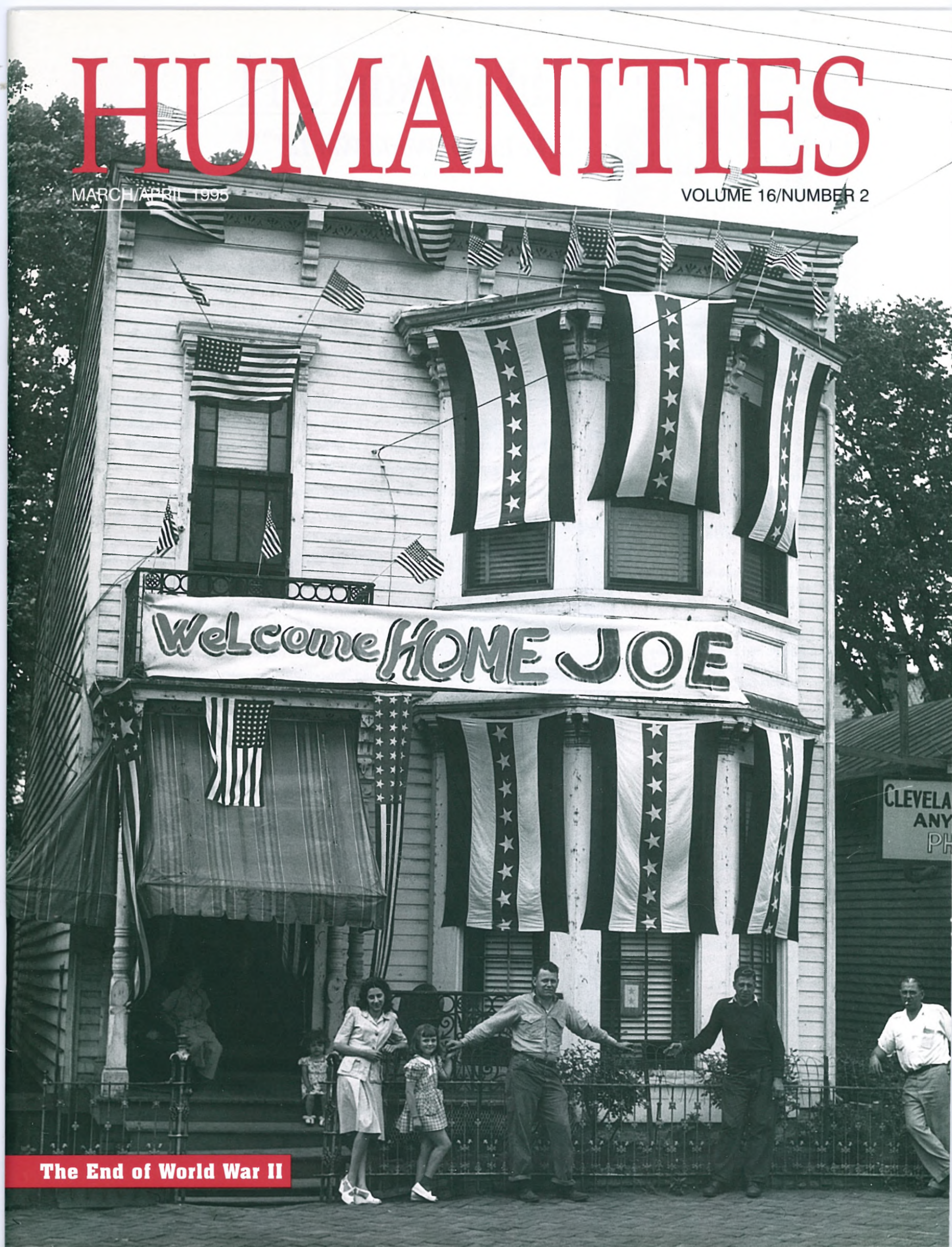


# HUMANITIES

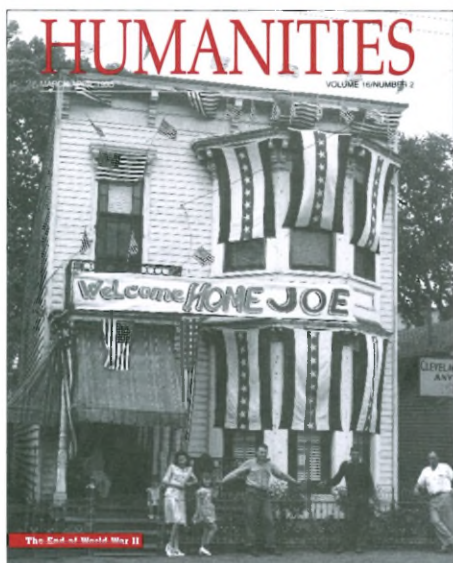
MARCH/APRIL 1995

VOLUME 16/NUMBER 2



The End of World War II





A welcome-home scene in Norfolk, Virginia, ca. 1945. —Norfolk Public Library.

#### *Humanities*

A bimonthly review published by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

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Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and additional mailing offices. **Postmaster:** Send address changes to United States Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 20402. **New subscriptions and renewals:** U.S. Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, P.O. Box 371954, Pittsburgh, PA 15250-7954. Annual subscription rate: \$15.00 domestic, \$18.75 foreign. Two years: \$30.00, \$37.50. For subscription questions or problems, telephone: 202/512-2303; fax: 202/512-2233.

## EDITOR'S NOTE

### *The End of World War II*

This year is the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II. The commemorations have already begun—the liberation of Auschwitz, the crossing of the Rhine, countless other dates and places on the march toward Berlin. The surrender of Germany was to come in the spring, on May 8, “V-E Day” for Victory in Europe. The struggle with Japan would continue for another three months.

By the time it was over, the war had occupied the world stage for six years and involved fifty-seven nations; 54.8 million people died, most of them civilians.

That other time can be recalled fleetingly in black-and-white photographs. . . . Innocent-looking young soldiers facing a wave-torn beach, a dazzling Lucille Ball selling war bonds in Texas, a kid sister in anguish saying goodbye, the sheer exuberance of “Welcome Home, Joe” on the front of a house.

The words are transitory, too—flashes of headline. ALLIED LEADERS MEET. GERMANY TO BE DIVIDED. JAPAN DISARMED.

In victory, Britain and France would cede colonies. And the great leader Winston Churchill would lose as Prime Minister before the summer was out.

Other, smaller headlines carried smaller bits of history, elusive and tantalizing. A man named Ho Chi Minh was forming a government in the newly autonomous Indochina; a Polish immigrant named Menachim Begin was leading paramilitary actions in Palestine; a guerrilla named Tito was consolidating power in Yugoslavia—and Croatian bishops were protesting mistreatment.

In this issue of *Humanities*, Endowment Chairman Sheldon Hackney discusses the shaping of the postwar world with historian Gerhard Weinberg. In France, a group of American teachers visit Paris and Normandy while studying “the dark years” in French literature and film, the period of the German occupation. Life here on the home front is the subject of two pieces: a picture essay that captures wartime Dixie from boot camp to boatyards, and a piece from New Jersey on how a group of Japanese-American internees found their way to Seabrook Farms; their stories are being preserved in oral histories.

And, finally, we look at another place only fleetingly mentioned in 1945, a place that was to become a killing ground for a new generation of Americans—Vietnam. Duong Van Mai Elliott explores the Vietnamese past by retelling the history of four generations of her own family. “Vietnam’s decades of turmoil caught every family in the same dilemmas and in the same web of trials and tragedies,” she says. Her own includes poets, mandarins, merchants, military officers and revolutionaries, family members who fought on both sides. A recounting is due, she says: “Enough time has elapsed and the passions of the war have cooled down.”

It was twenty years ago this April that American troops withdrew from Vietnam.

—Mary Lou Beatty



# HUMANITIES

The Magazine of The National Endowment for the Humanities

March/April 1995

## WORLD WAR II

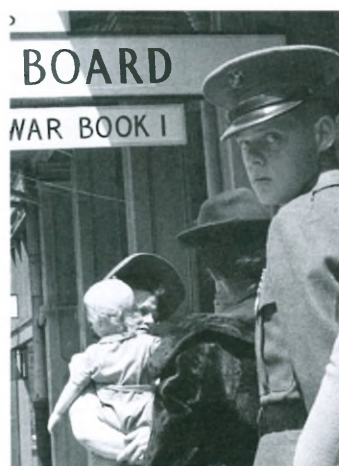
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## LETTERS

### AN IMMODEST PROPOSAL

To the Editor:

An Immodest Proposal for Ms. Mary Lou Beatty, Editor of *Humanities*, a Publication whose Choice of Medium is in Serious Need of Improvement, Variation, and Diversification.

*Humanities*, everyone knows,  
Is written in wall-to-wall prose;  
But would it be so great a crime,  
If the writers indulged in some rhyme?  
Would this journal be any the worse  
If it sometimes resorted to verse?  
Not *poetry*!—that's too obscure—  
But verse that is steady and sure,  
That takes a strong stand in a fight,  
And argues with wisdom and bite.  
Prose lets everyone stay in a rut,  
But verse moves the world off its butt.

Here's an offer: I'll rewrite in verse  
Any prose you provide; I'll be terse,  
I promise, and will not delay—  
In fact, I'll respond the same day  
With wit and some prods to get  
laughter,  
Or, at worst, by the day that comes  
after.

The rate for this arduous chore  
Is a mere buck a line, nothing more;  
If this seems too much for odd-job  
bery,  
Or strikes you as crass highway  
robbery,  
Consider the witness of history,  
For the past can dispel any mystery:  
The pirates, whom no one thought  
dear,  
Did their work for a mere buccaneer!  
Since then there's been dreadful  
inflation,  
And privateers feel deprivation.

You may doubt if this offer's for real,  
But, Ms. Beatty, do we have a deal?

—Harold Cannon  
*Skidmore College*  
*Saratoga Springs, New York*

*Harold Cannon is the retired director of the  
Office of Challenge Grants at the Endowment.*

My dear and irreverent Muse,  
It's an offer I dare not refuse,  
But a five-meter line would save  
dollars,  
And enchant our Shakespearean  
scholars.

—MLB

### LABOR REVISITED

To the Editor:

May I congratulate you on the coverage you gave to labor in your recent publication. It was of great personal interest to me because I am a surviving Reuther, brother of Walter, and author of *The Brothers Reuther*, and *The Story of the U.A.W.* . . .

P.S.: I have just finished writing a new book involving experiences Walter and I had in the 30s helping build the first auto plant in the USSR, and the fate of many thousands of foreign auto workers who participated in that undertaking. The manuscript is now undergoing editing and I hope it will soon be in print.

—Victor G. Reuther  
*Washington, D.C.*

### KUDOS ON BASEBALL

To the Editor:

Although I read—or scan—every issue of the publication from cover to cover, the July/August edition is one which I literally could not put down until I had swallowed it whole. One reason for this is the attractive appearance, but the other is the subject matter. I am a lifelong sports nut, both as a spectator and as a participant, and I have long believed that sports play a far more critical role in our personal and national identities than we have publicly acknowledged.

To the end that you be aware of the existence of organized interest and publication related to this concern, I am sending a recent copy of *Aethlon*, the official journal of the Sports Literature Association.

—Barbara Smith  
*Alderson Broaddus College*  
*Philippi, West Virginia*

*Barbra Smith is the chair of the Division of the Humanities.*



# THE END OF THE WAR



**How the events  
of 50 years ago  
shaped the  
world of today**

Planes from the USS Essex  
drop bombs on Japan, July 1945.

**A conversation between Chairman Sheldon Hackney and historian Gerhard Weinberg**





—Courtesy of Gerhard Weinberg

**W**HEN ENDOWMENT CHAIRMAN SHELDON HACKNEY SPOKE RECENTLY WITH HISTORY PROFESSOR GERHARD WEINBERG, THEY TALKED ABOUT THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF WORLD WAR II AND HOW THE WAR RESHAPED OUR HISTORY. WEINBERG IS WILLIAM RAND KENAN, JR., PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL. HE IS THE AUTHOR OF THE TWO-VOLUME FOREIGN POLICY OF HITLER'S GERMANY, AND A WORLD AT ARMS: A GLOBAL HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II. HIS MOST RECENT BOOK, GERMANY, HITLER, AND WORLD WAR II, WAS PUBLISHED EARLIER THIS YEAR.



—PHOTOS FROM NATIONAL ARCHIVES

**SHELDON HACKNEY:** We are approaching the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War. There already is a good bit of interest, but other than the fact that fifty is a nice round number, are there reasons we should be particularly interested now in World War II?

**GERHARD WEINBERG:** In one way it's also an end to the postwar era: the coincidence of the collapse of the Soviet Union following immediately upon its release of control over Eastern Europe made possible the end of the Cold War and the unification of Germany. One could argue forty-nine or forty-eight is as good as fifty, but it does seem to be a useful time to think about the events.

**HACKNEY:** So, this is really the end of the international structure that came out of the Second World War. What is to take its place? Or will we still in some way be implicated in the system that came out of the Second World War?

**WEINBERG:** The question of what will take its place is very, very difficult to answer. Certain aspects of the impact of the war are still with us: the new boundaries, the concern as to the future of Russia as a major power. Regardless of what happens, the demographic and economic factors are significant. After all, the Russians are

the most numerous people in Europe, and certainly among the most talented, and what they do in the future will have enormous repercussions on the balance of the continent, on Asia where territorially the majority of Russia is located, and on the rest of the world. Certainly, in important ways, the world created by World War II remains with us and is going to remain with us.

**HACKNEY:** You're right. In your magnificent book, *A World At Arms*, you write that this was a war about a total reordering of the globe, or that was the intention of Nazi Germany. Do you think of World War II as being therefore different from previous wars?

**WEINBERG:** In significant ways, yes. There is the factor of scale: No war has ever caused such casualties and destruction over so wide a scale. But beyond the hardware and numbers, one really has to go back a very long way to look for a war in which so much was at stake. If I might make a contrast, there had been a whole series of earlier wars which had spread outside Europe; the wars in which, for example, the French and British fought over North America and India. There had been wars like the First World War, which had spread out across the globe.

But there was, it seems to me, one very significant difference between all of these earlier wars and World War II. In all of these earlier wars the basic assumption was that the major participants would be around afterwards, with the winners having grown at the expense of the losers, either within Europe or by having gained or lost colonial possessions outside the European continent. The extraordinary difference of World War II as compared with these others was that it was not a matter of shifting this province, or that island in the Caribbean, or this colony in Africa, or that slice of Europe from one power to another. In this particular war, the Second World War, not only was the whole globe to be restructured, and the people living on that globe subjected to control that was different, but certain categories of people, primarily non-Germans, were simply going to be exterminated. And even in the groups of people which were going to be allowed to survive, certain categories were to be killed off.

To put this, if I may for a moment, into very concrete terms: Even if an allegedly Germanic-background portion of the population of the United States was to be allowed to live alongside the German settlers, individuals like the young woman who was just





**DECEMBER  
1941**

The USS Shaw exploding during the Japanese raid on Pearl Harbor.

selected to be Miss America would be killed because of their handicap.

**HACKNEY:** It is a particularly demonic vision of a new world. It's always difficult to come to terms with it or even how it had some appeal at the time. Do you think it was technologically feasible for Germany to have subjugated the world?

**WEINBERG:** Technologically, all kinds of things are feasible, and one of the things that is frightening about the advance of technology is that there is no guarantee that people will use it for good purposes. Technology is in a peculiar way neutral in that it can be used to enhance people's lives, raise their standard of living, open

cultural opportunities, and all kinds of other things, but it can also be used—the same technology—to destroy and to kill on a previously unimaginable scale.

**HACKNEY:** Let me ask you a biographical question. Many historians, including myself, got interested in history as a way of learning a bit more about who we are or were drawn into history by a desire to study our own national past or, in my case, a regional past. You were born in Germany. Is that what drew you into your interest first in German diplomatic history and then into World War II?

**WEINBERG:** Yes, in a series of very indirect and peculiar ways. I had to

leave Germany as a boy and was very graciously and generously accepted—that's how I got out—into a public school in England. It was what we would call a private boarding school, and as an eleven- and twelve-year-old I was so impressed by the teachers that I decided I was going to be a teacher.

I was originally going to teach Latin in the secondary school, but then decided that I would make social studies my major and Latin my minor, and went to New York State College for Teachers in Albany, as it was then called, now SUNY-Albany. It was service in the Army after the war, when I was eighteen, that opened up the possibility of graduate work. And it was in that context that I decided to concen-



trate on history. I was most intrigued by the way in which the modern world had gotten itself into the calamities of the twentieth century, and therefore wanted to study the diplomacy of the 1870s, the new Germany, and the Eastern question. But when I went to graduate school at the University of Chicago, I discovered that the man I was going to work with, Professor Hans Rothfels, had views on Bismarck which were so far from mine that I had to decide either to change centuries or to change universities. I certainly couldn't afford to change universities, so I changed centuries. I became a twentieth-century diplomatic historian working with Professor Rothfels rather than a nineteenth-century one. Those are the kinds of happenstances, I'm sure not unique to myself, which leads one into whatever one ends up doing.

**HACKNEY:** That's true. How old were you when you went to England?

**WEINBERG:** Just before my eleventh birthday. My eleventh birthday would have been on the first of January 1939, and I got there a day before.

**HACKNEY:** So you came out of Germany just before the start. How aware were you as a boy of what was happening in Europe?

**WEINBERG:** I won't say I was that aware of what was happening in Europe as a whole, but I was very much aware of the persecution of Jews. My father had been thrown out of his job; several members of the family had left; we were waiting to leave the country; my brother had to leave school because he couldn't put up with all the beatings, and my parents had to send him to a private school; I got beaten up in school regularly, but I guess I had a slightly thicker skull and therefore stayed in the public school system until I was kicked out of the fifth grade. When you get kicked out of school in the fifth grade because of your religion, you know what's going on. The place in Hanover where we had regularly gone to worship was burned down. My father was arrested, but then fortunately released. As a boy of seven, eight, nine, and ten, I did not know all the details, but that things were pretty grim was rather obvious.

**HACKNEY:** How does that affect your historical scholarship?

**WEINBERG:** It's very hard to say. I was then, you see, in a school where nobody spoke a word of German, and when we came to this country in 1940, never spoke German at home, so, ironically, I had to learn the language again in high school and college.

**HACKNEY:** Is that right?

**WEINBERG:** And really couldn't speak it again until I had gotten back to Germany on a research trip in 1962, long after the war, in other words. It slowly came back, partly from work in German sources, partly from speaking it again on research trips over there. Even today when I write in German, I have to have it fixed up because there are Americanisms and other peculiarities. I used to entertain my late father when I would show him something I had tried to write in German.

I suppose it affected me in another way. I was in England during the first year of World War II, and hearing the firing across in the Normandy peninsula. We were on the south coast. And then being in London during the very first part of the Blitz. Being in England in May, June, July, and August of 1940 provided, if you will, firsthand introduction to modern warfare. That again, did not mean full comprehension, but a sense of the dangers in the world and the fragility of life. That stays with you.

**HACKNEY:** That would be both an advantage and something of a challenge. You come to the study of the Second World War with personal experience that must give you some intuitive sense of what it felt like to have been a civilian and affected by it. Does it ever get in the way emotionally of your being able to understand? In *A World At Arms*, you write from various points of view, where you look at the motivations of the various actors. Is it difficult to get into the minds of the German general staff or of Hitler?

**WEINBERG:** One has to develop quite consciously a distance, because otherwise there are so many things which are so awful that one loses all perspective and ability to be reasonably fair to the individuals one is dealing with.

The other one is a constant immersion into materials. From 1951 to 1954, I worked with the captured German documents when they were in this country, having earlier worked with

the collected material from the Nuremberg trials that had been shipped by somebody to the law library of the University of Chicago. I got immersed in this material, and in one way or another, continued to work with it.

In effect, for over four decades, I have been in one way or another involved with and immersed in the materials of this period. I've spent a great deal of time in American and British archives on the Second World War. More recently, while working on this big book on World War II, I've looked at the huge runs of intercepts of Japanese material—thoughtfully translated into English, since I do not read Japanese—but running into tens and even hundreds of thousands of documents that are in the National Archives. That kind of continued immersion does provide one with an added sense of things. I believe, that one doesn't get by looking at snippets in a few documents.

**HACKNEY:** Yes, that must be true. Is it a little ironic that the German records were more open to you earlier than American records? In fact, there are some American documents that are still classified, are there not?

**WEINBERG:** Oh, yes. There were lots of German records, of course, which were not accessible at first either, because the Russians and other East Europeans had them. Some of those are only now going to come out over the next decades. But there are German records of World War II, in U.S. hands, which are still classified. One of the things that periodically I have been involved in is efforts to persuade, kick, shove, or otherwise move the controlling agencies into releasing them.

**HACKNEY:** You have a little note in your end notes to that effect in *A World At Arms*.

**WEINBERG:** Yes.

**HACKNEY:** If you were the national archivist, let us say, what would you do? Would you just simply go strictly by a rule of age, that is, when documents are—what is the rule now, a general rule of thirty years?

**WEINBERG:** There are probably a few things which either for technical reasons or privacy reasons, need to be kept closed for very long periods of time. And, of course, the archivist of the United States does not have full authority in certain areas. It is the Con-



NOVEMBER  
1942

Mechanics check  
an airplane  
engine at Kingsville  
Field, Corpus  
Christi, Texas.



gress and the President who have to make decisions. But it does seem to me ridiculous to argue that World War II documents today are likely to affect the security of the United States, or any other country, and therefore cannot be declassified. The areas where the argument was advanced, and continues to be advanced, is in our breaking of German codes and German efforts to break Allied codes. Now that it's fifty years in the past, anybody who's using the World War II code systems is asking everyone else to read the stuff, anyway. It just strikes me, quite frankly, as preposterous.

Beyond that, I think it's a dangerous thing in two ways. Number one, using the argument of national security, where it is clearly inappropriate, serves to devalue the concept and

make people cynical. There are some things that ought to be kept secret, and if one stretches the notion to cover everything on the face of the earth, one makes it very difficult to get people to take the concept seriously.

The other reason why I think it's dangerous is that, if one tries to keep a hundred million secrets as opposed to one million secrets, the likelihood is that anybody who really wants to get in is going to succeed, because you stretch your resources too thin. I do not believe it is a coincidence that the most serious breaks into United States security since 1945, things like the Walker spy ring and the Ames case, have come during the very years that the most restrictive Executive Order on security classification has been in effect; that is to say, President Reagan's

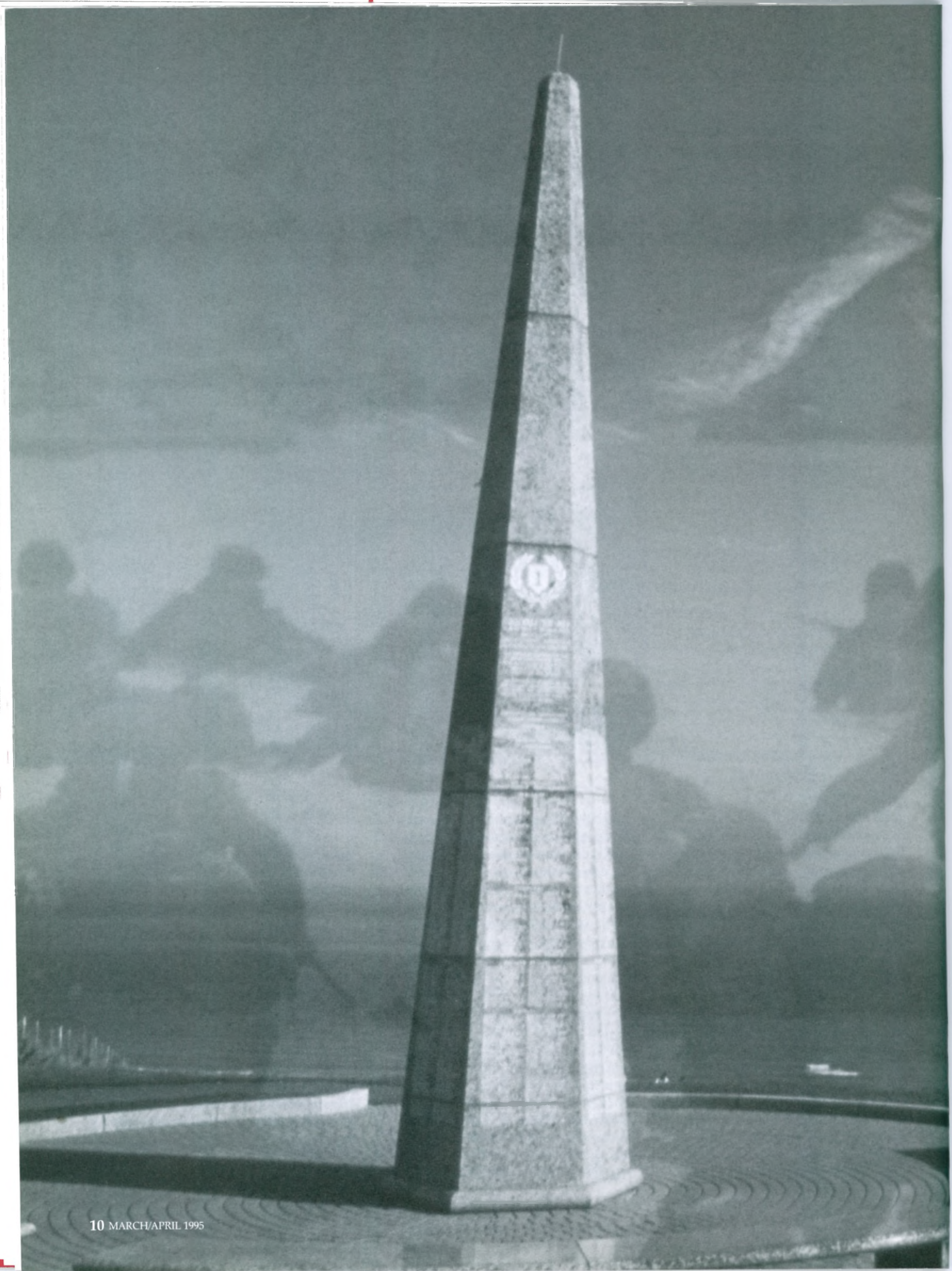
Executive Order 12356. If you stretch your security resources over everything, you almost guarantee that a determined country, agent, or individual will find a way to get at where they want to break through the screen.

**HACKNEY:** I see the argument. It's very interesting.

**WEINBERG:** So if you reduce the number of secrets you're trying to protect from some preposterous number—which through the recent decade has been increasing at the rate of between seven and ten million pages annually—what you are in effect doing is not only devaluing the concept, but creating practical impossibilities for your security apparatus.

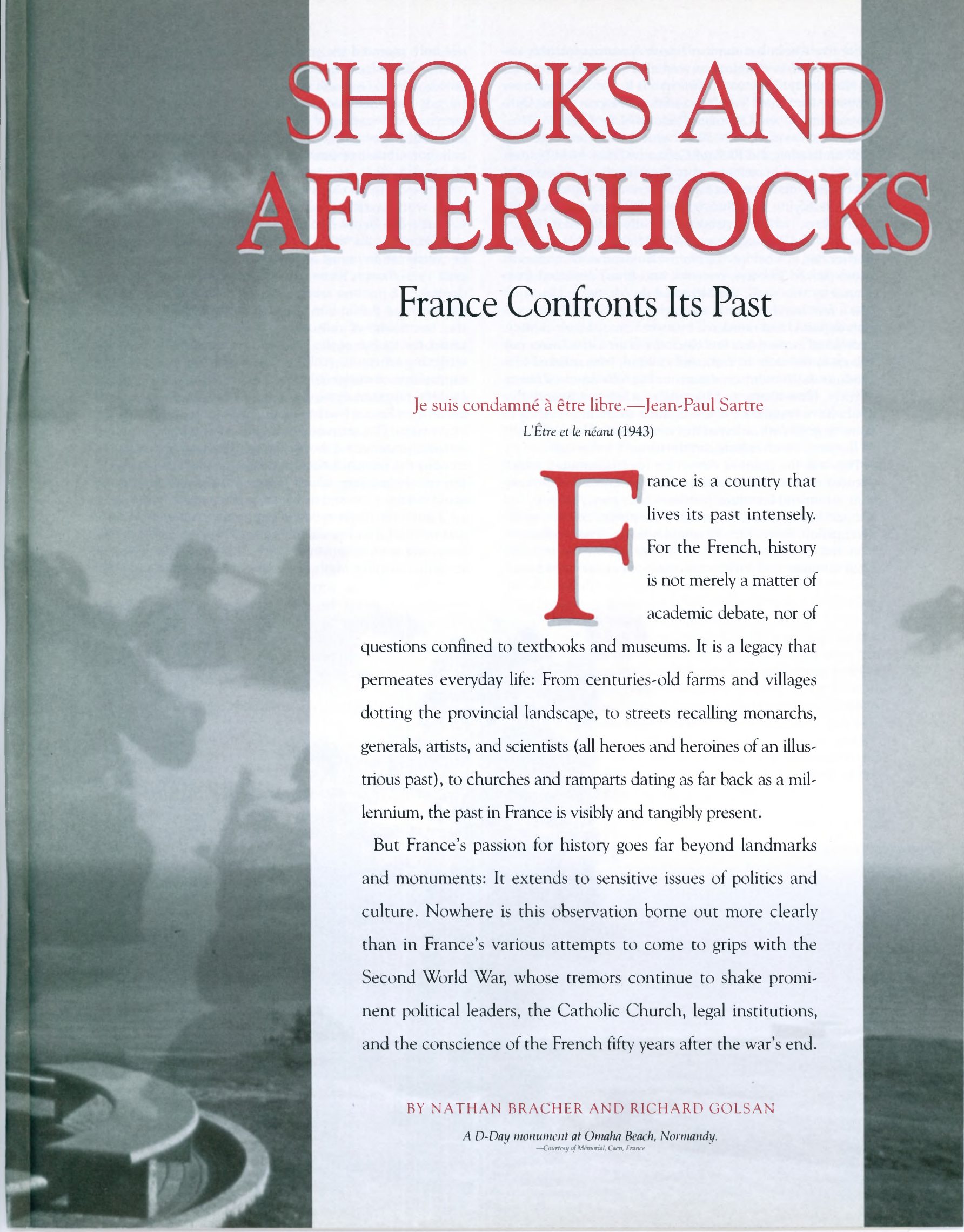
*Continued on page 49*





10 MARCH/APRIL 1995





# SHOCKS AND AFTERSHOCKS

## France Confronts Its Past

Je suis condamné à être libre.—Jean-Paul Sartre

*L'Être et le néant* (1943)

**F**rance is a country that lives its past intensely. For the French, history is not merely a matter of academic debate, nor of questions confined to textbooks and museums. It is a legacy that permeates everyday life: From centuries-old farms and villages dotting the provincial landscape, to streets recalling monarchs, generals, artists, and scientists (all heroes and heroines of an illustrious past), to churches and ramparts dating as far back as a millennium, the past in France is visibly and tangibly present.

But France's passion for history goes far beyond landmarks and monuments: It extends to sensitive issues of politics and culture. Nowhere is this observation borne out more clearly than in France's various attempts to come to grips with the Second World War, whose tremors continue to shake prominent political leaders, the Catholic Church, legal institutions, and the conscience of the French fifty years after the war's end.

BY NATHAN BRACHER AND RICHARD GOLSAN

*A D-Day monument at Omaha Beach, Normandy.*  
—Courtesy of Memorial, Caen, France



For five weeks last summer fifteen American teachers visited the sights and sounds of wartime Paris and the beaches of Normandy. They were participants in the NEH Summer Seminar for School Teachers entitled "Visions of the Dark Years: Literary and Cinematic Portraits of the German Occupation of France 1940-1944," which was conducted by Nathan Bracher and Richard Golsan of Texas A&M University. Immersed in contemporary French culture, participants spent their first week in Paris, where they visited monuments testifying to enduring, yet shifting, memories of the "dark years," which have been brilliantly analyzed by Henry Rousseau's *The Vichy Syndrome*. The Mémorial de la Déportation located just behind the Notre Dame cathedral honors all those (forced laborers, resisters, and Jews) deported from France by the Nazis; the Mémorial du Martyr Juif Inconnu just a few hundred yards away emphasizes the Jewish victims deported and murdered by mere virtue of their identity. Individual memorials a few blocks from the Eiffel Tower pay tribute to the men, women, and children who suffered horrendous detainment conditions in the Vélodrome d'Hiver. Writers, filmmakers, and historians in the last twenty-five years have revisited the Occupation years in an effort to come to grips with an event that continues to play a vital role in shaping French culture and the nation's self-image.

This was the point of departure for the seminar, which focused on how the French have represented the Occupation in film and literature. Jean Anouilh's play, *Antigone*, and Clouzot's film, *The Crow*, were both produced during the Occupation. Both testify to complexities of artistic collaboration and of the interaction of the French cinema industry with German and Vichy censorship. Seminar participants

not only analyzed the problematic conditions of their production, but also weighed the ambiguity of their political message. While Anouilh's modern-day version of the Greek tragedy has often been interpreted as an allegory of resistance, a close reading of the play in light of recent scholarship, which has recalled the author's willing contributions to collaborationist reviews, reveals that Anouilh was not unsympathetic to fascist views.

The group also took up two of the most famous literary works written in the 1940s, Sartre's *The Flies* and Camus's *The Plague*. *The Flies* is best known as a play that champions the liberating gesture of the individual who seeks to overthrow an unjust and tyrannical political order. However, even though Sartre presents impeccable anti-Nazi credentials, he penned articles for the collaborationist paper *Commoedia*, a publication aimed at convincing the public of the "normality" of cultural life in Paris when the city was under the thumb of the Nazis. Sartre's case is all the more intriguing when one realizes that two of his most powerful expressions of existential freedom, *The Flies*, and his philosophical magnum opus, *Being and Nothingness*, were articulated when France was feeling the most brutal effects of Nazi oppression. The seminar's examination of Sartre's wartime activities underscored the material and moral difficulties confronting the French. It also provided a concrete illustration of the vexing questions which make hard and fast judgments about collaboration and resistance problematical at best.

Camus's *The Plague* reflects the prevailing immediate post-war myth of a nation united in its resistance to an evil, barbaric, and even inhuman invader. This view, often referred to as the "Gaullist Myth of Resistance," helped nourish the

Au revoir les enfants, Louis Malle's 1987 film, is based on the true story of a Jewish schoolboy who is at first protected by the French during the German occupation and then betrayed.



Museum of Modern Art



process of national renewal by fostering a heroic, if inaccurate national self-image which has now been challenged by numerous later literary and cinematic productions, and in particular by Marcel Ophüls's classic documentary *The Sorrow and the Pity*. His uncompromising film portrays French attitudes and experiences in the town of Clermont-Ferrand. Released in the early seventies, the film was censored for television by the French government. But even its limited initial screening challenged the Gaullist myth that the vast majority of the French resisted heroically.

The whole period of reassessment ushered in by *The Sorrow and the Pity* made it possible in 1987 for Louis Malle to focus public attention on one of the most painful memories of the Dark Years, the role of the French in the Nazis' "Final Solution." Malle's *Au revoir les enfants* presented to seminar participants a poignant depiction of a Jewish boy first hidden in a French boarding school, then betrayed and captured by the Gestapo before being deported to Auschwitz. This film, which relates a true story while sketching a microcosm of French society under the Occupation, enabled participants to analyze the attitudes and behavior of the French toward the Jews in the context of the Holocaust, which is now at the center of current debate over the Vichy era.

While these masterpieces of film and literature prompted discussion and sometimes vigorous debate, the most powerful component of the program was unquestionably the participants' firsthand experience of the enduring presence of the war and Occupation in France, particularly in the Caen area. This legacy was experienced on several levels, from the material vestiges and scars on the Normandy landscape to the personal testimony of survivors identifying family members and acquaintances on slides of Caen taken after the horrendous bombardment in July 1944.

Seminar headquarters for four weeks was Caen's Mémorial: un musée pour la paix, a state-of-the-art facility located only a few kilometers from the beaches of the D-Day invasion and constructed over the underground galleries of the former German command post.

The Mémorial incorporates documents and artifacts from the war years into a coherent presentation of World War II seen in the context of the twentieth century, from the failure of peace agreements and the collapse of the world economy in the 1920s and 1930s, through the Holocaust and the development of the atomic bomb, and finally, to conflicts of the 1950s and 1960s in the aftermath of global war. The Mémorial encourages visitors to acquire a sense of what it was to live the events, which are presented through a variety of artifacts and audiovisual documents.

The Mémorial also houses a library, a documentation center, and a lecture hall to facilitate group study. The library and documentation center have extensive holdings not only of books published in the last thirty years on WW II, but also of film, radio, and television productions. Through agreements with the city of Caen as well as with the Mémorial, Texas A&M University regularly uses the museum as headquarters for seminars on World War II and related issues. The Mémorial also hosts workshops for French high school teachers and provides instructional materials to conduct student visits, which are integrated into the regular course of study.

During the first week in Caen, participants visited the Mémorial, where they followed a carefully sequenced presentation of the different phases of the war. The museum presentation begins with the series of documents, photos, radio recordings, and newsreels that illustrate the collapse of peace and lead to the area devoted to "The France of the Dark Years." This exhibition brought the participants from the official declaration of war with Germany in September 1939, through the crushing military defeat of May-June 1940, to the implosion of French democratic institutions and the creation of the Vichy regime. The Mémorial then focuses on the major actors and events that dominated the Occupation years: Marshall Pétain and his accommodations with the Nazis, the material difficulties of daily life, the organization of the Resistance, the propaganda war, the massive deportations, and the concentration camps both in France and throughout Europe. The third major area of exhibits, entitled "World War—Total War," is devoted to presenting various faces that the conflict took on in different parts of the globe, ranging from the death camps in eastern Europe to the Pacific theater of combat. It presents major battles, such as Stalingrad, and gives a detailed look at the key weapons, including the atomic bomb.







Americans wade toward a beach in Normandy on D-Day, June 6, 1944.

—Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

The museum's multimedia presentation tells the story of the Liberation of France and the Allied victory, including footage of all stages of the D-Day landing and the liberation of Paris. A giant animated map traces the stages of the Allies' progression from the Normandy beaches to Berlin.

To give participants a sense of the impact of the war on Normandy and its inhabitants, two days were devoted to field trips to points of importance in the Caen region. Rémy Desquesnes, a university professor who has published extensively on the impact of World War II on Normandy, provided expert commentary. La Pointe du Hoc, one of the major gun positions first taken by the Rangers, offered a detailed view of the Germans' Atlantic Wall system of defense. A visit to Utah Beach, Omaha Beach, and the American cemetery at Colleville, where almost ten thousand American soldiers are buried, helped gauge the human cost of the war. At each of these famous sites, Desquesnes explained the complexities of Operation Overlord, and the human drama of different theaters and phases of combat before, during, and after the D-Day landing. Desquesnes also led seminar participants to contemplate the significance of historical sites largely overlooked by visitors: from a V-1 launch pad constructed by Soviet forced laborers, to a German cemetery filled with the graves of seventeen- and eighteen-year-old conscripts, to the secluded château where the first surrender of a German general to American forces took place. Every corner of the beautiful Normandy countryside bore poignant testimony to the fierce combats of a half-century ago.

"One of the most moving evenings," relates Gail Wegner, "was spent in an auditorium of the Mémorial, when we were invited along with knowledgeable Caennais to identify persons and places in photos from their archives. Upon viewing a slide of a group of rather tattered individuals being liberated from a quarry in Caen, a woman from the audience piped up with 'That's my mother and the flag she put together from rags . . . the little girl is me.'" Citing the same scene, participant Billy Tyler observes: "It was like reliving a part of history, but not just as an academic exercise. One could feel the strength of the experience."

The hospitality extended to Americans was unanimously appreciated. "With multinational flags unfurled and banners singing out 'Welcome to our Liberators,' the French were never as warm to us as in the summer of 1994," remarks Wegner. "I was deeply touched by the very personal thank-you's

which were expressed to me for what Americans had done to help win the liberation of France," adds Mary Hollis Holmes.

Another eloquent testimony to the enduring pathos of war was provided by the discovery of a local tragedy at an abandoned abbey only a few kilometers from the Mémorial. "The truly moving experience," states Merrill Dyshel Hakim, "was our trip to the Abbaye d'Ardenne . . . There was a man there, the farm manager, who has obviously had to go through this routine many, many times, but who was not only extremely gracious, but also very eloquent. The story he told us of the assassination of the young Canadian soldiers who had been taken prisoner and murdered on June 7, 1944 was indeed tragic, but the tale of the discovery of their graves later, and the care that has been taken of the little memorial that was erected was strangely affecting. There was a feeling of sanctity in the little garden, and it was touching how much concern was lavished on these reminders of the past. I was quite impressed with his command of the language, and at how well he conveyed the full horror of what had happened."

Once commandeered by the Germans who used it to shelter an elite SS division, the abbey now houses American students who come to study issues of war and peace at the Mémorial. "It's interesting how many artifacts of the war have been transformed into something useful in present life," notes Hakim, who points out that German bunkers have been changed into such unlikely things as the very foundation of the Mémorial and toilets at one of the landing beaches!

Given the intensity of current public debate over Vichy, and the conscientious efforts of such institutions as the Mémorial to teach younger generations about World War II, the unsettling memories of those years are not likely to disappear in the foreseeable future. But the creative approaches to adapting these often painful remnants of the past to constructive uses cannot fail to send a powerful message of hope and reconciliation to all who revisit France's living history. □

Nathan Bracher is Associate Professor of French and Richard Golsan is Professor of French at Texas A&M University.

Texas A&M Research Foundation received \$70,161 from the Summer Seminars for School Teachers, enabling fifteen participants to study in France under Bracher and Golsan.



## PUTTING EARLY ENGLISH ONLINE

*Tell-tale cupids lately discover'd in the eyes  
of a certain court lady—* (1775)

This intriguing title of an eighteenth-century pamphlet on love and marriage is among 6,000 works being cataloged by the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. The material is from 587 pamphlet volumes from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century that will be made available online in bibliographic form by 1996.

The nucleus of the early English pamphlet collection comes from the Bridgewater House Library, purchased by Henry Huntington in 1917. It includes writings by Chaucer, Lydgate, Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Jonson.

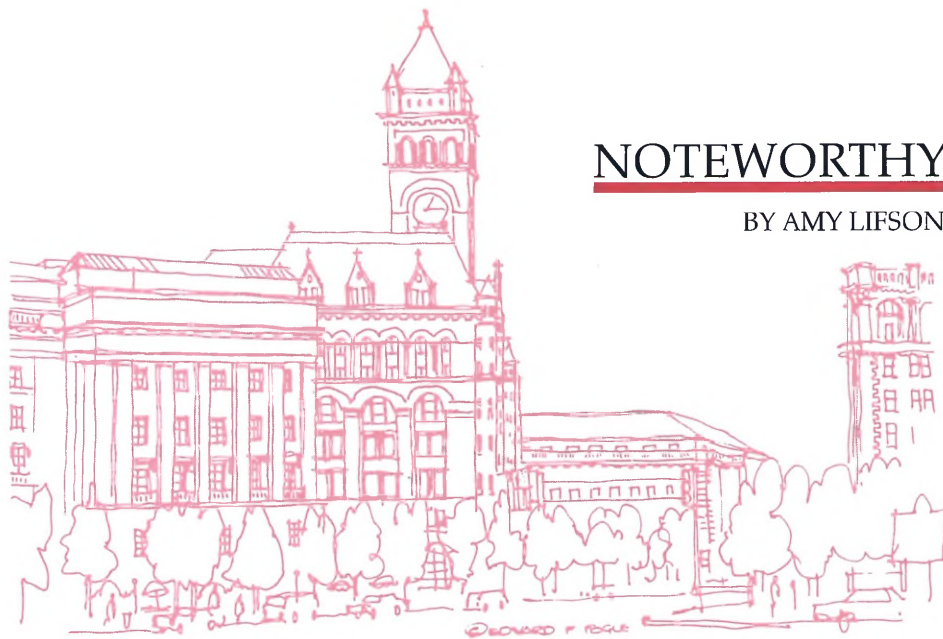
A pamphlet is a printed work of seventy-five pages or fewer; a pamphlet volume is a group on the same topic, bound together. The volumes in the Huntington collection cover a range from agriculture and gardening to the slave trade. Through OCLC and RLIN, libraries throughout the country will have access to the bibliographic work done at the Huntington.

Concurrent with the cataloging, the volumes are being conserved for the use of future scholars. Since the bindings themselves are of particular interest to people researching the history of a book, the volumes are being stitched and boarded only where necessary, leaving as much of the original binding intact as possible.

## HONORS FOR HUMANITIES

You always thought *Humanities* was the best read around, and now it's confirmed. This past year, our own *Humanities* magazine gathered several national awards. The May/June and September/October 1993 issues were awarded first place in its size magazine category by the National Association of Government Communicators.

In a national contest run by Washington EdPress, the July/August 1994 issue won a silver award, and an article by Constance Burr, "From the New World: Dvořák in America," took the gold.



## A ROYAL HONOR

Charles T. Gehring, director of the New Netherland Project, has been appointed an Officer in the Order of Orange-Naassau by Her Majesty Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands. It is akin to knighthood, and the highest honor the Queen can bestow on an individual who is not a citizen of the Netherlands.

The honor recognizes Gehring's twenty years of editing, translating, and publishing the administrative records of the seventeenth-century Dutch colony of New Netherland. The project has published fifteen volumes of records providing primary sources of Dutch colonial history, with the support of \$264,000 over the last sixteen years from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

In commenting on the award, Consul General Tjaco van den Hout said that the project has given balance and clarity to historians' understanding of the Dutch role in American history, a role earlier distorted by a lack of adequate source material.

## RUBENS BOOSTS ECONOMY

If Peter Paul Rubens had ever left a debt to society he repaid it tenfold last year in Toledo, Ohio. In the two months that "The Age of Rubens" was at the Toledo Museum of Art, the exhibition drew the largest attendance of any exhibition in the museum's history, and added more than \$22.8 million to the Toledo economy.



—Prometheus Bound, courtesy of Philadelphia Museum of Art

These figures come from a study underwritten in part by the Greater Toledo Office of Tourism and Conventions. The \$22.8 million figure represents a multiplier effect of \$7.6 million in direct income generated by the exhibition and respend by area businesses and individuals who benefited from the exhibition's 234,030 visitors.

According to the study, 88 percent of the 144,112 out-of-town visitors came to Toledo primarily to see the exhibition, with 22 percent visiting the city for the first time. Toledo was the only other venue following the exhibition's showing by its organizer, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, where it was the most heavily attended Old Master exhibition in Boston's history.

"The Age of Rubens" was supported with \$250,000 from the Museums and Historical Organizations program of the Division of Public Programs.





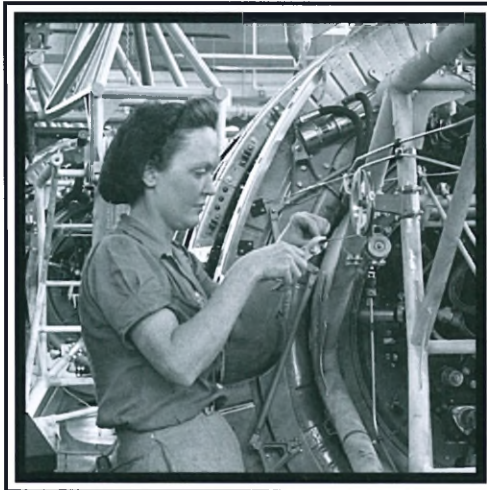
—Library of Congress



**BY ROBERT J. NORRELL**

with the assistance of Guy C. Vanderpool

**OPPOSITE:** Young soldiers of the Air Service Command in Greenville, North Carolina, have decorated their barracks with pinup girls. **RIGHT:** A woman works on the assembly line at Vultee Aircraft, Nashville, Tennessee, where the Vultee Vengeance Dive Bomber was produced.



—Library of Congress

# DIXIE'S war

**W**orld War II profoundly changed the South. It altered the landscape: forests were converted to military camps, cotton fields became the home of TNT plants, and swamps were turned into shipyards. The United States government located forty-one percent of the nation's new military facilities in the South, adding to the camps and bases established in the South during World War I.





University of South Alabama Archives

**Workers at Alabama Dry Docks. Labor troubles at the shipyard forced the company to set up separate work sections for black and white workers.**

**RIGHT: Waiting in line at the New Orleans Rationing Board. Wartime rationing stabilized prices and controlled consumption of such items as coffee, sugar, shoes, gasoline, and meat.**



By the end of 1945, two-thirds of the country's domestic military bases lay somewhere between Washington, D.C., and El Paso, Texas. Many of the ships, much of the ammunition, and some of the airplanes that would help to win the war were manufactured in the South.

The daily lives of many southerners were completely reoriented. Housewives went to work as welders and riveters, and former mule farmers joined industrial unions. Three and a half million rural folk left the farm for the city. People who had grown up in the open spaces of the agricultural South found themselves crowded into the narrow spaces of urban places. Various slow-moving southern towns were transformed into hurried, overcrowded cities—places like Norfolk, Virginia; Lafayette, Louisiana; Columbus, Georgia; Fayetteville, North Carolina; Mobile, Alabama. None of those towns, or for that matter the South as a whole, would ever be the same again.

Like Americans everywhere, southerners quickly learned that World War II was a total war, one that would require the entire nation's support and participation. Unlike World War I, when the government had to work hard to mobilize public opinion for the war, the attack at Pearl Harbor united Americans behind this effort. Americans were not, however, prepared to make the sacrifices required to win a two-ocean conflict. The nation had to meet manpower shortages, adjust to the scarcity of goods, and realize that sacrifice was personal. A 1942 rubber scrap drive was President Roosevelt's last-ditch





—Library of Congress

SHOES  
TIONING BOARD  
BOOK 2    WAR BOOK I





**Marine Corps  
volunteers leave San  
Antonio on July 4,  
1942, bound for a basic  
training center.  
OPPOSITE: V-J Day  
in Norfolk.**

—University of Texas Institute of Texan Culture

attempt to prevent rationing, and while Americans collected 450,000 tons of rubber, the effort was not enough. Soon rationing began for such items as coffee, sugar, shoes, gas (to save rubber), and canned food. Rationing conflicted with Americans' habit of heavy consumption, but it had the benefit of stabilizing prices and containing inflation. War bonds to finance the war also helped to control inflation. Between 1941 and 1945, seven war bond campaigns raised \$135 billion.

Using ration stamps and buying war bonds were relatively minor adjustments compared with the fundamental changes that World War II brought. For southerners, the war caused a rapid militarization of the region, large population movements, unparalleled economic growth, troubling social disruption, and a challenge to traditional forms of race relations. □

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*Robert Norrell is professor of history at the University of Alabama.*

*The University of Alabama received \$134,633 from the Public Humanities Projects Program of the Division of Public Programs for a series of conferences in ten southern cities examining the impact of World War II at home and abroad. The Center for Southern History and Culture, which sponsored the project, published Dixie's War: The South and World War II, from which these excerpts are reprinted with permission.*





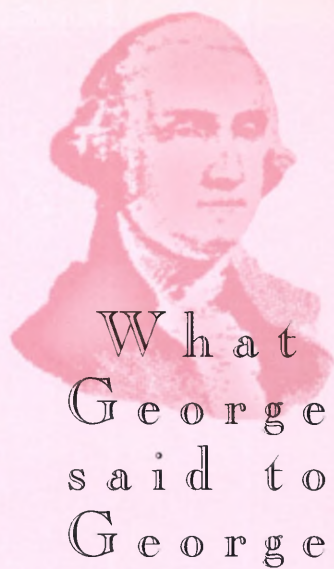
Norfolk Public Library



IN THE MIDSUMMER OF 1988, IN THE midst of an American presidential election campaign, a young graduate student who was working in the National Archives wandered about the stacks of the section devoted to presidential papers. Strictly speaking he ought not to have been allowed to wander so freely, but he had become a regular and for two years had been known to all of the staff. A searcher was away behind several shelves looking for the files the graduate student had requested, and the student was systematically poking about with the healthy sense of nosiness necessary to the research instinct. He spotted a box

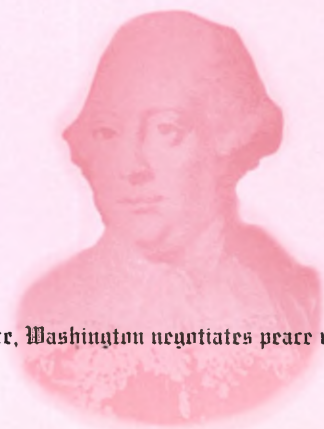
## STUMBLING UPON HISTORY

of window blinds in one corner of the stack area, and on impulse lifted up the blinds, less to see what was under them than to see why they were there at all. At the bottom of the box he saw a small section of tape, and having a tidy mind, and knowing it ought not to be there, he slipped it into his pocket. That night he idly put the tape on his own machine, which he had been using for oral history, and realized to his horror that he had found the missing eighteen and a half minutes of the Nixon tapes.<sup>1</sup>



What  
George  
said to  
George

THAT SAME SUMMER DAY OF 1988, the librarian of New England's greatest private university sat in her office, stunned by a box that lay on her desk. In the box, carefully wrapped in tissue paper, was a foolscap document, in two sheets. The box had been brought all the way to New Haven by the world's most respected collector of American Revolutionary War materials, a man who had put his name on the line a dozen times and had always been proved correct. Contained within these two sheets, very evidently in the hand of George Washington, was a private offer from Washington to George III, with whom Washington had corresponded once before, to conclude a separate peace without informing Washington's ally, the French. The date was 25 May 1780. That day two regiments of Connecticut troops had mutinied at Morristown, New Jersey, and while Washington had been able to put out the word that the mutiny had been curbed by Pennsylvania troops, they had in fact joined in it, as his letter to the King revealed. Washington was in despair, and the letter was the result.<sup>2</sup>



Unbeknownst to France, Washington negotiates peace with England's George III.

IN THE LATE SPRING OF 1989, three young children playing in a dry wash known as the Wadi Qumrun noticed a slight subsidence of sand, as though the surface of the earth were leaking into its interior drop by drop. Perhaps the rains of the previous month had undermined the adjacent hillside, though the hills had stood hitherto, as the Bible had said they would, forever. The children dug, and though finding nothing, still curious, brought

CACHE  
IN  
THE  
HILLS

# Lying

several adults to the scene the next day. Two days later, while most of the diggers were resting in nearby shade to escape the noonday heat, two of the more energetic workers broke through into a small chamber. There they found a badly decomposed scroll. Some months later, after much testing and argument, the scroll was declared by a body of experts, financed by a local newspaper and assembled near the wadi for a press conference, to be the last will and testament of Jesus Christ. It did not mention Peter.



O

N APRIL 22, 1983, THE EDITORS of a popular West German magazine, *Stern*, announced a remarkable discovery, which would force historians to rewrite all that they had said about Adolf Hitler: No less than sixty-two volumes of Hitler's diaries, long suspected of existing, had been found. It soon became

apparent that these diaries, recovered from the wreckage of a crashed airplane near Dresden in April of 1945, would lead to fundamental rethinking about Hitler's policies, the division of Germany into two nations, the interpretation of the Holocaust, and much else. A distinguished historian, having examined some portion of the diaries, satisfied himself that they were authentic.

"The sustained invention of a really telling lie demands a talent which I do not possess." So said Joseph Conrad in the author's note to his *Tales of*

# to Ourselves

BY ROBIN W. WINKS

*Unrest*. Yet though Conrad may have felt that he had no such talent, there have been many men and women who have managed to call up just such a talent—for money, patriotism, lust and love, or sheer perversity. One example to make headlines may have been the so-called Hitler Diaries, though many other instances are no doubt ticking away in the files of probate courts, intelligence agencies, student research papers, love letters, and the plot outlines of writers of mystery fiction, none of them ever to make headlines.

The Hitler Diaries were merely one of the most scandalous of recent efforts to rewrite the past. They were also a particularly simplistic attempt at forgery, a hoax unwrapped even as the bare outlines were still being revealed. It is amusing, in the oldest sense of that debased word, that anyone could have taken such documents seriously, for they could not, and did not, pass the most simple test to which a historian would or ought to submit them. Professional historians still cannot grasp why a member of their guild, the British authority on Hitler, Hugh Trevor-Roper (now Lord Dacre), was taken in.

The first test to which any manuscript, and surely any sensational new discovery, must be submitted is that test of provenance: Where did the manuscript come from? Since the discoverers of the Hitler Diaries



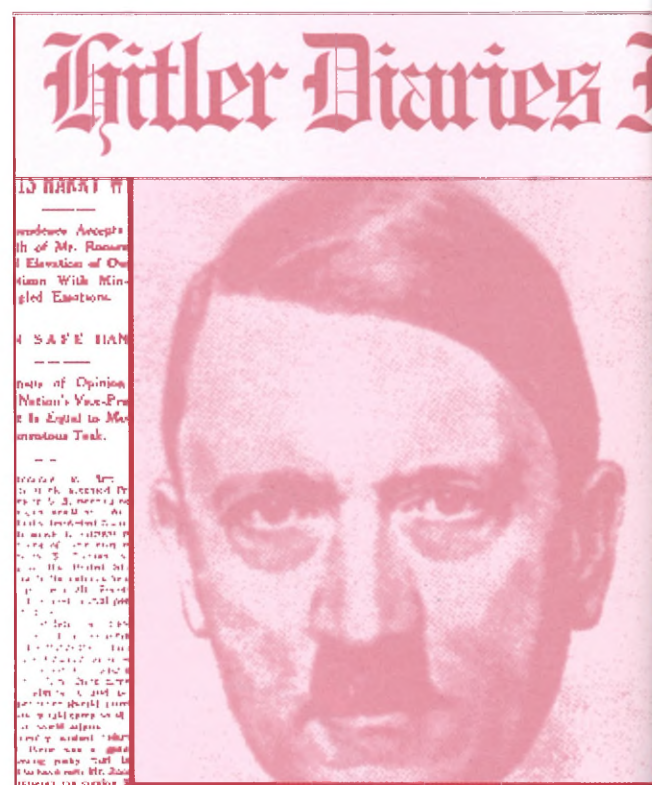
refused to say where they came from or to clarify the conflicting stories about how they fell into the owner's hands, the diaries should have been treated as false until submitted to the most thorough of tests. There is an old rule of evidence, taught to every first-year graduate student in history or law: No "fact" may be presumed to be "true" until it is verified by a second source and is not contradicted by a third. There was no second source for the Hitler Diaries.

The sordid story of the easy credulity of Rupert Murdoch, and the editors of *Stern*, is a reminder that the press is not a reliable source for history. Journalism is instant history, a contradiction in terms, since one cannot submit any body of argument, any set of facts, any collection of documents, to instant analysis. While the hoax over the Hitler Diaries may tell us a good bit about the gullibility of the public, it tells us even more about how the public media, and the press in particular, induce in the readership a constant need for new sensations, creating a public appetite for such revelations as the Hitler Diaries promised to hold. A tawdry law of supply and demand works in the marketplace of ideas, with the public ill served by Gresham's law. The press supplies its own stimulus, the money, in this case over \$3 million. Even honest scholars have been known to shape their material to please a patron for less than this.

Of course, it may be said that the people get the kind of history they deserve. Many peo-

candle held over a damned dark abyss" seems a message of despair. Entire communities feel wronged by history; political parties must turn history to their advantage; losers must become victors. Woe be to the historian who attempts to correct the vital lies of a triumphant people. And since most people cannot be persuaded to accept history as it is written, preferring the colorful conspiracy to the humdrum accident, there is always fertile ground for the forger who can provide the hard evidence by which history must be rewritten.

The forger will always be with us, and for precisely this reason one must maintain constant vigilance against being deceived. To maintain this vigilance, the historian submits the raw data of history to a variety of tests. Indeed, the tests begin long before the data



## We all have ways of lying to ourselves.

There has never been an autobiography that did not contain at least one lie. Entire nations lie to themselves. Since lies have such vitality, no historian may expect to refute them.

ple are so discontented with history as it is, they are desperate to see it altered. They are not content to be told by good, grey, ever-so-dull professional historians that things happened as they did because that was the way they happened. They do not find very satisfying the notion that history is simply one damn thing after another, and that written history may be (as the late diplomatic historian, W. Stull Holt, wrote) only "a damned

are in hand. First, one must be certain that one is asking the right question: a question capable of being answered, a question with significance, a question that is at once interesting and "true" in the sense that its premises may be defended. Then one must seek out the data—the diaries, letters, checkbooks, receipts, photographs, tapes, by which one may begin to examine the life of one of the participants in the events to be



[illegible]

States were, in truth, not independent until 1783. Else why did so many men lose their lives between 1776 and 1783? But the need to believe the vital lie is great, and even a sophisticated public will find means of defending 1776, often unmindful of the way in which emotion, patriotism, nationalism are at play in

Is there anyone alive who has not,  
when spurred on by an audience,  
embroidered a story, added an inch to a fish,  
declared the danger greater, the conquest  
easier, the mountain higher, the water  
deeper than it actually was?

defense of an apparently simple statement of fact. Americans once thought they had never started a war nor lost a war, and that they were the most hard-working people on earth. A people who do not interrogate the assumptions of their past are unlikely to interrogate evidence, or even forgeries, they find attractive. Such a people are ripe for the plucking, whether by political extremists or outright frauds.

What kind of personality is required to conduct so deep a game? Is it not likely that those who play such games come in time to believe their own fabrications to be true? Is there anyone alive who has not, when spurred on by an audience, embroidered a story, added an inch to a fish, declared the danger greater, the conquest easier, the mountain higher, the water deeper than it actually was? The line between simple exaggeration, to make better the tales we tell, the jokes we weave, the songs we sing, and gross fabrication, to manipulate for money, ego, or revenge, is a thin one. If it is true—and it is—that every generation must rewrite its history, then are not fabrications drawn up to meet the demands of relevancy, of presentism, of political correctness, or of patriotism likely to occur time and again?

The full-scale forgery is, given the weaponry of science and the methodology of history, exceptionally difficult to sustain. The secret diaries of Benito Mussolini, bogus plays of Shakespeare, the forged letters of Byron and Shelley, the Minor Papers—pur-



porting to reveal, in 1928, the true relationship between Abraham Lincoln and Ann Rutledge—all were quickly revealed as hoaxes by simple tests of internal logic. There was little need to apply science to the ink, the paper, the worm holes, to date such papers, for the methodology of the historian, which is simply applied common sense, was sufficient. Today there are even more formidable weapons, of course, including the computer, by which one may apply a variety of theories of "stylometry," looking to word mobility, to uninflected language, to proportional word pairs—that is, to statistics—as a test of the unconscious voice print of a single author on paper.

If someone would go to such extraordinary lengths to fabricate the *Horn Papers*, ought not we all be suspicious of any discovery which purports to "change history"? What might be the most significant find of the next decade? The missing portion of the Nixon tapes? Hardly, since nothing would be altered. A new gospel? Unlikely on every ground one might adduce. A secret diary, in the hand of George Washington, revealing his hitherto unknown negotiations for a separate peace with the British two months after the French



A LITERARY CURIOSITY:

## The Horn Forgeries

**T**he fate of a nation need not be at stake. A classic example is the *Horn Papers*. All that was at stake was local pride, than which nothing may be more fierce. In 1945 there appeared in print three handsome volumes, carrying the apparent imprimatur of the Greene County (Pennsylvania) Historical Society, with the unexceptionable title, *The Horn Papers: Early Westward Movement on the Monongahela and Upper Ohio, 1765-1795*. Supported by a treasure trove of artifactual evidence, including tools, lead plates, and contemporary maps, the papers purported to be the diaries of Jacob Horn and his son, Christopher, covering 1735 to 1795. They were accompanied by a lengthy court docket that was said

to describe "the first English court held west of the mountains." The last part of volume one contained a history of southwest Pennsylvania and parts of present-day Virginia and Maryland. Most of the second volume consisted of over five hundred family histories, with genealogies.

A year after publication, as the professional scholarship made its slow progress through its interrogation, the Librarian of Princeton, Julian Boyd, reported that large chunks of the documentary materials, and even the lead plates, were "sheer fabrications." Some of the documents may have been real, Boyd thought, and he despaired of separating fact from fiction. Further, other respected scholars replied that the papers were authentic,

merely suffering from careless editing by amateurs. And so an official body was appointed to investigate.

Under the sponsorship of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, at Williamsburg, Virginia, a committee settled in to its inquiry. The archivist of the United States, Dr. Solon J. Buck, served as chairman. The committee posed three questions: Were the papers authentic? If not wholly so, what parts were not? Where forgery was found, what was the motive? From these answers would flow other questions, of course: What must be done to correct the damage? Who was the forger? The first of these supplementary questions was urgent, for the *Horn Papers*, though published only in 1945, had been on the public record, and drawn

upon by historians of the Allegheny frontier, since 1932. A good bit of local pride was tenaciously attached to the conclusions that arose from the papers.

The editor of the papers, Mr. W.F. Horn of Topeka, Kansas, the great-great-great-grandson of Jacob Horn, defended the content of the papers by reference to a title cited as Andrea, *Early History of Northwest Virginia, 1760-1780*, a copy of this work having been on his own shelves until 1882, and the work of Mrs. M. E. Gail of Paris, an "eminent authority" on eighteenth-century Anglo-French relations, whose work in archives in Paris and Quebec supported the diary on important points. One such point was the contention, in the *Horn Papers*, that three French lead plates were



had entered the Revolutionary War? Surely here is a challenge, for such a diary would reverberate through three historiographies, would discredit the Father of His Country, would undermine public morale, would prove the capitalists full of duplicity, would destroy the Republic. . . . If one may induce public hysteria over so relatively idiosyncratic (and so intensely American) an issue as alleged insults to the nation's flag, what might one do with an untruthful Father of His Country?

What might be needed to create such a diary? The right paper, ink, binder, thread, dyes, and glue: not just right with respect to the time, but right with respect to the lapse of time and the alleged treatment or abuse of the document since. The right handwriting, laboriously yet skillfully, gracefully, copied after the study of hundreds of Washington letters, but appropriate to the precise time, to his age, his health, his mood. One must know whether an arm was in a cast when the diary was said to be written, and whether he preferred blue to black ink in those moments of despair, and whether, when admitting to defeat, his vowels would take on constricted deflations or would loosen up in resig-

nation. Even such words are unprofessional to the expert in judging handwriting, and the forger would have to be equally expert. The forger would also need a computer: How often did Washington use the definite, how often the indefinite, article? Which words did he misspell for his times, and which words, which appear to us to be misspelled, were correct for his times? How did he use introductory verbs, not in 1765, or in 1785, but in the year of the purported diary?

With independent income, access to all the necessary records, unlimited time, and a singularity of purpose, one might create such a diary. Would it then stand up against even the simple tests of provenance, logic, context? What would be needed to stand against this triune assault? How would one account for such a diary having been lost, hidden, or suppressed for so long? How would one prepare the story to account for the surfacing of such a diary now? How would one explain why x, not y, found the diary, and why x wished nothing but fame and glory for it?—since the injection of money into the calculation would focus ever more intense scrutiny on the product. How many guardians of public morality would emerge from the woodwork to scruti-

planted in Greene and Washington counties in 1795.

Efforts to find Andrea's *History* failed despite the historians' customary search through bibliographies, rare book catalogs, and copyright lists. Still, this did not matter, it seemed, when the lead plates referred to were found. Let a quiet footnote from the best account of the *Horn Papers*, by Arthur Pierce Middleton (executive secretary to the investigating committee) and Douglass Adair, tell the story:

The newspaper accounts of the excavation of the plates . . . would indicate that . . . W.P.A. diggers under the direction of Mr. F.B. Jones, Archaeologist and Curator of the Greene County Historical Society, found them. Actually they were unearthed by Mr. Horn himself during a two-hour period while the director was away. [Dr. Mary Butler Lewis to Julian P. Boyd, Media, Pa., November 22, 1946.] At the time, Dr. Butler was assistant

state archaeologist of Pennsylvania. In the excitement of the moment, Mr. Horn rushed to clean up his find in a nearby creek and the exact position of the plates was forgotten. This was brought out when Mr. Jones later tried to take photographs. Members of the Greene County Historical Society were distressed that Mr. Horn had washed the plates and destroyed the archaeological evidence, but, as they later reported, he was so happy and excited by his discovery, "skipping and dancing about like a kid," that they didn't have the heart to chide him.

—Statement of Mr. Jones, to Messrs. Middleton and Adair, January, 1947.

No modern reader of a detective story need go further. But historians must, for to cast doubt is not sufficient. The committee sub-

mitted the *Horn Papers* to precisely those tests to which the Hitler Diaries would have been submitted had they been placed in the hands of an impartial scholar who could examine them at leisure: Were there evidences of copying? Were there doubtful words or phrases—doubtful to the time, to the circumstance, to the person? Were there biographical anomalies? Were there statements that could be shown as historically incorrect from external sources? Were there internal discrepancies? Would the lead plates withstand spectrochemical analysis? Would the original papers, if obtainable, withstand handwriting analysis? Were the maps that accompanied the papers genuine?

The *Horn Papers* failed on all counts. They proved to be a clever mixture of the authentic and the spurious, with an obscure local history, *Old Virginia Court House at Augusta Town, New Washington, Pennsylvania, 1776-*

1777, published by Boyd Crumrine in 1905, as the principal source. "The product when threshed was one single grain of Boyd Crumrine wheat and a ton of Jacob Horn chaff." Here, and in the conclusion reached by Middleton and Adair, is the meaning of the *Horn Papers*:

Beyond a doubt . . . the impressive first and second volumes of the *Horn Papers* which, by reason of this investigation, now seem worthless to their purchasers will in time become collectors' items in the field of literary curiosities. As such, their pecuniary value will very likely exceed the original purchase price, for they will be sought and treasured with comparable fabrications on the grand scale—fabrications which possess the peculiar worth such efforts have in illuminating the strange uses to which some men put their talents . . .



# Why do we yearn so much to be fooled?

Why do we care so little about provenance,

source, cause and effect? Why do we need

revelations so badly?



nize every comma—Washington had not the slightest idea how to use a comma, so how is the forger to sprinkle them upon the page?—of a diary such as the one we now contemplate.

Should our genius, who might by now have employed his or her talents in writing a symphony, in deconstructing Thomas Mann, in obtaining a doctorate in theology, have survived thus far, this intended perpetration of fraud upon a gullible public would face yet other obstacles. How are British scholars to account for the failure of their statesmen to respond? Britain's Public Record Office would be besieged. Every student of the American Revolution would return to the papers of every imaginable participant, to the diaries of every conceivable recipient of such an overture. So too would the French, and though the state of their archives would never permit them to disprove anything whatsoever, they would write elegant treatises on the logic of the situation. The resources of the CIA, MI 5, and the Ameri-

can Historical Association would be brought into play. No forger could stand such heavy artillery. No mystery would remain unresolved, except perhaps why anyone really set out to bilk the public in this way.

No wonder, then, that the Hitler Diaries could not stand the light of day. The question that really matters is, why did presumably respectable publishers, editors, scholars, and a reasonably intelligent public—for the public taken at its largest dimension was probably unaware of any controversy at all—give credence to such material? Why do we yearn so much to be fooled? Why do we care so little about provenance, source, cause and effect? Why do we need revelations so badly? Is history only a secular religion? Is the historian, and by extension anyone who writes of past events in cause-and-effect sequences (here enters our detective), a new high priest of a new truth? If so, can the historian resist temptation? What would everyone most like to find was true, what new vital lie would best help humanity: That Elvis lives? That salvation is coming from outer space? That there is a cure for the common cold? The forgers of advertising, of the motion picture, and of even more established forms of persuasion, by evangelical radio and methodical mystery, will be happy to supply our needs. As Joseph Conrad also said, on this occasion in *The Rescue*, "There is no rest for a messenger till the message is delivered." □

*Robin W. Winks is Randolph W. Townsend Professor of History at Yale University. He is the author of many books, including The Historian As Detective and Cloak & Gown? Scholars in the Secret War.*

*Yale University received \$112,925 from the Summer Seminars for College Teachers program of the Division of Fellowships and Seminars to offer a course by Winks on "The Historian As Detective."*

"The scholar today must be mindful of a less homogeneous, and perhaps less generally informed, audience than at the time the great historians of the nineteenth century were writing. A colleague of this writer, Peter Gay, once wrote a short and amusing essay about Sigmund Freud based on what he said in his piece was a newly discovered document. He thought any reader would see through the spoof. Many did not and a few scholars even appear to have incorporated this document into their own research conclusions, which is to say, they demonstrated that the audience for gullibility is ever unpredictable. Gay then received a good bit of hostile correspondence. With this lesson in mind, I hasten to faithfully record here that the tape I refer to has never, in fact, to

my knowledge, been found. I create this small story from an actual instance, however, of how I found some papers important to me, if to no one else, one cold midnight in the Public Archives of Canada.

"See note one. In 1970 I reviewed favorably a book said to have been written by Private Marvin Kitman which purported to reproduce George Washington's expense account, showing he was not above padding it. For saying in the *New York Times Book Review* that I found the private's report amusing and creditable, I received twenty-seven angry letters from that very large portion of the public that is both gullible and without a sense of humor.





## Jacquelyn Debus

### *Dreaming of a Nation Within a Nation*

**O**NE DAY MY TEN-YEAR-old daughter had a blank T-shirt and some puff paint," recalls Jacquelyn Pualani Johnson Debus. "She wrote her name, Malu, meaning 'peace, rest' and then, since they had an antidrug program at school, she put 'Just say no.' And next to that, the Hawaiian god Kanaloa.

"Here we have a duality," continues Debus, the new chairperson of the Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities. "She's a modern child living in the nineties thinking about the drug prevention program, but the gods are as important, so she had Kanaloa, Ku, and Kane just mixed in. It didn't seem odd to her. To me it was symbolic of where we are as a people. We live in this world today, but we're looking to our roots and what they mean."

Debus has been pursuing the same duality for nearly two decades in the performing arts department at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo. Hired as an instructor/theater manager in 1979 to develop the program when the theater was merely an auditorium under renovation, she is now an associate professor of drama working with a multimillion-dollar theater and internationally renowned artists. She says the program has increased from one or two annual productions to at least four, including original plays in the Hawaiian language. Among them—both under her direction—are *Issei Woman*, a story of a three-generation Japanese family in Honolulu and *The Last Virgin in Paradise*, a spoof about an anthropologist and his stereotyping of the Pacific people.

"It's true we have the beaches and the sunshine and the hula dancers," Debus says, "but it doesn't stop there. When you try to mythicize a people, expecting only certain images, you forget all else that comes

with it. And there's a lot culturally that makes up a people."

To unearth a heritage long overshadowed by military bases and vacation spots, Debus is taking classes in Hilo's Hawaiian studies program, enriching her degrees in theater arts. "We have to enhance all those Western images we put on our posters," she adds. Most of the classes are taught in Hawaiian and administered by *Kupunas*, elders who are native speakers. The studies have provided a new dimension to her drama classes, where she teaches all aspects of theater—directing, acting, stagecraft, makeup, and costume design, but, she says, her big love is theater history. One of the courses she developed, Oral Interpretation of Literature, integrates Pacific texts into a Western civilization based curriculum.

"We're standing on Hawaiian soil, even though we may be studying what happened in Italy during the Renaissance," she explains. "We have to remember what was happening in terms of Hawaiian history. It's a side-by-side awareness. For so long we've looked elsewhere instead of in our own backyard for our own history."

Reared in the island's public school system, the Hawaiian native recalls learning American history, but she says not from the Hawaiian perspective. "It always dealt with the idea that the overthrow of the government was the best thing for Hawai'i because it was economically the best path to follow," Debus says. "Now there's a real awareness of what really happened."

Business and resident Americans saw the island's monarchy as a threat to their economic interests and attempted to depose Queen Lili'uokalani. To avoid a civil war, the queen surrendered the sovereignty temporarily on January 17, 1893, hoping the American government would immediately reinstate the monarchy. Although the republic established by American parties lasted until 1898, Hawai'i remained under American rule until it was lawfully admitted in

1959 as the fiftieth state.

According to Debus, Hawaiians are experiencing their own renaissance, a revival of their Pacific origins that dominated before Western influence. And the language with its Polynesian roots, she says, is the impetus of the movement.

Debus feels her contribution to the Hawaiian renaissance has been not only on stage and in her classroom, but with raising her three daughters to speak and think Hawaiian. She explains, "You cannot speak a language without thinking in the language and gaining your perspective. And once the language dies, the pride of being Hawaiian starts to slip radically."

When the language was outlawed at the time Hawai'i was annexed as a U.S. territory, the chant, a poetic form of the language, nearly disappeared too. At last year's American Women Writers of Color Conference, Debus recited chants she said in ancient times were as essential "as the search for food and water" and have been saved only "by families and *hālau hula* (Hula schools) that strived to preserve the culture." She added the cause of its near extinction was "through acculturation with the Western world."

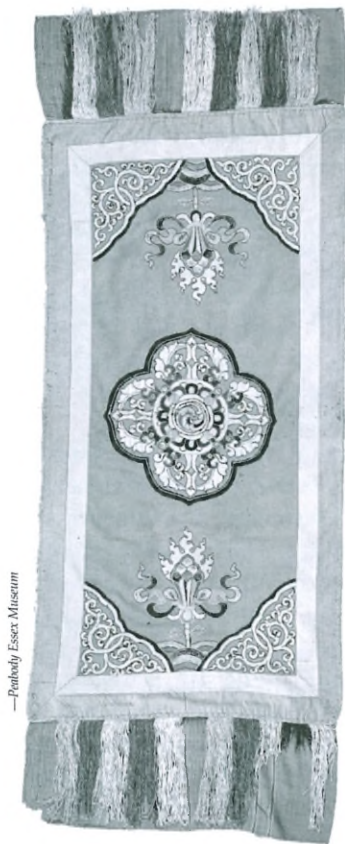
Since the erosion of Hawai'i's culture, the future governance of the island has been a concern. The sovereignty issue, which Debus describes as "a volatile topic," signifies an effort by indigenous Hawaiian people to preserve their traditions. She believes the humanities, however, can help direct the movement by defining the community's value to people who are not of Hawaiian heritage and, as she says, "help them understand and appreciate the differences that should be celebrated." Several models have been proposed, but Debus asserts "the majority feel it would be most effective if it is under the model of Native Americans, which is a nation within a nation. It's the dignity knowing that you again control your lives and your destiny." □



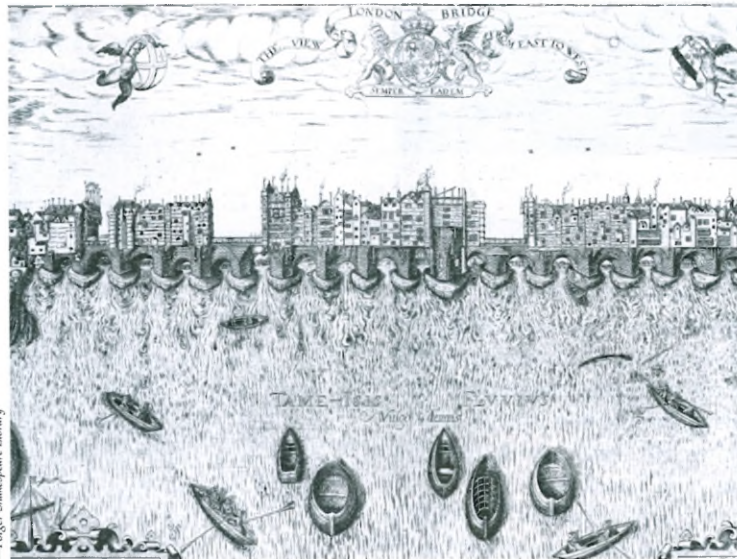
# Calendar

MARCH ♦ APRIL

BY STEVEN SNODGRASS



The Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, presents "From the Land of the Thunder Dragon: Textile Arts of Bhutan" through April 9. Textiles characterized by vibrant colors worked in a complex interplay of shapes and motifs pervade life in the small Himalayan country.



An international panel of speakers will gather at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington March 16-18 for "Material London, ca. 1600." The conference will investigate what distinguished the London of Shakespeare's time when the capital was on its way to becoming Europe's largest city.



"The Art of John Biggers: View from the Upper Room" opens April 2 at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. The retrospective traces the evolution of Biggers and reveals how he developed his style, which is strongly influenced by West African cultures. Biggers's work focuses on the twentieth-century African-American experience.



## ENDOWMENT EXHIBITIONS

◆ The Westfield Center and the Smithsonian Institution will present "Schubert's Piano Music" April 5-9 in Washington, D.C. The symposium and festival of concerts will explore current Schubert scholarship, offer performances featuring original instruments, and provide dance instruction in preparation for a festive *Schubertiade* evening.



*Shaykh Ghanem and Abdel Hamid, epic poets from Egypt.*

"Narratives of Identity: Oral and Literate Traditions in Arab America" will be presented March 12 at the Detroit Institute of Arts. The lecture is part of the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services's "Creating a New Arab World: A Century in the Life of the Arab-American Community in Detroit," a series of public programs that explores the individuality and historical complexity of Michigan's Arab-American community.



More than fifteen hundred woodworking tools and related objects are on display in "Tools: Working Wood in Eighteenth-Century America" at Colonial Williamsburg's DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Gallery. "Tools" uses woodworking implements as a case study to look at craftsmanship when hand tools were the primary means of production.

—Colonial Williamsburg Foundation



# THE WAR AT HOME

Oral Histories from  
Japanese Americans at  
Seabrook Farms



**W**e left California in late October . . . and rode on an antiquated train with military police on board and the shades drawn," recalls Ellen Nakamura as she describes her 1942 journey to Arkansas's Jerome Internment Camp. "That ride was the loneliest and saddest journey of my life at that time. When we got there none of the roads were ready, there were watch towers and barbed wire around the barracks and they had sentinels pointing their guns inward for order."

Nakamura's experience was similar to that of many Japanese Americans who were interned by the United States government following the bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin

Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9006 authorizing the internment of more than 110,000 Japanese Americans, considered to be "enemy aliens" and a possible threat to strategic areas on the Pacific Coast. Virtually the whole Japanese-American population there, two-thirds of them American citizens, were evacuated to ten remote internment camps. In the camps, they were subjected to substandard and overcrowded barracks, with communal bathrooms and mess halls.

During the war, however, the need for farm workers was so great, that small groups of Japanese-American evacuees were soon permitted to work harvesting sugar beets in the Rocky Mountains. This was so successful that the War Relocation Authority estab-

lished a seasonal leave policy. Labor contracts became necessary because of the competition among employers vying to hire the Japanese-American evacuee workers. Required to close all ten camps by 1945, the WRA moved to develop out-of-center relocation plans that allowed any American-born evacuee to be granted leave if he had an offer of employment in a location away from the West Coast.

One option, especially for families, was Seabrook Farms in Upper Deerfield Township, a rural area in Southern New Jersey. For some, it was a temporary step until they could return to the West Coast, but for others, Seabrook became home.

In 1944, Seabrook Farms was the largest vegetable farm and food pro-





—Photos courtesy of Seabrook Educational and Cultural Center

cessing facility in the world. Operating twenty-four hours a day, it employed four thousand people and packed one hundred million pounds of frozen, canned, and dehydrated vegetables a year, filling huge government food contracts for the Allied forces. Hit hard by wartime labor shortages, Seabrook Farms needed farm workers.

In the spring of 1944, Charles Franklin Seabrook, founder of Seabrook Farms, invited the three-person Relocation Commission of the Jerome Camp in Arkansas to visit Seabrook Farms. Although they were spartan accommodations, Seabrook Village would provide apartments and bungalows for Seabrook employees—and a library, community center, and dining hall. The Japanese Americans



*Above: Japanese workers are among the employees lining up to receive their pay from Seabrook Farms. To demonstrate the firm's financial impact on the surrounding communities, Seabrook Farms paid its workers in silver dollars.*

*Left: Workers sort through freshly picked spinach, preparing it for packing.*



were offered lodging, lunch, and utilities for six months; the government would provide the train fare from the camps. In return, the Japanese Americans would agree to work at Seabrook Farms for a minimum of six months.

The Relocation Commission liked what they found, and encouraged their fellow Japanese Americans to relocate to New Jersey. Over the period of 1944-1946, more than 2,500 individuals (approximately 600 families) came there from ten relocation centers nationwide. The arrival of the Japanese Americans complemented the growing work force at Seabrook that eventually included Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Poles from European displaced persons camps, Peruvian Japanese, migrant

workers from Appalachia and the Deep South, Jamaicans, and Barbadians from the West Indies, and German POWs.

Life at Seabrook was hard—employees worked twelve- to fifteen-hour days picking beans or spinach in the fields or packaging them in the plant. Pay was around forty-seven cents an hour, then considered a good wage.

The Japanese Americans worked and saved money, and when they were allowed to return to the West Coast, many left Seabrook Farms. The more than 2,500 residents have dwindled to approximately five hundred people today, who mostly live in the surrounding towns, such as Bridgeton and Vineland. The old plant was sold and finally shut down in 1981.

In 1988, the Cumberland County Historical Society asked local Japanese American citizens for a list of the Japanese Americans who had relocated to Upper Deerfield. The older generation realized that there would soon be no record of their story; nothing that would explain the Japanese names on the mailboxes or the old-fashioned white wooden church-like building that is the Seabrook Buddhist Temple. Concerned with preserving the history of Seabrook, they formed the Seabrook Educational and Cultural Center (SECC) in 1991. In the fall of 1994 the result of their efforts, the new SECC museum located in the Upper Deerfield Municipal Building, officially opened on October 8, 1994, the fiftieth

## “Some people came and gave up in a week and was disgusted and left.”

**GEORGE SAKAMOTO**  
is considered to be the first Japanese-American arrive in Seabrook. Born in California in 1915, he grew up in Placer County. Sakamoto worked as a farmer until World War II, when he and his family were interned in Tule Lake, California, and Amache, Colorado. He found out about Seabrook Farms in *Reader's Digest* and got a

pass to go across country in 1943 to apply for a job; he continued to work for Seabrook until his retirement in 1980. Sakamoto recounts what he told people about working for Seabrook in 1944.

“I told them if you want a lot of money, don't go there because even at that time, 49¢ [an hour] to start, 55¢ to start or something like that was not typical country

ways. So, a lot of people gave up, even after them come here, “is that all they pay?” And they go on their way. Like us, mostly, people like us that I asked and they came, was some place to put a roof over our families head, opportunity for education, you know. No hardship on transportation to shop or anything life that, see everything was right here . . . Those are the things I told people, if you're like me and need a roof over your family's head to establish yourself . . . I never told them you ought to be there, it's grand or something like that. It wasn't my way, my style. Some people came and gave up in a week and was disgusted and left. They can't help it, there's always that you see. Some of the people came and stayed for years. Of course some of them have other places to go or have a place of their own, they had a one-year contract more or less with Seabrook, to work for Seabrook so they could be paid for their transportation.”

**JOSIE KIKUYO  
NOJIMA IKEDA**

was born in Billings, Montana, in 1908, grew up in Idaho, and lived in Long Beach, California, following her marriage. During World War II, she and her family were sent to Santa Anita assembly center and later to Jerome and Rohwer internment camps. Ikeda and her family came to Seabrook in 1945. She worked in the Office of the Farm Department until her retirement in 1973.

“When we first arrived, we lived in those terrible places now, but at least you had a separate room. And in camp you're all in one room. And you divided it by homemade screens or whatever. Oh, but here it was so wonderful to have a separate bedroom and a separate kitchen, you know, of course we didn't cook in camp. I was quite thrilled about it at first, of course they were very small and soon you were overcrowded but, at least, you know, my mother and





anniversary at Seabrook of the arrival of the Japanese Americans from the internment camps.

The New Jersey Committee for the Humanities supported the production of the film, *Seabrook Farms: A New Beginning* and an educational brochure. The film will be part of the permanent museum exhibition, along with a 10' x 10' diorama of Seabrook Farms Company and Seabrook Village as they existed in the 1940s and 1950s. The museum also houses oral histories and thousands of photographs and artifacts. □

*Excerpted from the September 1994 newsletter of the New Jersey Committee for the Humanities.*



father had a room by themselves and we did and the children. So, it was pretty nice, considering. And as I said before, Mr. Seabrook was very good to the Japanese. He discovered they were good workers. It wasn't entirely goodness of heart, I guess, he realized they were good workers and he could have a lot more done." □

*Oral histories courtesy of the Seabrook Educational and Cultural Center.*

# STATE BY STATE

A roundup of activities by state humanities councils during March and April.

COMPILED BY MEREDITH HINDLEY

**ALABAMA**—As part of "Theatre in the Mind," a series of free public humanities programs designed around the plays in the Alabama Shakespeare Festival's (ASF) season, the Alabama Humanities Foundation and the ASF are conducting a one-day seminar on March 23 for teachers of literature and drama. In the seminar, teachers and humanities scholars will investigate the issues and values reflected in drama. Plays included are Shaw's *Saint Joan*, Maugham's *The Circle*, Williams's *The Night of the Iguana*, and Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*. Located in Montgomery, the ASF offers year-round professional classical repertory theatre in the Southeast.

The Alabama Jazz Hall of Fame, a Birmingham museum, concludes a three-month series of jazz talks at the historic Carver Theatre in March. The four Sunday programs feature Alabama jazz history. The March 5 discussion highlights W. C. Handy and James Reese Europe and their role in jazz and popular music. The imposing figure of John T. "Fess" Whately, known as the "maker of musicians," will be the topic of discussion on March 12. The third Sunday, March 19, features the career of Erskin Hawkins and his Depression-era beginnings in the Alabama State University Band. The series closes March 26 with a discussion of free-jazz pioneer Sun Ra, one of the first musicians to use electric bass in recording and to perform live shows with a synthesizer.

**ARIZONA**—As part of "The Writing Life" program, prize-winning author E. Annie Proulx, who wrote *The Shipping News* and *Postcards*, will speak at the Tucson Public Library on March 30 and at the Phoenix Public Library on March 31. *The Shipping News*, a novel about a struggling newspaperman who moves his two daughters to the coast of Newfoundland, won the National Book Award in 1993 and the Pulitzer Prize in 1994. In the three months prior to Proulx's visit, "The Writing Life" reading circles in Benson, Flagstaff, and Payson will read six books sharing the common theme of families, including *The Shipping News*. "The Writing Life"

reading circles are sponsored by the National Book Foundation and made possible by a grant from the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund. For more information call 602/257-0335.

**CALIFORNIA**—Poets Gary Snyder, Ai, Juan Felipe Herrera, and other nationally acclaimed writers and humanities scholars will participate in readings, scholar-led panel discussions, and workshops during the second annual Border Voice Multicultural Poetry Fair to be held in San Diego's Balboa Park on March 11 and 12. The fair is part of a California Council for the Humanities (CCH)-supported project that has included: "New Voices in the Humanities" lecture series; a poet-in-the-school program in San Diego county schools; "Poetry in Motion," which displayed poetry on San Diego county public transportation; and "Poets at Bat," which brought poets and poetry to the San Diego Padres' pregame activities. Border Voices events begin March 11 at Balboa Park's Organ Pavilion. For more information call 619/293-2239.

"Thomas Jefferson in Susanville" features scholar Clay Jenkinson in a chautauqua program about the nation's third president. The April 27 program in Susanville is at the Lassen Community College Lecture Hall.

**DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**—On March 28, the humanities council of Washington, D.C., presents the seventh annual Public Humanities Award at the Charles Sumner School Museum and Archives. The program commemorates the council's fifteenth anniversary by presenting "Voices of the City: Bridging Communities," a multimedia program of exhibitions, videos, and personal testimony. The Public Humanities Award program honors each year one individual and one organization for outstanding contributions to the humanities in Washington. This year's recipients are Gabrielle Edgecomb, scholar, poet, and D.C. Community Humanities Council cofounder, and WHMM-TV—Channel 32, the District's only black-owned public television station.



"The Poet and the Poem at the Library of Congress," a series of radio interviews with poets (including Marilyn Chin, Stephen Dunn, and Sandra Cisneros), will be broadcast 8 p.m. Sundays in March and April on WPFW-FM and uplinked to all public radio stations. The interviews, which were recorded last fall, will also be available for use in libraries and schools.



Photo by Susan Jaffe

1991 Poet Laureate Joseph Brodsky

**GEORGIA**—1991 Poet Laureate Joseph Brodsky has said, "Reading poetry saves one many a trip; reading Vergil does so particularly well. Without him our civilization is simply unthinkable." Inspired by this sentiment, the University of Georgia is hosting a conference, "Poets and Critics Read Vergil," on March 11. Brodsky will join fellow poets Mark Strand and Roseanna Warren as well as classicists Helen Bacon, Michael Putnam, and Christine Perkell in a discussion about the influence of Vergil on modern poetry. The one-day conference will be taped for use in English, classics, and history classes at local high schools and colleges.

As part of the Little Ocmulgee State Park's "Olympic Weekend," the Telfair Art Association of McRae will present a preview performance of the outdoor historical drama, *The Lightwood Knot*, on March 11. Written by Delma Presley of Georgia Southern University, the musical depicts the historical events occurring in the Wiregrass region during the great timber boom and land wars of the 1870s-90s.

April 22 marks the culmination of "Homeplace: A Celebration of Family," a series of programs sponsored by the Athens Regional Library. Authors Terry Kay and Dori Saunders will read from their works and discuss the theme of family in their writings.

**HAWAII**—The Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities has developed "Into the Marketplace: Hawai'i's Twentieth Century Working Class Women," an exhibition documenting the condition of working-class women in Hawai'i from the early twentieth century to the present and exploring job-related family issues and public policies that shape work and home life. The project includes a brief video overview of Hawai'i labor history, an interpretive viewer's guide, a documentary film series on working women in America and Hawai'i, and public programs of living history vignettes based on journals, letters, and oral history accounts. The exhibition opens at the Hawai'i State Library in early March, with public programs held throughout Honolulu, followed by a tour of the other islands. For more information please call 808/732-5402.

**IOWA**—Waldorf College hosts a public symposium, "Crime and Punishment: The Death Penalty from a Humanities Perspective," on March 10. Tony Boza, former police chief of Minneapolis and Minnesota gubernatorial candidate; William Lazareth, theologian and former bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America; the Honorable Harold Hughes, former

governor of Iowa; and John Baker, professor of constitutional law, will discuss and debate the moral and philosophical issues surrounding capital punishment. For more information call 515/582-8221.

Dubuque's "Kaleidoscope: Our Celebration of Humanity," April 21-30, promotes intercultural awareness. The program incorporates a keynote address by Thomas Melady, ambassador and educator; workshops in cultural dissonance and equity education; meetings in several neighborhoods planned by residents; an intercultural fair; and special art exhibitions at the Museum of Art and Riverboat Museum.

"Speakers of the House," a thirteen-program series, highlights eleven authors, storytellers, and actors in readings and performances at the Quad City Arts Center. Complementary workshops at four area public libraries are also offered. The goal of the series is to attract citizens to the humanities through events focusing on literature. Programs occur on March 10, 11, 31, and April 21 and 22. For more information call 309-793-1213.

**MARYLAND**—Since World War II, transportation, suburban development, and immigration have transformed Montgomery County from its semirural agricultural roots to a culturally and economically diverse urban area with a population of over three-quarters of a million people. A traveling exhibition, "Changing Places, Changing Faces: Montgomery County, 1944-1994," and two public symposia examine physical changes

*Walking, Charles Alton's 1958 rendering of the Montgomery bus boycott. The Civil Rights Movement and other historical forces are considered in New Jersey's "The Fifties: A Decade of Destiny."*



—Sydney Smith Gordon Collection



in four communities and the growth of the county's many ethnic populations. The exhibition runs through March, with the symposium on March 11 and 12.

To celebrate the 150th anniversary of the publication of Edgar Allan Poe's "The Raven," an interactive symposium at the University of Baltimore examines what values—intellectual, poetic, symbolic, cultural, and mythical—the work has for us today. The April 8 event includes audience readings, panel presentations, small roundtable discussions, and a surprise appearance by the poet himself.

Garrett Community College commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II with a lecture-discussion series. Humanities scholars and local citizens with personal experiences of the period will discuss such themes as how the war reshaped social relations and class structure, the development of the A-bomb, war crime trials, the philosophic background of the Third Reich, and arts and literature of the era. A poster exhibition runs through March, with the programs held on March 23, 24, 30, and April 21.

The history of African-American education in Calvert County from the end of the Civil War to the Civil Rights movement is to be the focus of a six-panel exhibition and an illustrated brochure. The exhibition, "The Old Central School and African-American Education in Calvert County," will travel to local schools and museums and settle in its permanent home at the historic Central School, the first multiroom school for African-American children in the county. The exhibition opens in April.

**MISSOURI**—A St. Louis educational consortium led by Crusade Against Crime received a grant from NEH that supports the project, Parents as Teachers of the Humanities (PATH). PATH helps parents and guardians in the city become teachers of the humanities for their children. PATH workshops will be held on March 4, 11, and 25, April 1 and 29, and May 6. All six of the half-day workshops are at the St. Louis Public Library's central branch. Cosponsoring organizations include the Law and Citizenship Education Unit of the St. Louis Public Schools, the Missouri Humanities Council, and the St. Louis Public Library.



*"Made in Manchester: Worklife and Industry in the Nineteenth Century City" explores the effects of industrialization on workers.*

**NEW HAMPSHIRE**—The industrial history of Manchester, New Hampshire, one of the leading textile and shoe manufacturers in the nineteenth century, is the subject of a new exhibition designed by the Manchester Historic Association. The exhibition documents the evolution of the "Queen City" 150 years ago, from a farm to a factory community and examines a time in which people underwent radical changes in the way they worked and lived.

**NEW JERSEY**—"Caribbean Folk Arts in New Jersey," a New Jersey Council for the Humanities-funded collaborative project of the New Jersey Histori-

cal Society and the Center for Latino Arts and Culture at Rutgers University, documents and interprets five Caribbean cultures: Puerto Rican, Dominican, Cuban, Haitian, and Jamaican. The project, which begins in April, focuses on immigrant and first-generation folk artists to explore both the concept of a Caribbean sensibility and the way vernacular culture is preserved and transformed by the changed circumstances of a new environment. The exhibition will be accompanied by a trilingual catalog and related educational programming.

"The Fifties: A Decade of Destiny" is a series of nine discussion programs that

—Courtesy of Manchester Historic Association



explore how historical forces reshaped American society during the 1950s. The series will address the Korean War and its impact, the Cold War, McCarthyism, changes in the family, the emergence of a new consciousness among women, and the struggle of African Americans for equal rights.

At the close of World War II, more than 2,500 former Japanese-American internees made a new start in Cumberland county with most working for Seabrook Farms, then the largest vegetable farm and processing plant in the world. See page 32.

**NEVADA**—Chautauqua performances are featured across the state during March and April: March 27, Anne Howard presents Kate Chopin at the Churchill County High School in Fallon; April 1, Jim Armstead portrays Jim Beckwourth at Reno's Cal Alumni Association; and April 13, Alexander Voorhees brings to life Sarah Winnemucca at the Lyon County Library in Yerington.

**NEW YORK**—The New York Council for the Humanities recently launched an innovative program designed to

strengthen the humanities community in the state. In June 1994, sixteen institutions representing all regions of New York were named as local affiliates of the council. Each organization will receive \$9,000 over three years in 3:1 matching grants to enable it to present local programs on history and culture. The council created the local affiliates network with the goal of bringing first-rate humanities scholarship to the entire state on a regular basis. It expects to expand the network by ten to fifteen affiliates in 1995 and again in 1996, so that up to forty-five affiliates will blanket the state when the program is running at full capacity. In 1994, eight museums, five historical societies, two arts/cultural centers, and a community college educational foundation won local affiliate status.

**OHIO**—During March 1995, the Columbus-based Contemporary American Theatre Company's (CATCO) production of Anton Chekov's *The Sneezes* will tour two schools and two community theaters in east-central Ohio. In *The Sneezes*, Chekov gently ridicules the anger, panic, loneliness, pain, and other

weaknesses that make us human, helping viewers to reexamine their lives and relationships. At each site, a humanities scholar will offer a pre-performance lecture about the Russian people and their culture. Following the play, the scholar, cast, and audience discuss its implications for community life. The Ohio Humanities Council has funded several CATCO tours that show diverse audiences that the humanities can be entertaining, challenging, and relevant to our lives.

**PUERTO RICO**—The documentary, *Palés: Reseña de una vida útil* (Palés: Review of a Useful Life), enters its final phase during the month of March. Directed by Edwin Reyes, this work traces the life of Afro-Caribbean poet Luis Palés Matos and offers visual interpretations of some of his most significant poems. The final product will be in the schools.

During March, the Universidad Interamerica is conducting a series of training seminars for the students who will work as guides in the upcoming exhibition of Francisco Goya's work at the Museo de Arte de Ponce. The participants in "Goya en Puerto Rico" are

BY AMY LIFSON

# DISCOVERING DINERS

“Burn the British, Adam and Eve on a raft, sweep the kitchen, put out the lights and cry, flowing Mississippi, shoot one from the South, nervous pudding, Eve with a lid and put a hat on it.”

This is diner talk for “Gimme an English muffin, two poached eggs on toast, a plate of hash, an order of liver and onions, a cup of coffee, a Coca Cola, a strawberry Jello, and an apple pie with ice cream.” It is a reminder of a simpler time when important news of the day was heard at the local diner over an egg sandwich and french fries, instead of from CNN.

Since the first lunch car/diner was opened by Walter Scott in 1872 in Providence, Rhode Island, these streamlined, grease-smelling, open-all-night structures have helped define American communities.

The Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities is sponsoring three educational programs between March and May in conjunction with an exhibition organized by the Rhode Island Historical Society called “Sandwiches, Pies, and Coffee: A Menu for Success.” The exhibition opens March 5 and runs through July 8 in Providence. It examines such aspects of diner history as the 1912 ordinance that banished the traffic-congesting carts from the streets of Providence and onto lots.

Concord College professor of geography Joseph Manzo will speak March 19 on “Diners in the American Landscape”;





being trained on the work of the noted Spanish painter, his importance to the history of art, and his life. The exhibition, the first major showing of Goya's work in Puerto Rico, will be held from May to September.

March 24-26, the Federación Puertorriqueña de Trabajadores (Puerto Rican Workers Federation) will hold a series of conferences entitled "Impacto del Neoliberalismo en el Movimiento Obrero" (The Effects of Neoliberalism on the Labor Movement). The project will discuss neoliberalism in the context of the history of the labor movement in Puerto Rico and the world, and the contemporary situation of the island. The speakers include professors José Añeses, Paulino Santiago, and Otilio Rosado.

**RHODE ISLAND**—The Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities (RICH) has awarded the Rhode Island Historical Society, in collaboration with the American Diner Museum, a grant for a project featuring lectures, screenings of diner-related films, and tours of well-known diners in southeastern Rhode Island and Massachusetts. See page 38.

April 14-21, Providence hosts the third Our Essence Festival of Latin American Cinema in New England. RICH has awarded a grant to Pukara-Fortitude of Providence for a series of open forums to discuss the films and the theme of the festival, "Slavery and Colony in Latin America." Scholars from Brown University and the Rhode Island School of Design will lead the exchange of ideas about the films' content and the techniques used in the cinematography. Founded in 1993, the festival features a juried competition for Latin American cinema.

**SOUTH DAKOTA**—J. Anthony Lukas, the author of *Common Ground: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families*, leads a two-day author residency April 3-5, part of "The Writing Life" reading circles that explore the portrayal of families in literature. He will present a program in Yankton on April 3, be heard on Rapid City's Rural Development Telecommunications Network at noon mountain time on April 4, and make a public presentation at Sioux Falls's Augustana College that evening.

In "The Writing Life" reading circles, participants read three works by living authors who have won a National Book Award. Those books featured are: *Wartime Lies* by Louis Begley; *Common Ground: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families* by J. Anthony Lukas; *Rabbit Is Rich* by John Updike; *Housekeeping* by Marilynne Robinson; *The Homeplace* by Marilyn Nelson Wanek; and *The Women of Brewster Place* by Gloria Naylor. Readers in each community explore how families are viewed in three of the six books selected by the National Book Foundation. For more information, call 605/688-6113.

**WISCONSIN**—Why does Wisconsin, an essentially conservative society, have a proud history of innovation and reform? "The Progressive Legacy" explores this apparent paradox by examining the persistence of the Progressive tradition in Wisconsin politics since 1945. It features a series of twelve panel discussions involving key political figures, journalists, historians, and political scientists of the period. The discussions, which began in February, are broadcast across the state via satellite. □



—Courtesy of Rhode Island Historical Society

Richard J. S. Gutman, author of *The American Diner*, on April 27 on "Serving the World with Worcester Dining Cars"; and Daniel Zilka, guest curator and director of the American Diner Museum, on May 18 on "The Sterling Massachusetts."

"The renewed popularity of and fascination with the diner," says Zilka, "can be attributed to its singular

The Hope Diner in East Providence, Rhode Island, ca. 1930.

appearance, appetizing and reasonably-priced food, and distinctive history. Every diner of today is a living history of its site, manufacture, ownership, and clientele. Faces may change over the decades, but the customers of a diner still are nourished in both body and soul while

feasting in this very American establishment."

Thirty diners remain in Rhode Island. Two tours, on May 20 and June 24, will travel to five historic diners in the area, including the still mobile Haven Brothers diner in Providence, and the Modern Diner in Pawtucket—the first diner to be included in the National Register of Historic Places. □



**D**UONG VAN MAI ELLIOTT's earliest memories are of war. Born in Vietnam in 1941 to a well-educated upper-middle-class family, she can recall feeling the vibrations of Allied bombs on Japanese-occupied Vietnam when she was just four years old. Then came the French reconquest of Vietnam, followed by France's defeat at Dien Bien Phu and her family's flight from Hanoi to Saigon as the Viet Minh took over. As a young adult, Mai (who, Vietnamese fashion, prefers to be identified by her first name) lived in the United States, but the war between North and South Vietnam and the U.S. involvement in that conflict still dominated her life because her family was living in Saigon, uncertain of their future.

Vietnam, however, should not be identified only by war, says Mai. "Americans think of the U.S. involvement and what it did to America—the war shapes their perception—but Vietnamese history goes way back; it is more than just one war."

A U.S. citizen who has lived here for more than twenty-five years and who is married to an American, Mai is now looking at her family's past as a way of exploring

the history of her homeland. With support from NEH, she is writing a book on the story of her family from 1800 to 1990. "Although my book will deal with the life of a single Vietnamese family, it will also—in many ways—be the story of all Vietnamese families in modern times, because Vietnam's decades of turmoil caught every family in the same dilemmas and in the same web of trials and tragedies," Mai says.

She believes the timing of her book is just right. "Enough time has elapsed and the passions of the war have cooled down," she notes. "My objective is to make modern Vietnamese history more accessible to the general U.S. public. I want to bring it together as a whole and to personalize it with the history of my family."

The book will span nearly two centuries of social, cultural, and political evolution, as reflected in the lives and careers of four generations of the Duong (pronounced "Zuong") family, who were scholars, poets, mandarins, merchants, revolutionaries, military officers, and technocrats, and who, as such, were witnesses and participants in many of the country's key events. "The book's theme centers on the moral choices that the Vietnamese elite had to make, when the only alternatives were either collaboration

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*By Maggie Riechers*

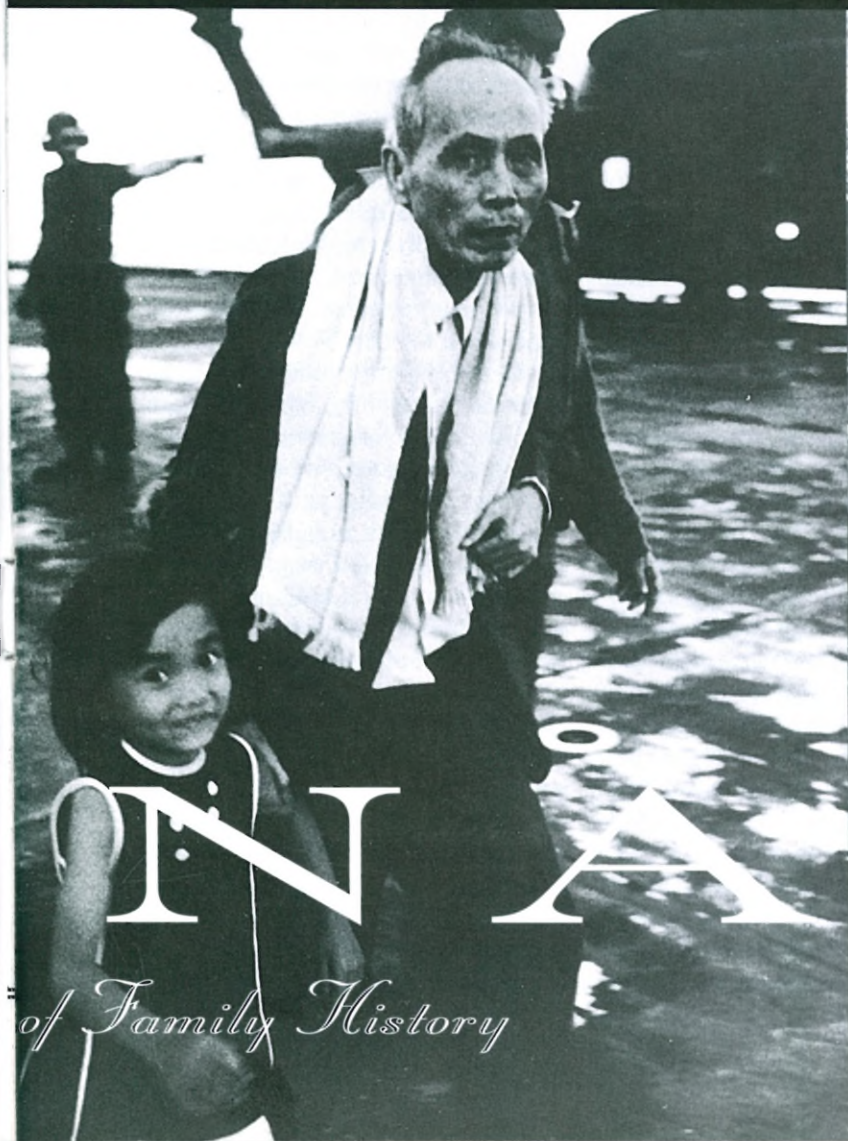
# V I E T

*Four Generation*





**Above:** The Duong family at the mayor's residence in Haiphong, ca. 1949. The author's parents are second and third from the left; Duong Van Mai Elliott is the child third from the right. **Below, left:** Mai's father and a niece arrive on the USS Hancock in 1975, after the fall of Saigon. **Right:** Mai at her grandfather's tomb in the family's native village.



# IN AM

*of Family History*



with foreign powers or participation in a revolution to not only end foreign domination but also to remake Vietnamese society drastically along Marxist lines," Mai explains.

Mai begins the Duong saga in the early nineteenth century, when her ancestors fled strife-torn central Vietnam to settle in a village near Hanoi. "They were destitute refugees, struggling to reestablish themselves," Mai relates. "The village was a closed society. The communal land was distributed only to native villagers. Immigrants like my ancestors were not given land to farm. The only way to emerge

"AT THE TIME THE VIET  
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SHE EXPLAINS. "MY FATHER  
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SOCIAL AGENDA."

from poverty was through education." Her great-grandfather and his older brother became mandarins—scholars educated in the classical Chinese tradition, who passed rigorous exams and served the emperor as government officials. Mai's great-grandfather became the governor of two provinces. He and his brother were also poets and literary scholars.

In the 1860s, when the French began to colonize Vietnam, Mai's great-grandfather was torn between continuing in government service and resigning to protest French domination. "My great-grandfather opposed the French, but he also realized that Vietnam was too weak to throw them out," says Mai. "His choice—and the choice of the Vietnamese mandarins—was how best to cope with this new reality. Do you fight the French, knowing that the

bloodshed would lead nowhere? Do you resign yourself to their control, but withdraw in passive resistance? Or do you stay, do the most good you can under the circumstances, and bide your time?" Her great-grandfather remained ambivalent about the best course of action, alternating between serving as a mandarin and resigning in protest.

As the French became more entrenched and their influence grew, the mandarin traditions in Vietnam began to weaken. The French dealt a heavy blow when they abolished the imperial exams in 1915, ending the traditional route to a mandarin career. Mai's paternal grandfather—who was part of the last generation of officials educated exclusively in Chinese classics—continued in the family tradition, serving as a government magistrate under French colonial rule. But the world was changing around him, and power was passing to younger countrymen who had a modern French or Vietnamese education.

Mai's parents grew up in an uneasy transitional period, when their generation had to merge the waning traditional values in their private lives with the new values introduced into Vietnamese society by French culture. There was a transition from the classical Chinese education to a French one. Mai's mother was the first female in her family to get an education outside the home, at a French school. Her father began his schooling in the Chinese classics, but when the French eliminated the Confucian examination system, his family reluctantly sent him to a French school at age nine. He started a career in government, serving as a district and county magistrate in northern Vietnam.

Mai's parents married in 1919, when her mother was 16 and her father 19. The young couple settled into a comfortable, middle-class Vietnamese life that remained stable until World War II. They lived in the official residence of the district and county magistrate, and reared a family that grew to include twelve children.

During World War II, Japan occupied Vietnam, but allowed the French Vichy administration to stay in place. Nineteen forty-five

was a turning point for Vietnam: The Japanese ousted the French administration in March and set up a puppet Vietnamese government. This government quickly crumbled in the aftermath of the August Revolution when the Viet Minh seized power, immediately after Japan surrendered to the Allies. The Viet Minh declared Vietnam independent from France on September 2, 1945, and emerged as a force that offered a promising message—and an effective organization—to many who had been opposed to the French.

The 1945 famine was the catalyst for the August Revolution. "That terrible famine drove people to the Viet Minh," says Mai. "Two million died and it pushed people over the edge. No one was doing anything, not the French, the Japanese, or the Vietnamese officials. The Viet Minh were the only ones taking action, breaking into warehouses and distributing rice."

Vietnam became divided between those who followed the Viet Minh and those who didn't. "Many Vietnamese families split along ideological lines," says Mai. "In my family, although my parents opposed the Viet Minh for advocating the overthrow of the old regime, one of my sisters and her husband joined this movement, attracted by its message of independence from the French." Two older brothers were drafted into the Viet Minh militia.

"At the time the Viet Minh kept their affiliation with Communism a secret," she explains. "My father did not support the Viet Minh—he understood their revolutionary social agenda. Reluctantly, he stayed with the French. My sister went with the Viet Minh because she was so anti-French. You make your choice—it strains, but does not break, family relationships." (Neither of Mai's two brothers remained with the Viet Minh, but her sister made a lifelong commitment to socialism.)

With Japan's surrender, the Allied High Command decided to send troops to Vietnam to disarm the Japanese army and to repatriate Allied prisoners of war. Abetted by the British in the south and Chiang Kai-Shek in the north, the French now attempted to reassert their control of Vietnam. War began again in December 1946.





Mai's grandfather sits with his wife in front of his official residence, surrounded by his children and grandchildren. The photograph was taken on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday.

Mai's family fled to their native village outside Hanoi just before the French attacked that city. When the Viet Minh began to withdraw from Hanoi to their mountain base to continue the resistance against the French, Mai's sister and her husband joined the Viet Minh in the mountains.

After the French recaptured Hanoi, they began to push into the countryside in early 1947. The Duong family was forced to flee again. For the next several months they lived as refugees in Ngoc Dong village, at the end of their resources and without a future to look forward to.

When they heard it had become safe to return to Hanoi, now under French control, they cautiously made their way back and tried to rebuild their lives. Mai's father, who had lost his government job under the Viet Minh, found work in the French administration, the only major source of employment at the time. The French appointed him mayor of Haiphong and governor of the maritime provinces of Hai

Duong, Kien An, Hai Phong, and Quang Yen.

In 1954, with France's defeat at Dien Bien Phu and the division of Vietnam into Communist north and non-Communist south, Mai's father, as an administrator in the French colonial government, was in immediate danger. The family fled to Saigon, arriving there as homeless refugees. Unlike most of the refugees, who were Catholics, her family was Buddhist and was fleeing not out of fear of religious persecution, but from fear of political retaliation. At the time Elliott was thirteen years old. "We had to leave everything behind," she says. "The impact on me was tremendous. I was distressed and depressed."

The government in Saigon by now was declared independent, headed by Ngo Dinh Diem and supported by the United States, whose involvement in South Vietnam was growing. But the situation in the south was unstable, and continued fighting among various factions affected the Duong family. At one point their house in Saigon burned down,

caught in the crossfire between opposing forces. They lost everything, including mementos and pictures of their life in the north. "That was absolutely the lowest point in my life," says Mai. "I felt I had lost everything—my past, my present, and my future." Once again, they were on the move. Some stability returned to the family when her father secured a position in the Diem government.

As the United States decided to draw the line in Vietnam against Communist expansion in Asia, American involvement and influence grew. Part of this involvement was to create a pro-American elite. Mai was recruited by a U.S. government-sponsored "leadership training program" to attend college in the United States. The program was designed to expose young Vietnamese to American culture and the principles of democracy, with the hope that they would return to their homeland and apply these principles to Vietnam. In 1960, at age nineteen, Mai left Saigon and headed for Georgetown University, where she majored in political science.



In 1963, having completed her course of study, Mai returned to Vietnam, intending to continue her family's tradition of government service by joining the Vietnamese foreign ministry. Her plans were halted when she married an American. She had met David Elliott when she was at Georgetown and he was a student at the University of Virginia. While in graduate school, he was drafted and sent to Vietnam. In 1964 Mai and David Elliott were married in a civil ceremony in Saigon.

During this period, Mai's father was working as a lower-ranking government official in Saigon. One brother had a staff job in the military, later becoming a prosecutor, while another, who had studied in France, returned to South Vietnam to become general manager of one of the largest government-controlled industrial complexes in Vietnam, the Ha Tien Cement Works.

Political turmoil was increasing in South Vietnam, however. Mai explains that the Viet Cong insurgency had begun on a small scale around 1958. Initially, the Viet Cong was composed of Viet Minh who remained in the south after the country was divided in 1954 and who opposed the Diem government. Over the years, they attracted more followers. In 1968, Mai and her husband, who had lived in Taiwan for a year, returned for a visit and found themselves in the midst of the Tet offensive, the Viet Cong attack on South Vietnam at the start of the Vietnamese New Year and a turning point for many Americans who questioned U.S. involvement in the conflict.

Mai and her family had supported the war and the U.S. involvement in it, believing it to be the only means of keeping Vietnam from falling to Communism. But Mai's feelings about the war gradually altered. In 1968 she and her husband moved to the United States, to Cornell University, which, like many universities at the time, had a large antiwar student movement.

"My thinking about the war had started to change in the mid-sixties when I was working on a Rand study about why so many South Vietnamese were attracted to the Viet Cong," says Mai. She had been brought up to believe that Commu-

nists were evil, but as she interviewed people who had joined the Viet Cong, she developed a different feeling. "They were people who loved their country and who believed they were fighting for a better social system and reunification of the country," she says. "Some were remarkable, loyal to their ideals. I began to think maybe these people had something to look at." Finally, the war became too brutal for Mai and for many Vietnamese—even some of the most ardent anti-Communists in her homeland—to support.

Life in South Vietnam was by now "a grind," she says. Her family, insulated in Saigon from the devastation of the war, managed to survive. Mai visited them in 1973, as the U.S. was slowly withdrawing. "South Vietnam looked strong, my family was cautiously optimistic," she says. "I really didn't think the war would ever end."

But in 1975 Mai was "taken aback by the speed at which things were falling apart," as North Vietnamese soldiers entered Saigon and the South Vietnamese government and army toppled. At her family's request, Mai began a frantic race against time to get her forty relatives out of Vietnam. She did not know whether they had made it out alive until they called her from Camp Pendleton. They had been snatched out of Tan Son Nhut airport in the final hours before the Communists took over Saigon. "The American helicopters appeared like saviors from the sky to my family—like the U.S. cavalry to the rescue in Western movies," says Mai. Her relatives were flown to the U.S.S. *Hancock* and were eventually taken to Camp Pendleton.

The story does not end here, however, for her oldest brother did not make it out of Saigon in time. Following the Communist victory he was placed in a reeducation camp for four years and then remained in Saigon, unable to flee.

"For ten years he lived in limbo in Saigon," says Mai. Finally, in 1990 he was able to leave and rejoin his family in France. Other members of the family scattered around the world, resettling in France, Canada, Australia, and the United States. Mai's parents

moved to Paris, where her father died in 1979 and her mother still lives.

The Duong family's extraordinary history has always fascinated Mai. Despite her urging, her father never wrote his memoirs, so she began interviewing him, completing nearly twenty hours of conversations covering his entire life. Circumstances are now right, she believes, to begin the book because it is now possible to travel to Vietnam, as the government there normalizes its relations with the rest of the world. Mai is hopeful that

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Vietnam will evolve to become a more democratic society. She also hopes her book will not only give Americans insight into Vietnam but will also rekindle the interest of assimilated Vietnamese in their historical roots. "For young Vietnamese Americans the past has been painful," she says, "but it is also a story of triumph. I hope they will once again look at and appreciate their culture." □

*Maggie Riechers is a free-lance writer based in the Washington, D.C., area.*

*Duong Van Mai Elliott was awarded a Collaborative Projects grant of \$80,000 from the Division of Research Programs for a study of modern Vietnamese history as reflected in four generations of her family.*



Off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, separated from the mainland by fresh water and brackish marshes and creeks, sit the Sea Islands. Isolated until bridges and causes were constructed in the second quarter of the century, the Sea Islands have been home to a distinctive culture known as Gullah, which

# GULLAH

## *A Sea Islands Legacy*



Net making, ca. 1900

—Photos from Penn School Collection, Penn Center, Inc.

incorporates African and Caribbean influences. Although geographically removed, the islands have been the site of events that have shaped American history, particularly those involving the struggle for racial equality.

Gullah, perhaps a corruption of Gola, the name of a West African community, refers to the culture, language, and African-American people of the Sea Islands. As slaves struggled to adjust to life in South Carolina, they developed a creolized culture. African-derived aspects of the culture include linguistic elements, architecture, basket making, quilting, carving, net making, belief systems, food, and patterns of community interaction. Many of the earliest slave arrivals in the Carolina colony came with planters from the West Indies, particularly Barbados, which helped shape the language and culture. In later years, as the need for slaves grew with an expanding rice crop, large numbers of slaves came directly from Africa.

A creole language, Gullah incorporates words and grammatical rules of English and languages of the west African coast. As Dr. Charles W. Joyner explains in *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community*, the language took form as slaves tried to understand the commands of their masters and the conversations of fellow slaves who spoke diverse tongues. There was an incentive for slaves to learn English, because it was the language of their masters, but the large numbers of slaves contributed to the retention of African speech patterns.



One hundred thirty-three years ago, the first school for freed slaves was founded on St. Helena, one of the largest of the South Carolina Sea Islands. A century later the Penn School played a part in the civil rights movement, serving as one of the few sites in the segregated South open to biracial meetings of civil rights activists, including Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Throughout its history, the Penn Center, Inc., as the community service and cultural institution is known today, has provided education with an eye to the world beyond the classroom, as well as a way to help Sea Islanders develop their community. Today, in addition, there is an emphasis on preserving the culture and environment of the islands, which have been

matched Confederate troops in a one-sided gun battle, and took control of the islands for the remainder of the Civil War. White Confederate sympathizers hastily fled the area, leaving behind most of their slaves, as well as valuables and ungathered crops. In 1862, the U.S. Treasury Department devised the Port Royal Experiment, a plan to salvage crops and promote self-sufficiency among the former slaves. "There were discussions about whether African Americans could become educated, support their families, and be freeholders of the land," says Emory S. Campbell, Director of the Penn Center, Inc. The isolation of the Sea Islands made them an ideal place to conduct an experiment to answer questions about the status of African Americans after slavery.

ages of medicine, food, and clothing.

It was into this chaotic world that two northern missionaries and abolitionists arrived in 1862. Laura M. Towne and Ellen Murray soon founded the Penn School, which "became a central force behind the transition from slavery to freedom," according to Campbell.

In June 1862, the most successful and only lasting component of the Port Royal Experiment began with nine adult students attending classes at The Oaks plantation. Most of the former slaves on St. Helena were illiterate because it was against South Carolina law to teach slaves to read or write. Work and family responsibilities left little time for school, but attendance grew rapidly. By September, the plantation house was too crowded for the eighty adults and children who attended, and classes were moved to the Brick Church.

In *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment*, Willie Lee Rose quotes a letter Laura Towne wrote two years later in which she described the difficulties of mak-

*"In the staunch  
groups could me*



*The first schoolhouse on St. Helena Island, ca. 1870.*

threatened by outside development projects.

On November 7, 1861, Union naval forces advanced on the forts protecting Port Royal Sound, located among the Sea Islands, engaged the out-

The months after the Union takeover were a period of uncertainty and hardship for the 10,000 former slaves. African Americans were treated poorly by many of the soldiers and by the agents the government sent to oversee the picking of cotton. There were short-

ing herself heard over three other classes reciting in concert, and [of discovering] talkers and idlers among fifty students while one hundred and fifty more are shouting lessons and three other teachers bawling admonitions, instructions and reproofs.

The number of students continued to grow, and in 1864, the Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia sent a



prefabricated building by barge to the island. In honor of the Pennsylvania association, it was officially named the Penn School.

In addition to teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, Miss Towne and Miss Murray provided doctoring and food, working without salary and spending their own money during lean times. The founders continued their work at the school for nearly forty more years, until Miss Towne's death in 1901 and Miss Murray's retirement in 1904.

Under the new leadership of Rosa B. Cooley and Grace B. House, the Penn School evolved into an industrial training school based on the Hampton Institute, where the two women had taught. Renamed the Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School, the institution provided instruction in home-making, agriculture, and such skills as wheelwrighting, carpentry, blacksmithing, cobbling, harness making, canning, and basketry. Families attended organized community sings, pageants, and picnics.

In 1948, Beaufort County, South Carolina, brought public education to the island, and the last class

ing water to the islands, and providing health care to low-income islanders.

Penn's role in fostering growth in the African-American community, as well as the constraints of segregation, made it the site of civil rights activities during the 1950s and 1960s. "In the staunchly segregated South, there were very few places biracial groups could meet without government or police intervention," Campbell explains.

As one of these places, the Penn School served as a main training and meeting center for civil rights workers. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Leadership Conference held retreats at Penn Center from 1963 to 1967, during which "civil rights strategies were developed," Campbell notes. The Retreat House built for Dr. King in 1968, which he never lived to use, stands today on the Penn Center campus.

The legacy and setting of the Penn Center also appealed to the Peace Corps, which has used it since the 1970s as a training center for volunteers headed to Africa and Central America. "Volunteers could see how a community

when fifty acres of the Penn Center's two-hundred-acre-campus were designated a National Historic Landmark District. Many of the Penn Center programs today were developed in response to the rapid coastal resort development that began in the late 1970s and 1980s. Inflated land values forced many original landowners to leave, because they were unable to pay property taxes, or to survive without selling their land. Since Campbell became director of the center in 1981, preservation of the St. Helena community has been a priority. "Development that doesn't include the indigenous people" is one of the greatest threats to preservation of the history and culture of the Sea Islands, Campbell says. "To combat this, we work with government developers and private contractors to make sure the indigenous people are included in development plans."

The Penn Center-sponsored Land Use and Environmental Education Program helps African Americans retain family land, offers advice regarding beneficial use of land, and provides courses for community leaders that discuss forms of economic development that do not threaten the local culture and environment.

Penn Center's history of fostering education continues through the Program for Academic and Cultural Enrichment (PACE). Elementary students receive after-school tutoring and attend academic and cultural enrichment activities.

Through the History and Cultural Affairs Program, the Penn Center works to preserve and stimulate interest in the cultural her-

itage of the Sea Islands and the African-American experience nationally. The cornerstone of the program is the York W. Bailey Cultural Museum, named for a Penn School graduate who received his medical doctorate at Howard University and became the first black doctor on the island.

More than 350 artifacts dating back to 1862 provide a record of Sea Island culture. They include early twentieth-century sea grass baskets made by Penn School students that are similar to those constructed by Africans and African-American slaves; a freedom bell that was used in post-Civil War Watch Night services; the apron, cap, and bag of St. Helena's late midwife, Maggie Smalls; oyster nets; quilts; and agricultural and domestic implements.

Video and audio recordings of island history and cultural traditions are also part of the collections. Oral histories capture stories of slavery and its aftermath, and tapes of religious services and festivals preserve spiritual and celebratory moments.

The Center's photographic collection "shows the evolution of the island," Campbell says. Materials date from the 1860s and include one of the earliest renderings of an Emancipation Day celebration. Two thousand color slides housed at Penn Center and three thousand photographs stored at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC) since 1962 are scheduled to be returned upon completion of a new museum site.

Also to be returned to Penn Center is an extensive manuscript collection of historic institutional records, diaries, correspondence, student essays, and annual reports. The papers describe the southern boll weevil invasion, Prohibition, the

*segregated South, there were very few places biracial without government or police intervention"*

graduated from the Penn School in 1953. Two years earlier the institution had been renamed Penn Community Services, Inc., and the focus shifted to community development issues, including health care, day care, and economic development. Since 1951, Penn has played an active role in teaching landowners about their rights and responsibilities, bringing public drink-

center has helped a community develop, and they could observe a community in development," Campbell comments. In addition, the presence of African-derived elements in Sea Island life provides Africa-bound trainees with an introduction to the culture they are about to enter.

In 1974, the rich history of the Penn Center was officially acknowledged



Depression, the New Deal, and the influence of both world wars on Penn School and St. Helena.

Among Penn's public programs on the cultural heritage of the South Carolina low country, the most widely attended is the three-day Heritage Days celebration each November. "In the early 1900s, people commemorated the accomplishments of the year, particularly agricultural ones, at daylong celebrations that included songs, crafts, and food," Campbell explains. Today, more than five thousand people celebrate Gullah culture by listening to music, attending

Gullah." In the last five or six years she has observed renewed interest in the language and culture, which she attributes to the pride local people felt after former Sierra Leone President Joseph Momoh's 1989 visit. Scholars have established a link between the African Americans of the Sea Islands and the people of Sierra Leone in western Africa.

The 1989 visit was part of a cultural exchange the Penn Center helped develop in which Sierra Leone officials visited the Center, and a delegation of fourteen Sea Islanders traveled to the west African nation. The film *Family*

*Across the Sea* documents the Sea Islanders' and Africans' discovery of shared cultural traditions.

The Penn Center has been involved in preserving the Gullah language through a project to translate the Bible into Gullah. An oral language, Gullah has rarely been written down, Campbell says. For more than ten years, linguists Pat and Claude Sharpe have worked with Rev. Ervin

Greene, minister at Brick Baptist Church, and other volunteers who have helped correct drafts of the translation.

To ensure that one of the few surviving African-American historical sites serves as a reminder of our nation's past and a participant in its future, the Penn Center is involved in a massive rehabilitation effort scheduled for completion in 1998. The Center and the University of South Carolina have joined forces and have raised about

two-thirds of the targeted \$5.5 million needed to restore nine of the Penn Center buildings and expand humanities programming. State, federal, and private sources have contributed to the campaign. Funds from a National Endowment for the Humanities Challenge Grant will be used to restore the Cope building, which will be the new site for the York W. Bailey Museum and a center for public humanities programs. The Cope building has triple the space of the current site and will allow the Penn Center collections now at UNC to be housed at the Center.

Other funds will be used to develop a permanent exhibition that explores the origins of Gullah culture, the rice culture of the coastal South and the rise and fall of the planter class, the Civil War and the Port Royal Experiment, and the development of African-American education in the South. Challenge grant monies will establish an endowment for collections management, additional staff, and expanded public humanities programs.

Enhanced facilities and programming will aid the Penn Center in fulfilling the mission it adopted in 1988: "To preserve the Sea Island history, culture, and environment through serving as a local, national, and international educational resource center, and by acting as a catalyst for the development of programs for self-sufficiency." □

*Ann Fishman is a free-lance writer in Arlington, Virginia.*

*The Penn Center received a challenge grant of \$500,000 from the Office of Challenge Grants to restore buildings and establish an endowment fund and \$50,551 from the Museums Program of the Division of Public Programs to support a long-term exhibition.*



*The sea grass baskets woven by Sea Island residents today are similar to those crafted by Africans and African-American slaves.*

oral history sessions, and sampling food.

Until recently, "Gullah was seen as a poor way of speaking English, rather than as a language in its own right," Campbell says. Mary I. Mack, who attended Penn School and now serves as chairman of the board, remembers that when she was a child, "There was an emphasis on speaking 'correctly,' which meant in English, and children were afraid or embarrassed to speak in



**FEBRUARY  
1943**

Two residents of an almshouse in Newbury, England, survey the ruins of their home, destroyed by German bombs.



*Continued from page 9*

**HACKNEY:** As you think about the records that are still in the former Soviet archives and perhaps others in the East, are there big questions that you have a hunch will be put in a different light when those records are seen by historians? Or do you think that it will mainly confirm the broad outlines that you have put down in your work?

**WEINBERG:** We're really dealing with two sets of records. We're dealing with the material which Russian and Russian satellite armies captured in World War II and which were not returned to the East German state when it existed, and which are now slowly becoming available. That set includes all kinds of very important records which, in my opinion, will give us much clearer details about any number of issues. They will tell us vastly more about German occupation policy in Eastern Europe. Some of the older stuff that they seized will shed some light on nineteenth-century European history and parts of

early twentieth-century German history. They will tell us a good deal more about the Holocaust. They will tell us a great deal more about the details of German military operations. On the whole, I am not convinced—I will be happy to be surprised—but I am not convinced that that's going to change our picture drastically, but it will fill in a great many bits and pieces, and I'm looking forward to people doing that work. There are going to be interesting additions.

The other is, of course, the records of the former Soviet Union itself. I think that there are major areas where we may get some new information and, quite possibly, some changed perspectives, and where up to now we have been forced to do some guessing, extrapolation, and so on.

Unfortunately, I've learned from some individuals who have worked with these records, that the higher up one goes, the thinner the record.

**HACKNEY:** Oh, really?

**WEINBERG:** As yet, to the best of my knowledge, very little has turned up

that gives extensive clues to Stalin's views and thinking in specific critical areas. But over a period of time, it should be possible that we construct some of that on the basis of material pertaining to the implementation of policy by people who had to be told what to do in terms of what the leadership desired. It is quite possible that on a number of significant issues we will get substantial new light from the Soviet side.

**HACKNEY:** Are there any particular areas where you feel the absence right now, or do you just need to get into them and see what turns up?

**WEINBERG:** It's a question of people seeing what they can turn up. Unfortunately, the archives are in great confusion: They don't have money to keep things properly, the archivists are not being paid, many of the documents are being, to all intents and purposes, sold to individual scholars and institutions. The situation is very much in flux and in a very big mess. One hopes it straightens itself out, and





SEPTEMBER  
1944

Men of the U.S. Eighth Infantry Regiment are pinned down by German fire near the Belgian town of Libin.

hopes that the paper is microfilmed before it all vanishes physically.

**HACKNEY:** That's a real danger, isn't it?

**WEINBERG:** Very much so. All countries prided themselves on using the worst possible papers during the war in order to conserve resources for other things. But we are now paying the price for this in that the paper is disintegrating everywhere. Microfilming, that is, microreproduction, is the only sensible long-term solution. Any digitization or tapes or disks or what-not guarantees disappearance over twenty, forty, fifty years.

**HACKNEY:** Do you think of *A World At Arms* as being something of a new brand of history? As I read it, it is not traditional diplomatic history nor traditional military history. It has a lot about the home front in it; it is about

strategy and tactics of the war. It seems to me to be a bit different from what one has read before.

**WEINBERG:** I should perhaps explain. After I finished my study of the origins of World War II—back in 1978—I had to decide what to do next. I was so dissatisfied with the existing literature on World War II that I decided, perhaps foolishly, to try to do it in a way different from the existing works, which I thought were seriously defective. I must say—this may sound terribly arrogant—but those tendencies that I deplored then do not seem for the most part to have changed; that is to say, the people who look upon the war as a sort of dangerous chess game, concentrating on fighting as if the participants had armies that they didn't quite know what to do with one weekend, so they decided, why not have a

war. No sense of purpose and plan or intent. I started this project with an NEH fellowship in '78-'79, one of those senior research fellowships, and that's when I started the book.

Another aspect that bothered me with the then-existing literature—and not much has changed since—is the national concentration: The Germans didn't know where the Pacific was; the British thought the Second World War took place primarily in North Africa; the Americans thought they won it all; the Russians assumed nobody else was fighting. Now, that's an exaggeration, I will concede, but—

**HACKNEY:** I know what you mean.

**WEINBERG:** The books seem to reflect that.

A further aspect that bothered me a great deal was the compartmentalization. There would be a discussion of



the war here, and then as an appendix, a discussion of the war elsewhere. The notion that people had to make choices and decisions about all kinds of things all over the globe simultaneously, and that developments in one portion of the war had all kinds of repercussions, anticipated or unanticipated, elsewhere, was completely lost.

Let me give you an example that always struck me then and strikes me now. One would think that the battle for Stalingrad and the campaign in Tunisia took place, not on different continents, but on different planets. One finds today, in the literature on the encircled German army in Stalingrad and the German efforts to relieve them, no reference to the fact that the Germans were building up an army in Tunisia in those very days. At the same time the Germans were trying to supply their isolated garrison in Stalingrad by plane, they were using an enormous proportion of their transport planes to fly supplies and weapons to North Africa. When you read a discussion of the Tunisian campaign, the American defeat at Kasserine Pass, the subsequent victory of the Allies in Tunisia, there's no reference to the fact that one of the reasons the Germans couldn't do certain things was that they were fighting for Stalingrad.

**HACKNEY:** Right.

**WEINBERG:** While this is a particularly dramatic example, there were numbers of them. Furthermore, in part I suppose because the records were classified, the German post-World War II memoirs came to dominate the literature. Many, if not the vast majority, of these memoirs are extraordinarily mendacious, both in telling fairy tales and in omitting critical things.

**HACKNEY:** I see.

**WEINBERG:** That gave a distortion that one still sees. Then there has been the tendency of most literature on World War II—that's beginning to ebb, but it's still there in part—to look at the war through the prism of the Cold War. And, of course, that's nonsense. The people who were running the war were not anticipating the fifties, sixties, and Vietnam. They were influenced by the First World War. That not only distorted histories and perceptions of the war in the sense that people were asking the wrong questions or coming up with answers beforehand and impos-

ing them on their writing, but it led them to reshuffle things in terms of the contemporary Cold War perceptions.

We ought to be very careful, now that we're through the Cold War, in substituting a new set of irrelevant criteria. Let me illustrate this briefly.

**HACKNEY:** Please do.

**WEINBERG:** The silly notion which one very often hears that an atomic bomb was dropped on the Japanese because they were Oriental and wouldn't have been dropped on the Germans. The fact is, we and the British killed vastly more German civilians in air raids than Japanese. That's not because we wanted to kill whites.

**HACKNEY:** Right.

**WEINBERG:** In current discussion, certain kinds of categories are projected, the way the Cold War and Vietnam concepts have been projected, onto World War II where they don't make any sense, and where, in fact, they distort rather than enlighten. That doesn't mean new questions shouldn't be asked—I think that's all to the good—or new concerns shouldn't be raised and different questions and different approaches. But there's always the danger of projecting current concerns onto a basis in the past that in fact cannot support it.

And so much of the literature ignored the new evidence that was becoming available in the sixties and seventies.

**HACKNEY:** From declassified documents?

**WEINBERG:** Yes. As material was becoming declassified and available, so many things had already become accepted that nobody took the trouble to look at the new records to see whether the accepted views were correct.

**HACKNEY:** Well, you have gone a long way toward restoring that balance.

**WEINBERG:** At least that's what I tried to do—let's put it that way.

**HACKNEY:** It's a monumental achievement.

What do you say to commentators who look at the current state of the world—this is to pursue your anachronism example—and say that in the long run it was Japan and Germany who were the winners of the war because the USSR and Britain, and France in particular, came out

weakened and declined over time, whereas Germany and Japan did not.

**WEINBERG:** It depends on what you mean by winning. Obviously, the Germany that has emerged is not the Germany that fought World War II.

**HACKNEY:** That's a good point.

**WEINBERG:** I'm not sure that the British would have been very happy to be annexed by the Germans. The arrest lists which the Germans had already printed up are very extensive. It's been reprinted by the Imperial War Museum recently and it's a big book. I think it was Rebecca West who wrote to somebody, Noel Coward maybe, "Just think what wonderful people we would have been buried alongside of."

The notion of a France under German control being better off in some fashion seems to me kind of weird. The Japanese certainly have economic importance. I don't know why they shouldn't. But the people of Burma and of Malaya and of other parts of Southeast Asia and the Chinese are not under Japanese control. And while there are some problems—I don't mean to suggest there aren't real problems left in the world—there has been a monumental set of changes.

**HACKNEY:** Yes. And wars do have consequences.

**WEINBERG:** Wars have very big consequences. Certainly one of the great consequences of the German defeat in World War II is a fundamental reorientation of Germans and Germany. Let me put this into a historical context.

Once upon a time, Swedish armies rummaged all over Europe, Spanish armies ran all over Europe, French armies ran all over Europe. If you were to ask the people of the Ukraine today if they think there's a Swedish army coming, they would look at you as if you'd lost your last marble. But that did happen. If one were to ask people in northern Germany whether they're afraid that the Spanish armies are coming again, they would look astonished. It isn't that long ago that Europe was restructured to keep French armies from spilling all over the continent.

Now, obviously, it's going to take a long time. It's a process of interaction of the non-Germans to accept and recognize the fact that the Germans have changed. But they have. If you were to go to Europe tomorrow and ask people



in Luxembourg, Germany's smallest neighbor, whether they think the *Bundeswehr* is about to march in, well, they would look at you: Good heavens, why, no. There has been a significant change.

If one looks back to the beginning of this century, when Germans talked about a place in the sun, they meant a bigger slice of Africa and islands in the Pacific and more influence in Europe and all kinds of other things. If you hear Germans today talking about a place in the sun, what they're talking about is a winter vacation on the coast of Spain or some other warm place. The point I'm trying to make is that this is a very, very significant, fundamental outcome of World War II: The reordering of the globe that was intended did not take place, but a very different change did take place.

**HACKNEY:** I think that's absolutely right. Even among the victors of the war, war has unintended consequences. But perhaps decolonization would have happened anyway.

**WEINBERG:** In the Philippines, at least, the United States had decided during the thirties to get out. We were finally going to clear out in 1944 and move out our last bases and troops in 1946.

In Africa, the war had the effect, it seems to me, of slightly hastening the process of decolonization. It led to the restoration of an independent Ethiopia, whose independence had been destroyed in what one would have to call the last of the colonial wars, Mussolini's conquest.

That and the collapse of French prestige certainly raise the issues. It is not a coincidence, in my opinion, that the first violent uprising in the French colonial empire at the end of World War II takes place on the island of Madagascar, and the next one in Algeria—in those areas where French authority had been destroyed. Similarly in the Pacific. It is ironically the Japanese who destroy what is left of the French colonial administration in Indochina in March of 1945, and that opens the way, of course, to the Viet Minh, who at that point are our allies and being helped by the OSS (Office of Strategic Services). One could argue, in other words, that in certain places the war speeds up the process of decolonization; in other places it slows it down. But it was well on the way before 1939.

**HACKNEY:** What about the war as the vehicle that brought the United States more quickly onto the world stage as a major power?

**WEINBERG:** That is certainly one of the major results. To some extent, that had already happened in the First World War, but the American people then decided that the thing to do was to stop the globe and get off. We then learned, if you will, the hard way at Pearl Harbor that getting off is not so easy. We ended up having to project power across the two oceans, which earlier we had imagined isolated us from the rest of the globe. Having done that, and done it rather successfully, we decided that, it seems to me quite wisely, that trying to get off was not a very smart approach.

**HACKNEY:** Would you say that is one of the major lessons of World War II for the United States?

**WEINBERG:** Very much so. This is one area that people looked at very consciously during World War II. We forget how soon World War II came after World War I. The people who led this country, and much of the population remembered the earlier experience—Franklin Roosevelt had been the second person in the Navy Department. People like Cordell Hull, our secretary of state, Alben Barkley, the majority leader in the Senate, Sam Rayburn, the Speaker of the House—these people, as well as our military men, had all been involved in the war and the turmoil and the decision of the United States to repudiate the peace treaty, and, as I said, to get off the world. Many of them felt that the Second World War, coming twenty years later—as Woodrow Wilson had predicted if the U.S. did what they did do—suggested that they should very deliberately try to do something different this time. It is not a coincidence, I think, that Roosevelt insisted that the preparatory meeting for the organization of the United Nations be at Dumbarton Oaks in this country, that the organizing conference be at San Francisco in this country, and the headquarters in New York. Now, it's true he was dead by the time of these last two of these three took place. But the UN was preprogrammed, if you will. And one of the reasons that Harry Truman was willing to take that over and continue that portion of Roosevelt's policies, essentially the way that President Roosevelt had wanted

to, was because, of course, he himself had been a captain in the artillery on the western front in the First World War and had been happy to get home to Bess, but realized that was perhaps a mistake and we should do it differently the next time around.

**HACKNEY:** Roosevelt was ahead of the American public in recognizing the United States' interest in the European situation and wanting to get America involved before it was politically feasible.

**WEINBERG:** Well, I don't read it that way.

**HACKNEY:** Then, how do you read it?

**WEINBERG:** He was certainly very much aware of what was going on and very concerned, but hoped until the very last minute, or even after the last minute, that it would be possible to avoid American military involvement in the war. What is interesting—and it relates to the point I made a moment ago about the new material becoming available—is that now that we know about the breaking of German submarine codes in 1941, the Ultra business, it is very clear—and a German scholar has demonstrated this beyond any question whatever—that the Americans and British very carefully used this information, which could have been used to create incidents every day in 1941, used it systematically to avoid incidents, to steer the American and British ships around the U-boats to minimize the possibilities and the risks. Obviously, when the Administration was being attacked for trying to provoke the Germans, it couldn't very well release this information. Unfortunately, too many people, twenty years after the information has become available in the National Archives, have still not bothered to look at it and see that, in fact, the government was trying very hard to avoid direct active involvement in the war.

**HACKNEY:** In your view, given Germany's intent, America was going to have to be involved in the war sooner or later.

**WEINBERG:** Well, only if we couldn't help the British and the Russians defeat the Germans. Hitler himself was already arguing in the summer of 1928 that one of the major functions of his government would be to prepare for war with the United States. Start-



ing in 1937, specifications were going to the German air force and to the German navy for what it would take to defeat the United States. There was no question in his mind, even if there was in the minds of some isolationists in this country, that when the time came, war with the United States was essential for Germany.

**HACKNEY:** The question is whether it was ever possible for Great Britain and the Soviet Union, even with American logistical help, to defeat Germany.

**WEINBERG:** We didn't find out because the Germans were not going to wait, you see. They assumed they could beat us, too. Again, one has to see this from their perspective. The German leadership was fully and seriously convinced that they had lost the First World War because of the stab in the back by the German home front in forcing Germany to sue for an armistice. The converse of this—that the United States' entry turned the war against Germany—becomes the legend. That is to say, the American role in aiding Britain and France in holding the German armies in the west in 1918 and turning to the offensive in the summer and fall of 1918 becomes unimportant if you believe that Germany was defeated on the home front. In that context, defeating the Americans isn't so difficult. It's a weak country, it didn't play an important part in the last big war, it can't play an important one in this issue.

**HACKNEY:** I see, I see. That's an interesting bit of reasoning.

**WEINBERG:** It remained the Germans' reasoning till the end of the war. We recently commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of the Bulge. If one asks, why did the Germans, in late 1944, throw their last big reserves of men, tanks, guns, and planes against the Americans, of all their enemies, the answer is, well, that's the country they thought would crack first. Now, you and I may realize that of the three major enemies Germany was fighting, America had been weakened least, but that's not the way they saw it. And they made their decisions and allocated troops and tanks and guns on the basis of their assessments.

**HACKNEY:** One last question about Hitler himself. Would the war have turned out very differently if he had not been in control of German strategy,

**AUGUST  
1945**

Waving U.S., British, and Dutch flags, Allied prisoners of war at the Aomori camp near Yokohama, Japan, cheer rescuers from the U.S. Navy.



but one or more of the professional military leaders?

**WEINBERG:** It depends on which professional leader one takes. The German navy's commander in chief, Erich Raeder, was arguing for war with the United States already in October of 1939. If the German government had done that, they would probably have lost sooner, because the United States would have cranked up faster and earlier. It always depends on whose advice one is talking about. This assumption that all German military leaders had one view and Hitler had a different one is quite erroneous. They differed among themselves most of the time.

I mentioned Stalingrad earlier. One of the people who was frequently referred to as the most brilliant of Germany's military men in World War II, Field Marshal Erich von Manstein, was

the only top military leader who agreed with Hitler that they should hold Stalingrad. Then afterwards, in his memoirs, he faked it up because he was concerned about his reputation, since it didn't work out quite the way he had expected.

**HACKNEY:** Yes.

**WEINBERG:** And at other times, specific things might very well have gone differently. But one always has to ask the question, which of his military advisors is one talking about in substituting their choices and decisions for his?

**HACKNEY:** Well, this has been enormously interesting and fascinating, and I'm delighted that you've taken the time to talk to us a little bit. I will look forward with greater anticipation to the anniversary of the end of the war. □



# DEADLINES ♦ DEADLINES ♦ DEADLINES

## DIVISION OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS *James C. Herbert, Director • 606-8373*

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.

	Deadline	Projects beginning
Higher Education in the Humanities • <i>Lyn Maxwell White 606-8380</i>		
Humanities Focus Grants .....	September 15, 1995	January 1996
National Projects and Other Institutional Projects .....	April 1, 1995	October 1995
Elementary and Secondary Education in the Humanities • <i>Bruce Robinson 606-8377</i>		
Humanities Focus Grants .....	September 15, 1995	January 1996
National Projects and Other Institutional Projects .....	March 15, 1995	October 1995*
*National and multi-state projects    **Other projects		December 1995**
Integrated Projects • <i>Susan Greenstein 606-8380</i>		
Science and Humanities .....	February 1, 1996	October 1996
Summer Seminars for College Teachers • <i>Joel Schwartz 606-8463</i>		
Participants .....	March 1, 1995	Summer 1995
Directors .....	March 1, 1995	Summer 1996
Summer Seminars for School Teachers • <i>Michael Hall 606-8463</i>		
Participants .....	March 1, 1995	Summer 1995
Directors .....	March 1, 1995	Summer 1996

## DIVISION OF PRESERVATION AND ACCESS *George F. Farr, Jr., Director • 606-8570*

	Deadline	Projects beginning
Library and Archival Preservation/Access Projects/Guides .....	July 1, 1995	May 1996
<i>Barbara Paulson/Karen Jefferson/Charles Kolb 606-8570</i>		
National Heritage Preservation Program • <i>Laura Word/Richard Rose 606-8570</i> .....	July 1, 1995	May 1996
U. S. Newspaper Program • <i>Jeffrey Field 606-8570</i> .....	July 1, 1995	May 1996

## DIVISION OF PUBLIC PROGRAMS *Marsha Semmel, Director • 606-8267*

	Deadline	Projects beginning
Humanities Projects in Media • <i>James Dougherty 606-8278</i> .....	March 3, 1995	September 1995
Humanities Projects in Museums and Historical Organizations • <i>Nancy Davis 606-8284</i> .....	June 2, 1995	January 1996
Special Projects • <i>Timothy Meagher 606-8272</i> .....	March 10, 1995	September 1995
Special Competition: The National Conversation • <i>Timothy Meagher 606-8272</i> .....	April 28, 1995	September 1995
Humanities Projects in Libraries • <i>Thomas Phelps 606-8271</i>		
Implementation .....	March 10, 1995	September 1995
Planning and Implementation .....	July 15, 1995	January 1996



# DEADLINES DEADLINES DEADLINES

## DIVISION OF RESEARCH PROGRAMS *Guinevere L. Griest, Director • 606-8200*

Area code for all telephone numbers is 202.	Deadline	Projects beginning
Fellowships for University Teachers • <i>Maben D. Herring 606-8466</i> .....	May 1, 1995	January 1, 1996
Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars • <i>Joseph B. Neville 606-8467</i> ...	May 1, 1995	January 1, 1996
Summer Stipends • <i>Thomas O'Brien 606-8551</i> .....	October 1, 1995	May 1, 1996
Faculty Graduate Study Program for Historically Black Colleges and Universities .....	March 15, 1995	September 1, 1996
<i>Maben D. Herring 606-8466</i>		
Editions • <i>Douglas Arnold 606-8207</i> .....	July 1, 1995	May 1, 1996
Translations • <i>Kathryn G. Hansen 606-8207</i> .....	July 1, 1995	May 1, 1996
Subventions • <i>Margot Backas 606-8207</i> .....	February 1, 1996	September 1, 1996
Reference Materials • <i>Martha B. Chomiak / Michael Poliakoff 606-8358</i> .....	November 1, 1995	September 1, 1996
Collaborative Projects • <i>David Wise 606-8210</i> .....	March 15, 1995	January 1, 1996
Archaeology Projects • <i>Bonnie Magness-Gardiner 606-8210</i> .....	October 1, 1995	May 1, 1996
Humanities Studies of Science and Technology • <i>Daniel Jones 606-8210</i> .....	October 1, 1995	May 1, 1996
Conferences • <i>David Coder 606-8210</i> .....	May 15, 1995	January 1, 1996
Centers for Advanced Study • <i>Christine Kalke 606-8359</i> .....	October 1, 1995	September 1, 1996
International Research Organizations • <i>Christine Kalke 606-8359</i> .....	October 1, 1995	September 1, 1996
Dissertation Grants • <i>Kathleen Mitchell 606-8465</i> .....	October 16, 1995	May 1, 1996

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