

Gene A. Brucker, Henry F. May, and David A. Hollinger

well, it demands much work, a diversity of knowledge and real intellectual power, curiosity, imagination, an orderly mind, last but not least the ability to present the thoughts of men and their ways of feeling with clarity and precision.

I would like to end on a personal note. My Florentine friend, Niccolò Machiavelli, wrote in *The Prince* that, in his opinion, we humans exercise control of only one-half of our lives, while the other half is governed by fortune, *fortuna*. Looking back over my own experience, I see the role of *fortuna* looming very large and at some key moments, decisively, in determining the course of my life. It was *fortuna* that sent me to southern France during World War II and allowed me a glimpse of that Mediterranean world so vastly different from the Germanic, agrarian society in which I was reared. It was *fortuna* that inspired an enlightened federal government to enact the GI Bill and the Fulbright Act that enabled me to pursue my postgraduate studies in this country and abroad. And finally, *fortuna's* greatest gift to me was the invitation to begin my academic career at Berkeley and thus to participate in that adventure that I have attempted to describe this evening.

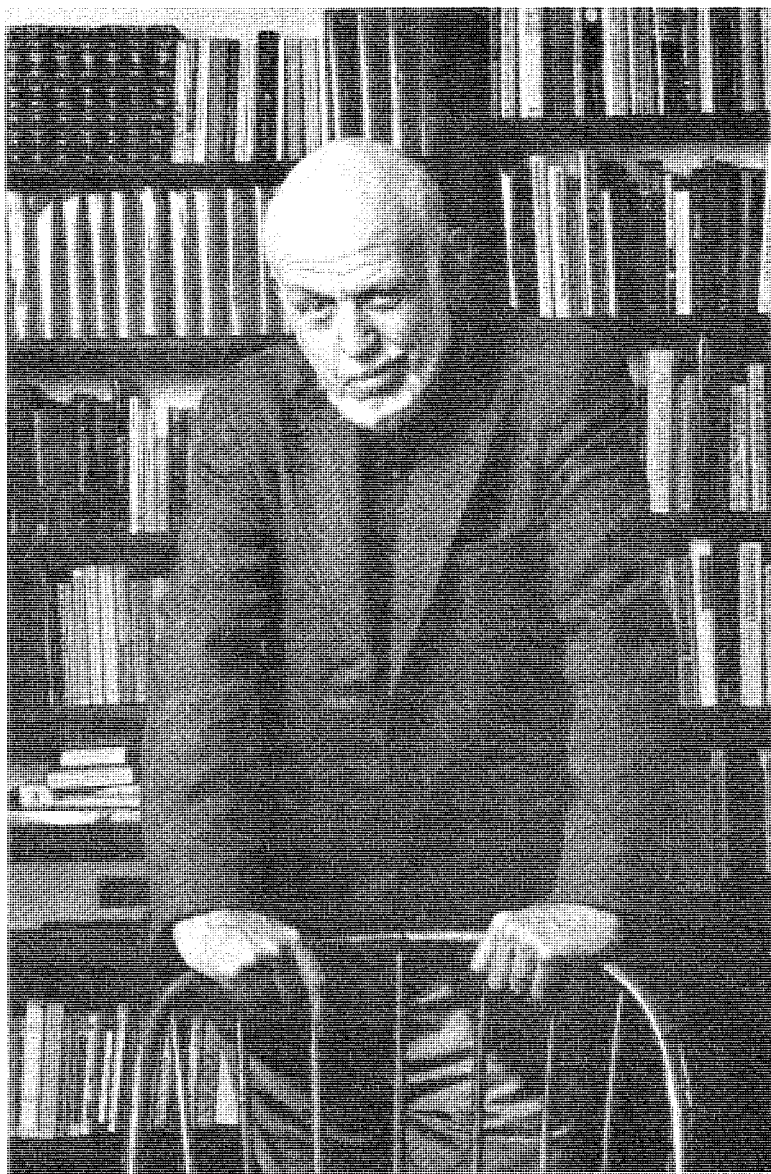


Figure 5: Henry F. May

COMMENTS

Henry F. May

As Gene Brucker knows, I liked his faculty research lecture when I heard it, and each time I read it, I find more in it. My main criticism is the one he mentions. I think he comes close to treating events in the history department in isolation, whereas actually and necessarily, the department reflected developments in the University, and for that matter in the community and the state and the whole society.

My outlook is further different from his because of differences in my age and experience. The developments Gene was talking about started, as he well knows, before his arrival in 1954. My own association with the department goes back to its prehistory in the thirties, when I was an undergraduate history major. My membership in the department faculty goes back to 1952, two years before Gene's, but I came as an associate professor and therefore was present at the big battles among the tenured professors.

OLD BERKELEY

I want to say a little about what I will call "Old Berkeley," that is, UC Berkeley in the period of my youth, before the changes that are Gene's topic. I think a lot of Old Berkeley survived in the early postwar period, from 1945 into the beginning of the fifties. The University of California in the thirties was located in Berkeley, with a southern branch frankly so called. It was a good University with some really distinguished departments: chemistry, anthropology, perhaps English, and others. I'm afraid I must say that history was not one of these, though it was a bit better than Gene sometimes implies. He mentions Kantorowicz as a distinguished early member and he mentions Guttridge, who was, as some of us remember well, both very subtle and utterly independent-minded, a typical product of Cambridge University at

its best. One should mention Paul Schaeffer, a splendid undergraduate teacher, and claims could be made for others.

In my opinion, American history in this period was damaged by the very strong dominance of Herbert Eugene Bolton and his school. Bolton had made very large contributions in his time, which I don't want to belittle. But his insistence that the history of the Americas, North and South, be taught together, was ultimately limiting, I think, like other theories of geographical determinism. I would personally include the theories, though not necessarily the practice, of Fernand Braudel.

Treating the Americas as a unit left little room for the political history of the United States, and none at all for its social, intellectual, or religious history—all strikingly different from developments in Latin America.

In the period I refer to as Old Berkeley, the University was provincial, and rather happily so. In spite of some occasional boasting, it didn't claim really seriously to be the nation's top university. I remember an occasion in the Greek Theater when Robert Gordon Sproul introduced James Bryant Conant as the president of the oldest and the greatest university of the United States. Later presidents would have been less humble.

There was little pressure on either students or faculty. If you wanted to work very hard, that was up to you. And some did. Judging or even thinking about Old Berkeley, one must always remember that it was free. If you could dig up somewhere \$26 a semester, you could go. And many of us, in the Depression, couldn't have gone to Berkeley if serious fees had been charged.

On the whole, the University had the support of its community, despite occasional routine denunciations of communism from the Hearst press and from towns that wanted the University split up among them. Cal in this period was a genial and comfortable place. Naturally, people who were made uncomfortable by the changes of the fifties fought against them.

In the history department, the conservative group was by no means powerless to resist. The changes that were proposed were seen by it as expensive, ruthless, and eastern. They were associated by their resistance with Harvard, never a very popular

institution in the West. Many of the conservative group were able historians and certainly able polemicists. They did not pull their punches. I remember when one appointment was being debated, Robert J. Kerner, who to put it mildly never minced words, looked around him and said: "If these standards had been applied earlier, I can see one, two, three people who wouldn't be sitting here now." And the trouble was, everybody knew he was right.

THE REVOLT OF THE FIFTIES

Now, leaving Old Berkeley, I want to talk about the change that Gene Brucker dealt with, the academic revolt that took place in the fifties. Old Berkeley, whatever its merits or lack of merits, could not possibly have lasted long; circumstances had changed too profoundly. Air travel now brought the profession together, and standards tended to become national. The GI Bill brought different kinds of students from all over the country. Most important of all was the huge growth in the wealth and population of the state of California. There was a drive for change in all departments, supported by an ambitious and expansive administration.

In history, the revolt of the fifties was led by Carl Bridenbaugh. Bridenbaugh was tireless, devoted, and single-minded, and I don't think we could have pulled it off without him. He was willing, whenever necessary, to sacrifice any number of graduate students or assistant professors who "couldn't cut the mustard." He was determined to make Cal number one, especially in comparison to Harvard.

Let me make clear here that I dislike this comparison and others like it. Great universities are not like advertising firms competing for a limited market. Pejorative comparisons are foolish and remind me of the "Hate Stanford" posters that sprang up in Big Game Week in the Berkeley of my youth.

Of course the changes of the fifties were not put through by Bridenbaugh alone. Others, such as Kenneth Stampp and Delmer Brown also played important roles in this fight, and most did not have Harvard in their sights. Again, as Gene pointed out, the

changes had the crucial support of George Guttridge, one of the few who could mediate between the rebels and the still powerful defenders of Old Berkeley. The battle was won by gradually accumulating a critical mass of appointments.

The most obvious change was in the size of the department. Gene mentioned 15 in 1935, and 25 in 1954. In 1960 the department amounted to 48, in 1970, to 65. It did not grow much after that. When I became chairman in 1964, I had 20 places to fill. I soon learned part of the technique; if the department was hesitating between two candidates for a job, you took both of them.

A really major change needs to be recorded. In the mid-fifties, when Delmer Brown was chairman, it was voted that the books and articles of a candidate should be available two weeks before a meeting on his case. This meant that everybody in the department could—and most did—do their homework before they spoke.

For a while it seemed as though Berkeley could get any bright young person it wanted. There are lots of reasons. One that Gene refers to with feeling was the equal treatment of young faculty members. Everybody could teach graduate seminars as well as undergraduate courses, and each assistant professor had a chance for promotion, the decision to be based on merit and not on a closed number. This was pretty much unique.

I think that one should not neglect—here the native son is talking—the charm of Berkeley. Since the turn of the century Berkeley life had been a big help in recruiting, and Berkeley was at its most attractive in the fifties. The town was becoming more cosmopolitan and interesting. It was still safe. There was no very evident poverty. The schools were good and housing more or less affordable. I think that the social history of Berkeley should be studied much more than it is.

As in other major universities, faculty salaries and perks were growing fast. There was no real corruption. Publishers offered plenty of food and liquor. Sometimes meetings to discuss a proposed book might be held in Key West or Las Vegas. Occasionally a publisher offered a really big advance, especially to somebody who either had written a best-selling textbook or who was likely in the publisher's opinion to write one in the future.

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Figure 6: The department's annual softball game, circa 1970. Gene Brucker batting, Randolph Starn catching.



Figure 7: Sheldon and Barbara Rothblatt, Jeanne-Marie Barnes, Ellen Hahn, Thomas Barnes, Roger Hahn, 1981

One important achievement of the fifties Gene Brucker does not treat. This is the surprisingly sudden and complete ending of discrimination against Jews. This discrimination had always been far less important at Berkeley than in the East. There was only a very little real anti-Semitism around. Yet tacit discrimination was normal. Jewish candidates for faculty posts were always conscious that they had to achieve more to be accepted, and it was common knowledge that Jewish graduate students were harder to place. Rather suddenly in the late fifties all this melted away. There is no fact more crucial in the rise in quality both of faculty and students. The process was completed in Berkeley earlier than in many places.

In the appointment of women the Berkeley history department was certainly not in the lead. There had been a few women at Berkeley since the first decade of the century, for instance in sociology and economics. The only factual error I found in Gene's talk was his statement that the first woman appointed to tenure in the department was Natalie Davis in 1971. Actually Davis was preceded by Adrienne Koch, appointed assistant professor in 1958, and then quickly promoted to associate, then full professor. Adrienne was a very well-known political scientist, originally trained in philosophy, and had written several books on the thought of the founding fathers. There was much opposition to her initial appointment on several grounds, including, quite overtly, the undeniable charge that she was a woman. The old, hallowed, clubby arguments were trotted out. If we had a woman in the department we'd never be able to talk among ourselves with mutual understanding and confidentiality. Some of the Old Berkeley faction were part of the opposition, and they lost. In the mid-sixties Adrienne left for the University of Maryland for personal reasons.

By 1971, when Natalie Davis was appointed, overt opposition on gender grounds was absolutely impossible. It would have led to intervention by the campus administration and the federal government. The source of this change of climate, I think, lay in the major changes in the family, marriage, and sex roles that was

one of the big indirect effects of the 1960s upheaval, which I shall discuss later.

In the fifties, in tenure discussions if, say, we wanted to make an appointment in the history of Ecuador, the question was simple. What man had written the best book on the history of Ecuador? By the seventies the question to be debated was, what *person* who was also a splendid teacher, had the best book on Ecuador. Somehow, all candidates seemed to have wonderful teaching credentials. Up to the time I left the department in 1980, the discussions among the tenured professors sounded quite a lot much as they always had.

This is not to say that the revolt of the fifties did not improve teaching, both graduate and undergraduate, as Gene says. Even if decisions for appointment were made largely on the basis of books, lots of excellent and devoted teachers were brought in, and many curricular changes were made, especially the requirement of small courses and proseminars. In the late Old Berkeley period, when I taught at Claremont Graduate School, I remember running into graduates of Berkeley who had never written an essay and didn't have the faintest idea how to start. They were used only to midterms and finals.

Of courses the academic revolution of the fifties, so well described by Gene Brucker, was not all roses. I have the impression that quite a lot of his listeners, while generally agreeing with him, couldn't believe that it had all been quite that flawless. Since this is a historical change, of course there were flaws.

First, much of the improvement in teaching came from people from eastern colleges, and the changes did not always fit the conditions of a mass institution. For instance, the many small undergraduate courses now proudly required had often to be taught by graduate students. Sometimes this worked well; sometimes not. Perhaps there may not have been enough emphasis on the surviving big lecture courses. It was a time of galloping educational elitism, whether for good or bad—and I'm not wholly against this in universities. Right before the upheaval of the sixties the pressure from the dean's office was for more honors courses and tougher grading. Partly in response to this, too much work and too

many papers were sometimes piled on students. I don't think this is good pedagogy, and it obviously led to trouble.

Finally, the style of the department in these triumphant years was sometimes both complacent and pompous. I got awfully tired of hearing people in tenure meetings express the opinion that a candidate, while very impressive, did not have quite the combination of brilliance and sound research that would have enabled him or her to come up to "our" standards. The word "distinguished" was used only slightly less than it is in the U.S. Senate. There were times when one almost—not quite—longed for the acidities of Professor Kerner.

And of course, the new and much improved history department was, like the whole University, part of its time. The great symbol of the University's new prestige came with President Kennedy's visit to the campus to speak at the inauguration of the ill-fated Chancellor Strong. He started his speech with a list of Berkeley people in his administration, beginning, of course, with my distinguished classmate, Robert McNamara. Kennedy's low-key wit and general charm were very effective with his huge audience. Only a few bedraggled students picketed with signs saying "KENNEDY STINKS."

THE SIXTIES AND AFTER

Now I should like very briefly to address one more of Gene Brucker's statements. On the whole, he says, the effects of the big change and improvement in the department lasted intact through the far more spectacular Berkeley Revolution of the sixties. I agree. Don't think that when I say this I am underrating the importance of the sixties upheaval. This produced changes in the whole society that were far more important than any department, perhaps than any university. I've put first the startling changes in sexual morals. There were many other changes, but these are not our subject here. My impression is that when the dust settled sometime in the seventies, society had changed more than the University, and the University more than the department. Perhaps the one big change in the University was the end of continuous,

almost automatic expansion, and the necessity to adjust to the problems of a stable constitution. This was hard on the state, the University, and the department; expansion had been part of Californian assumptions.

Yet little of the department mini-revolution of the fifties was undone by these larger changes. I remember a meeting in which the department was discussing with its usual eloquence and attention to detail the question whether we needed another appointment in—let's say again—the history of Ecuador. Over the usual fervent and complicated speeches, one could hear outside the windows the tear gas popping, sirens screaming, and students shouting.

Was this sticking-to-business heroic or crazy? Probably a little of both, since these two are always close. I would submit that it was also sensible. Members of the department felt strongly on opposite sides of every question raised in the upheaval of the sixties, but this was a time and a place set aside for getting together and discussing the history of Ecuador.

The history department did not split into noncommunicating factions, as some other departments did. Still later, not many of our members were led into the obsession with conflicting theories that led some departments, notably English, to lose all confidence in the value or legitimacy of what they were doing. Why not? I suggest that one reason is that history is so various. One could still choose to work in such traditional fields as political, economic, or diplomatic history, or in population changes. Or in history of sexual customs, history of marriage and divorce, history from the bottom up, the top down, or the middle out.

Most of us continued to make several important assumptions. We continued to preserve the illusion—if it is an illusion—that we could make mutually intelligible judgments of quality regardless of field. A medieval historian could look at a manuscript in American history, a historian of China could look at a book on the history of England and tell whether it was well researched and decently written. Most of us continued to assume that any subject is legitimate, as long as one does not start thinking that one's own kind of history is history, those of others, not. Or that one knows

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what history in its totality could possibly be like. Most maintained their allegiances to experimentation, careful research, and tentative conclusions.

To sum up: what Gene Brucker is talking about was a great achievement. A good, upper-mediocre department was transformed into a first-rate one. I don't care at all whether the Cal department is first, second, or third in the country. What was created in the fifties, survived the sixties, and still exists, is an extraordinary collection of interesting individuals, able to communicate despite their diversity. I am proud and grateful to have been a part of this department.

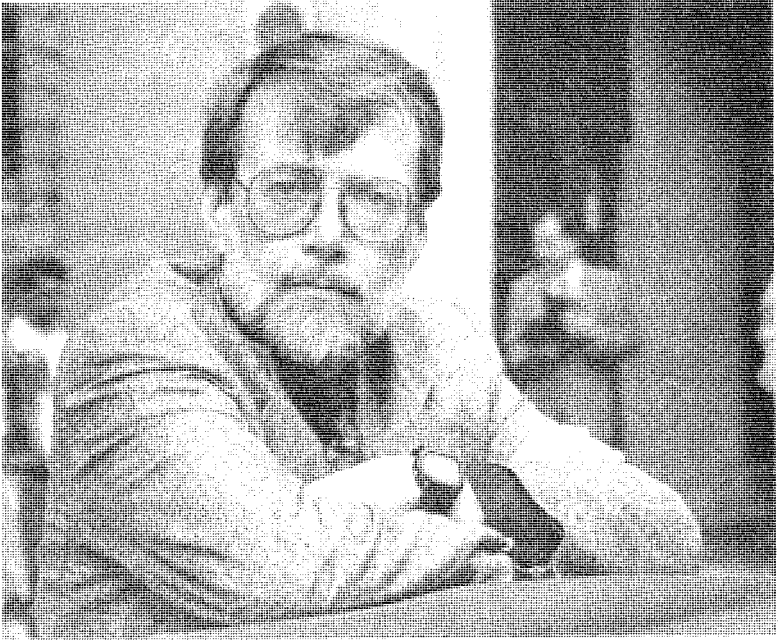


Figure 8: David Hollinger

AFTERWORD

David A. Hollinger

Gene Brucker's "History at Berkeley" is an insider's account of how a department of "modest achievements and reputation" became one of acknowledged "world-class stature." Although the scope of Brucker's Faculty Research Lecture reaches through the 1970s and beyond, Brucker's most instructive observations and his most vivid descriptions are inspired by the 1950s and 1960s. Henry May's "Comment" on Brucker's lecture concentrates on these early years of May's and Brucker's experience in the department. Brucker and May witnessed, and were agents of, the department's transformation in size, stature, and professional culture.

The accounts offered by Brucker and May will be of interest to at least three kinds of readers. Those who have been connected with Berkeley's Department of History, or at least know its cast of characters, are likely to be engaged by these carefully constructed, public reflections on personalities and events usually discussed only in private. Students of the history of higher education in the United States will welcome the combined Brucker-May contribution as a department-specific case study in the dynamics of post-World War II American academic history. Finally, students of the history of the historical profession and of the discipline sustained by that profession will find here an abundance of relevant material.

In order that the points made by Brucker and May can be connected as directly as possible to specific people, I have attached to this Afterword an Appendix listing all the members of the department in the 1950s and 1960s. One demographic fact leaps from this list. This is the existence of a huge generational cohort that entered the department about a decade after Brucker and May did, and remained largely intact until the 1990s.

During the seven-year span of 1961 to 1967, inclusive, the department made 30 nontenured appointments, 24 of which soon resulted in a promotion to tenure. Of the 24 individuals promoted,

all but three remained in Berkeley for at least a quarter-century. Some individuals appointed with tenure during these years were close in age to most of the more junior appointees, and like many of the latter, are still in the department today. Hence the cohort that entered the department as young men between 1961 and 1967 and remained there until retirement, or until the present, embraces about two dozen historians. Were it not for the “VERIP retirements” (those who took early retirement under the regents’ Very Early Retirement Incentive Program) of the early 1990s, this cohort’s prominence in the department’s affairs would have been even greater, and of longer duration, than it has been.

Several aspects of this cohort demand underscoring. The men of this cohort—and they were all men¹—came to professional maturity and aged personally in one another’s close company. They forged lasting bonds of friendship, and in some cases of antagonism, during an era of unusually intense campus politics, the middle and late 1960s. These men eventually played a major role in leading not only the department, but the campus. Their number included John Heilbron, who served both as chair of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate and as the vice chancellor, and Robert Middlekauff, who, in addition to serving as provost of the College of Letters and Science, answered the call of his colleagues three separate times to take on the responsibilities of chair of the department. The scholarship produced by this cohort won numerous plaudits in many fields. Six were elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. One, Frederic Wakeman, became president of the American Historical Association. About half of the two dozen individuals in this cohort were Jewish, rendering the Berkeley department a representative site of the ethno-religious

¹The gender integration of the Department is a post-1970 phenomenon. The only woman to be a member of the Department during the 1950s and 1960s was Adrienne Koch, who had been teaching in the Department of Political Science and was brought into the Department of History at May’s initiative in 1958. She departed for the University of Maryland in 1965, as Henry May has recounted.

diversification of American academic culture then taking place on many campuses.

The hiring boom of the early and mid-'60s took place in the context of what May calls "the revolt of the fifties," the first of two episodes on which this Afterword will focus. The second is the set of circumstances under which Thomas Kuhn—author of the most influential scholarly work written by a member the department during the 1950s and 1960s, or, indeed, at any other time²—left Berkeley for Princeton.

The "revolt of the fifties" is the pivotal episode in the development of the department as understood by both Brucker and May. A departmental "old regime" with a California flavor, dominated by the students and appointees of Herbert Eugene Bolton (1870-1953), was overturned by a group of reformers determined to bring the department into the forefront of the national profession. Brucker and May are aware that when they speak of this revolt, they do so as victors. May warns explicitly that the perspective he and Brucker share can yield a failure to appreciate some virtues of the "Old Berkeley."

Someone wanting to emphasize those virtues might give special attention to Bolton himself, chair of the department from 1919 to 1940, who had been president of the American Historical Association in 1932 and was a more imposing figure, intellectually, than were those of his followers encountered by May and Brucker when they arrived at Berkeley in 1952 and 1954, respectively.

This is not the place to attempt to do justice to Bolton's determination to integrate United States history into a "history of the Americas." But Bolton's ideas have recently received sympathetic attention from some scholars critical of what they see as excessively nationalist, Northeastern-centered, and Europe-

²Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

influenced scholarship on the history of the United States.³ Bolton institutionalized his ideas with a rigidity that even his admirers of today might find surprising. The department offered no survey course devoted to the United States until Bolton relinquished the authority of chair. John Hicks made the offering of such a course a condition of his coming to Berkeley in 1942 from Wisconsin, Bolton's own baccalaureate institution.

The department Bolton built was much more comfortable with Wisconsin products than with Ivy Leaguers, especially in any field having to do with the United States. One of the department's strongest junior appointments of the 1940s, Kenneth Stamp, came from Wisconsin. When Americanist Frederick L. Paxton, who himself had been recruited from Wisconsin in 1932, retired in 1948, the department tried to replace him with Wisconsin's Merle Curti. It was only after Curti declined to leave Madison that Berkeley's historians decided to fill Paxton's endowed chair with Carl Bridenbaugh, an accomplished historian of British North America who was a Harvard product.

Bridenbaugh proved to be an energetic, and in some ways arrogant, reformer. He had little use for the legacy of Bolton and was determined to make Berkeley more like Harvard. A group of historians, most of whose reputations were increasingly local and regional, found themselves on the defensive as Bridenbaugh and several others who saw themselves as representatives of a truly national profession tried to move the department in new directions.⁴ The "Old Berkeley" group included five "Americanists" who were protégés of Bolton himself, all appointed near

³See, for example, David J. Weber, "Turner, the Boltonians, and the Borderlands," *American Historical Review* XCI (1986): 66-81.

⁴Peter Novick notes that other regional traditions, particularly in the midwest, were simultaneously under pressure from younger scholars who identified with a larger, national profession. "Assertive regionalism could not survive the ridicule and silent contempt of more cosmopolitan historians," Novick observes. See Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 367.

the end of Bolton's period of influence in the department: Walton Bean, George Hammond, James King, Lawrence Kinnaird, and Engel Sluiter. They, along with colleagues in other fields appointed by Bolton during the latter's two-decade term as chair, were pejoratively called "Boltonites" by their enemies. I will use the more neutral term, "Boltonians" with the understanding that it refers here to a cluster of individuals in several fields rather than to adherents of Bolton's interpretation of the history of the American West.

The Boltonians were usually joined and, to the frustration of the reformers, often led by a widely respected historian of European diplomacy, Raymond Sontag, who had come to Berkeley from Princeton in 1941. Sontag and several of the Boltonians had supported to one degree or another the loyalty oath imposed by the regents in 1949, which led to the departure in 1952 of the department's only nonsigner, who happened to be one of its most distinguished members, the medievalist Ernst Kantorowicz.⁵ Sontag's strong European focus, his Princeton background, and his government connections distinguished him culturally from the Americanists who carried on Bolton's tradition. Yet Sontag was by far the strongest defender of the old regime. Sontag "more than anyone else," recalled Delmer Brown in 1996, "stood out as the opponent of our rebellion."

The two sides engaged each other in what May describes as a series of "big battles in the tenure committee." One specific case in this series invites detailed attention. This is what the circumspect Brucker identifies only as the "one titanic battle" of the revolt. This portentous event was, in fact, a two-year struggle over the appointment of William Bouwsma, who was destined to be a distinguished historian of early modern Europe, vice chancellor of the Berkeley campus, and president of the American Historical Association.

⁵The Department of History was not affected by the Loyalty Oath controversy nearly as deeply as were several other departments at Berkeley, including physics and psychology.

Struggles within the politics of an academic department often seem more momentous to their combatants than to outsiders, especially after the passage of several decades. But this particular conflict is worth scrutiny because of abundant testimony that it was the defining political moment for the Brucker-May generation in the department. The imbroglio reveals many features of the life of the department and of the campus in the 1950s. The event is described in oral history interviews of Brown and Kenneth Stampf conducted by Ann Lage for the Bancroft Library in 1996.⁶ Brown refers to this successful struggle as “the Bouwsma Revolution.”

During the 1955-56 year, the rising reputation of Bouwsma, who was then teaching at the University of Illinois, came to the attention of several Berkeley historians who were hoping to make a strong appointment in early modern Europe. Despite their efforts, Bouwsma came in second when the tenured faculty voted on his candidacy and that of another candidate. The six who voted for Bouwsma, having convinced themselves that much was at stake in the choice between the two candidates, refused to let the matter rest. They wrote individual letters to Dean Lincoln Constance detailing Bouwsma's merits and arguing that his appointment would be a substantial step in the improvement of the department. This initiative entailed a plea to Constance to support the insurgents against the department's established leadership and to stop the appointment of the majority's candidate. Four of the six who took this concerted action were relatively new to the department: Bridenbaugh, Brown, May, and Stampf, none of whom was even in the European field. These four were joined by two older Europeanists, George Guttridge and Paul Schaeffer, both Bolton appointees of 1925, who broke with the Boltonians to side with the

⁶These interviews illuminate a multitude of events in and beyond Berkeley. In this Afterword I draw on these interviews only in relation to a handful of incidents within the Department of History. Among the important features of Stampf's interview are the circumstances surrounding the writing and influence of his book of 1956, *The Peculiar Institution*. Brown's interview is a vital source for any inquiry into the development of Japanese studies in the United States.

newcomers. Guttridge, who proudly remained a British subject, had always maintained a substantial measure of independence from Bolton's protégés.

Constance and Chancellor Clark Kerr wanted to help the reformers to raise the department's intellectual level and its professional standing in the national discipline. Constance presented the campus's Budget Committee with materials supporting Bouwsma as well as those supporting the majority's candidate. When the appointment of the majority's candidate was not approved, the way was clear for Constance to invite Bouwsma for one year in the hope that opposition would diminish and that Bouwsma could be appointed as associate professor a year hence.

The young man from Illinois turned out to be an impressive visitor during 1956-57. Bouwsma's supporters became all the more determined to hire him. The campaign was coordinated by Guttridge, one of the "Bouwsma Six," who had replaced the Boltonian James King as chair and who was known for his cautious and diplomatic style. Yet the opposition proved intransigent. Bouwsma's type of intellectual history was not really history, but philosophy, claimed some. There was no need to hire another specialist in early modern Europe, it was argued further, given the fact that Brucker was coming along so well as an assistant professor.

These arguments seemed transparently fraudulent to the pro-Bouwsma faction, who ascribed other motives to the colleagues who persisted in opposing Bouwsma's appointment. Sontag, a Catholic convert, was suspected of not wanting to see the Reformation taught by a person whose background was Dutch Calvinist. Many others were thought to be in the thrall of a provincial antagonism to "eastern" and especially to Harvard influence. Henry May as well as Carl Bridenbaugh was a Harvard product, as was Bouwsma himself and so were several of the junior faculty soon to be considered for promotion, including Thomas Kuhn and the China specialist, Joseph Levenson. Many of the Boltonians were annoyed by Bridenbaugh's incessant and tactless calls for the bringing of Berkeley up to Harvard's level.

While the campaign to get Bouwsma appointed to a permanent position was being waged, the issue of Bouwsma's appointment became unexpectedly connected to the tenure case of Assistant Professor Armin Rappaport. The Boltonians and Sontag wanted to keep Rappaport, a popular teacher of undergraduate lecture courses. Most of the people Brucker calls the "Young Turks" agreed with a review committee's report recommending that the department deny tenure to Rappaport. But shortly before Rappaport's case was to be decided, one of the Boltonians came to Stamp and implied that he would acquiesce in Bouwsma if Stamp would support Rappaport. The Bouwsma supporters "sort of talked this over," according to Stamp. "I hate to say this," Stamp remarked 40 years later, "but we made a deal." The pro-Bouwsma faction dutifully voted for Rappaport's tenure.⁷ A few weeks later, when the Bouwsma appointment was brought to the department, Sontag and several of the Boltonians did not appear at the meeting. The motion to appoint Bouwsma then passed easily.

The victors were in a position to act quickly to consolidate their revolution. They not only had Bouwsma to vote with them, but also the Russian specialist Nicholas Riasanovsky, who was also appointed in 1957. Their ranks were further strengthened by several promotions to tenure, especially Brucker, Levenson, and Robert Brentano. Under the new leadership of Brown, who succeeded Guttridge as chair in 1957, the department made a series of strong senior appointments in 1958, 1959, and 1960 that dramatically raised the standing of the department. Among these new appointees, five exercised extensive influence over the direction of the department in the following decade and beyond: Charles Sellers in United States, Richard Herr in Spain, Martin Malia in Russia, and Hans Rosenberg and Carl Schorske in modern Europe. Although David Landes departed Berkeley in 1964, only six years after his appointment, he, too, was an influential figure in the department during these years of decisive transition. In 1962

⁷Rappaport remained at Berkeley until 1967, when he departed to accept a professorship at the University's new campus in San Diego.

the department made yet another senior appointment with long-term consequences when it welcomed the distinguished Latin Americanist, Woodrow Borah, who had taught in the Department of Speech since 1948.⁸

But Bridenbaugh and his comrades quarrelled with each other while acting on their new power. Alliances in departmental politics, as in other kinds of politics, sometimes prove to be fragile and temporary. One controversy in the escalating tension is of special interest because it involves both Bridenbaugh, whom May identifies as the leader of "the revolt of the fifties," and Kuhn, the focal point of another episode in the department's history to which I will turn in a moment.

During the 1960-61 year, when Kuhn was holding an offer from Johns Hopkins and was undergoing review for promotion to the rank of professor, Bridenbaugh managed to delay indefinitely the department's consideration of Kuhn's promotion. The theoretically oriented Kuhn was not a real historian, Bridenbaugh declared. This enraged Levenson, May, Stamp, and several others who organized to have Bridenbaugh's initiative reversed. Kuhn was indeed recommended by the department for promotion. But before the matter was resolved, Stamp, always one to speak plainly, told Bridenbaugh of his own support for Kuhn. Incensed by Stamp's having crossed him on the matter of Kuhn's promotion, Bridenbaugh walked out of Stamp's office, never to speak to him again. Brown tried to persuade Bridenbaugh to remain at Berkeley. But Bridenbaugh, increasingly suspicious of his colleagues, demanded an apology from the department for what he regarded as insulting comments being made about him by certain of his colleagues. Brown, after finding May and Stamp adamant, was eventually obliged to explain to the sensitive Bridenbaugh that

⁸Although a variety of kinds of political and social history as well as intellectual history were well represented at Berkeley by 1960, Berkeley was conspicuous at that time for its strength in intellectual history. Bouwsma, Kuhn, Levenson, Malia, May, Riasanovsky, and Schorske could all be called intellectual historians, as could Hunter Dupree in history of science and Adrienne Koch in the history of political thought.

no apology was in the works. Bridenbaugh stayed on for another year, but in 1962, after a dozen years as a vital force in the department and after having won election as president of the American Historical Association—the only Berkeley historian so honored between James Westfall Thompson in 1941 and Bouwsma in 1978—Bridenbaugh departed for Brown University.

Bridenbaugh demands yet another moment of scrutiny by way of clarifying the limits of “the revolt of the fifties.” This revolt undoubtedly put the department on a different track, and by 1961 had already produced consequences so profound that Bridenbaugh himself had been overtaken by the revolt’s momentum. In the interests of recognizing that the transformation of the department took place in punctuated phases, however, it is well to remember that in Bridenbaugh, the revolt had a leader who was as conservative in some respects as was Sontag.

The aspects of Bridenbaugh that soon became anachronistic at Berkeley were expressed in “The Great Mutation,” the notorious Presidential Address Bridenbaugh delivered to the American Historical Association the fall after he had left Berkeley. Bridenbaugh condemned many innovations, including quantification, which he described as a “bitch goddess.” But what made the address notorious was Bridenbaugh’s assertion that a new, “urban-bred” generation of historians could not be expected to understand aspects of the past that were comprehensible to those “raised in the countryside or in the small town.” These “products of lower middle-class or foreign origins,” explained Bridenbaugh with a hint of blood-and-soil conservatism, “were in a very real sense outsiders on our past,” whose “emotions not infrequently get in the way of historical reconstructions.” That such people were now writing the history of the United States was a mark of the loss of “the priceless asset of a shared culture.” Religion was prominent among the elements of this disappearing culture; “the virus of

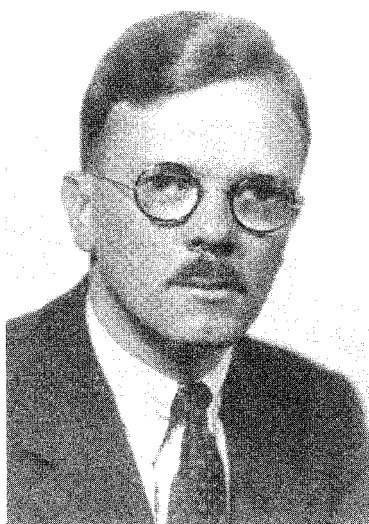
secularism" has penetrated our society deeply, complained Bridenbaugh.⁹

There is no reason to believe that any of Bridenbaugh's co-insurgents ever shared Bridenbaugh's belief that urban, petit bourgeois historians of recent immigrant stock were more victimized by their emotions than were country-bred Anglo-Protestants of long American lineage. Indeed, compelling evidence to the contrary is found in the ethno-religious mix of the appointments made in the wake of the revolt. When Bridenbaugh delivered "The Great Mutation," he was moving culturally as well as geographically in the opposite direction from the department then chaired by Schorske. "It was a terrible speech," Stampf phrased a reaction widely shared in Dwinelle Hall. Yet, that such a central role in a revolt of only a few years before could have been played by someone capable of speaking as Bridenbaugh did can remind us how far the Berkeley department had to travel in order to get from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s.

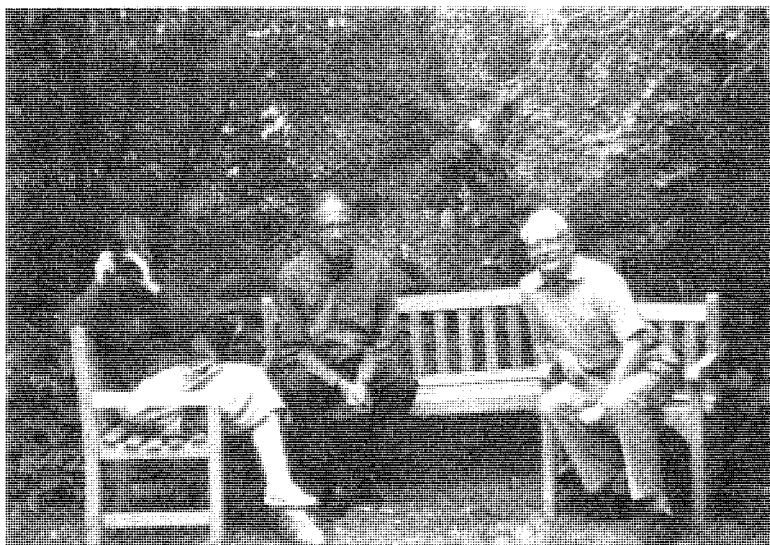
Thomas Kuhn himself left Berkeley two years after Bridenbaugh did. The dynamics of Kuhn's departure from Berkeley have often been a matter of speculation among philosophers and historians throughout the United States. I address this important separation here by way of supplementing Brucker's and May's account of the development of the Department of History during the 1950s and 1960s. The process by which Kuhn left Berkeley turns out to be highly relevant to the concerns of Brucker and May. This process reveals how much more rapidly Berkeley's historians had moved from the "Old Berkeley" than had Berkeley's philosophers.

Kuhn's appointment had been divided equally between philosophy and history from the time of his recruitment in 1956, partly as a result of Chancellor Glenn Seaborg's concern to add strength to philosophy. Although the philosophers seem to have welcomed this during Kuhn's early years in Berkeley, some be-

⁹Carl Bridenbaugh, "The Great Mutation," *American Historical Review* LXVII (January 1963): 320, 322-23, 326, 328.



Figures 9-12: Herbert E. Bolton (upper left), George Guttridge (upper right), Raymond J. Sontag (lower left), and Carl Bridenbaugh (lower right)



Figures 13-15: Delmer Brown (upper left), Kenneth M. Stampp (upper right), Thomas Kuhn and his wife Jehane with William Bouwsma on a visit to Berkeley in the 1980s.

came less than pleased by Kuhn's growing influence within their own department. The philosophers pushed Kuhn out of their department against Kuhn's wishes, and without even consulting him, in 1961.

The immediate occasion was the same promotional review that led to Bridenbaugh's quarrel with Stamp and others in the Department of History. The philosophers holding the rank of professor refused to recommend Kuhn's promotion in philosophy. Instead, they supported his promotion in history with the stipulation that Kuhn's FTE be transferred entirely to history and that Kuhn be prevented from participating in the deliberations of the philosophy department. Chair Karl Aschenbrenner explained to Dean Lincoln Constance that Kuhn's competence suited him more to history than to philosophy and that there was no necessary connection between history of science and the concerns of philosophers. Kuhn himself, allowed Aschenbrenner in an assertion that would shock anyone familiar with Kuhn's career, had few if any pretensions to being a philosopher.

Although this decision and the reasoning behind it was reported to Constance on November 15, 1960, Kuhn was not told of the philosophers' decision until much later. Constance, at a meeting with Kuhn on December 5, withheld the information for fear of upsetting Kuhn who, in the course of their conversation, had explicitly rejected the idea of having his FTE transferred entirely to history. Acting Chancellor Edward Strong, upon hearing of this dimension of Constance's conversation with Kuhn, advised Aschenbrenner on December 13 to get together with both Kuhn and Constance to discuss the matter. Strong himself was a member of the department of philosophy and knew Aschenbrenner well. But on January 11 Brown, as chair of history, after speaking with Aschenbrenner while preparing materials in support of the history department's enthusiastic recommendation of Kuhn's promotion and of the acceptance of 100 percent of Kuhn's FTE in history, alerted Constance to the awkwardness that was following from the fact that Kuhn had yet to learn of the impending transfer. Brown was not sure that it should fall to him to give this negative and highly sensitive news to Kuhn. As late as April 18, a review

committee advising the Budget Committee on Kuhn's promotion shared with Constance its shock upon discovering that Kuhn had yet to learn of the attitude being taken toward him by the Department of Philosophy. The record indicates that Strong was uncomfortable with this entire proceeding, but it is clear that he did not intervene to make sure Kuhn was alerted to philosophy's stance toward him prior to the time that he declined the offer from Johns Hopkins. If any individual was in a position to prevent this course of events from unfolding as it did, it was Chancellor Strong.

Although Kuhn's colleagues sometimes found Kuhn excessively self-absorbed, and even vain, his reaction to this experience was composed and reserved, at least as presented to Strong. After the promotion to professor had been approved, Kuhn wrote Strong on May 5, 1961, to express his dismay at having learned about the transferral so late in the day, and about its character as a *fait accompli*. Kuhn told Strong that he would accept the 100 percent appointment in history, but added that he was disturbed that the senior professors in philosophy had decided the matter without consulting the associate professors and assistant professors, all of whom had an obvious stake in the composition of the senior faculty of a small department. These younger members of the philosophy department at the time included Stanley Cavell, Paul Feyerabend, and John Searle, all of whom were destined to be among the leading philosophers of their generation and all of whom were very well disposed toward Kuhn.¹⁰

There is no question that Kuhn was, in Strong's own word, "evicted" from Berkeley's Department of Philosophy. Kuhn's relationship with most of his colleagues in history continued to be friendly. When he decided in October 1963, to accept an offer from Princeton, he explained his decision in a remarkable, three-page letter distributed to all his history colleagues. Although this

¹⁰John Searle has shared with me (August 9, 1997) his recollections of how angered he and several other younger philosophers were when they learned what their senior colleagues had done. Kuhn told Searle some years later that the day he got word of his being dropped from the philosophy department was "the worst day" of his life.

letter was taken by some as another sign that Kuhn was taking himself rather more seriously than he should, the letter is of interest here for its specific content. It was warm in its appreciation for the departmental community. It detailed the appeal of Princeton in the context of Kuhn's analysis of the situation of history of science nationally as a field of scholarship and doctoral training. He alluded to the welcome opportunity he would have at Princeton to work with graduate students in philosophy. Kuhn sent a copy of this document to Strong with a handwritten note telling Strong that he felt "lousy" about the decision, but saw "no alternative." In the margins of this mailing from Kuhn, Strong pencilled his own belief that Kuhn was still feeling injured by his "eviction" from philosophy at Berkeley.

It is possible that Kuhn would have left Berkeley for Princeton even had Berkeley's philosophers been more responsive to him and his work. But Berkeley's postrevolt historians, along with like-minded junior philosophers yet to overturn their own department's old regime, did manage to make an academic home for a philosopher-historian who proved to be one of the most widely discussed academic intellectuals of the century, and they did so during the period of his greatest creativity. This should be added to the accomplishments of the Brucker-May generation of historians at Berkeley.

NOTES

Responsibility for this Afterword rests with me alone, but I thank Carroll Brentano, Carol J. Clover, Joan Heifetz Hollinger, Martin Jay, and Kerwin Klein for helpful suggestions. I am indebted to Patti Owen for helping me to make appropriate use of personnel documents relevant to the Berkeley career of the late Thomas Kuhn. I am grateful to the Oral History Office of the Bancroft Library for permission to read three oral histories while still being prepared for public access: Delmer M. Brown, professor of Japanese history, 1946-1977; Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, professor of Russian and European intellectual history; and Kenneth M. Stampp, professor of American history, 1946-1983; all part of an oral history series on the UC Berkeley Department of History. The interviews with these three historians, conducted by Ann Lage of the Oral History Office, are extremely rich sources for not only the history of the Berkeley campus, but for the development of the historical profession. My account of several events relies heavily on the sometimes conflicting recollections of these three individuals. Although none of the three is likely to believe I got the story "exactly right," I have done my best to check the memories of each against the others', and against other available sources. I have profited from the recollections (shared with me August 8, 1997) of Lincoln Constance.

APPENDIX

Members of the Berkeley History Department, 1950-1969

This list includes only "ladder appointments" of 50 percent or more. Yet in cases when such an appointment was preceded by one or more years of appointment on a Visiting or Acting title, the year indicated is the year a faculty member's affiliation with the department began. Those listed with appointment dates prior to 1950 were still regular members of the department in 1950. For help in compiling this information I am indebted to Marcia Kai-Kee, David Keightley, Robert Middlekauff, Patti Owen, William Roberts, Camden Rutter, and Irwin Scheiner.

Name	Appointed	Separated
John Van Nostrand	1918	1954
Franklin Palm	1921	1957
George Guttridge	1925	1965
Paul Schaeffer	1925	1960
Robert Kerner	1928	1954
Lawrence Kinnaird	1937	1960
Woodbridge Bingham	1937	1969
Ernst Kantorowicz	1939	1952
Lawrence Harper	1939	1968
Walton Bean	1941	1978
Raymond Sontag	1941	1965
John Hicks	1942	1957
Engel Sluiter	1943	1973
James King	1944	1980
George Hammond	1945	1965
Kenneth Stamp	1946	1983
Delmer Brown	1946	1977
George Lantzeff	1947	1955
Gordon Griffiths	1947	1955
William Davis	1947	1955
Dixon Wecter	1949	1950

Gene A. Brucker, Henry F. May, and David A. Hollinger

Armin Rappaport	1949	1967
Carl Bridenbaugh	1950	1962
Joseph Levenson	1950	1969
Reuben Gross	1950	1958
Robert Brentano	1952	--
Henry May	1952	1980
Gene Brucker	1954	1991
Werner Angress	1955	1963
William Bouwsma	1956	1991
Thomas Kuhn	1956	1964
Hunter Dupree	1956	1968
William Sinnigen	1956	1962
Richard Drinnon	1957	1961
Nicholas Riasanovsky	1957	1994
Martin Malia	1958	1991
Charles Sellers	1958	1990
Adrienne Koch	1958	1965
David Landes	1958	1964
Franz Schurmann	1958	1994
James Scobey	1959	1964
Bryce Lyon	1959	1965
Charles Jelavich	1959	1962
Hans Rosenberg	1959	1980
Carl Schorske	1960	1969
Richard Herr	1960	1991
Richard Webster	1960	1991
George Stocking	1960	1968
Richard Abrams	1961	--
Robert Paxton	1961	1967
Roger Hahn	1961	--
Thomas Metcalf	1961	--
Thomas Barnes	1961	--
Woodrow Borah	1962	1980
Lawrence Levine	1962	1994
Robert Middlekauff	1962	--
Gunther Barth	1962	1992
John Smith	1962	1992

History at Berkeley

Gerald Feldman	1963	--
Perry Curtis	1963	1973
William Slottman	1963	1993
Irwin Scheiner	1963	--
Winthrop Jordan	1963	1982
Sheldon Rothblatt	1963	1994
Henry Rosovsky	1963	1965
Wolfgang Sauer	1964	1984
Leon Litwack	1964	--
Reginald Zelnik	1964	--
Eugene Irschick	1964	--
George Soulis	1965	1966
David Brading	1965	1971
David Bertelson	1965	1971
Ira Lapidus	1965	1994
William McGreevy	1965	1971
Martin Klein	1965	1970
Samuel Haber	1965	1994
Frederick Wakeman	1965	--
Erich Gruen	1966	--
Randolph Starn	1966	--
Raymond Kent	1966	1991
Richard Kuisel	1967	1970
John Heilbron	1967	1994
Raphael Sealey	1967	--
Gerald Cavanaugh	1967	1973
Paul Alexander	1967	1977
Thomas Bisson	1967	1987
Gerard Caspary	1968	--
David Keightley	1969	--
Thomas Smith	1969	1986

**OTHER TITLES IN THE CHAPTERS OF THE
HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA**

Book One

Three Faces of Berkeley:

Competing Ideologies in the Wheeler Era, 1899-1919

Henry F. May

Book Two

California's Practical Period:

A Cultural Context of the Emerging University, 1850s-1870s

Gunther Barth

Book Three

The Origins of the Chancellorship:

The Buried Report of 1948

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The University of California, Its Women, and the Schools

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The University of California in 1897

Roy Lowe

Book Six

The University in the 1870s:

William Hammond Hall and the Original Campus Plan

Kent Watson

The University and the Constitutional Convention of 1878

Peter Van Houten

Gene A. Brucker

Gene A. Brucker was educated at the University of Illinois, Oxford University, and Princeton. From 1954 until his retirement in 1991, he taught Renaissance history at UC Berkeley. He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a fellow of the Medieval Academy of America, and has served as president of the Renaissance Society of America. At UC Berkeley he has been chair of the Department of History (1969-1972), served as chair of the Academic Senate, and on the Senate Budget Committee. Brucker was awarded the Berkeley Citation in 1991. Author of innumerable articles and four major books on the Italian Renaissance, Brucker is known throughout the international scholarly community as the doyen of 14th century Florentine history.

Henry F. May

Henry F. May was an undergraduate at UC Berkeley, and, after he received the doctorate at Harvard, he returned to teach in the history department in 1952. He was chair of the department and served on important faculty committees during the days of the Free Speech Movement; he has written on his experiences then. As well as an autobiography, *Coming to Terms*, he is the author of the *End of American Innocence*, *The Enlightenment in America*, and a long list of other books and articles on American social and intellectual history. May is also the author of *Three Faces of Berkeley*, the first "Chapter" in this series.

David A. Hollinger

David A. Hollinger was a doctoral student in history at Berkeley in the 1960s and is now professor of history there (where he has taught since moving from the University of Michigan in 1992). His two most recent books are *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (1995) and *Science, Jews, and Secular Culture: Studies in Mid-Twentieth Century American Intellectual History* (1996). He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and in 1997 received a Phi Beta Kappa Award for Teaching Excellence.



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