator of this cosmic order is, to me, God. That is something I believe in--I cannot comprehend or understand this whole cosmos that we see around us apart from that kind of unseen creator."

Then I go into my beliefs about Jesus, what his basic teachings were. I have been doing a lot of studying about that recently in books such as Stephen Mitchell's book, The Gospel According to Jesus (1993). Jesus considered himself a teacher. He seems never to have said that he was the son of God. When he did anything remarkable such as healing somebody, it was not he that did it but God, or the spirit of God.

He seems to have thought of himself as an ordinary human being, a son or daughter of God. That all living creatures had a kind of God quality within them. The essence of his teachings is found in his two commandments (apparently added to the traditional ten in Judaism): love God with all your heart and mind, and love your neighbor as much as you love yourself. The historical Jesus, his disciples, and Christian priests and believers for almost two thousand years have been endeavoring to flesh out that formula, every word of which has caused problems for everybody in all ages, particularly the words "God," "love," and "neighbor." The entire Old Testament seems to be about God, and the teachings of Jesus seems to have been focused, in addition, on the concepts of love and neighbor. So there has been much thinking, writing, and preaching by many people--down through the centuries--about these three subjects.

Indeed if we make each of the three words a bit more inclusive (changing them into something like "ultimate power and truth," "the best way to deal with ultimate power and truth," and "others"), we have a formula that seems to have been the subject of study, reflection, and prayer by most people throughout human history.

Even stone-age man seems to have been convinced (judging from the discovery of stone-age artifacts that must have been used only for capturing and channeling divine power to some desired social end) that unseen power of some sort could be directed to the benefit of man, or to the benefit or harm of his neighbors.

People in other religious traditions favor teachings and practices that seem to be focused on some particular representation of the ultimate (God, Allah, Buddha, or Kami) and on some particular idea as to how the individual can and should relate himself to the ultimate. Christians stress love, the Buddhists emphasize "no-thing-ness," the Confucians talk about following the will of Heaven, and the Shintoists might say "be truly alive". And as for relations with neighbors we follow the Christian concept of "love", whereas the Buddhists would prefer "compassion", and the Confucians would prefer a word that is usually translated as "virtue" but really means, according to the character used for that word "the proper relationship between one human individual and another". The Shintoists, on the other hand, would prefer a word translated as "harmony".

In a sense then we all seem to have had, all through history, the same kind of basic interest in unseen (spiritual) power that, if approached in the right way, can and will help us to get something we need and want but can not obtain by the use of such physical means as arms, dollars, medicines, or guns. The differences between us arise largely over the words we use to identify or to describe that divine power and the ways by which we deal with it. So "I believe that Jesus was right in teaching that to enter the Kingdom of God, we ought to love Him with all our heart and mind and love our neighbor as much as we love ourselves."

I must admit that I have conceptualized somewhat differently what has been conceptualized by men and women in other religious traditions for ages. We all tend to think that our way of saying it is the only right and true way. I nevertheless say that there is a God, who at times and places is called a Buddha, Allah, Heaven, or Kami, that there is a spark of God in all that He has created, including you and me, and that if we try to follow those two commandments of Jesus, the sparks can be ignited and make us, as Whitehead put it, "co-creators with God".

Lage: That is a very inspiring way of looking at it.

Brown: Yes, I think "inspiring" is the right word to use because those who try to relate to God often say and believe, as I do, that their lives have thereby been benefited or enriched in strange and "inspiring" ways. But when we try to verbalize what has happened, we tend to get careless. We either indulge in overstatement or use

religious mumbo jumbo that says nothing. So when talking about inspiration (introducing spirit into the act), I avoid using such hackneyed words as "rebirth", "salvation", "conversion", and "knowing Christ". Today I might say that inspiration comes when we do, think, or say something that enables us--suddenly or slowly--to do what we are capable of doing, in a strange symbiotic relationship with what all other living things are doing. Or simply when we feel lifted, joyful, or "with it". Such a feeling or inspiration might come anywhere at any time.

I often have it quite unexpectedly and at strange times and places. But I have to admit that it doesn't happen to me so often in church as it does when I think I am suddenly getting at the nub of some tricky historical problem, or hear a particularly good symphony played by excited pros, or just happen to notice a frisky little bird taking a bath in our water fountain. Such inspiration seems (at my advanced age of eighty-eight) to come more often, and each inspiration experience seems to be connected with, and reinforced by, all others. Even though (or maybe because) I have suffered much from the death of my father and mother--and especially from the death of my first wife Mary and from two rather serious operations--I still say and believe such odd things as the following: "I feel I enjoy life more now than in any previous year of my life," "I feel that I am now a better teacher and historian than I have ever been," "I am eighty-eight years young, not old," and "I am usually beginning something new, not dying."

So I do not think of this oral history as a product of interviews with you at the end of my career, but about another segment of my life that is becoming more and more interesting. Consequently even if we get this oral history out by the deadline, it is sure to be unfinished.

So along with writing articles on Shinto, serving as a member of the board of directors of Waterford, and editing our taped interviews, I have been doing quite a bit of thinking and reading about those three basic words in the teachings of Jesus. This means that my conception of God, and how I deal with Him, are constantly changing. And the third word, neighbor, is also being given considerable attention, for I am a social being and obtain a great boost from my relations with others. I keep asking: Who is a neighbor? How do I establish a meaningful (inspiring) relationship with him or her?

I think of a neighbor as being anyone we have contact with, directly or indirectly--not just a spouse, a relative, or someone who speaks our language and thinks and votes as we do. Even the worst fundamentalists of Iran who have brought off a fundamentalist revolution are our neighbors. They are backing terrorist action

against us; they are apparently making atomic bombs; and they are fundamentalists to be worried about. But they are still our neighbors. And I am concerned that our government seems to be thinking mainly of retaliatory action against them, not trying to understand them and live with them in peace.

Having reached this position about neighbors, I feel that we should treat all fundamentalists--even those living within our midst--in a neighborly fashion, not automatically hating or killing them. Responding in a spirit of neighborliness is of course difficult, especially if those neighbors have not been very neighborly toward us. [laughter]

In my paper on "Fundamentalism" I made some suggestions which I feel might work. At both the individual and group levels, we should begin with dialogue. Just as we try to become friendly with a neighbor who belongs to the opposite political party, we might begin--even when talking to a Muslim or Buddhist--by talking about views, ideas, and beliefs that we hold in common. Then as we move along we should try to admit to each other that we are bound to disagree on everything that is important, but still accept our differences and not get mad.

X FAMILY AND RETIREMENT

Meeting and Marrying Margaret

Lage: We haven't talked about your second wife, Margaret.

Brown: That's right, and we haven't talked about my kids, either.

Lage: You talked a little bit about your son. So let's talk about your family. How did you meet Margaret, and when did you marry her?

Brown: I met Margaret when I came back from Japan after Mary died and I had given up the job in Tokyo. That is when I bought that apartment in Emeryville. I met Margaret in church a few months after I came back. We had apparently heard about each other and had been in the same church for some years. She had been divorced for fifteen or twenty years. One Sunday she invited me to go to a singles class at the church, made up of people who had lost their wives and husbands. She asked me if I would be interested in coming. Or, she said, "Don't you feel like you are a single yet?" The way she asked me that question was intriguing. Anyway, we went to the meeting and began to enjoy each other's company.

Lage: You decided not to be singles anymore.

Brown: Yes.

Lage: That is nice to hear.

Brown: She is a great editor. She reads most everything I write and finds words in it that I should take out or change.

Lage: Had she been in that field?

Brown: No, she likes words and seems to be able to spell everything correctly without looking at the dictionary.

- Lage: That is always nice. We will put her to work on your oral history. And has she enjoyed the trips back to Japan?
- Brown: She has gone three times with me, and she enjoys these trips and keeps talking about the experiences we have had. She likes languages. I think she would pick up Japanese quite quickly if she had a chance to stay longer.

Children: Ren and Charlotte

- Lage: What about your children? You mentioned your son, Ren, but you didn't give me great detail. I have only heard of him as a Vietnam War protester.
- Brown: Yes. He has been in inhalation therapy in various hospitals, instead of going on for graduate school. This whole Vietnam thing got him off the track into hospital work.
- Lage: As a conscientious objector, he was in hospitals?
- Brown: He had to go in for alternative service. He did that for two years.
- Lage: I see. So that got him in that direction?
- Brown: That got him into inhalation therapy in a children's hospital in Washington, D.C., to begin with. Then he came out here and did the same kind of work for a number of years. He thought at one time of going into medicine and becoming a doctor, but decided against it. I remember his saying at the time that he was especially interested in dealing with patients, but he realized that as an inhalation therapist he saw children much more than doctors do. He had to give his patients treatments several times a day, whereas a doctor made only a short call once a day, or less.

He has been interested in Japanese art ever since he was a kid. So he started collecting woodblock prints quite early. Even while he was in his hospital work, he started putting on print shows with Anne Brannen, who was also a collector. This gradually became more interesting than hospital work, and so Ren decided to open up a gallery in Bodega Bay. He and his friend, Robert De Vee, (a painter--that picture behind us is Robert's) opened their gallery about three years ago.

- Lage: That picture looks like it could be Bodega Bay, or the coastline.

Brown: On the shore to the north of Bodega Bay. The gallery has been a great success. I had my doubts about it at the beginning, mainly because the value of the dollar was then dropping so sharply. I was afraid he wouldn't be able to sell pictures at the high prices he would have to charge. But I was wrong. They seem to be thriving, putting on shows constantly, developing a larger and larger clientele, and establishing special relationships with Japanese as well as local artists. It is an exciting and profitable enterprise for both of them.

Lage: What is the name of the gallery?

Brown: The Ren Brown Gallery.

Lage: I am going to go and see that next time I am up that way. It sounds beautiful.

And other children?

Brown: I have a daughter, Charlotte, who is older than Ren. She was born when we were in Palo Alto when I was a graduate student. Did I tell you about her coming to Hawaii during the war?

Lage: Yes, you did, actually, having to take the boat trip by herself.

Brown: Yes, she came to Hawaii by herself. She had this rather terrifying experience quite early, going across the Pacific at the age of five, alone without her parents, and zigzagging to stay out of the way of Japanese submarines. She entered kindergarten in Hawaii. After the war ended, we all moved to Washington, D.C., and she attended another school there. Then we moved to Cambridge where I worked on my Ph.D. dissertation, and she went to still another school.

Lage: She had a lot of transitions.

Brown: She went to five or six schools before she got into the second grade, as I recall. It was very unsettling for her. I am afraid that we didn't provide a very stable life for her in those early years. As a matter of fact, we went to Hong Kong in '53 when she was only thirteen.

Lage: That is a hard time for a youngster.

Brown: And she didn't want to go. She was really broken up about leaving home. She had good friends in Berkeley and didn't want to go. It was terrible in Hong Kong for a while, because she didn't like anything there. Then she began to make friends there; and by the time we left, she didn't want to leave Hong Kong.

Lage: It is almost like being an army officer's child.

Family Journey Around the World, 1956

Brown: Yes. Then we moved to Tokyo for a year. And although she enjoyed life there, she was willing to leave because her boyfriend was leaving at the same time. On the way home we took this marvelous trip around the world. I think I told you about that, didn't I, about spending all summer long getting home from Tokyo to Berkeley?

Lage: I don't think you did.

Brown: That was the best trip of our lives, lasting nearly three months.

Lage: This was in '56?

Brown: Yes, at the end of my two and a half years with the Asia Foundation, first in Hong Kong and then in Tokyo. The Asia Foundation was intending to send us all home across the Pacific by first-class air, but I got them to provide cash instead of tickets, so that we could return home by way of South Asia, Europe, and the Atlantic. We left Tokyo in June and did not return to Berkeley until the beginning of school early in September, giving us the best trip any of us have ever had. And since we traveled mainly by air, most of our time was spent in seeing the sights in and around such famous cities as Taipei, Hong Kong, Singapore, Bangkok, Calcutta, Delhi, Beirut, Athens, Cairo, Rome, Paris, London, and New York, where we took delivery of a new Buick and drove home across the country to Berkeley.

There were four interesting side trips that were a week or so long: to Pakistan from Calcutta; to Kashmir from Delhi; to Jerusalem from Beirut; and finally from Rome back to Rome by way of Venice, Innsbruck, Munich, Heidelberg, Zurich, Lucerne, Geneva, Nice, Genoa, and Florence. Each stop on each side trip was exciting and surprising. If I had kept a journal, this oral history might well have become twice as long.

High spots that I shall never forget--even though I did not keep a journal--include a yacht trip up that great river from Dacca in East Pakistan [Bangladesh] to see huge jute mills; the week that we spent in a houseboat at Srinagar in Kashmir (often referred to as the Switzerland of the Orient); the few days we took to fly from Beirut to Jerusalem where we just had to see where Jesus was born, baptized, and crucified; the two or three weeks we spent driving in a new Fiat northeast from Rome to Venice, Innsbruck, Munich and

Heidelberg, Zurich, Lucerne, and Geneva, Nice and the Riviera, and back to Rome by way of Genoa and Florence; and the few days we took by go to Naples from which we sailed by boat to Sicily. Since we spent so much time on these side trips, we had run out of time by the time we got to Paris and London and New York. We did manage to see the Louvre and Chartres in Paris, the British Museum and a play or two in London, and a performance by Victor Borge in New York, thanks to Laura who bought the tickets and came up to New York to go to the show with us. By the time we set out on our end-trip across the United States, we could only enjoy driving and riding that two-toned blue Buick--purchased in Tokyo after seeing a full-page ad in the Saturday Evening Post. We did not even have the time to revisit old stamping grounds in and around Kansas City, Missouri, (Peculiar and Harrisonville) and Kansas City, Kansas, (Overland Park and Olathe).

My best stories are about incidents that happened on the side trips. Of course we hit the main museums and cathedrals and mosques in such great old cities as Cairo, Athens, Rome, Paris, and London, but it was on these side trips that we had leisurely associations from which good human-interest stories emerged. For example, it was on that side trip to Dacca in East Pakistan that we attended a fourth-of-July party at the American Consulate and met Pakistani dignitaries who invited us to join them on a yacht trip--on a branch of the Ganges River--to a huge mill where there was a great jute mill. That was not only a comfortable and pleasant ride along one of the great river systems of this world, but a time to see and experience life in a society in which women are not usually seen in public places. Even before going to the Consulate we had walked through the market section of Dacca and had noticed that amidst the thousands of shoppers not a single shopping woman was in sight. Imagine! All shoppers were men, carrying shopping bags. It was a sight hard to believe, making us feel quite certain that we were about as far from America and American culture as we would ever get--that we were on the other side of the globe. But then somebody noticed a Coca-Cola sign, making us realize that we were still in the presence of American cultural influence.

And then someone else exclaimed: "There is a woman! There in that rickshaw!" I stared. We all stared. But we could not really see her, for she had her face covered and the rickshaw in which she was being pulled was also covered. The Asia Foundation representative who was taking us around explained that she was in purdah, which meant that she was wearing a hood and veil that covered her head and face and a long black robe (I don't think you would call it a dress) that hid every part of her body not already hidden by the hood and veil.

Other unforgettable experiences include seeing a temple in Calcutta where blood from sacrificed animals was everywhere, sick and dying people along the hot and dirty roads of Delhi, large groups of Muslims boarding a plane in Kashmir for Mecca, elephants carrying huge loads in West Pakistan, a camel-caravan heading across the desert to Baghdad, and the place where Jesus was baptized by John. We also learned in Cairo what it was like to ride a camel; and we had the pleasure of a very late dinner (with great music) out in the open in Athens.

On our way down from a high point in Sicily, when we were in a crowd of people waiting to board a cable car, I looked down at Ren who was standing in front of me. I saw him frowning at someone beside me. When I looked in that direction, I saw a beautiful young girl with a big smile. In some puzzlement I leaned down to Ren and asked what was wrong. He said simply that "she had her hand in your pocket." Then I again looked in her direction, but she was gone. I checked my pockets and nothing was missing. Then I asked Ren what happened. His answer was simple: "I slapped her hand." On the boat back to Naples, I spotted the girl again. But she managed thereafter to stay on the opposite side of the boat.

Mary and I agreed that we learned more, and gained greater excitement, from the trip because the four youngsters were with us. We were of course troubled at times by the girls getting to the airport at the very last minute, or having to line up two taxis for six person and seventeen pieces of baggage. But we saw things that we would never have seen if we had been traveling without them. And moreover we found ourselves being more curious about what we were seeing because they were curious. The Great Sphinx will always be remembered in association with Ren's remark, made as he walked from its side to the front: "It is real!" We presume that he had thought the Sphinx appeared only in comic strips.

It was surely because of these good-looking young girls that we were invited to take that yacht trip to the jute mills of Eastern Pakistan, that we got front-row seats at a hotel-show in Western Pakistan, that we were taken by TWA officials to a resort south of Athens and that the ring lost when riding camels in Cairo was returned. The girls liked going off on their own, but not in Rome. In Calcutta, where it was so hot that all shades were closed to keep out the heat, the girls dashed out for a swim in the hotel pool, with huge hunks of ice in it. But they returned immediately, because even the water in the pool was hot.

I remember one night in Karachi when some young members of the band wanted them (not us) to come to the concert. We were all well treated.

Lage: So they were your entrée. [laughter]

Brown: They were our entrée into a lot of things, including that boat ride in Eastern Pakistan. We got the ride because the governor of the province was at the Fourth of July party at the American Embassy; and he took a special interest in our party that included those three good-looking girls. In that country, women were mostly in purdah and were not present. So the governor and everybody else had a special interest in us. In no time, we had an invitation to ride on his private boat up the river. We saw parts of the country that we would not otherwise have seen.

Lage: How old were these girls at this time? Were they late teens?

Brown: They were high school graduates, seventeen or eighteen years old.

More About Charlotte and Her Dogs

Lage: What a wonderful age for that. What has Charlotte gone on to do?

Brown: Charlotte went to college down at Scripps and took a wonderful course that lasted four years. One half of their study for four years was devoted to an interdisciplinary study of Western cultural history. She got good grades. She said, "All of those courses are easy, because I have been there." [laughter] I think the trip had some influence on her, as well as on Ren's education and development.

After she got out of Scripps, she married a man who went into government service. So they have lived in Washington, D.C., or thereabouts, right down to the present day. Her husband Jack [Perry] has retired from NASA.

Lage: So she didn't get into government service internationally, where she traveled from place to place?

Brown: No. But she was active in the League of Women Voters--she was their East Asian expert. But her interests have moved more toward dogs. She and her husband have, for many years, been interested in Great Pyrenees. They even now have fifteen or so grand champions.

Lage: You need a lot of space for fifteen Great Pyrenees.

Brown: They have five acres. Half of it is for the dogs, I think, and they spend a lot of time with them. As a matter of fact, my daughter is now secretary of the Great Pyrenees Association of

America, and her husband also has been an officer. So they have been involved in dog shows, dog organizations, dog conventions, et cetera, for years.

Lage: This probably didn't grow out of the Japanese experiences or the trips.

Brown: No, except when they visited us in Tokyo while I was with this Inter-University Center program, the first person they wanted to see was the president of the Great Pyrenees Association of Japan. So I had to take Charlotte and her husband to meet this woman, and to serve as interpreter. That was difficult because I was not familiar with dog terms, even in English.

Lage: You learned a lot.

Brown: I learned a lot, but had trouble because I didn't know either the Japanese or English dog-vocabulary.

Lage: How interesting. Well, children do take you in different directions.

Brown: Oh, yes. Charlotte is a teacher, though. Even now she is teaching half time.

Lage: Oh, she is? What level?

Brown: At the nursery level, or the preschool level. She teaches half time every day. I expect she is actually devoting full time to the job.

Lage: So this teaching impulse has passed on?

Brown: She has been teaching on a half-time basis in some way or another during most of her life.

Grandchildren and Great-grandchildren

Lage: And she has children?

Brown: She has two daughters, my two granddaughters. They are both married; and both have two children. So I have four great-grandchildren. Both daughters, as well as their husbands, are working, and the husbands have jobs that are computer-oriented. One granddaughter, the oldest one, Mary Louise, is also a preschool teacher. The other, Carolyn, is an administrative officer at a

wholesale insurance business. She makes good money and has a high position in the company.

Lage: It sounds like you have a wonderful family.

Brown: Yes. But I think that Carolyn really would prefer to get into teaching.

Lage: [laughs] Maybe you can influence her in that direction.

Brown: In college, Carolyn spent a lot of time studying Japanese.

Lage: Oh, she did?

Brown: Yes, but she missed her first chance to visit us in Japan. When she was about ten, she and her sister Mary Louise (who was about thirteen) were invited to return to Tokyo with us. But after getting as far as California, Carolyn got homesick and flew back to Washington alone. Later on at college, one of her teachers who knew me urged her to take a course in Japanese. She was quite diligent in her study of the language and during a Christmas vacation she came out to Tokyo to see us. She was surprised and disappointed to find that she had not learned enough Japanese to get around Tokyo on her own. But like Mary Louise, she seemed to enjoy everything she saw and did.

Because of excitement about her first-hand touch with Japanese life, I went with her to three grand year-end events that I had never before attended, even though I had lived in Japan many years. We went to (1) the Imperial Palace to greet, and be greeted by, the Emperor on New Year's day, (2) to pay our respects at the Meiji Shrine on New Year's eve, and (3) to Tokyo's most popular Buddhist temple on the second day of the new year. At each we were surrounded by millions of Japanese people who were doing the same thing.

Visiting the Imperial Palace--in groups of a thousand or two each--was more orderly because the movement of each group into the presence of the Emperor was strictly controlled. But we had a good view of the Emperor and could hear every word of his formal greeting as he and the Crown Prince (the present Emperor) stood on a balcony right in front of where we stood. That was an impressive show. But the other two were more like happy mob scenes.

At the Meiji Shrine we found it utterly impossible at midnight on New Year's eve to get close enough to the front of the shrine to throw coins into the coin-box. Most people were simply throwing their money in the direction of the coin-box as soon as they got

within throwing distance, explaining why we saw--on a later visit to the shrine--nicks all around the front of the shrine.

At the old and popular Asakusa Buddhist temple we encountered even worse bedlam, for there were so many interesting things to do and buy along the paths leading to the front of the temple where there was a huge urn with a fire that could be used to light incense to assure a prompt response to our prayers. But we were surrounded everywhere by a happy milling mob of Japanese celebrating the New Year. Because Carolyn enjoyed it so much, I too enjoyed it even though our visit took most of the day.

But I think Carolyn has never been back to Japan again. Since graduating from college she has had jobs in which a knowledge of Japan and the language has not been needed.

Lage: She still has a lot of life ahead of her.

Travels with Carolyn

Brown: Yes, at Christmas time in her senior year at college, she came to California to visit me. That was right after her grandmother Mary had died in Japan, and I had come back to the United States and rented an apartment in the Pacific Park Plaza of Emeryville. It was a desolate time for me, and her visit gave me a lift that I badly needed. We drove the Mazda RX7 (which I still have) to Tahoe where she went skiing with my sister Margie and her husband Jack. We also drove to Mineral where Margie and Jack have a cabin of their own, near a ski slope on Mt. Lassen. So there was more skiing while I stayed home and took notes from an excellent Japanese book on social change in early Japanese history. Jack said that Carolyn was a fast learner and was rapidly becoming a good skier. We also drove to southern California to visit my brother Harvey and his family.

I think it was during her trip to California that we discovered a common interest in seeing Alaska. So I decided to give Carolyn a trip there as a graduation present. The two of us met at Seattle and boarded a Princess boat for a two-week cruise that was pleasant and memorable for us both. (Before leaving, I had met Margaret and I called her two or three times from the boat.) The most interesting sight was experienced in a bay surrounded by glaciers. While we were anchored near the shore, we saw and heard a large piece of a glacier break off (calve) and plunge into the bay right in front of us. There was a great boom that not only shocked the passengers but caused our boat to lurch.

But the most memorable part of the trip for Carolyn was meeting a young British engineer by the name of Geoffrey Robbins. They spent a lot of time together and were married soon afterward. So now Carolyn's early interest in Japan and the Japanese language has now been submerged by an interest in Geof, their two lovely daughters (Carlie and Claire), and her remunerative job of selling health insurance policies to large corporations in and around Washington, D.C.

Mary Louise in Japan, and Great-Granddaughter Katie "The Talker"

Brown: My other granddaughter Mary Louise spent that entire summer in Japan, when she was about thirteen years old. She seemed to enjoy every minute of her stay. And we certainly enjoyed her--she was never homesick or bored, and liked learning about Japanese life. I was amazed at how quickly she learned to read Japanese characters, not by studying a book but by remembering the meaning of simple characters that I would point out as we passed billboards along the streets of Tokyo, or when walking by the nameplates displayed at the front of houses we passed as we took walks about the neighborhood. Within just a few days she had learned one hundred or more characters and could read the names of many of the people whose homes we passed.

Japanese characters are usually abbreviated pictures of what they represent, which she readily noticed. She nearly always had an imaginative and amusing explanation of a new character, which undoubtedly helped her to remember it. She not only remembered small numbers by the number of strokes they contained but in no time recognized and remembered the characters for "tree", "woods", and "forest" because of the number of times the character for "tree" each contained. She was quick to recognize, too, the characters for such objects as moon, sun, light, man, big, and dog. Why? Because to her these characters looked like the objects they represented. All wooden objects have characters made up of the character for "tree" and something else characteristic of that particular object. Most everything associated with human beings includes the character for "man". I was convinced that it would have been no trouble at all to teach Mary Louise a huge number of characters in a very short time.

She also impressed people in the neighborhood by explaining that she had to go home at the end of summer in order to be there for obon, the summer holiday when all Japanese people return to their home village (where their family graveyards are located) to welcome the annual return of their deceased ancestors.

Mary Louise's father, Jack, aptly expressed her reaction to the Tokyo visit by saying that her motto now was: "have passport, will travel". She both frightened and pleased us all by getting through the Los Angeles Airport without any trouble, even though the airline failed to have someone there to meet her, as promised, to help her get through customs and to another part of the airport to take a plane for Washington, D.C. At the age of thirteen she calmly got her baggage, went through immigration and customs, found out where she should go to get to her next plane, checked in, and then called home to report that she would be at the Baltimore/Washington Airport just when she was supposed to. During that summer I think she convinced herself, and the whole family, that she could do most anything without help from anybody. That confidence makes her a good wife, mother, and teacher. She too has two children, my oldest and only great-grandson, Stephen, and Katie, who is a can-do person about whom I must tell this story.

When Margaret and I met Mary Louise's family on their visit to Walnut Creek about two years ago, Katie was five years old. She volunteered to ride home in our car as the rest of the family followed in their rented car. She sat alone in the back seat and Margaret and I were in the front seat. I had become so impressed with Katie's speech that I said--mistakenly assuming that Katie would not understand what I was saying--that I had never seen a child so young who could talk so fluently and precisely. Whereupon Katie broke in with this explanatory comment, "That is because I am a talker." And before we had stopped laughing, she added, "I am that kind of person."

In writing the above, it occurred to me that stories about children of that age are not only funny--at least to me--but are often quite revealing. Which reminds me of stories about Charlotte and Ren when they were about that age.

Once when Charlotte was walking around the golf course with me in Hawaii--she was probably five at the time--she made two comments that I will never forget. One was about the heat: "Hot is coming out all over me." And later on during that same game, she suddenly stopped and quizzically asked: "Why am I, I?", a question that I still can not answer. At a younger age, around three, she was sitting in her high chair one morning, being fed by Mary who was getting a bit disgruntled about her not eating what she was supposed to. Then suddenly Charlotte looked up at her mother and asked, "Mommy, are you happy?"

Ren too came up with interesting reactions, again at about the age of two or three. One morning when we were having breakfast in the corner breakfast room, Ren had his usual glass of milk before him. (He never liked milk, which was also true of his mother

Mary.) That morning he did not object or complain but simply picked up the glass of milk, stood up in the bench by the open window, and poured it out on the ground two floors below.

Then one day he was with me in the car when I drove out of our steep driveway on Euclid Avenue. As I turned left, the door on his side of the car suddenly swung open and Ren (we then called him Buddy) was thrown toward the open door. But I caught him by the leg and pulled him back in. Both of us were frightened. After I said something about the importance of keeping that door locked so that he would not fall out and get hurt, he made this chilling remark: "And then no more Buddy!"

Life with Margaret at Rossmoor, a Retirement Community

Brown: I have not yet said anything about our life here at Waterford.

Lage: About your living circumstances now? I think that would be interesting, about Rossmoor. When did you move here?

Brown: In 1990, two years after Margaret and I were married. During those two years we had lived in a condominium on the twenty-fifth floor of a thirty-story building known as Pacific Park Plaza, located near the eastern entrance to the Bay Bridge in Emeryville. I liked that condominium so much that even when we moved to Rossmoor, I did not sell it, thinking we might want to move back. Although we could hear freeway noise--even on the twenty-fifth floor--and didn't have enough room for many of Margaret's treasures, we did have a breath-taking view. From our spacious corner front room with three huge windows, I could not only see the whole of San Francisco, the northern half of the San Francisco Bay and all of Berkeley but our three great bridges: the Bay Bridge, the Golden Gate Bridge, and the San Rafael Bridge. Even when lying in bed (because huge mirrors covered the closet doors on my side of the bed), I could see much of that grand view, even in the middle of the night. But largely because of having so little wall space, we decided to move into a retirement home.

One day Margaret received a flyer about a new condominium complex being built at Waterford, which is a part of Rossmoor where residents not only own their manors but share a common dining room where they receive at least one meal every day, have their manors cleaned once a week, enjoy gardens that do not have to be taken care of and security that allows them to take walks safely, even if alone and at night. That sounded good. So we went out to look at the plans of Waterford, the South building of which was then being

built. Already many of the nicer condominiums had been sold to persons living in Rossmoor who were looking for a place where they would not have to spend so much time cooking and doing housework. The only two-bedroom place with two baths available was on the first floor. Although we had had our minds set on a fourth-floor unit where we would have a grand view of the surrounding hills, we signed up for the one on the first floor with the understanding that we could change when the new north building was finished. The main appeal was that we would be owners--you don't just make a payment that is lost when you die.

Lage: But in this one you keep your equity?

Brown: Yes, we buy it, and we can sell it. Here, if one of us dies, the spouse can stay on. The survivor is still the owner and doesn't have to move into a smaller place.

Lage: But there are other places where you--

Brown: The other places, like Lake Park and most retirement homes, you don't buy in, you pay a fee for an apartment. Then if you go in as a couple and one dies, the survivor must move into a smaller place. Then when the survivor dies, there is nothing left for the kids, no equity whatsoever. But here, it is quite different. You buy it and can sell it and move out anytime you want, just like your own home.

Lage: Just like any condominium.

Brown: And the drawback, of course, is that no health care is provided. There is no health insurance connected with it. But we are well covered by Kaiser, so we don't feel this is much of a minus. We especially appreciate having a good meal every day that we do not have to cook.

Lage: Do you pay for that whether you have it or not?

Brown: We do. That is stipulated in the initial contract that we sign. The monthly fee includes the cost of one meal for each of us every day.

Lage: Can it be any meal you want?

Brown: Any meal we want, but they only serve lunch and dinner. They started serving breakfast and gave up on that. Nobody wanted to have breakfast. Also, we have house cleaning once a week, and a lot of other things that are spelled out in the initial contract, even the use of the golf courses, tennis courts, swimming pools, and club houses. So we have a lot of things that we wouldn't have

if we had a separate home somewhere else. We meet a lot of people at lunches and dinners. We were in an exercise class this morning. We meet a lot of people that way, and there are a lot of interesting people here. So that too is a plus.

Lage: It sounds like it would be much more of a community feeling than you would have in an apartment in Emeryville.

Brown: That is true. When we were living in the apartment in Emeryville, we hardly knew who our neighbors were. We got acquainted with one couple but we seldom saw them. Here, you see a lot of people every day.

Lage: Are there very many university-connected people here?

Brown: There are quite a few from the university. Nobody but me in the field of humanities or history, but quite a few from engineering schools. There is a Professor Morton who I knew in Berkeley for many years here.

Lage: Paul Morton? Is he the computer scientist?

Brown: Yes.

Lage: He is somebody I have been wanting to interview.

Brown: Oh, really? Well, I can talk to him about that if you want. Then there is a Professor DeGarmo in engineering. And a Professor Pickus, also in engineering. That's all I can think of at the moment. There are quite a few doctors. Amazingly enough, and I don't understand why, there is only one lawyer.

Lage: Something's fishy. [laughter]

Brown: But we have lots of business people, and very prominent people such as Alice Cutter, who is the widow of the Cutter of Cutter Laboratories in Berkeley. She is still very prominent in the Oakland Museum, and is now on our board of directors here. There are also some very wealthy people who still own houses and summer houses in various parts of the country.

Lage: I know with a condominium, you have to make joint decisions. How does that happen here?

Brown: We have a residents' association that elects a board of directors which is the top governing body.

Lage: Do you get to use your talent for getting people together in this?

Brown: I have served on the nominating committee for the board of directors, as Margaret says, probably mainly to avoid being nominated myself.

Lage: That is a good reason.

Brown: I suppose my turn will come. I feel like I should do that, maybe next year. That doesn't mean--

Lage: That doesn't mean you will get elected.

Brown: Right.

Lage: I am glad you added that, because we don't often get a picture of alternatives in retirement living, and that is important.

Studying and Writing after Retirement: The Cambridge History Project

Lage: And you keep up your writing and study?

Brown: That is the best thing about living out here, I can still work. One of our two bedrooms has been converted into a study, and I spend, on the average, between five and six hours a day in it, even Saturdays and Sundays.

Lage: What have you written?

Brown: First I completed my volume of The Cambridge History of Japan, which I think has been touched on above. I really got into that project after retirement, when I was living in Tokyo and was director of the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies.

Lage: The Cambridge History of Japan, editor and contributor, Volume 1, and that is 1993. Was that a long time cooking?

Brown: It was, at least ten or twelve years. I got into this at a meeting with Marius Jansen at the International House in Tokyo. Marius was, and still is, an emeritus professor of Japanese history at Princeton. He and Jack Hall had been interested in turning out a Cambridge History of Japan. Do you know anything about the Cambridge history project? Should I say anything about that?

Lage: Yes, give just a short overview.

Brown: For 100 years or so, Cambridge University has been turning out one series after another on the history of various countries--each chapter written by a specialist in that particular area of history.

Marius and Jack Hall seem to have taken the initiative in approaching the Japan Foundation for money to support the production of The Cambridge History of Japan, although they were probably consulting with Professor Madoka Kanai (Tokyo University) and Professor Denis Twitchett (Cambridge University and editor of a volume in The Cambridge History of China), for these four became the general editors of the series. It was probably in connection with seeking financial support from the Japan Foundation that the decision was made to limit the series to six volumes, one for each of the six major periods of Japanese history.

I now feel that I was not aggressive enough about those selections, for I did not suggest the names of friends (such as Ichirō Ishida) or any of my students (such as Charles Sheldon, Richard Miller, or Thomas Havens). I did not even suggest that Carmen Blacker of Cambridge University be included, although she had written a distinguished study of shamanistic practices that are important in the history of ancient Japan. I assumed--wrongly I now think--that if a scholar was distinguished enough to be invited to contribute a chapter to a volume in the Cambridge History of Japan, his or her name would be suggested by others, and that it would be self-serving to name my own friends or students. I am still puzzled about Blacker and Sheldon (both Lecturers at Cambridge University) not being invited, especially since Denis Twitchett of Cambridge was one of our general editors and the series was being published by the press of his university.

Lage: Did you feel that at the time, or you just didn't think it through?

Brown: I thought about it, but I wasn't convinced enough to speak up.

Lage: So you didn't have control over your own volume.

Brown: I did really, but I didn't seem to realize it. I just let it happen. It is deplorable that Carmen Blacker, a very distinguished professor at Cambridge, was not invited to offer to write a chapter for any of the volumes.

Lage: And here it is the Cambridge History.

Brown: Yes. She wrote on a subject that ran all through history, and it was therefore hard to include a chapter by her in one particular volume. That may have been the problem.

Lage: Did the editorship involve other problems?

- Brown: Oh yes, each chapter posed its own headaches. Two authors died before their chapters were completed; one other did not get half way through his subject before he ran out of space and time; one translator refused to spend more time working with the author on revisions; and one noted scholar who had contracted to produce a chapter never did, leaving me with the chore of writing it.
- Lage: Do you regret having taken on the editorship of that volume?
- Brown: Yes and no. I will never take on such an assignment again--I had already vowed to limit my time and energy to my own studies written by me alone. But I did enjoy writing the Introduction and my two chapters, and I learned much about ancient Japanese history from my work of trying to make the book clear and readable. Also I was pleased to receive letters from distinguished historians who said they and their students appreciated having studies written by specialists in ancient Japanese history. A vast amount of new research on ancient periods had been carried out by Japanese scholars, but English-speaking historians of Japan have not been very active in those early periods.
- Lage: Did you have any negative reviews?
- Brown: Yes, there was one by an archaeologist, Walter Edwards of Tenri University in Japan. He began his review with a short summary of the book's ten chapters, then zeroed in on my chapter on "the Yamato Kingdom," the one I was forced to write because Cornelius J. Kiley never submitted a manuscript for the chapter he had agreed to write. Edwards gave two examples of "unfamiliarity with archaeological terms" and then pointed out a generalization that I had mistakenly attributed to two Japanese scholars. He wrote that such deficiencies not only raised doubts about that chapter but about everything else that I had "rewritten or substantially revised." As a historian and an editor of volume in The Cambridge History of Japan, I did not feel too badly about revealing unfamiliarity with Japanese archaeological terms. But I was stung by the statement that I had attributed a generalization to others. That is an academic no-no.
- Lage: How could you have done that?
- Brown: I remember having taken down extended notes on what these two scholars had written but decided to eliminate details and to include only a generalization that I still think is valid but that had not been drawn by the two Japanese authors. I remember thinking, when I did this, that I must check back to see if these two scholars were really in agreement with what I had written. But I could not do that at the time because neither of the two sources was in my possession, and had to be obtained from a library. So I

put off the task and, in the rush to get out a book that was already long overdue, the check was neglected. A real goof!

Lage: But do you still feel good about the book?

Brown: Yes, I do. All six chapters written by distinguished Japanese scholars add depth to our understanding of cultural change in ancient Japan. Even Edwards has words of praise for the contributions made by the two non-Japanese authors: Edward Kidder of the International Christian University of Tokyo and Edward A. Cranston of Harvard. Historians have made comments which convince me that my chapter on "The early evolution of historical consciousness" is an important contribution to our understanding of early Japanese historiography. As far as I know, I am the first to identify and explicate three characteristics of early Japanese historical consciousness: linealism, vitalism, and optimism. I have suggested patterns of historical change, in the Introduction and elsewhere in the book, that I think will help others to comprehend the meaning of what has been said or done in ancient Japan. So I feel good about the volume, although I could have done better (and produced fewer mistakes) had I spent longer than ten years.

Lage: Has your academic research and writing continued?

Brown: Yes it has. Even before I finished the Cambridge History, I began teaching a graduate course on Shinto at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, became director of a new Shinto Studies Center, and began a book-length study that might appear under some such title as "The Great Goddess Amaterasu and Sovereignty in Japan." Activities in each of these three areas have stimulated and reinforced my endeavors in the other two, making 1993 seem more like another beginning than the end of my academic career.

The Center for Shinto Studies at the Graduate Theological Union

Lage: How did you get into teaching at GTU?

Brown: That began with an approach from Dr. Richard Boeke who was then pastor of the First Unitarian Church in Berkeley and a member of the Board of Directors of the Starr King School for the Ministry in Berkeley (one of seminaries that make up the GTU). Shortly after I returned to California from the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies in Tokyo, Dick approached me about being the director of a new Shinto Center being planned by him and

Reverend Yukitaka Yamamoto, the Chief Priest of the Tsubaki Grand Shrine of Japan.

The idea of building a Shinto Center in Berkeley had emerged from the universalistic inclinations of these two religious leaders, both of whom were influential figures in the International Association of Religious Freedom that was founded in 1892. And they seem to have been associated with each other in the establishment of a branch of the Tsubaki Shrine in Stockton, which still flourishes under the name of Tsubaki America. Dick was then a member of the board of directors of Tsubaki America--I took his place on the board when he gave up his position as pastor and moved to London.

At about the time I was approached to be director of a new Shinto Center, Yamamoto and Boeke were thinking of an ambitious plan to build a Tsubaki branch in Berkeley that would be part of a Shinto center and would include facilities for study and research by students and scholars of Shinto. As I learned later, Yamamoto had already purchased land in Oakland for that purpose; but the land had to be sold because of a failure to gain permission for such construction. At about the time that I was approached, they had decided to build the proposed center on land owned by the First Unitarian Church in Berkeley. But members of the Unitarian Church in Berkeley voted down the proposal. As far as I know, no further steps were taken to buy land for a Shinto center.

Those of us on the fringe of these moves logically asked where the money was coming from--we were all quite certain that Dick did not have such deep pockets. Gradually it emerged that it was Reverend Yamamoto who had the money, for he was then engaged in very expensive building projects at his shrine in Japan. And it was learned too that Yamamoto had been very successful in raising money, especially in obtaining large contributions from one of Japan's most wealthiest men, Konosuke Matsushita who was, until his death a few years ago, president of the Matsushita Electric Company.

Three related developments cooled the enthusiasm of Boeke and Yamamoto for moving ahead with the plan to build a Shinto Center in Berkeley: the failure of members of the Unitarian Church to sell part of their land for such a center, the unwillingness of GTU to recognize Shinto Studies--like Buddhist studies--as a field in which graduate degrees might be offered, and the illness and approaching death of Konosuke Matsushita. But steps had already been taken in that direction: Reverend Yamamoto was granted an honorary degree by Starr King; the Tsubaki Shrine agreed to give several thousand dollars a year for scholarships that would enable Starr King students to live and study at the Tsubaki Grand Shrine

for several weeks; and the shrine also agreed to set aside \$5,000 a year as an honorarium for a specialist in Shinto (me) to teach a course on Shinto at GTU, first at Pacific School of Religion [PSR] and later at Starr King. Although the idea of building a Shinto Center seems to have been given up, the scholarships and the Shinto course have continued. And Reverend Yamamoto is now serving a three-year term as president of the International Association of Religious Freedom.

My becoming the director of the Center for Shinto Studies suggests that the ideas of Drs. Boeke and Yamamoto were finally realized, but this development did not arise from their support, but instead from associations and support from Professor Lewis Lancaster, a specialist in Buddhism at UC Berkeley. When Lew became aware of my interest in establishing a Shinto Center that might be engaged, first of all, in building a Shinto database that would help students and scholars to do computerized research in traditional Shinto culture, he offered me space for a center in his four-storied building, the Center of Buddhist Studies. (The building, costing around a million dollars, had been funded largely by Buddhist organizations in Taiwan.)

Although the space for the center has not yet been occupied, we have received enough money from Tsubaki America to obtain a good computer. We have also engineered a formal agreement between the University of California and the Kokugakuin University of Tokyo for joint teaching and research, and just recently submitted a joint request to the National Endowment for the Humanities for a grant of more than a quarter million dollars to help us produce an English translation of the best Japanese Shinto dictionary, a translation that will be the first important item on our Shinto database. We are also taking steps to add ancient Shinto sources (the Kojiki, the Nihon shoki, and the Engi shiki), a videotape of three New Year Festivals that has been filmed--with an English commentary added--by Dr. James Boyd of Colorado State University, a Japanese-English bibliography of books and articles on Shinto, and a glossary of Shinto terms. I am really excited about the creation of this Shinto database. It is sure to revolutionize research in the area of Shinto culture, making it possible for students and scholars anywhere in the world to gain access to a greater body of information on Shinto culture, and to do computer research on Shinto-related subjects. John Nelson and Lewis Lancaster have been giving crucial support to this ambitious effort, and excellent cooperation has been obtained from key Shinto scholars at Japan's leading Shinto University, especially Professor Abe Toshiya, Inoue Nobutaka, and Norman Havens.

"The Great Goddess Amaterasu" and Other Writings

Brown: On the research and writing front, I have continued to be busy. Two articles have been accepted for books that will be out some time this year. The first is about the career of Professor Takeshi Matsumae (Japan's leading scholar of Shinto myth) for Volume 13 of his collected works. In preparing for that article I have written a long essay on his autobiography, published in 1992 under the title of Aru Shinwa Gakusha no Hansei Ki: Senba no shisen to sengo no kutō wo koete (A Half-Century Account of a Certain Shinto Scholar: Overcoming the Death-line of Battle and Post-war Miseries). Reading in the works of Professor Matsumae, as well as talking with him at length during two different trips to Japan, have not only deepened my understanding of the role of myth in the evolution of Kami belief but afforded the inspiration of first-hand contact with a Shinto scholar who has developed, and lived by, religious beliefs that are marked by what I call Vitalism, Universalism, and Individualism.

The second article to be published soon will be entitled "The Great Goddess Amaterasu and Sovereignty in Japan." This will appear in a volume under a title something like Goddesses and Sovereignty to be published by the Oxford University Press. The editors are two young female scholars: Professor Beverly Moon of New York, and Professor Elisabeth Benard of the University of Puget Sound in Tacoma, Washington. Professor Moon first contacted me after hearing about me and my research from John Nelson. Since then I have met and been in contact with Professor Benard. I really enjoyed writing the article, for that work has forced me to do considerable study and thinking about continuous interplay between religion and politics in Japanese history. Indeed, interaction between the two is certain to be at the core of my book-length study of Amaterasu worship and Japanese culture, a book which I have started but may never finish.

Lage: Have you done anything on that?

Brown: Oh yes. I have written what I call the first draft of chapter one, which may come out under some such title as "The Emergence of State Shinto." I have also done some reading and thinking about a second chapter on "The Drift toward Popular Shinto and Medieval Pilgrimages." For that I have just received from Professor Eiki Hoshino an inscribed copy of his famous study of Junrei: Sei to Zoku no Genshō-gaku.

A Party to Honor Professor Brown

Brown: I feel that I have made further progress by preparing for the speech that I was invited to make on September 5 of 1998 at the Jinja Honchō (Shrine Headquarters) in Tokyo.

Lage: How did that happen?

Brown: I was first approached about giving this when I was in Tokyo during the autumn of 1997 and had meetings with Professor Abe and his colleagues, who are working with us on the translation project mentioned above. That was also when I was invited by forty-five former students to celebrate my having been decorated by the Emperor of Japan [with the Order of the Sacred Treasurer, April 1997].

Lage: Wouldn't you like to give some details about those two events?

Brown: Both were interesting. The first not only paved the way for our joint Shinto-database project but provided the occasion for Professor Abe's request that I speak at a Shinto symposium scheduled for the following year.

After a meeting at the International House--attended, in addition to Margaret and me, by two professors from Berkeley associated with the project (John Nelson and Lew Lancaster) and the three professors from Kokugakuin University (Abe Toshiya, Inoue Nobutaka, and Norman Havens)--we were all invited to a famous nearby restaurant; and it was there, after a good deal of food and drink, that Professor Abe asked me about making a speech at the forthcoming Shinto Symposium. But before explaining how that speech helped me to work out the approach and objectives of my research on the Great Goddess, I would like to make a few comments about the party that was given by my former students.

Lage: Please do.

Brown: They were all students who had studied English under me at Kanazawa between fifty-seven and sixty-five years earlier. (I give such precise years because just before going to Japan last year, Margaret and I had gone down to Stanford to celebrate my sixty-fifth anniversary of graduation, and I had gone to Kanazawa immediately after graduation.) Later on, that particular group of former students had all graduated from Japan's most distinguished university (Tokyo University) and achieved distinction in government, business, law, teaching, or the arts. Two had taken the initiative in having me decorated by the Emperor: Ambassador Mataō Uryu (who was Japan's ambassador to Syria) and Mr. Mutsuji

Nakano (who had spent six years in New York as branch manager of one of Japan's biggest brokerage firms). They and all the others present (including a distinguished architect, a poet, and several company presidents) were about as old as I was, since I was twenty-two when I first went to Kanazawa and my students were then only two or three years younger. One woman besides Margaret was present, and she was obviously there because her husband needed help when walking.

The party was held at the Gakushi Kaikan (Alumni House) of Tokyo University. We received many presents (especially a made-to-order Kutani-yaki plate from Kanazawa), had much good food and drink, and heard many speeches. And we sang old school songs and took dozens of pictures. All these former students had studied English under me, but only Uryu and Nakano seemed to remember enough to understand what I was saying. So my thanks and greetings were delivered mostly in Japanese. Many of these former students politely said that I looked younger, and more energetic, than they did. Some may have meant it.

A Very Important Speech at the Shinto Shrine, *Jinja Honchō*

Lage: Shall we get back to the speech?

Brown: Most of two months were devoted to preparing for it. Although I had made speeches before a group of Shinto priests and scholars on two previous occasions (once in 1957 and again in 1961), I felt I had to say something really important and interesting for this occasion. And this time I was asked to speak in Japanese. I worked hard, first on writing a manuscript in English, a copy of which is in my file of unpublished papers under the title of "Basic Shinto Polarities."

Then I hired Dr. Eisho Nasu (now the husband of Lisa Grumbach) to translate it into Japanese. I spent many more hours reading this Japanese version, hoping that I could make the speech clear and interesting. When I got on the platform and started reading, I stopped after page four, put the Japanese manuscript aside, and spoke extemporaneously in Japanese. I did this because I felt that I was not really making contact with my audience of around ninety to one hundred Shinto specialists. But when I began talking in my own Japanese words, and using the blackboard to stress key points, they seemed to wake up and become interested. So I talked on for an hour and a half. After I finished, two additional hours were spent in discussion with three other foreign scholars, all of whom were better in Japanese than I was. Yuji Inokuma, the friend who

met me at the airport and saw me off on my return, has promised to send me a videotape of the entire program, which will give me a chance to listen closely to the questions raised and not fully understood. Maybe I will want to initiate correspondence with those who raised good questions.

Several participants have asked for copies of the Japanese version of my speech. That, and the opportunity to talk again with old friends--such as Professor Katsunoshin Sakurai of Kogakkan University at Ise, Professor Takeshi Matsumae, Professor Abe Toshiya, and Reverend Yukitaka Yamamoto--was most gratifying. But what pleased me most was that I had worked out an approach to my study of the evolution of Shinto that will, I am quite sure, make it easier for me to understand major changes in the evolution of the Shinto religion.

I did this by first trying to look at religious change as a whole--especially Shinto, Buddhist, and Christian change--from a worldview that is more comprehensive than the mechanistic Newtonian one which has dominated our thinking until recent times. This more comprehensive outlook, sometimes referred to as the "great worldview," has emerged from what scientists have had to say about the nature and movement of power within physical particles and biological genes. Scientific discoveries made in the natural sciences since the time of Darwin and Einstein make scientists quite sure that the smallest units of life are made up of fields of energy that may at times appear as a physical mass and at other times as non-physical waves of energy. Moreover the energy of these units seems always to move between and around opposite poles and to affect, and to be affected by, activity in surrounding units throughout our entire cosmic order. Even the birth and death of all these units--going on constantly within our bodies and in all living thing in our universe--seem to evolve from such interaction and relationships, leading more and more scientists to explain birth and death in terms of such theories as probability, complementarianism, and "bootstrapping."

Religious beliefs and practices can also be logically and rationally thought of as generating religious power through fields of energy that sometimes appear as physical mass (such as a priest or cathedral) and sometimes as non-physical force (such as love and compassion). And these fields of religious energy--like those in our bodies and mountains--are in continuous interaction and are related to all other fields of energy in our living cosmos. Consequently, whenever we have the urge to study and understand any segment of life, such as the evolution of Shinto, we should make use of any method of device that will help us to comprehend continuing and complex polarities, interactions, and relationships within that segment, and connections between it and other segments.

And for such study of beliefs and ideas--which are non-physical--we will have to turn to invisible, unseen, conceptualized tools. In my Tokyo speech I dared to report that I had devised three conceptualized models which I think will help me and others to understand what is read, heard, and observed about the movement of religious energy at any place down through history.

The three conceptualized models are tentatively given these labels: Life-Death, Universal-Particular, and Individual-Group. Each has emerged from reflection about the way human beings react to three fundamental, existential concerns that are reflected in questions which continually plague us. First: Are we concerned mainly with life (leading to religious ideas and practices that I refer to as Vitalism) or mainly with death (leading to ideas and practices referred to as Ancestralism)? Second: Are we concerned mainly with what is important everywhere and at all the times (Universalism) or with what is important for me here and now (Particularism)? Third: Are we concerned mainly with what is important for the group (Groupism), or with what is important for our individual selves (Individualism)?

In my Tokyo speech, I tried to show how the use of the "Life-Death" model has helped me to see the character and drift of Shinto belief and practice at times of great cultural upheaval attending the rise and decline of the danger of invasion--real or perceived--from one or more foreign enemy states. The first period of such danger came in the face of a powerful and expansive Chinese empire (the T'ang) from about 600 to 900 A.D., and the second when confronted by expansive Western powers from about 1600 to 1945.

The picture of Japanese religious and political history that I see when using my conceptualized Life-Death model is of general drift toward the *death* side of the spectrum (Ancestralism) during both periods of intense and prolonged fear of foreign subjugation. That was particularly clear during the first three-century period, commonly referred to as the period of Great Reforms, when Japan was trying to strengthen herself against the possibility of being swallowed up by the great T'ang Empire. That was when State Shinto, centered on the worship of the Great Goddess Amaterasu as the ancestral deity of Japan's ruling Emperors and Empresses, emerged and flourished as a highly organized religious movement. That was also when Japan consistently turned to Chinese methods and techniques for strengthening every area of its public life. Thus State Shinto was marked by Chinese influence.

But when the danger of foreign subjugation receded, and the control of a strong centralized government was weakened--after about 900--by the emergence of decentralized feudalism, Shinto belief and worship drifted back to the life side of the Life-Death

spectrum. That was when we see the rise and spread of pilgrimages to major shrines and temples all over Japan. That was a great huge religious movement in which the objective was to obtain benefits for human life here and now (Vitalism), not to obtain state blessings from the ruler's divine ancestor (Ancestralism).

The third, vitalistic period was followed, after about 1600, by a reappearance of foreign danger that was accompanied by surges of religious energy which flowed back to the Death (ancestral) side of the Life-Death polarity. This reverse drift began around the start of the seventeenth century when well-armed ships of "Western barbarians" appeared off the coasts of Japan, threatening to seize control of harbors and off-shore islands, as had happened along the shores of Asian countries to the south. That led the recently-established and centralized feudal regime to make pronouncements about Japan being "the country of Kami" and to virtually ban all contact--especially Christian-missionary contact--with the West's current empire-builders: Portugal, Spain, England, Holland, and Russia. Then after the English had made Hong Kong a British colony, and had seized special trading rights in Chinese ports after the Opium War of 1848, Japanese intellectuals began to propound a state Shinto ideology.

Then came retaliatory military attack by four Western powers (England, Holland, France, and the United States) against Japanese people on Japanese soil, which was followed by a joint demand that more ports be opened for trade, duties on imports be reduced, and a reply from the Emperor received within seven days. The Emperor's reluctant approval, on the sixth day, was followed by an upheaval known as the Meiji Restoration. That was when the Emperor was symbolically placed at the head of the state, all state functions were centralized and strengthened in Western ways, a concentrated drive was made to increase the power and control of the state, and strong measures were taken to reestablish state Shinto as a means of arousing obedience and loyalty to the Emperor, the living direct descendant of the Great Goddess Amaterasu.

Finally in the 1930s, when Japan thought of herself as being "encircled by the ABCD powers" (America, Britain, China, and the Dutch), the government required that all schools in the nation's public education system, as well as the mass media, cooperate in whipping up what became one of the world's most virulent forms of nationalism. That was when the thoughts and feelings of the Japanese people moved very far toward the Death (ancestral) side of the Life-Death screen.

But as had happened at the end of the earlier period of external and internal danger to the state, the sense of danger was gradually dispelled in the years that followed Japan's defeat in

World War II, for surrender was followed by peace, economic prosperity, and general well-being. Japan was forced to adopt a constitution that freed all religious institutions from governmental control. Thereafter school children, viewers of television, and readers of books and newspapers almost never heard or read anything about the Great Goddess Amaterasu and her sacred ties with the Japanese Emperor. From then until the present day, internationalism has been in the air. Now we clearly see, on our Life-Death screen, a picture of general and strong intellectual and religious moves toward the Life side of our Life-Death view (Vitalism).

Lage: Have your conceptual models revealed religious and political movements that you had not seen before?

Brown: No and yes. Historical evidence of such movements has been before us for a long time, but such evidence has been largely overlooked as signs of truly powerful turns in the flow of intellectual and emotional energy. That is, the use of conceptual binoculars enables one to see significance in polarities and connections within and between movements that are as far apart as religion and politics. Until I began thinking through these polarities and connections through these conceptualized binoculars, I had been only dimly aware of deep and persistent linkage between state concerns and Shinto beliefs and practices. I had not been seen or understood, for example, that at times of grave danger to the state there has been interactive linkage between deep concerns about the loss of state control (leading to Ancestralism from the Life-Death perspective) and religious beliefs and practices centered on a particular deity for a particular state (leading to Particularism from the Universal-Particular perspective).

Lage: Will you plan to continue using such binoculars for your study of Shinto?

Brown: Yes. I plan to follow up my article on "The Great Goddess Amaterasu and Sovereignty in Japan" and my speech in Tokyo with a book-length study of Shinto in Japanese history. In that study I hope to make use of these, and maybe other, conceptual models in an attempt to detect and understand linkages between great Shinto movements and other movements in Japanese religion, as well as relationships between religious change and shifts in other areas of Japanese life.

Other Activities, and a Final Note on Waterford at Rossmoor

Lage: So you haven't retired yet?

Brown: Not yet. I seem always to be just getting started on something new. Just today (October 23, 1998) Lew Lancaster and I had lunch together at the Faculty Club when he asked me to consider joining him as a co-principal investigator of an ambitious internet program for introducing tenth graders (in their history and social science courses) to the basics of Japanese geography, history, culture, and society. He has designated this program "Japanese K-12 Project" and is planning similar programs for China and Korea. This is sure to enrich existing instruction with "relevant and innovative cross-cultural linkages easily accessed by students using interactive digital technology." So I have decided to join Lew as a co-principal investigator--to become involved in a development that is likely to produce quite a spin in what I have called, in a recent paper, the coming educational revolution.

Lage: Is that something we have skipped?

Brown: I don't think we have talked about that paper, which is one of about five papers that I prepared for delivery at a meeting of our Outlook Club.

Lage: What is the Outlook Club?

Brown: A club organized over 100 years ago by men--and now women are included--interested in preparing papers on subjects of special interest, and then reading them at dinner meetings held twice a month. After a paper is read, each member is invited to make comments or raise questions about it. Members, usually thirty or so, are from different professions but each person-- whether a lawyer, teacher, engineer, minister, or in some business--enjoys learning about developments and problems outside his or her professional field.

Lage: What did you write papers about?

Brown: I wrote one paper in the area of my research interest but others were on such topics as nationalism and the Iraqi War, which was written before the war broke out and was entitled "The Arab Nest." I also wrote a paper on "Fundamentalism" and another on "Our Cultural Revolutionary Spin." I have also written a journal account of the trip that Margaret and I took to New Zealand and Australia, and one of the trip Ren and I took to China last May.

Lage: Would you like to talk about these?

Brown: I think not. They are peripheral to my work in Japanese history. Moreover, I have copies in my files, which I may have printed up and sent to relatives and friends, The Bancroft Library, and the library here at Waterford.

Lage: Any other activity?

Brown: Several hours are usually spent every week playing games (golf, bridge, and dominos) and attending committee meetings of the Waterford Homeowners' Association--twice I have been elected to its board of directors.

Lage: Are committees there different from those at the university?

Brown: Quite different. For one thing, we are appointed only if we volunteer. Moreover, all problems at the university are connected with the university's function as an institution of higher learning, but here at Waterford the board and its various committees are concerned always with questions about how this retirement home can be operated economically and efficiently, and made more comfortable and beautiful.

According to standards with which I had become familiar--not just at the university but in other organizations of this country and Japan--the board and its committees seem rather weak. Nevertheless, our financial situation is satisfactory; the food served in the two dining rooms is delicious; the cleaning that our manors receive every week is fine; the surrounding gardens are beautiful and well kept; and the special programs offered by our "social secretary" are interesting. To be sure, there are those who say that improvements can and should be made in each of these areas. I feel that all resident owners--not just me--should (if they are able) take an active role on some committee. I realize that if resident owners become more active in the governance of Waterford, our living conditions might not be substantially improved. Moreover, it might take longer to make decisions and to implement them. But if we become more actively involved in making recommendations and decisions about what is done around our separate homes, we would--I am convinced--be building a stronger sense of community. And that is what is wanted--indeed expected--by most people who, late in life, sell their homes and buy a place at Waterford.

Lage: Well, I think that about wraps it up. Thank you so much for your time, this has been very interesting.

Brown: I've enjoyed this very much. You have really drawn me out.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Minutes of the Berkeley Division**ACADEMIC SENATE**

December 5 and 8, 1966

Meeting.—The Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate met on Monday, December 5, 1966, at 3:10 p.m. in Wheeler Auditorium, pursuant to call. Present: about 1050 voting members of the Division. Professor A. F. Kip, Chairman, presided. Also present by invitation: Mr. Dan McIntosh, President of the ASUC.

Minutes.—The minutes of the meetings of October 31 and November 8, 1966, were approved as distributed.

The Chairman opened the meeting by announcing that since the capacity of the meeting room was limited, only members of the Senate would be permitted to attend. The Chairman read briefly from an earlier letter from Professor T. Parkinson bearing upon the need for maintaining decorum in such large meetings as this. He announced further that he had not granted requests from student groups to allow their representatives to speak to the Division, though he pointed out that the meeting would be addressed by the President of the ASUC. He also announced his decision, in consultation with the Chairman of the Senate Policy Committee, not to arrange for audio transmission of the proceedings to groups outside the room. A motion to overrule the Chairman on this point was lost on a vote by a show of hands.

Announcements by the Chancellor.—Chancellor R. W. Heyns addressed the Division at length on the recent disturbances on campus and explained what the policies of his Office in respect to them had been and would be. The text of the Chancellor's speech is preserved in the Secretary's papers of this meeting. After the Chancellor's address Professor I. M. Heyman presented the following motion, explained the process by which it had been developed, and spoke to it at length:

1. We join the Chancellor in recognizing that the use of external police force except in extreme emergency and of mass coercion is inappropriate to the functions of a University.

2. In view of the complexity of recent events, we urge the Chancellor not to institute University disciplinary proceedings against students or student organizations for activities through December 5th arising from the events of November 30th.

3. We charge the Senate Policy Committee to explore new avenues for increasing student participation in the making and enforcing of campus rules and to report to the Division. Further, we call for the creation of a faculty-student com-

mission to consider new modes of governance and self-regulation appropriate to a modern American university community.

4. We declare that the strike should end immediately.

5. We affirm our confidence in the Chancellor's leadership and pledge our continued support and cooperation.

Following Professor Heyman's remarks, the Chairman recognized Mr. Dan McIntosh, President of the Associated Students of the University of California who outlined the position of the ASUC in the present crisis and indicated his view as to what should be done to improve the effectiveness of the ASUC as the legitimate agent for the expression of student opinion.

Following Mr. McIntosh's remarks, Professor C. G. Sellers rose to second Professor Heyman's motion and spoke in its support. Professor F. C. Tubach also seconded the motion and spoke in its support.

Professor L. A. Henkin then presented an analysis by the Committee on Academic Freedom of recent events on campus as they bore on issues of academic freedom. Professor Henkin's remarks are preserved in the Secretary's papers of this meeting.

Professor J. B. Neilands then asked the Chair to grant permission to a Senate member to read a statement prepared by a member of the Executive Committee of the striking students. The Chairman ruled that this would be proper. A motion to overrule the Chair was defeated. Professor J. Schaar then read the statement. In the midst of the statement the Chairman ruled that in his opinion the remarks being read were now out of order. A motion to overrule the Chair was voted upon by a show of hands. However, the Chairman remarked that he was in doubt as to the result of the vote and would therefore permit the reading of the statement to continue.

At the conclusion of the statement read by Professor Schaar, Professor G. C. Pimentel rose to present and speak to a substitute motion as follows:

We, the Berkeley Division,

- 1) affirm our confidence in the Chancellor's leadership and pledge our continued support and cooperation;
- 2) declare that the strike should end immediately;
- 3) welcome and support the Chancellor's call for exploration of new methods for building a viable academic community.

He spoke to the motion and his motion to approve was seconded by Professor H. F. May. Among those who took part in the debate which followed were Professors D. Krech, D. W. Louisell, B. L. Diamond, and C. Susskind. Professor M. N. Christensen then moved to table the substitute motion. The motion to table was seconded and passed on a division, 502 in favor and 462 opposed.

Professor R. Zelnick then moved to amend the original motion proposed by Professor Heyman by the addition of the following sentence at the end of Paragraph 3:

The concerns and grievances expressed by so many of our students should be given serious consideration in both the formation and consideration of this Committee.

The amendment was passed on a division: 466 in favor to 426 opposed.

At this point the previous question was moved. It was asked whether it would be in order to move to divide the motion after the vote on the previous question. The Chair ruled that such a motion would not be in order. A motion by Professor F. C. Newman to uphold this ruling was passed. The motion was then put on the previous question, which passed on a show of hands.

The main motion before the house, as amended, was then put and passed on a division, by a vote of 795 to 28, with 143 abstentions.

The Chairman announced that the meeting would reconvene in Room 155 Dwinelle Hall, Thursday, December 8 at 3:10 p.m.

Recessed.—6:30 p.m.

Attest:

RALPH W. RADER, Secretary *pro tempore*

Meeting.—The Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate reconvened on Thursday, December 8, 1966, at 3:10 p.m. in Room 155 Dwinelle Hall, pursuant to call.

Present: about 450 voting members of the Division. Professor A. F. Kip, Chairman, presided.

Standing Committees.—Reports listed on the Consent Calendar were approved for appropriate action as follows:

Committees (Page 2).—The appointments listed were confirmed.

Upon request from the floor the reports of the Committee on Courses of Instruction and of the Executive Committee of the Faculty of the College of Letters and Science were deferred for consideration under New Business.

The Division then turned to consideration of the Regular Calendar as follows:

Academic Freedom.—Professor L. A. Henkin, Chairman, stated that the Committee had no report.

Student Affairs.—Professor F. C. Tubach, Chairman, reported briefly on the Committee's concern with recent events on campus and with related problems of student government. He pledged the Committee's support and energy to the Senate Policy Committee in carrying out a prompt implementation of Part 3 of the resolution of December 5. On behalf of the Committee he expressed the hope that all members of the campus community will continue to devote themselves to the exploration and support of means to further student self-regulation and that a cohesive campus community can evolve which will reflect shared values and common interests. A motion to accept the Committee's report was seconded and passed.

Budget and Interdepartmental Relations.—Professor D. M. Brown, Chairman, presented the report of the Committee and moved that the motion appearing on page 17 be adopted. The motion was seconded. Professor E. R. Rolph then introduced a substitute motion as follows:

The Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate recommends to the Chancellor that he direct the relevant administrative officers, including deans where appropriate, to ask chairmen of departments to state their procedures in recom-

mending professorial appointments and promotions. The statement shall specifically explain the extent to which the procedures are believed to be consistent with Senate By-Law 188. The members of the department shall be invited to examine the chairman's statement and add comments to be incorporated in or submitted with it. The Budget Committee shall be given the opportunity to study these statements and to comment on them. The appropriate administrative officer may wish, in the light of any Budget Committee comments, to propose to a chairman that he take steps to amend the procedures of the department in those cases where they appear to violate By-Law 188, as well as in those cases where alternative procedures would, in the judgment of the administrative officer, give superior results.

The substitute motion was seconded and Professor Rolph spoke in its support. After discussion, Professor L. A. Henkin moved the previous question, which was passed by a show of hands. The substitute motion was then put to vote but failed to carry. Professor J. D. Hart then moved to refer the original motion back to the Budget Committee for reconsideration in the light of the discussion on the floor. The motion was seconded, put to vote by a show of hands, and carried. At this point Professor R. N. Walpole rose to say that in his opinion the Division should give the Budget Committee a clear expression of its views as to whether Assistant Professors should be consulted in matters of appointment. Vice-Chancellor R. E. Connick pointed out that By-Law 188 of the Academic Senate had never been before the Division; that, in any event, the Administration was not bound by By-Law 188; and that it would be useful for the Administration to know the Division's sentiment on this question. Professor C. G. Sellers then rose to make the following motion:

Resolved, that it is the sense of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate that non-tenure Senate members be consulted on new appointments.

The motion was seconded and passed. Professor F. C. Newman rose to say that he did not mean to imply, by his silence, that he endorsed all of the views just presented by Vice-Chancellor Connick. Two additional motions, pertaining to the report of the Budget Committee, were seconded but when put to a vote failed to carry.

Library.—Professor J. T. Wheeler presented the report of the Committee (pages 18–21) and moved that the Division adopt the resolution printed on page 21. The motion was seconded. After Professors H. F. May, N. V. Riasanovsky, and E. L. Scott had spoken against the motion, it was put to a vote and lost.

The "In Progress" Grade.—On motion by Professor R. E. Powell, Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Jurisdiction, Regulation A 1262 which was enacted by the Division on May 5, 1966, and approved by the Assembly on October 28, 1966, was amended so as to become "effective for the fall term, 1966, or as soon afterward as it is approved by the Assembly."

Campus Rules and Faculty-Student Commission.—Professor M. N. Christensen read the following message to the Division from the Senate Policy Committee:

The Policy Committee has met to initiate action on the charge assigned to it by Senate action last Monday. We expect to present to the Senate at its January

meeting a proposal concerning "new avenues for increasing student participation in the making and enforcing of campus rules" and for "the creation of a faculty-student commission to consider new modes of governance and self-regulation appropriate to a modern American university community." In formulating these proposals we shall be consulting with faculty, students and Administration. We invite and shall seek suggestions and comments from all interested parties.

University and Faculty Welfare.—Professor F. C. Newman rose to make the following motion:

That the Academic Freedom Committee, with deliberate patience, study and report to the Division regarding the amendment of existing tenure rules that appears to have been proclaimed in the Regents' resolution of December 6, 1966.

The motion was seconded and passed by nearly unanimous vote. Professor Newman then moved, secondly:

That the Committee on Committees appoint a special committee to study and report to the Division regarding the deliberations and recommendations of the California Constitution Revision Commission that relate to Article IX of the State Constitution.

The motion was seconded and passed, unanimously.

Courses of Instruction.—Professor L. A. Henkin asked that the minutes show that the Committee on Academic Freedom questions that portion of the report of the Committee on Courses which deals with examinations. The Committee on Academic Freedom reserves the right to consider the extent to which the regulations therein announced may infringe upon academic freedom and to report further on the matter to the Division. Professor L. A. Doyle, Chairman of the Committee on Courses, then pointed out that a vote to receive and place on file does not mean that the Division endorses a report or legislation included, as in this instance, for informational purposes. He emphasized that the Committee on Courses invites comments and criticism of the matter of this report. The report was then received and placed on file.

Letters and Science.—Dean W. B. Fretter presented the report of the Executive Committee of the Faculty of the College as it appears on page 16 with a number of corrections: 1) in the second line of the report the word "all" should be deleted; 2) in the third line the words "at the option of the student" should be inserted after the word "graded"; 3) in the last sentence of the first paragraph the words "both the Physical Education and" should be deleted; and 4) in the second line of the regulation itself, the words "not more than one unit of" should be inserted before the words "half-unit Music 400-series courses." Dean Fretter then moved that the legislation as amended be approved with the additional proviso that it be effective immediately. A motion by Professor S. Markowitz to amend by deleting the words "and is also available to students on probation" was seconded, but failed to carry. The main motion was then put and passed.

Adjourned.—5:20 p.m.

Attest:

RALPH W. RADER, Secretary *pro tempore*

CURRICULUM VITA
of
Delmer M. Brown

Date of birth: November 20, 1909

Place of birth: Harrisonville, Missouri

Career:

BA degree, Stanford University: 1932

Lecturer in English, Fourth Higher School in Kanazawa,
Japan: 1932-1938

Graduate training in history at Stanford University: 1938-
1940

Intelligence Officer, US Navy: 1940-1945

Dissertation research at Harvard University on Rockefeller
Foundation Scholarship: 1945-1946

PhD in Japanese history, Stanford University: 1946

Professor of Japanese History at University of California,
Berkeley: 1946 to 1977, Professor Emeritus since 1977

Consultant for Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in
Tokyo: summer 1948

Visiting Professor at University of Colorado: summer 1950

Director of Hongkong office of Asia Foundation: 1952-1954

Director of Tokyo office of Asia Foundation: 1954-1955

Joint Research with Ishida Ichiro in Berkeley: 1956-57

History Department Chairman, UCB: 1957-1961: 1971-1975

Berkeley Academic Senate, Graduate Council: 1957-1959

Fulbright Scholar in Japan: 1959-1960

Senior Research Scholar at East-West Center of the

University of Hawaii: 1963 (with Ishida Ichiro)

Berkeley Academic Senate, Budget Committee: 1964-1967,
Chairman: 1966-1967

Berkeley Representation to Statewide Senate: 1964-1966,
1971-1974, Chairman: 1971-1974

Statewide Academic Assembly: 1964-1967, 1971-1974

Statewide Academic Council: 1966-1967, 1971-72

Director of California Abroad Program, and Visiting
Professor at International Christian University, Tokyo:
1967-1969, 1992-1993.

Berkeley Academic Senate, Library Committee, Chairman:
1969-1970

Berkeley Academic Senate, Chairman: 1971-1972

Berkeley Academic Senate Policy Committee (ex officio):
1971-72

Berkeley Academic Senate, Committee on Committees:
1973-1975

Humanities Research Scholar in Kyoto, Japan: 1975-1976

Director of the Inter-University Center for Japanese
Language Studies in Tokyo: 1977-1987

Member of Fulbright Commission in Tokyo: 1979-1984

Member of Board of Directors of the Japan-America Society in
Tokyo: 1986-1987

Adjunct Professor, Japanese Religious History, Pacific
School of Religion; 1989 to 1992, and Starr King School

of Theology: 1992 to present

Visiting Scholar at Doshisha University in Kyoto, and

Director of the California Abroad Program in southern

Japan: August thru December, 1991

Books Published:

Money Economy in Medieval Japan (Monograph No. 1 of the Far Eastern Association; Yale University, 1951)

Nationalism in Japan: An Introductory Historical Analysis (Berkeley, University of California Press; 1955)

Studies in Shinto Thought, a joint translation of major studies by Muraoka Tsunetsugu (Tokyo, Ministry of Education; 1964)

Japan (a volume in Today's World in Focus, A Ginn Study in Depth; Boston; 1968)

The Future and the Past: A Translation and Study of the Gukansho, an Interpretive History of Japan Written in 1219, co-authored with Ishida Ichiro (Berkeley, University of California Press; 1979)

Chronology of Japan, co-authored with Toshiya Torao (Tokyo: National Museum of History and Ethnology, 1987)

The Cambridge History of Japan, editor and contributor of Volume I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Articles Published in Japanese Religion:

"Shinto Particularism", a lecture given at the First International Shinto Conference at Claremont, California, in 1964. (Later discussed at a meeting of Shinto scholars in Tokyo)

"Buddhist Salvation and Imperial Rule", Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan, No. XIII, 1968.

"Kami, Death, and Ancestral Worship", a lecture given at the Second International Conference in Tokyo in 1969 and published in the Proceedings of the Conference.

"Buddhism in Japanese Life", a lecture given before a society of Japanese Buddhist scholars and then published serially in Japanese for the Minshu Kyoiku Kyokai Shi between May of the 1970 and October of 1972.

"Shintoism and Japanese Society", Ajia Bunka Kenkyu No. 6 (December, 1972)

"Buddhism and Historical Thought in Japan before 1221", Philosophy East and West, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April, 1974)

"Evolution of Historical Consciousness", Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan. No. XXVI (1981)

"The Tap Roots of Japanese Culture and Ancient Japanese Buddhism", two-hour lecture in Japanese given at the Meiji University in Tokyo, an English summary of which was published in the Gakujutsu Kokusai Koryu Sanko Shiryo Shu No. 124 (February, 1988)

Other writings:

Articles on various aspects of Japanese history, book reviews, research reports, and special lectures.

Book on The Great Sun Goddess of Japan in progress

Special Awards

The Berkeley Citation for distinguished achievement and notable service to the University, 1977

Kansha Jo (Certificate of Gratitude) for five years service on the Japan-US Educational (Fulbright) Commission, 1985

February 16, 1995

Delmer M. Brown



320 STEPHENS HALL

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

January 27, 1995

Ann Lage
 Oral History Department
 486 Library

Dear Ann,

Delmer Brown was the Chair of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate 1971-1972. He was active in the History department from 1946-1977. The committees on which he served and/or chaired are as follows:

Budget and Interdepartmental Relations: 1964-65; 65-66; Chair 66-67

Assembly Representation: 1964-65; 65-66; Chair 71-72; 72-73; 73-74

Library: Chair 1969-70

Statewide Assembly: 1965-66; 66-67; 71-72; 72-73; 73-74

Statewide Budget and Interdepartmental Relations: 1965-66; Chair 66-67

Statewide Academic Council: 1966-67; 71-72

S Pol: 1971-72 (ex officio) (I'm not sure what this abbreviation means)

Berkeley Division: Chair 1971-72

Representative Assembly: Chair 1971-72

Committee on Committees: 1973-74; 74-75

Graduate Council: 1957-58; 58-59

Courses of Instruction: 1956-57

I hope that this is the information you were seeking. If I can be of any more assistance, please give me a call.

Sincerely,

Sally Caton
 Administrative Assistant



February 2000

INTERVIEWS ON THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Documenting the history of the University of California has been a responsibility of the Regional Oral History Office since the Office was established in 1954. Oral history memoirs with University-related persons are listed below. They have been underwritten by the UC Berkeley Foundation, the Chancellor's Office, University departments, or by extramural funding for special projects. The oral histories, both tapes and transcripts, are open to scholarly use in The Bancroft Library. Bound, indexed copies of the transcripts are available at cost to manuscript libraries.

UNIVERSITY FACULTY, ADMINISTRATORS, AND REGENTS

- Adams, Frank. *Irrigation, Reclamation, and Water Administration*. 1956, 491 pp.
- Amerine, Maynard A. *The University of California and the State's Wine Industry*. 1971, 142 pp. (UC Davis professor.)
- Amerine, Maynard A. *Wine Bibliographies and Taste Perception Studies*. 1988, 91 pp. (UC Davis professor.)
- Bierman, Jessie. *Maternal and Child Health in Montana, California, the U.S. Children's Bureau and WHO, 1926-1967*. 1987, 246 pp.
- Bird, Grace. *Leader in Junior College Education at Bakersfield and the University of California*. Two volumes, 1978, 342 pp.
- Birge, Raymond Thayer. *Raymond Thayer Birge, Physicist*. 1960, 395 pp.
- Blaisdell, Allen C. *Foreign Students and the Berkeley International House, 1928-1961*. 1968, 419 pp.
- Blaisdell, Thomas C., Jr. *India and China in the World War I Era; New Deal and Marshall Plan; and University of California, Berkeley*. 1991, 373 pp.
- Blum, Henrik. *Equity for the Public's Health: Contra Costa Health Officer; Professor, UC School of Public Health; WHO Fieldworker*. 1999, 425 pp.
- Bowker, Albert. *Sixth Chancellor, University of California, Berkeley, 1971-1980; Statistician, and National Leader in the Policies and Politics of Higher Education*. 1995, 274 pp.

- Brown, Delmer M. *Professor of Japanese History, University of California, Berkeley, 1946-1977.* 2000, 410 pp.
- Chaney, Ralph Works. *Paleobotanist, Conservationist.* 1960, 277 pp.
- Chao, Yuen Ren. *Chinese Linguist, Phonologist, Composer, and Author.* 1977, 242 pp.
- Constance, Lincoln. *Versatile Berkeley Botanist: Plant Taxonomy and University Governance.* 1987, 362 pp.
- Corley, James V. *Serving the University in Sacramento.* 1969, 143 pp.
- Cross, Ira Brown. *Portrait of an Economics Professor.* 1967, 128 pp.
- Cruess, William V. *A Half Century in Food and Wine Technology.* 1967, 122 pp.
- Davidson, Mary Blossom. *The Dean of Women and the Importance of Students.* 1967, 79 pp.
- Davis, Harmer. *Founder of the Institute of Transportation and Traffic Engineering.* 1997, 173 pp.
- DeMars, Vernon. *A Life in Architecture: Indian Dancing, Migrant Housing, Telesis, Design for Urban Living, Theater, Teaching.* 1992, 592 pp.
- Dennes, William R. *Philosophy and the University Since 1915.* 1970, 162 pp.
- Donnelly, Ruth. *The University's Role in Housing Services.* 1970, 129 pp.
- Ebright, Carroll "Ky". *California Varsity and Olympics Crew Coach.* 1968, 74 pp.
- Eckbo, Garrett. *Landscape Architecture: The Profession in California, 1935-1940, and Telesis.* 1993, 103 pp.
- Elberg, Sanford S. *Graduate Education and Microbiology at the University of California, Berkeley, 1930-1989.* 1990, 269 pp.
- Erdman, Henry E. *Agricultural Economics: Teaching, Research, and Writing, University of California, Berkeley, 1922-1969.* 1971, 252 pp.
- Esherick, Joseph. *An Architectural Practice in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1938-1996.* 1996, 800 pp.
- Evans, Clinton W. *California Athlete, Coach, Administrator, Ambassador.* 1968, 106 pp.

- Foster, Herbert B. *The Role of the Engineer's Office in the Development of the University of California Campuses.* 1960, 134 pp.
- Gardner, David Pierpont. *A Life in Higher Education: Fifteenth President of the University of California, 1983-1992.* 1997, 810 pp.
- Grether, Ewald T. *Dean of the UC Berkeley Schools of Business Administration, 1943-1961; Leader in Campus Administration, Public Service, and Marketing Studies; and Forever a Teacher.* 1993, 1069 pp.
- Hagar, Ella Barrows. *Continuing Memoirs: Family, Community, University.* (Class of 1919, daughter of University President David P. Barrows.) 1974, 272 pp.
- Hamilton, Brutus. *Student Athletics and the Voluntary Discipline.* 1967, 50 pp.
- Harding, Sidney T. *A Life in Western Water Development.* 1967, 524 pp.
- Harris, Joseph P. *Professor and Practitioner: Government, Election Reform, and the Votomatic.* 1983, 155 pp.
- Hays, William Charles. *Order, Taste, and Grace in Architecture.* 1968, 241 pp.
- Heller, Elinor Raas. *A Volunteer in Politics, in Higher Education, and on Governing Boards.* Two volumes, 1984, 851 pp.
- Helmholz, A. Carl. *Physics and Faculty Governance at the University of California Berkeley, 1937-1990.* 1993, 387 pp.
- Heyman, Ira Michael. (In process.) *Professor of Law and Berkeley Chancellor, 1980-1990.*
- Heyns, Roger W. *Berkeley Chancellor, 1965-1971: The University in a Turbulent Society.* 1987, 180 pp.
- Hildebrand, Joel H. *Chemistry, Education, and the University of California.* 1962, 196 pp.
- Huff, Elizabeth. *Teacher and Founding Curator of the East Asiatic Library: from Urbana to Berkeley by Way of Peking.* 1977, 278 pp.
- Huntington, Emily. *A Career in Consumer Economics and Social Insurance.* 1971, 111 pp.
- Hutchison, Claude B. *The College of Agriculture, University of California, 1922-1952.* 1962, 524 pp.
- Jenny, Hans. *Soil Scientist, Teacher, and Scholar.* 1989, 364 pp.

- Johnston, Marguerite Kulp, and Joseph R. Mixer. *Student Housing, Welfare, and the ASUC*. 1970, 157 pp.
- Jones, Mary C. *Harold S. Jones and Mary C. Jones, Partners in Longitudinal Studies*. 1983, 154 pp.
- Joslyn, Maynard A. *A Technologist Views the California Wine Industry*. 1974, 151 pp.
- Kasimatis, Amandus N. *A Career in California Viticulture*. 1988, 54 pp. (UC Davis professor.)
- Kendrick, James B. Jr. *From Plant Pathologist to Vice President for Agricultural and Natural Resources, University of California, 1947-1986*. 1989, 392 pp.
- Kingman, Harry L. *Citizenship in a Democracy*. (Stiles Hall, University YMCA.) 1973, 292 pp.
- Koll, Michael J. *The Lair of the Bear and the Alumni Association, 1949-1993*. 1993, 387 pp.
- Kragen, Adrian A. *A Law Professor's Career: Teaching, Private Practice, and Legislative Representation, 1934 to 1989*. 1991, 333 pp.
- Kroeber-Quinn, Theodora. *Timeless Woman, Writer and Interpreter of the California Indian World*. 1982, 453 pp.
- Landreth, Catherine. *The Nursery School of the Institute of Child Welfare of the University of California, Berkeley*. 1983, 51 pp.
- Langelier, Wilfred E. *Teaching, Research, and Consultation in Water Purification and Sewage Treatment, University of California at Berkeley, 1916-1955*. 1982, 81 pp.
- Lehman, Benjamin H. *Recollections and Reminiscences of Life in the Bay Area from 1920 Onward*. 1969, 367 pp.
- Lenzen, Victor F. *Physics and Philosophy*. 1965, 206 pp.
- Leopold, Luna. *Hydrology, Geomorphology, and Environmental Policy: U.S. Geological Survey, 1950-1972, and the UC Berkeley, 1972-1987*. 1993, 309 pp.
- Lessing, Ferdinand D. *Early Years*. (Professor of Oriental Languages.) 1963, 70 pp.
- McGauhey, Percy H. *The Sanitary Engineering Research Laboratory: Administration, Research, and Consultation, 1950-1972*. 1974, 259 pp.
- McCaskill, June. *Herbarium Scientist, University of California, Davis*. 1989, 83 pp. (UC Davis professor.)

- McLaughlin, Donald. *Careers in Mining Geology and Management, University Governance and Teaching.* 1975, 318 pp.
- May, Henry F. *Professor of American Intellectual History, University of California, Berkeley, 1952-1980.* 1999, 218 pp.
- Merritt, Ralph P. *After Me Cometh a Builder, the Recollections of Ralph Palmer Merritt.* 1962, 137 pp. (UC Rice and Raisin Marketing.)
- Metcalf, Woodbridge. *Extension Forester, 1926-1956.* 1969, 138 pp.
- Meyer, Karl F. *Medical Research and Public Health.* 1976, 439 pp.
- Miles, Josephine. *Poetry, Teaching, and Scholarship.* 1980, 344 pp.
- Mitchell, Lucy Sprague. *Pioneering in Education.* 1962, 174 pp.
- Morgan, Elmo. *Physical Planning and Management: Los Alamos, University of Utah, University of California, and AID, 1942-1976.* 1992, 274 pp.
- Neuhaus, Eugen. *Reminiscences: Bay Area Art and the University of California Art Department.* 1961, 48 pp.
- Newell, Pete. *UC Berkeley Athletics and a Life in Basketball: Coaching Collegiate and Olympic Champions; Managing, Teaching, and Consulting in the NBA, 1935-1995.* 1997, 470 pp.
- Newman, Frank. *Professor of Law, University of California, Berkeley, 1946-present, Justice, California Supreme Court, 1977-1983.* 1994, 336 pp. (Available through California State Archives.)
- Neylan, John Francis. *Politics, Law, and the University of California.* 1962, 319 pp.
- Nyswander, Dorothy B. *Professor and Activist for Public Health Education in the Americas and Asia.* 1994, 318 pp.
- O'Brien, Morrrough P. *Dean of the College of Engineering, Pioneer in Coastal Engineering, and Consultant to General Electric.* 1989, 313 pp.
- Olmo, Harold P. *Plant Genetics and New Grape Varieties.* 1976, 183 pp. (UC Davis professor.)
- Ough, Cornelius. *Recollections of an Enologist, University of California, Davis, 1950-1990.* 1990, 66 pp.
- Pepper, Stephen C. *Art and Philosophy at the University of California, 1919-1962.* 1963, 471 pp.
- Pitzer, Kenneth. *Chemist and Administrator at UC Berkeley, Rice University, Stanford University, and the Atomic Energy Commission, 1935-1997.* 1999, 558 pp.

- Porter, Robert Langley. *Physician, Teacher and Guardian of the Public Health*. 1960, 102 pp. (UC San Francisco professor.)
- Reeves, William. *Arbovirologist and Professor, UC Berkeley School of Public Health*. 1993, 686 pp.
- Revelle, Roger. *Oceanography, Population Resources and the World*. 1988. (UC San Diego professor.) (Available through Archives, Scripps Institute of Oceanography, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, California 92093.)
- Riasanovsky, Nicholas V. *Professor of Russian and European Intellectual History, University of California, Berkeley, 1957-1997*. 1998, 310 pp.
- Richardson, Leon J. *Berkeley Culture, University of California Highlights, and University Extension, 1892-1960*. 1962, 248 pp.
- Robb, Agnes Roddy. *Robert Gordon Sproul and the University of California*. 1976, 134 pp.
- Rossbach, Charles Edwin. *Artist, Mentor, Professor, Writer*. 1987, 157 pp.
- Schnier, Jacques. *A Sculptor's Odyssey*. 1987, 304 pp.
- Schorske, Carl E. *Intellectual Life, Civil Libertarian Issues, and the Student Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, 1960-1969*. 2000, 203 pp.
- Scott, Geraldine Knight. *A Woman in Landscape Architecture in California, 1926-1989*. 1990, 235 pp.
- Shields, Peter J. *Reminiscences of the Father of the Davis Campus*. 1954, 107 pp.
- Sproul, Ida Wittschen. *The President's Wife*. 1981, 347 pp.
- Stampp, Kenneth M. *Historian of Slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, University of California, Berkeley, 1946-1983*. 1998, 310 pp.
- Stern, Milton. *The Learning Society: Continuing Education at NYU, Michigan, and UC Berkeley, 1946-1991*. 1993, 292 pp.
- Stevens, Frank C. *Forty Years in the Office of the President, University of California, 1905-1945*. 1959, 175 pp.
- Stewart, George R. *A Little of Myself*. (Author and UC Professor of English.) 1972, 319 pp.
- Stripp, Fred S. Jr. *University Debate Coach, Berkeley Civic Leader, and Pastor*. 1990, 75 pp.

- Strong, Edward W. *Philosopher, Professor, and Berkeley Chancellor, 1961-1965*. 1992, 530 pp.
- Struve, Gleb. (In process.) *Professor of Slavic Languages and Literature*.
- Taylor, Paul Schuster.
 Volume I: *Education, Field Research, and Family*, 1973, 342 pp.
 Volume II and Volume III: *California Water and Agricultural Labor*, 1975, 519 pp.
- Thygeson, Phillips. *External Eye Disease and the Proctor Foundation*. 1988, 321 pp. (UC San Francisco professor.) (Available through the Foundation of the American Academy of Ophthalmology.)
- Tien, Chang-Lin. (In process.) *Berkeley Chancellor, 1990-1997*.
- Towle, Katherine A. *Administration and Leadership*. 1970, 369 pp.
- Townes, Charles H. *A Life in Physics: Bell Telephone Laboratories and WWII, Columbia University and the Laser, MIT and Government Service; California and Research in Astrophysics*. 1994, 691 pp.
- Underhill, Robert M. *University of California: Lands, Finances, and Investments*. 1968, 446 pp.
- Vaux, Henry J. *Forestry in the Public Interest: Education, Economics, State Policy, 1933-1983*. 1987, 337 pp.
- Wada, Yori. *Working for Youth and Social Justice: The YMCA, the University of California, and the Stulsaft Foundation*. 1991, 203 pp.
- Waring, Henry C. *Henry C. Waring on University Extension*. 1960, 130 pp.
- Wellman, Harry. *Teaching, Research and Administration, University of California, 1925-1968*. 1976, 259 pp.
- Wessels, Glenn A. *Education of an Artist*. 1967, 326 pp.
- Westphal, Katherine. *Artist and Professor*. 1988, 190 pp. (UC Davis professor.)
- Whinnery, John. *Researcher and Educator in Electromagnetics, Microwaves, and Optoelectronics, 1935-1995; Dean of the College of Engineering, UC Berkeley, 1950-1963*. 1996, 273 pp.
- Wiegel, Robert L. *Coastal Engineering: Research, Consulting, and Teaching, 1946-1997*. 1997, 327 pp.
- Williams, Arleigh. *Dean of Students Arleigh Williams: The Free Speech Movement and the Six Years' War, 1964-1970*. 1990, 329 pp.

- Williams, Arleigh and Betty H. Neely. *Disabled Students' Residence Program*. 1987, 41 pp.
- Wilson, Garff B. *The Invisible Man, or, Public Ceremonies Chairman at Berkeley for Thirty-Five Years*. 1981, 442 pp.
- Winkler, Albert J. *Viticultural Research at UC Davis, 1921-1971*. 1973, 144 pp.
- Woods, Baldwin M. *University of California Extension*. 1957, 102 pp.
- Wurster, William Wilson. *College of Environmental Design, University of California, Campus Planning, and Architectural Practice*. 1964, 339 pp.

MULTI-INTERVIEWEE PROJECTS

- Blake Estate Oral History Project*. 1988, 582 pp.
Architects landscape architects, gardeners, presidents of UC document the history of the UC presidential residence. Includes interviews with Mai Arbegast, Igor Blake, Ron and Myra Brocchini, Toichi Domoto, Eliot Evans, Tony Hail, Linda Haymaker, Charles Hitch, Flo Holmes, Clark and Kay Kerr, Gerry Scott, George and Helena Thacher, Walter Vodden, and Norma Willer.
- Centennial History Project, 1954-1960*. 329 pp.
Includes interviews with George P. Adams, Anson Stiles Blake, Walter C. Blasdale, Joel H. Hildebrand, Samuel J. Holmes, Alfred L. Kroeber, Ivan M. Linforth, George D. Louderback, Agnes Fay Morgan, and William Popper. (Bancroft Library use only.)
- Thomas D. Church, Landscape Architect*. Two volumes, 1978, 803 pp.
Volume I: Includes interviews with Theodore Bernardi, Lucy Butler, June Meehan Campbell, Louis De Monte, Walter Doty, Donn Emmons, Floyd Gerow, Harriet Henderson, Joseph Howland, Ruth Jaffe, Burton Litton, Germano Milano, Miriam Pierce, George Rockrise, Robert Royston, Geraldine Knight Scott, Roger Sturtevant, Francis Violich, and Harold Watkin.
Volume II: Includes interviews with Maggie Baylis, Elizabeth Roberts Church, Robert Glasner, Grace Hall, Lawrence Halprin, Proctor Mellquist, Everitt Miller, Harry Sanders, Lou Schenone, Jack Stafford, Goodwin Steinberg, and Jack Wagstaff.
- Interviews with Dentists*. (Dental History Project, University of California, San Francisco.) 1969, 1114 pp. Includes interviews with Dickson Bell, Reuben L. Blake, Willard C. Fleming, George A. Hughes, Leland D. Jones, George F. McGee, C. E. Rutledge, William B. Ryder, Jr., Herbert J. Samuels, Joseph Sciutto, William S. Smith, Harvey Stallard, George E. Steninger, and Abraham W. Ward. (Bancroft Library use only.)

Julia Morgan Architectural History Project. Two volumes, 1976, 621 pp.
Volume I: *The Work of Walter Steilberg and Julia Morgan, and the Department of Architecture, UCB, 1904-1954.*

Includes interviews with Walter T. Steilberg, Robert Ratcliff, Evelyn Paine Ratcliff, Norman L. Jensen, John E. Wagstaff, George C. Hodges, Edward B. Hussey, and Warren Charles Perry.

Volume II: *Julia Morgan, Her Office, and a House.*

Includes interviews with Mary Grace Barron, Kirk O. Rowlands, Norma Willer, Quintilla Williams, Catherine Freeman Nimitz, Polly Lawrence McNaught, Hettie Belle Marcus, Bjarne Dahl, Bjarne Dahl, Jr., Morgan North, Dorothy Wormser Coblentz, and Flora d'Ille North.

The Prytaneans: An Oral History of the Prytanean Society and its Members. (Order from Prytanean Society.)

Volume I: 1901-1920, 1970, 307 pp.

Volume II: 1921-1930, 1977, 313 pp.

Volume III: 1931-1935, 1990, 343 pp.

Six Weeks in Spring, 1985: Managing Student Protest at UC Berkeley.

887 pp. Transcripts of sixteen interviews conducted during July-August 1985 documenting events on the UC Berkeley campus in April-May 1985 and administration response to student activities protesting university policy on investments in South Africa.

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