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Dr. Larry Shiner Memoir

Shiner, Dr. Larry

Interview and memoir
digital audio files, 14 hrs., 11 min., 197 pp.

UIS Alumni Sage Society

Dr. Larry Shiner is Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, History, and Visual Arts at the University of Illinois-Springfield. From Shiner's birth in Topeka, Kansas this oral history interview is a personal account of his familial and academic life covering multiple universities, states and continents. An early faculty member at Sangamon State University, Shiner recounts the organizational, structural and faculty staffing struggles of an emerging academic institution. Additionally, he details the research, motivation and inspiration that led to accomplished publications such as: *Secret Mirror: Literary Form and History in Tocqueville's "Recollections"*, *The Secularization of History: An Introduction to the Theology of Friedrich Gogarten*, *The Invention of Art: A Cultural History* and the *Psychohistory Review*, as contributor and editor. The series of interviews were conducted in 2009 by Shiner's colleague, Dr. Cullom Davis.

Interview by Dr. Cullom Davis, 2009

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Narrator: Larry Shiner

Dates: 7/28/2009, 8/07/2009, 8/14/2009, 8/20/2009, 8/26/2009

Place: Springfield, IL.

Interviewer: Cullom Davis

Begin Recording

Start of 1.1

Q. This is an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on Tuesday, July 28, 2009. The interviewer is Cullom Davis. Larry, we probably ought to begin with a few vital statistics, mainly your date and place of birth.

A. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. May 6, 1934.

Q. Right. Now this is your 75th year?

A. 75th year.

Q. We almost share a birth date, not a birth year, but a birth date.

A. I'm trying to remember. When's yours?

Q. May 2, 1935.

A. Wow.

Q. Ok, and you're Lawrence Shiner?

A. No, I'm Larry Shiner. I wish they'd named me Lawrence. It would have looked more dignified, but they named me Larry.

Q. And your middle name is?

A. Ernest, which was my father's first name. He was Ernest Antrim Shiner.

Q. Antrim?

A. A-N-T-R-I-M. He was very proud of that. It's an old Quaker name. They emigrated in the 18th Century, and he and I even visited the Antrim homestead in New Jersey, northern New Jersey.

Q. Really? So you've seen some...

A. [We had] seen an old brick house there, and there was an old Antrim lady living in it. [laughter] So the Antrims survived. They were Quakers and they were originally spelled with an "a".

Q. You mean Antrim?

A. Antram.

Q. Oh, Antram?

A. No, his is "im" And the original family name is with an "am" I guess that's the spelling thing, is typical of changes over time.

Q. I'm sorry the last letter is "n."

A. "M," as in Mary, as in Mary Antrim.

Q. And what about your mother's name?

A. Nelda Downtain. D-O-W-N-T-A-I-N. Her middle name was Loreen. I don't know if you go as far as that.

Q. That's ok. You have something you...

A. Oh no, I was just. I found her high school diploma if you wanted to see it.

Q. That shows her married name?

A. No, that's her maiden name.

Q. Oh, of course, her married name is Shiner. They obviously were living in Oklahoma City then?

A. Yes, but a good deal of history transpired before they got there, but I don't know if that's relevant.

Q. Sure, of course.

A. Well, her parents were named Hauser, H-A-U-S-E-R. Her grandfather, Jacob, was a German immigrant who came from central Illinois. I haven't been able to find out for sure but I think it's from somewhere between here and Taylorville, down around Raymond and Harvel. And the only interesting story there for historians is Grandmother used to love to tell how her, he was dragged up on a platform in the little town of Kiowa, Kansas where he had a farm just outside

at a bond rally during the first World War and was made to publicly announce that as a German he was buying bonds.

Q. So that's a great example of the coercive animosity.

A. Well of the anti-German feeling of the time, although there are so many German families around Kiowa. The Auchenbaus were relatives and so on.

Q. So he migrated westward?

A. Right, right.

Q. For awhile in Illinois and then on to Kansas?

A. Right, yes, and on to Kansas. Southern Kansas. Kiowa is about 90 miles southwest of Wichita, one mile from the Oklahoma state line.

Q. I see, so that's where your mother grew up?

A. That's where my mother grew up. Father was born in Braymer, Missouri and went to high school there and then on to Warrensburg State Teacher's College. And he even managed in his, would it have been his senior year? 1918 he was old enough to be drafted.

Q. He was?

A. He never got to go to Europe, of course, because the war was over, but I have lots of pictures of him in his uniform. I'm trying to think if he ever was able to use the V.A. Hospital or something like that. I mean, if he had gotten a little benefit out of it.

Q. Ok, and was he a teacher?

A. He became a school teacher and a school superintendent and he moved out to Oklahoma. Actually, his parents sold the farm in Braymer and moved to the Oklahoma panhandle and here's the 1924 yearbook. [showing book] I don't know how I ended up with this.

Q. *The Greenough*?

A. *The Greenough* it's called but I'm not sure what the town name is there, here?

Q. The printing shop was in Forgan, Oklahoma.

A. Forgan. Yes, it would have been Forgan.

Q. Greenough High School.

A. Greenough High School near Forgan, all those towns are very little. So he probably, I think, maybe was superintendent in at least two different little towns.

Q. Good, did that require a graduate degree?

A. Not at that time, I don't think so. Four schools of Beaver County were consolidated to make Greenough. Anyway, the other part that is relevant to this story is by then I believe he was married. Not to my mother, to someone else and he had three children by that marriage. Then he went back to get a master's degree, I believe or at any rate, he was at the...

Q. Certificate maybe or something?

A. Right, he was at the University of Oklahoma when Nelda Loraine Downtain, a very pretty young student in his classes caught his eye. [showing picture] That's her on the left.

Q. On the left. Isn't she pretty?

A. She is pretty, and she was a pretty accomplished musician, a violinist. It always rankled my grandmother that she married this... well she caused a divorce. Nelda and Ernest were then married, and, of course, they're in the middle of the Depression. He had had a teaching job at Alva, Oklahoma State Teachers College, from which he was fired because he supported the losing candidate in the Governor's race.

Q. It happens.

A. A guy named "Alfalfa" Bill Murray.

Q. I've heard the name.

A. My father used to always talk about Alfalfa Bill Murray and how he cleaned out everybody right down to the teachers.

Q. So your father had been a little active in politics.

A. A little active in politics. He was a lifelong, enthusiastic Roosevelt Democrat, made so probably by the Depression. In Oklahoma City where I was born he worked for Metropolitan Life. What he told me was that he collected ten cents a week premiums, door to door. That was the Depression. In fact, I think I have so much consciousness of the Depression because he always talked about it. It made such a deep impression.

Q. So you never know about tomorrow.

A. Right.

Q. At least I grew up in a family where that was the case.

A. Yes?

Q. So how do you think that has affected your life and behavior now? Do you think in any way that's imprinted on you?

A. Well, I think it probably helped orient me politically to be a lifelong Democrat and not to be scared by the word "socialism" or social reform, social programs.

Q. But it didn't make you a penny-pincher or anything like that?

A. No, maybe cautious.

Q. Now the divorce was a little unusual.

A. Oh, it was unusual and what was unusual in a way was that Nelda's mother, Lula--maybe she's the origin of the impulsive streak in the family because she eloped to marry Harry Downtain.

Q. You mean Nelda did?

A. No, Lula.

Q. Oh, I'm sorry. Yes.

A. My grandmother.

Q. She disobeyed family or for some reason...

A. Yes, she was only eighteen, seventeen or eighteen. And she and Harry got into the buggy and rode off to probably Medicine Lodge, the county seat to get married, and Nelda was the product of that marriage. But Harry had a roving eye and was a bon-vivant as we say, and he had twinkly blue eyes. I remember mother talked about that and I can confirm that from some of his pictures. He--whether from one of his liaisons or from a prostitute but anyway, according to my grandmother, he contracted a venereal disease, which he gave her. She used to tell me stories of almost dying and thinking she was going to die and seeing two doves sitting on the window sill of the hospital. Those kinds of stories people tell.

So my mother went through a divorce as a kid of... she couldn't have been more than around ten. Then Lula took up with a man named Fred Wetz who had served in the First World War. He had actually been wounded by a fellow soldier who was cleaning his gun. But Fred had a bit of a temper, and, which I saw some, but I was very fond of him. He was the grandfather I knew.

Q. Yes, rather than your biological...

A. Rather than the biological grandfather, although the two men were on friendly terms. After all it was a town of 1500 people. Harry Downtain ran the creamery and Fred when I was young, and I would go there practically every summer to spend some time with them, would take me down to see my biological grandfather. Knowing my grandmother's personality perhaps the two men felt a certain sympathy for each other.

Q. Oh really? She was?

A. Oh, she wasn't mean or anything but she was a determined woman.

Q. A little headstrong?

A. Headstrong, yes. And Fred himself had been married before.

Q. Good grief.

A. Yes, I know. When I finally ended up getting divorced many years later I thought, for god's sake this runs in the family. But it was unusual back then.

Q. A little bit I think, yes.

A. And Fred, the Wetz's, W-E-T-Z, yes I think I gave you that, came from Raymond and Harvel. And I know this for sure--well he talked about it some, but I haven't been able to locate the farm. But I was given or found in his papers, the printed divorce statement from Taylorville, the Christian County Courthouse. And Fred Wetz alleges this and Alma Brown alleges that and so on.

Q. Interesting. You searched for that or it was in his papers?

A. It was in some papers.

Q. Well that's really interesting. But of your two paternal grandfathers you were closest to Fred Wetz?

A. Oh yes, yes. My paternal grandfather was dead by the time I was born. He died of... because Fred was... he and Lula were living together.

Q. Yes, that's true...

A. I went down there every summer and especially as an adolescent I would be "hired" to drive the tractor, and I was his companion. Everyday we would go to the field; he taught me to drive.

One day we were out in the field, I was only fourteen, but out in rural Kansas you start early and he said, "Get in on this side, you're going to drive." So I was really...

Q. And once you did... this is the one? [looking at photo] So he was a pretty direct, blunt guy? Were you ever the victim of his temper?

A. No. I was never the victim of his temper. He was always gentle with me. In fact, he could have been furious with me once when he said, "Here I'll let you cut in this field." And I was pulling a rotary disk, an implement behind the tractor. He should have cut it in really because you had to go right next to the fence. And being a bit of a daydreamer, I was loving it. And all of sudden I glance over, and I see him flailing his arms. And I look behind me and I had hooked the fence posts and it had bent one of the disks and the dirt is piling up higher and higher. [laughing] He never said a word.

Q. That's interesting. So he was a favorite actually?

A. Oh yes, yes. He was more, I wish... I mean, we couldn't be close intellectually obviously, but he provided that side of a father to me that my own father didn't.

Q. The practical... sure.

A. The practical, "Here's how to use a hammer and saw, here's how to use a grease gun, here's how to drive a tractor."

Q. And he obviously loved you?

A. Oh yes, he and grandmother were really very doting grandparents. And I spent one entire year when I was about five on the farm. That would have been 1939. I mean things were hard, so it was probably easier. Kay was being born at that time so that, my sister Kay. That's father. [looking at photos]

Q. This is your father?

A. My father.

Q. In his World War I military uniform and then at Warrensburg College, looks like he played football.

A. Now, that's high school.

Q. Oh, high school, yes.

A. I couldn't believe that picture when I saw it because my father is the most un-athletic or not interested in anything of that sort. But I suppose that's the way it is with our parents. We're always surprised that they are...

Q. Of course. Oh sure. So your mother was pregnant with your sister, Kay, and so it was probably convenient to have you?

A. To send me to the farm.

Q. Because you were the first child born?

A. Right. I think I got... I was the favorite kid in the family and I think there was no question of that. My sisters would probably confirm that.

Q. They tolerated your pranks more and enjoyed your company?

A. Right, right. I was their first born. I had four years to be the baby.

Q. So you were born in 1934? Your mother and her then married-husband-to-be met and got married, and then you were born fairly soon?

A. Soon, yes.

Q. And then there was another four years before the rest of the family?

A. Right, right. Four years until Kay and then my third sister was a surprise baby. She came along eight years after Kay, so she's twelve years younger than I am.

Q. And her name is?

A. Carol.

Q. And your father...

A. You'll appreciate this... This is a picture of the... [looking at photo] We lived... this is a duplex in Oklahoma City near the State Capitol.

Q. Ok, pretty nice.

A. Yes, it is. It was a nice little brick house. My father and I went to visit it many years later and there were all these vehicles parked...

Q. Yes, of course, pickup trucks.

A. Pickup trucks and cars.

Q. And this is you?

A. That's me on the...

Q. ...on the tractor...

A. ...on a big ole' Caterpillar tractor.

Q. It sure is. My gosh! So your grandfather had a pretty large spread?

A. He and grandmother each owned farmland and they had been very, of course, pinched by the Depression. But they hung on to the land they had. She'd inherited some land from her father and he had inherited a big farm from his father. Then after the war was over, you remember, prices soared and they bought more land. That was what farmers always did.

Q. Sure, and then the equipment...

A. And then the equipment and that Caterpillar tractor was really, I think at the time, it might have cost \$100,000.

Q. It could have... That may be a little high.

A. Maybe that's a little high. They were an expensive piece of equipment and probably not absolutely necessary.

Q. No the track type. In fact, I worked at Caterpillar a couple of summers, and they are terrific in wet ground.

A. Right.

Q. But you were in Kansas, right?

A. We were in Kansas, yes.

Q. There may have been reasons, but of course also it was hard to steer between rows. So it's a little puzzling.

A. A heavier, wider harrow.

Q. Yes, you could disk the ground, work the ground.

A. You could disk the ground, but I think it was a toy.

Q. So as a result of the boom in the teens and 1920s your grandparents really were pretty well off?

A. They were pretty prosperous. I mean they weren't wealthy, but they were able then to support me in college because my parents wouldn't have had the money for a private school.

Q. Now, how did your dad... your dad lost his teaching job in the 1930s?

A. Right and he claims it was over a political...

Q. Yes, right, Alfalfa Bill.

A. ...and then he worked for that insurance company.

Q. Oh, Metropolitan Life?

A. Metropolitan Life and then in 1933, he--and I don't know if this was just a brief stint or what. But he worked, he taught first-aid for the CCC, the Civilian Conservation Core. And we lived in this tiny town of Nashoba, Oklahoma, down in the black hills.

Q. Is that in Indian country or no?

A. No, I think it is in that eastern hill country.

Q. CCC was regarded as kind of a way for unemployed people, a lot of them very young teenagers, to get a meal and have some money sent home for savings and all.

A. My impression is that we were on the move a good deal and I don't know if some of those moves were unannounced.

Q. Oh, ok, yes, yes. Escaping the creditors?

A. Escaping the creditors or what. And so then with... that might have been one reason they sent me to spend the whole year on the farm. At any rate it was...

Q. So this was a kind of a unsettled early childhood? You moved a lot?

A. Oh constantly, yes. By the 1940s, early 1940s, they were back in education because I remember I must have been almost eight or nine, we lived in Eureka, Kansas where again father was the superintendent of the little school and mother was a teacher.

Q. Ok. Would you consider your parents... bibliophiles is too strong a word maybe, but were there a lot of books in your home?

A. Well eventually. They were both readers certainly. I wouldn't say there were a lot of books, but books from the library. They were definitely readers and interested in music and art, especially my mother.

Q. That's what I'm talking about, at dinner time or did the conversation sometimes... I don't want to put words in your mouth.

A. I can't remember a lot about the dinner time conversations but certainly political events. I know she encouraged my interest in art. One Christmas I was given a set of oil paints. By the time I was in junior high I was painting and doing that kind of thing.

Q. And she was a musician herself?

A. And she was a musician.

Q. Did she continue that?

A. Well, no. One of the things I constantly... a grandparent will sometimes tell you the same story over and over, especially because you don't see them all the time. Well, she never got over the fact that they had bought a very expensive violin for mother before she was married, and it was pawned in the Depression and mother never bought another violin.

Q. So that was part of her past?

A. I guess. At any rate, we did always have a piano. She played and we sang.

Q. So there was music in the home?

A. There was music in the home.

Q. She had a gift of art.

A. I can remember us standing round singing Christmas Carols around the piano and that sort of thing.

Q. Was she a good deal younger than your father?

A. At least ten years younger.

Q. And she worked when she could? Of course she had children, but she did become at one point a school teacher?

A. Oh yes, as soon as we were grown she did school teaching. And by the time we moved to Topeka then, which would have been around 1942, 1943... the only reason I can date it that way is that I still remember as a child we lived in a little bungalow in Topeka and people talking about Roosevelt's death.

Q. Oh, ok.

A. 1944.

Q. Oh, well February of 1945.

A. 1945, ok. So it was probably in 1943, 1944 that we moved to Topeka then. Father at that point had gotten a job with Blue Cross Blue Shield and he was a... I don't guess they really called them salesmen, but he was an agent, a representative. I don't know what accounts he had. So he kept that job for the next ten or fifteen years until he retired.

Q. Did he travel? Was it a route that he...

A. I think he did some travel, but I am hazy on that.

Q. I think a lot of Blue Cross Blue Shield were contracts with maybe school districts, corporations.

A. Yes, as I was thinking about it I was wondering if maybe he was hired partly to handle school accounts.

Q. Sure, could be.

A. But, at any rate, that gave the family some stability. Though again we still... I remember three or four different houses we lived in in Topeka until we finally... well, the most interesting house we lived in was they bought a big duplex near downtown. It was right across from the high school and turned one whole side into rooms to let and mother kind of managed that. So it maybe at least paid the mortgage or something? So she kind of ran a rooming house there. I remember there were a few characters. This one guy who had an ancient... was it a Model T? A Model A still that he was driving, very fastidious and neat dresser.

Q. Stiff collared shirts?

A. Yes, that kind of type. And then of course we had the other extreme. We had...what was he? Was he a young fellow, even teenage or college age who was an outpatient at Menninger's.

Q. Oh my gosh.

A. And of course the Menninger Foundation was very big in Topeka at that time.

Q. Oh sure.

A. And when I was in high school or in college, at home from college sometimes I'd hear one of the Menningers give a lecture and so on.

Q. Sure. And he was you say an outpatient there or maybe on medication, maybe not?

A. Yes or maybe actually it was his parents who had the room. Maybe that was it because you had to be fairly wealthy to keep somebody at Menninger's.

Q. I'm sure you did. So this other unit of the duplex was like the boarding house in a way? Were there meals?

A. No, there were no meals.

Q. But there were separate bedrooms rooms?

A. Just a rooming house.

Q. And this began in the mid-1940s that you were living there?

A. Right, yes.

Q. So your memories of adolescence would be associated with Topeka?

A. Oh, absolutely. I mean Topeka is my hometown, if you will.

Q. Well you had a lot of previous hometowns but only briefly.

A. Right, so I was in Topeka certainly from the time I was ten until I was seventeen. Then with again with my grandparents' help, they were able to buy a nice house, not a fancy house, but a nice house within a few blocks of the elite west side neighborhood. Topeka has it's... what was it called? Westborough, which is probably the equivalent of what do you call it the Wiggins Area?

Q. The Leland Grove?

A. The Leland Grove. Right, it's the Leland Grove. It wasn't a separate town like Leland Grove, but that was the place to live. We didn't live there.

Q. No, but you were close.

A. We were close. We were within a couple of blocks.

Q. So this was a home that your grandparents gave your parents or bought for them?

A. I heard a good deal of arguing about this in later years because it was a sore point since when they sold the rooming house, they made some money to invest in this thing. They didn't have enough to get this nicer house and so Lula contributed, and Lula hated my father. It was a conflict so deep that if the grandparents came for Christmas, he left. In fact, he normally spent Christmas with the children from his previous marriage in Oklahoma City. They were all in Oklahoma City. So that was a sore... and there was constant... as you can imagine.

Q. Yes.

A. By this time Nelda and Ernest spent more time it seemed fighting.

Q. Really? So it was not a happy marriage?

A. Not at that stage it wasn't. It was... I mean, I really remember being emotionally very torn. One time trying... I'm afraid they were coming to blows and trying to intervene and it was a...

Q. Those are tough memories.

A. Yes, it was hard in that respect because father was not... he and I were never really close. It wasn't that he was so stern or strict; my mother really ran the family, but he just did not know how to relate to kids. I finally realized it... must have been you have those moments of revelation. One time this was after I was married and had little children, and Suzie was about two or three. He and mother were visiting and he was sitting on the couch and Suzie climbed up beside him, and he just seemed so uncomfortable. He wasn't...

Q. And he just had no idea how to...

A. How to... it just didn't seem natural for him to put his arm around her and cuddle her and so on. I felt sorry for him really, not angry at him. And it made me suddenly realize more why he and I had never...

Q. Never had long talks particularly?

A. No, and by the time I was a teenager I remember one poignant scene especially-- in that nice house we had. Well, what a privileged character I was, there was a... it was mostly a one story house except there was a big, long bedroom extending the full width of the house upstairs on the back. That was my...

Q. That was your?

A. Cave.

Q. Palace.

A. And then eventually had Carol shared a smaller bedroom downstairs.

Q. You were the privileged child (laughter).

A. Boy, yes.

Q. Well at your age they wanted a boy to be in a separate bedroom?

A. Right, separate place. In a way it made more sense to have them up there in that big room. But anyway, so I was up there working on something, reading or drawing or doing something, and father came up with a story he had read in *Time Magazine* to talk about it. And I just remember this feeling, "Well he's reaching out here, he's wanting to..." and I just wasn't able to respond. Afterwards I regretted that I wasn't able to show more interest. I think the other thing that he used to love to talk to us kids about, and we all just made fun of it the whole time we were growing up, was family history.

Q. Oh, did he?

A. He loved family history, genealogy.

Q. As checkered as it was (laughter)? I'm kidding.

A. He of course was interested in the Antrims and then on his mother's side, the Gild family, G-I-L-D, from Boston. He was doing genealogical research and I remember we actually took a trip as I say to see the Antrim homestead, which that was interesting. And we found a house that had belonged to the Gild's in Boston and so on, but he had this way of talking about it, "Well you come from the stock of..." You just wanted to... (laughter)

Q. A little puffed up...

A. ...a little puffed up. That was funny. I mean, it seems funny now, and of course now I really regret that I hadn't paid more attention.

Q. Sure.

A. Now I'd be interested in it, and in fact my sister, Kay and I and Carol, I mean we all talk about, "One of these days we've really got to get serious about this family history thing." Yes, and I'm only fifty miles from Raymond and Harvel.

Q. That's right.

A. I can go out there, and I have made a stab at it.

Q. It's not easy. But you might get...

A. It's not easy. But I might be able to dredge up more than the divorce settlement. Anyway, Cullom, am I taking too long on this?

Q. Not at all. We'll be switching tapes in a moment here but not yet.

A. But I don't know how much interest this will be to the UIS Archives.

Q. Well how about your... were you a popular boy in school?

A. In school? Not particularly, I wasn't part of the popular crowd. For one thing, for a guy, there were two ways to do that. One was you were just popular, I mean you just had that social flare or you were athletic.

Q. And you weren't athletic?

A. I wasn't either. I played both football and basketball in junior high, and I scored a total of one point in basketball in my entire career, and I was on the second team. In football, of course, they needed every able body they could get. My greatest memory there is that I was playing defensive... I was playing end, and I dropped the only pass the quarterback ever threw to me. And on defense against Holiday Junior High, we were Boswell Junior High, they discovered if they double teamed me, they could run around right end to their heart's content. The coach finally pulled me and sent in somebody else. So my athletic career ended right with junior high, which is maybe just as well.

Q. Did any particular subjects or teachers interest you in high school? Let's make it high school.

A. Make it high school? Yes, I was always interested in History and English. Actually I had such a wonderful Math teacher. I loved Geometry with Bernice Boyles. She was the kind of teacher who took us out to Washburn University, the local university, to hear a lecture that she thought we could follow.

Q. My gosh, so that interests you? And you were good at geometry?

A. Right. And I guess on the social thing, in fact this would be just at the end of junior high school. I'm uncertain just how I got into this, but there was an interest in building a pediatric ward onto the local hospital and somebody got the idea that a great fundraising gimmick, I would say that now (laughter) would be, "Let's get some youth about junior high age to spearhead the drive." So they formed and I'm not sure how it came about, but I became the President of the Junior Hospital Association. And there were three other officers, two of whom remain very good friends. One of them I still go back and see.

Q. What's her or his name?

A. Doug Shaefor, S-H-A-E-F-O-R. Doug is now a psychiatrist and still practicing, a phenomenal man. He's the one, by the way, who became a glass blower.

Q. Oh you mentioned him.

A. And he sells the glass. That was of course much later.

Q. So your group planned fundraising events?

A. Events, yes. I mean, we got our picture taken and put in the paper and they did mailings for us.

Q. Well you had to of been fairly popular to have ...

A. Yes, I guess, but not... I wasn't part of that... see, I didn't live in Westborough.

Q. No, so you weren't part of "the elite".

A. The Westborough were the elite crowd and they... well, they belonged to the country club and we didn't belong to the country club, etc. I mean they weren't... I don't know what they said behind your back, but I mean most of them were friendly to me.

Q. Ok, so it wasn't a high school where the cliques were so vicious?

A. No, no, the cliques weren't vicious. There were the more popular and the less popular, and they seemed to embrace a handsome, appealing kid. I remember Danny Robinson who was the king of the all-school party or the prom or whatever and Jackie Mills, neither of them were from Westborough.

Q. Oh really? Ok, so this was not a totally class-oriented group?

A. No, no, no, no... not strict, and really one of my best friends lived there. He was the son of the family that owned...

48 minutes, 24 seconds

End of 1.1

Start of 1.2

Q. This is continuing an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on July 28th. You just were starting to mention a good friend after you talked about Danny Robinson and Jackie Mills.

A. Oh, just as an example of the crossing of class lines. His name was Paul Dibble, and there was a chain of Dibble's Groceries.

Q. How do you spell Dibble?

A. D-I-B-B-L-E, just the way it sounds. Paul was a good friend. He was in the wedding and so on, but he obviously lived in Westborough. In fact he took me out to play golf once, only once because I lost about three or four golf balls for him. The only other time I got to the country club was I worked as a caddy once.

Q. Did you? The class lines weren't too deep at least for a high school kid.

A. No, no, no.

Q. How was your health as a child, as a young adolescent?

A. It was fine, it was fine. It's always been fine, really. Well, I guess my step-grandfather doesn't count but he lived to be 98.

Q. My heavens.

A. I think my maternal grandparents died in their 80s.

Q. My heavens. That's remarkable. How about your parents?

A. Father was 88, and mother was only 78. She... they both were heavy smokers. They were "pack a day" people. She developed serious emphysema, so that was hard. But you were saying about high school...

Q. Yes, right.

A. What shall I say? I loved it.

Q. So you were very happy?

A. I was very happy. It was a huge high school. It was a beautiful building on the National Historic Register. It has a big, I don't know, five-story gothic tower on the center. They had little trouble raising money from alumni for major restoration.

Q. Is it considered kind of a prestigious public, secondary school?

A. Well, it certainly was, but at the time it was the only high school. Now there are a couple of others in town and I don't know if, whether they've eclipsed, they might have built... I don't know if they've built one way out on the west side, that sort of thing. So it was certainly a melting pot with I'm not sure how many, a hundred or thousand or more students. It was a very big place.

Q. But you adjusted to it well, had friends, did you date?

A. Yes, well awkwardly. Not a lot but you don't have to date in some serious way. But high school was a wonderful experience for me. I was recognized early on from junior high. Sports were not the thing for me, so I went out for debate.

Q. Oh you did?

A. Was fairly successful in that. Our team won a bunch of debate tournaments, and it was a good experience, preparing cases.

Q. Of course it is, making presentations.

A. I'm trying to remember, the topics were set nationally. And I think something was resolved that the welfare state; is a bad thing or a good thing.

Q. Did you travel to debate the settings?

A. Oh yes, we'd go to Wichita or Kansas City, Kansas to invitational tournaments.

Q. Won some awards, I take it?

A. Yes, won some little trophies to bring home. So it was a very good experience and it really taught me a lot about public speaking. And perhaps related to that, father was active in the Optimist Club. In fact, I noticed when I was thumbing through some pictures of the Junior Hospital Association that one of the letters was signed by John Ghroner who was the President of the Optimist Club. And so that may have been how I got hooked up with the Junior Hospital Association.

Q. Ok, I see.

A. It was that kind of contact, but the Optimists had a national oratorical contest of which the first prize was a \$1000 scholarship. So I entered that and got to go to Atlantic City and won the first prize.

Q. First prize national?

A. National prize, yes.

Q. A thousand bucks. This was your senior year?

A. Senior year, or no... junior, maybe that was my junior year—between junior and senior.

Q. So you were a star?

A. No. I could give a good public speech. So that, however, created a problem for me when it came time to apply for college because I was admitted to several very good schools, one of them Harvard. And I think once I later became an academic I said to myself many times since, “What in the world was I thinking that I did not go to Harvard?” But I can explain that. It’ll be a little deviation from getting to college, but two things intervened there. One, more on the surface but probably important since my mother was such a formative influence and had such a powerful hold on me, she didn’t want me to go to Harvard. My father of course thought, “Harvard, wow.” Her best friend had a son who had gone to Yale and had a horrible freshmen year.

Q. So she was projecting...

A. “Oh, it’s so far away, and you’re going to be unhappy” and so on. Plus, Harvard said, “Well since you have the \$1000 scholarship, we can only offer you \$400. We can’t offer you any more than that.” One of the reasons I got in was part of their, even back then they had a bit of an affirmative action policy in the sense of these were called Harvard National Scholars and they admitted one person from every state.

Q. Yes, there was a regional sort of, geographic.

A. Yes, geographic spread. So I could have got in on the geographic spread and been a classmate of Ted Kennedy. [laughing] And I’m sure we wouldn’t be sitting here if my life would have taken some different course.

Q. No doubt. Did you visit Cambridge?

A. No, no.

Q. Just decided against it?

A. Well there was another major conflict, and this is something we haven’t talked about, but it was religion. Already in ninth grade and junior high, maybe, possible they had allowed somebody to give this religious speech at a junior high assembly but I can remember handing out bibles and so on and being very caught up in this thing. So I began attending regularly a church to which my family belonged, The First Methodist Church in Topeka. First Methodist was one of the largest, most respected churches in the city: First Methodist, First Presbyterian, the Episcopal Church. The minister there, Eugene Frank.

Q. F-R-A-N-K?

A. Frank, right. He was a very intelligent, very charismatic, very warm, fatherly kind of person. I think I was susceptible to an intelligent, warm, fatherly kind of person, often you can relate better to someone outside your family than within. But also his sermons were broadcast statewide over WIBW every Sunday and so I became very active in the MYF-Methodist Youth Fellowship and went to little conferences and so on. I'm trying to think if this was between my junior and senior year. Anyway, toward the end of my high school career I went to a summer institute at Baker University in Baldwin, Kansas, a little tiny school, Methodist school, but it was nearby. You know how those summer things are; kids have a wonderful time out there. But at the end there was the closing church service where people were asked to come forward and dedicate their lives to Christ, and all that kind of thing. So I went up and said, "I wanted to be a minister and dedicate my life to Christ." So the way that's related to the Harvard thing is of course I was hot to get on to seminary. And college was...

Q. Just a way station in a way?

A. Also I was full of, "The first shall be last, the poor shall inherit the Earth," and who cares about the prestige. The ambition, all of that is of "this world" not of the "other world." And then I guess the weather was yet another factor. Of course I was admitted to the University of Kansas but I also was given a, what was called a Summerfield Scholarship, which paid all tuition, room, and board for four years.

Q. At Kansas?

A. At Kansas, at KU in Lawrence. So it seemed to me the nobler thing to do to not cost my family all that money because \$1400 would hardly have gotten me through. That would have barely paid the tuition at Harvard, let alone the transportation, etc. But who knows? Looking back on it, I think probably it was my mother's influence that was strong.

Q. Pretty strong...

A. I mean if she had been more positive about it and said, "We'll find a way."

Q. Well and your grandparents...

A. My grandparents could have helped. Well, what happened was "eager beaver" to get on to Seminary, I enrolled in the University of Kansas that summer as soon as I graduated. I lived with Don Irvin the a... you don't need his name, but I lived with this young man who was the son of her best friend who had I guess dropped out of Yale because he had a bad experience. Anyway, I suddenly realized here I am twenty miles from Topeka. This isn't really very exciting. One of the other places that had been interested in was Oberlin. And so I ended up going to Oberlin without a big scholarship and my grandparents helping to foot the bill.

Q. And your mother didn't object to that at least.

A. No, no.

Q. Interesting.

A. Well Oberlin was small. Oberlin was... Now I'm trying to remember. Oberlin was the first college to give...

Q. Where was that?

A. Oberlin, Ohio, about thirty miles from Cleveland.

Q. Oh, it's further north. I had it as south.

A. Yes, it's up north. It's not far from the lake. And it has this wonderful tradition. It was founded by anti-slavery people. It was, now am I right? [It was] the first college to grant a woman a degree?

Q. I believe so...

A. And of course early on educating Blacks... It had a following, a very strong following among the children of academics, professional kind of people. It also had its own Theology school.

Q. Ok, I wondered that.

A. Oberlin School of Theology. It was non-denominational, and they had a couple of fairly distinguished faculty to it though I never really got over there much. And it had had this longstanding relationship with China; Oberlin and China. And one of the big memorials, and there was a big square in the center of campus with a big memorial to Oberlin people who died in the Boxer Rebellion, that kind of thing. So it was that sort of atmosphere.

Q. Sure. Had you visited before going?

A. Did I visit it? Maybe did.

Q. But it was a prestigious school.

A. It was. It was prestigious school.

Q. Kind of a liberal.

A. Yes, right. It had this liberal and I loved it from the minute I got there. One of the things I loved was the men lived in a freshmen dorm; freshmen lived in the dorms. But the freshmen women all lived in these big, old, Victorian, stone houses where they had dining halls that would seat maybe seventy-five to a hundred people half women, half men.

Q. Oh so the meals?

A. Were at the women's dorms coeducationally and each table seated eight people and for the first semester you were assigned a seat so that you would meet different people.

Q. So you had to meet people? Well, that's not a bad idea.

A. Right. No cars were allowed and it's flat. I mean, it's not a campus that would attract students to it. I mean, it's absolutely flat. The buildings are a jumble of architecture styles.

Q. It isn't a distinctive campus?

A. Not a beautiful campus at all, but everybody rides a bicycle. And because there are no cars it had an intense extracurricular life. I mean there was a club for everything. There was a Mahler-Bruckner Circle for music.

Q. Oh, Bruckner the composer, right.

A. There's the Conservatory of Music there. It's a fabulous adjunct to the college because you had wonderful chamber music, orchestra, opera, light opera, musical comedy. There was even a... Pirates of Penzance... what do you call it?

Q. The composer?

A. Why can't I say it? The two guys; I'm getting old. Gilbert and Sullivan.

Q. Thank you.

A. The Gilbert and Sullivan Society. So there were always one or two Gilbert and Sullivan productions. There was always an opera.

Q. So this was a rich feast?

A. Oh, a rich feast.

Q. Activities and culture.

A. In the big Finney Chapel instead of having required religious services, you had distinguished lecturers and poets and so on come in, so it was wonderful.

Q. And did you have a couple of favorite professors?

A. Oh, absolutely. In fact, I was thinking that when I was jotting some notes that you would particularly appreciate. I was a history major. Partly my father had influence on me there, too, in terms of interest in history. But the first course was with Freddie Artz. Frederick A-R-T-Z, whom I later discovered--I had no idea at the time--was a very distinguished Europeanist who had published. In fact, since then I have read his books and I was teaching history here for UIS and I realized, "Hey, these are damn good." And he was a delightful lecturer. He was a roly-poly little guy, just full of pepper and pretty demanding. It's funny, it was a big class, the freshman Western Civ. Survey or whatever. But I was surprised I was walking on campus one day and crossed his path and he says, "Well, hi Kansas."

Q. So he had you associated...

A. Yes, I guess. There's not that many people from Kansas there. And so that was a great experience.

Q. So he was a terrific teacher?

A. Oh, he was a terrific teacher. And Robert Fletcher, not well known at all because his major work is the two volume history of Oberlin College, but I really appreciated his lectures on American History and his course on social history.

Q. Fairly new subject...

A. It was a fairly new subject at the time, and so they were the two there. Now the other professor that I admired, of course, was the Professor of Religion, Clyde Holbrook. Now I was running into some pretty high level religious thought, much more complex than I'd experienced. Up to that point, I had with my commitment to go to ministry, I had read the occasional book or books of sermons... I'm trying to remember that famous Presbyterian preacher. *A Man Called Peter*.

Q. Oh sure I remember the title. It was a very popular book.

A. It was a very popular book.

Q. Published in the 1940s or 1950s.

A. I read that kind of thing. And I had had to read, in the Methodist Church you can get what's called your Local Preacher's License by reading four books and passing a little test on them and being attested to be a good person who didn't smoke or drink or whatever. And so I had done that. But now I was being exposed to [Soren] Kierkegaard, [Alfred Norton] Whitehead, difficult religious thinkers and was, for the first time, beginning to have some doubts, religious doubts.

Q. It's not that they were difficult, it's just that... Well maybe it was. You were finding it hard to plow through these more abstract...

A. No, no. I wasn't finding it hard to plow through them, I was finding it hard in this intellectual sense I was finding it a challenge to my belief.

Q. Oh, ok. You had some past beliefs.

A. Well yes, I think from the beginning I can remember, I remember one time up in my room praying earnestly and, "Why aren't I hearing anything back?" So I think I had some pretty basic kind of doubts about the existence of God or whatever. But also at the same time here was this very warm community, I loved the hymns, and I loved reading the Bible and the biblical stories. I mean it was, it was complex. I mean it was... there were countercurrents to a simple belief.

Q. And that made the notion of being a minister a little less attractive than perhaps exploring the ideas of...

A. Exactly, exactly. And though I still admired and saw every summer Gene Frank and thought so highly of him, there was kind of that counterpart in my Oberlin experience then of the religious side of it and then the sheer intellectual and cultural excitement. They have a beautiful art museum there, for example, for the size college a pretty fine collection.

Q. That's the idea behind the liberal arts education, and that's what happened to you.

A. Right.

Q. Did you distinguish yourself at Oberlin, do you think? Academically or Extracurricularly?

A. Oh well that's, I suppose everybody who goes to college, not everybody, but many people who go to college probably have this experience. You suddenly discover that while you were one of the top people in your high school (laughter) you're just an average person here. So I was a B+, A- student when I tried hard, but I realized I was around really bright people. I'll never forget lingering on the steps as a freshman as Richard Cooper, who later became an Undersecretary of State in the government, and George Von der Muhl, argued the relative merits of Mahler-Bruckner whom I had hardly ever heard of. And then went on from that to some era of European history that they both knew about. Now it turned out... now were they both Army brats or something and they both had these incredible high school, prep school type educations and I was just blown away. In fact, Dick Cooper was made the Creator in Artsus [inaudible-28:19].

Q. He was that good...

A. He was that good.

Q. You did well?

A. I did well.

Q. And you were certainly profoundly affected by the place?

A. Oh yes, I was a serious student. I've never been the kind who would stay up all night to cram. I always just figured you work all semester and get a good night's sleep, so it was a really wonderful experience.

Q. How about the summers during your college years?

A. Well I would... that takes us to the next step in the story. In the summers I would be back in Topeka, maybe spend some time down in Kiowa helping out on the farm a little bit, certainly would be visiting and attending Methodist functions of one kind or another that were also attended by my classmate from high school, Billie Sue Braddy, B-R-A-D-D-Y.

Q. So you had known her in high school?

A. I had known her in high school. In fact, we were both thespians. I mostly as a stage hand, scene constructor, but I did play the lead opposite her in *Dear Ruth*, a little playlet about some soldier who has written letters home to Ruth. And Ruth, I don't know, was a teenager or something--I forget what it is--and then they meet afterwards.

Q. But this was in high school?

A. This was in high school when we had acted together, and I had known her in the Methodist Youth Fellowship, but we hadn't dated.

Q. She was just a friend... But then in the summers.

A. But then we did... hot and heavy. So I got hooked and even made a trip to Northwestern to see her.

Q. Oh, she was attending Northwestern?

A. She was attending Northwestern in the School of Speech and Drama.

Q. Good student I bet?

A. Yes, yes. She was a serious student, and we were, of course, both had the religious thing in common. And so anyway I went up there to see her, took the bus all the way from Oberlin and get up there and turns out--I finally figured this out--that she had a date with this other guy

who was the President of the Campus Methodist College Fellowship. And she had arranged for me to go see the famous *Passion Play* in some suburb, northern suburb of, it was noted I guess among Christians... I can't remember the name of it.

Q. That was to divert you?

A. Yes, not the whole time, it was just for this one thing. So I realized that if I was serious I would have to get serious. I laid it on and decided then that I would have to just transfer to Northwestern if I was going to win her.

Q. There are worse basis for decisions.

A. There are worse basis for decisions.

Q. And it is an excellent school.

A. It is. But it was... I loved Oberlin, and it was hard to leave.

Q. It was a decision of romantic passion.

A. It was romantic passion and not good thinking. So anyway, I'll never forget though when I interviewed with the history program... what was his name, Romano? Anyways, it's not important what his name was. But I remember him saying, "Social History? So did you read comic books?"

Q. Oh yes, real stuffy...

A. He had a real sneer about this social history thing. I said, "No, we read Harvey Wish's two volume *Social History of America*." It was a, I think a pretty respectable text.

Q. It was respectable, of course Social History then wasn't quite as...

A. Oh no, it wasn't quantitative.

Q. No and also it dealt to some extent dealt with the social lives of the elite.

A. Exactly. It wasn't the bottom up kind of kind of Social History.

Q. But it was a start. I took a course in college that I liked in the Social History, but it was brand new. But that was a sneering comment.

A. Oh it was. But the other history people--and you can help me remember their names because you'll know them better--well the one was quite unforgettable, terrific lecturer, was Ray Billington.

Q. Yes. I was going to mention him.

A. In American Intellectual History.

Q. Wonderful man.

A. And a packed classroom. We all stood up and applauded.

Q. That hadn't been a tradition at Oberlin? Applauding the teacher?

A. No, no. It's too bad. Artz deserved it.

Q. So you took at least one course with Ray Billington?

A. Yes, at least one or two. And then I can't remember Leopold's first name, but Leopold Link? Arthur Link, the Wilson Scholar.

Q. Arthur Link and not "Raymond" Leopold, but I know who you mean. And he taught Diplomatic History, didn't he?

A. Yes, yes. And I think Link was the Wilson scholar wasn't he?

Q. Oh yes, definitely.

A. So I can't remember if we used Leopold and Link and maybe it was Leopold who did all the lecturingx

Q. It was a source book?

A. Yes, right. So that was quite good. And then a fellow name Richard Brace in European History.

Q. I was going to ask you about European history.

A. He was good. He was young.

Q. So what you were discovering at Northwestern was also some very good history teachers but also more of them.

A. More of them, [a] much bigger department. And then I also wanted to take some Philosophy. And they had a wonderful guy in Philosophy, Eliseo Vivas, who was Columbian. And I think I took ethics with him, but the course that would have made the impression on me was Philosophy in Literature. And he had us read some famous novels. I was really sorry because, of

course, he had said, "Well I've taught Fathers and Sons," well not Fathers and Sons... the great one of Dostoyevsky. "I've taught *The Brothers Karamazov* so many times but I'm tired of it. So we're going to read *The Possessed* instead." It's not nearly as great a novel and I had to read *The Brothers Karamazov* on my own later on. But what was wonderful, of course, for somebody like me who was interested in religion and culture generally more than technical Philosophy issues. It's like Philosophy of life, which is something technical philosophers would sneer at.

Q. Yes, of course.

A. And I had had one course at Oberlin. The Introduction to Philosophy with William Kenneck who was... I later have looked at some of his writings and thought, "Hey these are pretty good." Too bad I couldn't appreciate him more. He was quite appealing in the classroom but he was an atheist and he was going to undermine people's naïve religious beliefs.

Q. So you must have resisted that, too.

A. And he and Holbrook had a kind of debate in the chapel, so I had already had the seeds of this kind of thing sown. So I guess I took a logic course, or maybe something else. Oh, there was one other wonderful intellectual experience... was with William Hungerford. Hungerford later became the editor of the *Tri-Quarterly Review*, which was really quite a fine, cultural periodical at Northwestern. But he hadn't started that yet. At this point he was teaching English, and he had a class in creative writing. And I took a year long course in creative writing thinking, "Oh, I'll... told the story of Kiowa, Kansas or something or other. But he was a really fine teacher. Of course we read some short fiction but mostly we wrote and listened to each other's...

Q. Critiqued each other's.

A. Critiqued each other's papers. I remember writing this paper describing my little romance with this... well I guess my one serious high school romance was with a young woman who was a year older than me. We met in art class and she was very attractive and very bright and this was before Billie Sue. I continued to see her after she went to the University of Kansas and I was still a senior. In fact, I remember one time sneaking the car out of the driveway, pushing it down the driveway, and then jumping in and driving off to Lawrence to see her. But she was Roman Catholic so there was going to be no, really no question of serious question of getting together with her unless I wanted to give up the ministry idea and so on. But the reason I mention her in connection with the fiction thing is that we had gone out on this date and she had on this beautiful, lace-like white dress, maybe it was a dance or something. We were all dressed up. We wanted to go some place and neck so we were driving out to the country at the edge of town and we went down this road and it had rained heavily. We got mired up to the axles in mud, so I was out there pushing. She got mud all over her white dress. Finally we got somebody to come out and tow us in, pull the car in. And of course, by then it was about 4 a.m. and her parents were beside themselves and so on. So anyway I wrote this up.

Q. Oh this was one of your...

A. This was going to be one of my stories. And it was a real comeuppance then when a few weeks later somebody read a take off on it, just making fun of it. Because I was doing it like the great coming of age experience, blah, blah, blah (laughter). And this person just spoofed it for what it really was. It was at that point I think I was about to give it... Well what really made me give up the idea of being a writer--and maybe I shouldn't have--but a fiction writer was that, and I can't remember if he wrote this on a paper or if he said it to me, and I really think he meant it as a compliment. "Larry, you've got some talent here and pretty good; you should consider writing for the juvenile market." Well I'm not sure I knew at the time he said that that he was the author of a ten book series for juveniles, for high school age.

Q. Adolescents.

A. Adolescents. That's what Cheryl Peck's brother writes and I admire those enormously. I enjoy reading them. But to the budding...

Q. He didn't intend it that way?

A. He didn't intend it that way.

Q. But, it's like saying, "Why don't you take up writing cookbooks."

A. Yes, exactly. [laughter]

Q. At this point when you were at Northwestern had you pretty much given up the notion of being a minister?

A. Not at all.

Q. You still had that intention?

A. I still had, but I still had these gnawing doubts and issues but I wasn't sure what else to do. I was headed in that direction. And if I had stayed at Oberlin I remember the last thing Holbrook said to me was, "You ought to consider Yale Divinity," because he was from there. And that was kind of, I guess that was kind of a... Oberlin was a farm school.

Q. For Yale?

A. For Yale. Not a slouchy place to go. But Billie Sue and I were married in the summer between junior and senior year.

Q. That would have been around 1955?

A. 1955. So I thought, "Well, we're married and she's going to work and I'll go to seminary and I'll have to maybe work part time so I'll just stay here in Evanston because Garrett Theological Seminary, a Methodist Seminary was on the campus." And so I did. I enrolled in Garrett.

Q. Along with your enrollment at Northwestern?

A. No, no.

Q. After you finished in 1956?

A. I finished. I graduated. We both graduated. And we found another apartment. We had been living for a year in a basement apartment under Alvina Kraus, the professor of Drama, who used to pad up and down the house. We could hear her stomping up and down the house reciting Shakespeare at the top of her lungs.

Q. Interesting experience.

A. Yes, so we got another apartment. I enrolled at Garrett and many of my courses were a big letdown. As you might imagine, the intellectual level was much less demanding. My colleagues, my fellow students were... I mean they weren't the pick of... etc. It was certainly far below Oberlin. Pretty much below Northwestern.

Q. It wasn't cerebral?

A. It wasn't cerebral.

Q. Probably took a course in the Old Testament?

A. Right, and you had to get the Introduction to the Ministry and some church history. I took a counseling, pastoral counseling course. That was funny. That guy was kind of psychoanalytically oriented and, of course, reading this psychoanalytical... I realized later after doing this psychohistory thing that the textbook he had us reading was very psychoanalytic.

Q. Is that right?

A. And, so of course I began having dreams about my mother. In retrospect I regarded it all as power of suggestion rather than real. So I signed up with him for some private counseling sessions and I remember I was going and on and I looked over and he had fallen asleep in the chair. So that was the end of that. (laughter) And the professor in Philosophy of Religion was really quite good. He was a fine man. Tyler Thompson was his name. He had been a prisoner of war in the Philippines and talked about his experiences there. But he was-- I don't know if this will make any sense to you or to anyone else-- but he was a Boston Personalist. He was part of a liberal movement in Theology that had been very strong in the Methodist Church up to that point that emphasized the personality of God, the a... something very Methodist, the emphasis

on religious experience. You have to feel. Well, one of the stories Methodists love to tell is Wesley's recitation of his conversion experience. Well, I mean [John] Wesley was already an Anglican.

48 minutes, 20 seconds

End of 1.2

Start of 2.1

Q. This is a continuing an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on July 28th on tape two. You were talking about Tyler Thompson and the Boston Personalists.

A. Right. I think the important thing about that is simply that this was a liberal theological tradition that was very widely defused in the Methodist Church and emphasized personal experience among other things. And it was a background then for my experience with one other teacher at Garrett who was there on a temporary assignment. His name as I remember it is Colin Williams. He was Australian but he was imbued with the new European ideas of what was sometimes caused the "Crisis Theology."

This was a theological movement that came to dominate Protestantism in the mid-century and shortly after in Europe and, of course, was now making its impact in America. Its basic attitude was that the sort of comfortable, liberal understanding of Christianity--fatherhood of God, brotherhood of man, some nice religious experience and so on--had taken the vitality out of Christianity. And to make Christianity alive again you needed a dose of what Existentialism was doing, and the existentialists, particularly Kierkegaard.

So I started reading Kierkegaard again under Williams' influence. Kierkegaard said that the mission of his life was to reintroduce Christianity into Christendom, that everyone in Europe was automatically a Christian. You're taken out, you're baptized, you grow up in the Church, you go through the rituals and so on, but there must be a kind of leap of faith. There has to be a, as it were, a "crisis" and that is why they sometimes called this movement and when it got into Theology, "crisis Theology".

Q. A personal crisis? This didn't have to do with things like the Holocaust or anything?

A. No, but it wanted it to be a life and death matter. That you couldn't reason your way into it, that there was a gap. There is a famous essay by [Gotthold Ephraim] Lessing in the Enlightenment where he says something about, "History is the broad ditch that I cannot get over." So that means... has to do with the notion of the Incarnation that Christ is God on earth and yet he walks around an historical person. How do you get from the actual historical facts to the revealed fact? And that is at the heart of Kierkegaard's reflections, which is, there is no way to bridge that gap. You have to leap.

Q. There has to be some fervor?

A. There has to be some fervor, there has to be a moment where you say, "I believe, help my unbelief." Obviously there can be various versions of this from an extreme one, Karl Barth. He was the most famous of them. He said, "You should throw the gospel like a stone, you should confront people." He developed a fairly what you might call, traditional, the orthodox Theology out of it. Others like, Emil Brunner or Rudolf Bultmann, perhaps even more famous, were more likely to draw on the existentialists.

Bultmann in fact drew upon [Martin] Heidegger existential Philosophy when he did his New Testament writings. So exposed to these ideas in my first year at Garrett it happened that I also went to a summer institute, I think it was held down at the University of Arkansas, but it was a Methodist regional enclave. The speaker was Carl Michalson. He was incredibly charismatic, really bright and full of this existential Theology à la Bultmann and so on.

He was from Drew University's Theology school, so I knew I had to get out of Garrett and go to Drew to hear the, to get the... because what was interesting about this is that on the one hand, its more orthodox in a way Theology, but it is also intellectually very high level and its engaged with what the moment of what 1957 was the reading philosophical movement, Existentialism. So, Michalson was always talking about [Jean-Paul] Sartre and Heidegger and so on. So I went and transferred to Drew.

Q. Let me interrupt there just for a moment. I forget was Billie Sue interested in becoming a minister as well?

A. No. At that time there weren't many women doing it.

Q. No, I know that, I just didn't know...

A. She was at this point... I shouldn't say content to be a minister's wife, (laughing) maybe discontented to be a minister's wife. Looking back and thinking about it from a later perspective, this was probably hard for her because I was immersed in all of this exciting ideas and study and so on and she was working for Bell Telephone.

Q. Not a clerical job but...

A. No, but not... Yes, she wasn't a secretary but... now I was working half-time for Washington National Life Insurance but I was trucking, carting with a little cart, files to claim adjusters. The whole system was set up so the files only had numbers on them so you didn't even need to speak English. We had a woman there, older woman who was a German immigrant there who barely spoke English but she could deliver them just as well as I.

Q. That's funny, and that was in Evanston?

A. Yes, in Evanston.

Q. And she was working at AT&T, Bell telephone then? You had this small apartment.

A. Had this small apartment.

Q. No children?

A. No children.

Q. Are both of you pretty devout in your religious beliefs?

A. Reasonably so, yes. I mean, that was the atmosphere we had sort of came up in and through.

Q. And both had agreed on the assumption that you would become a Protestant minister, and she would become the wife of a Protestant minister?

A. Right, exactly, so off to Drew.

Q. Off to Drew... which is in Philadelphia?

A. No, in Madison, New Jersey, in a New Jersey suburb. It's a great location. It's only an hour by train into Manhattan, though of course when you are a student you are so immersed in other stuff we maybe got in there two or three times a year.

Q. What denomination?

A. It's Methodist.

Q. It's Methodist, ok.

A. But it was a very heady environment, I mean it was the intellectual environment I needed and was looking for. They used to joke and say, "What's Yale? A four letter word, like Drew." And, Michalson was an outstanding theologian, widely recognized.

Q. So was it a nationally celebrated institution to your knowledge or just happened to have...

A. I think among people in Theology it was respected. I mean among the general public wouldn't even know it was there.

Q. I understand, right.

A. But I think it was respected because of the faculty they had at the time, and they had this very European orientation. Every year they had someone there for at least a semester if not a year from the continent. The year I was there it was my second year and the last year it was [Friedrich] Gogarten.

Q. Yes, right I read about that.

A. Right.

Q. And you were smitten by Gogarten?

A. I was smitten by Gogarten, quite taken with him.

Q. He was maybe in his eighties then?

A. He was in his seventies. He was at least well enough known to get into *Time* magazine.

Q. My gosh, *From Prisoner to Custodian*. [looking at magazine] Thank you.

A. But part of what was so exciting about Gogarten was that he had written this book on --there is more than one-- dealing with the problem of secularization and how should Christians react to the secularization of the world. Should they just fight it? And he and Barth went head to head on this because Barth said people like Gogarten are making compromises with the devil so to speak, I mean with the world, and they are going to dilute Christian faith. Whereas we must "sock it to 'em" in its pure, unadulterated form, and Gogarten had been from his early career in the turn of the century, an intellectual who was in fact interested in mediating.

But he didn't want to end up with this kind of watered down, liberal version; he wanted an existential mediation. It was always, as I realized later, kind of murky what he meant by "God." It wasn't a personal god in a sense of the personalists; it was more like it's the great void that we have to face. The nix, nixed it; nothingness... the great nothingness that puts our lives in question and sets a limit to our human hubris and so on.

Q. The circumstances of his being there that second year and your own kind of search and the influences you've had really converged.

A. Right, really converged. Of course I was busy taking all kinds of other courses besides his and especially following Carl Michalson, my charismatic teacher. There were other exciting people there. Will Herberg who is a nationally known Jewish scholar. His book, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*, was an influential...

Q. I think I read that.

A. Yes, I mean it's a kind of sociology of religion but also it mixes Theology in it. He's quite a dynamic little guy, just fun. So he was there. Stanley Hopper was the Dean and though not known because of his books and so on, was a great intellectual and cultural force, very interested in literature and relating Theology and literature. Part of what made it exciting was that they had a graduate school of Theology, so there were people doing PhD work in Theology and that is one reason they brought these visiting Europeans.

Q. Was it difficult for you to be admitted or they took you?

A. Oh, no, they were glad to have me.

Q. You were a good student at Garrett...

A. Yes, I was a good student at Garrett.

Q. You spent the whole year at Garrett but then at the end of the year you moved?

A. Yes, right, transferred.

Q. Lived in a small apartment?

A. We lived in a small apartment on campus and Billie got another job. I forget who she worked for this time. Yes, so it was a very heady experience. In fact, Heidegger had agreed to come to Drew for the next year after Gogarten and at the last minute cancelled for health reasons. His physician said he shouldn't get on a plane but he sent us his speech that he would have given, so it was a place.

Q. You were in the big leagues.

A. Yes, we were in the big leagues. I mean we felt like we were anyway.

Q. Sure.

A. So the real clincher in terms of my intellectual struggle with Theology was being made to do an internship. Everybody had to do an internship. So you had to go be the assistant minister to somebody and it was that experience that made me realize I couldn't do it.

Q. Was this in a neighboring community?

A. Yes, it was in Basking Ridge [New Jersey], a small suburban church. In retrospect I, of course, feel much more tolerant toward the guy than I did then. [laughing] He, of course was from the old, more liberal school and the important thing was the experience and I remember, I'll never forget the Christmas Eve service where he had told people, "At the end we will all leave in absolute silence and we will go and so on." So instead of it being a jubilant thing...

Q. Oh my heavens, total silence?

A. And as people were filing out, one of the parishioners who had had a little much to drink said "Merry Christmas Mary!" and smacks his wife or gives her a big hug and everybody starts to, breaks the mood (laughing). And of course, to me after reading Kierkegaard and Heidegger and Sartre, I mean this was...

Q. This was shallow.

A. This was incredibly shallow and so on, but also of course, Billie Sue was dutifully teaching a Sunday school class. Well, she intervened to keep one little kid from beaming another with a chair and reprimanded the little kid. And well the minister says, "We're going to have to take you out of that class because that kid is the son of the leading donors for the church." And suddenly I said, "That's it." It was obvious I was going in an intellectual direction anyway, but that fixed it.

Q. Right. So honestly from that point on, you never entertained a notion of joining the ministry?

A. Never. No. The practicing...

Q. You were heading toward that probably.

A. I think I was heading towards that for a long time.

Q. But that experience, you might have had a better assignment, but sooner or later the realities would have...

A. Right, well I actually did have a better assignment. I had a wonderful one in the inner city of Newark in an old Methodist church--can't remember that guy's name--but I loved him because he was just so honest. I mean it was a dying church because for one thing they put a freeway through the middle of his parish area, and most of his congregation had moved to the suburbs. One of my assignments was to go knock on apartment doors and try to interest people--a third of whom were black--into coming to this church. But he had a kind of aristocratic air. He had been, this had probably been one of the big parishes in the Methodist Church, and he loved to smoke cigars. That was just, to me that was great.

Q. He was a human being.

A. He was a human being, he was really...

Q. That would have been encouraging; you might have stayed. Well, no.

A. Well, no. It wasn't very... it didn't appeal to me to do that kind of...

Q. Wasn't stimulating, yes.

A. Some people might have gotten turned on, they wanted to do missionary work. But by then I think it was the ideas, I was realizing that it was the ideas that really interested me.

Q. Really an intellectual in all this.

A. Yes.

Q. Before we move you across the ocean, which we may not do, but I do want to go back to a few things that just occurred to me. One, where were you and Billie Sue married, in Evanston or back home?

A. In Topeka.

Q. In Topeka? Ok, so this was a summer wedding?

A. Yes it was a summer wedding in 1955, August of 1955, and our high school classmates were in it.

Q. Sure. That one I hadn't asked. And then, I'd like to kind of broaden our lens a little bit, your memories of the larger world and how it may have impinged on family or whatever going all the way back... well you've talked about the depression, I think we've covered that. World War II we haven't particularly or whether that influenced you.

A. Well, as a kid of course I remember paper drives and rationing and that kind of thing. But I was only ten at the end of the war, but the one major impinging thing was the segregation issue.

Q. Yes, that is what I was going to come to.

A. I had meant to, I had gotten so caught up in my peregrinations I forgot to insert that in 1953 and here is the [passing paper] article about it...

Q. "Topeka Journal" [reading aloud]. I thought you...

A. My mother was elected to the school board. Now the board was already of course involved in *Brown vs. Board of Education in Topeka*.

Q. Of course.

A. But there were a couple of interesting aspects of it. One, concerns this picture I just showed you.

Q. Yes, that's in your home?

A. Right. That's in our home. What's interesting is, "Nell Shiner Wins Delayed School Race" is the title of the story and she won by what 56 votes out of 24,000. So it's not easy for a woman to win. But to portray her, she shows her with an apron serving plates of food to my father and my two sisters. [laughing] I was away at college.

Q. It was a domestic...

A. We had to assure people that she's still... "New Board Member Presides at Own Table." [reading] We had to assure people that she is still a mother and a homemaker.

Q. Isn't that hysterical?

A. It just lets you know what things were like in 1953.

Q. The board of course had resisted the suit obviously over several years.

A. Yes, right and the fact is that it really only concerned the grade schools. Because by the time I went to high school and I graduated in 1952 it was integrated during the time I was... well, it was already integrated in terms of students. During the time I was there they integrated the prom. So that, it used to be the African American students had their own prom and had their own king and queen, now they got to run...

Q. Do you remember any African American teachers?

A. No.

Q. I think that's a measure of the lack of that as a career.

A. Right and I think that would be a problem with integrating the grades schools and so on. Unfortunately, I was already in college at the time so I only follow it...

Q. Hold it for a minute [pause]. So you really were kind of out of the picture to some extent?

A. I was out of the picture, yes. I do remember once my mother asking me to go to a meeting at a black school during the board campaign. I must have been home at that time because I knew, I had some black friends in school.

Q. Did she campaign on an integration platform?

A. No. She didn't make that a platform, but I was sent to this meeting to assure people she had their interests at heart.

Q. Interesting and she did?

A. She did, yes.

Q. She believed in racial integration.

A. Right and the board did not. See by the time that she got on the board, the entire board that had originated the thing was new. So by the time this lawsuit came down there was no question of contesting it further.

Q. Oh, it wasn't a consent decree? No?

A. No, no, but they were ready to cooperate in carrying out.

Q. Ok. Because the decision was handed down in 1957 or 1956?

A. In 1954.

Q. Excuse me, of course that's right.

A. 1954.

Q. And the composition of the board had changed.

A. Right.

Q. I'm sure there had been some turmoil in Topeka over this.

A. A certain amount, although I read somebody's--I don't know if it was their dissertation or just an article describing it--and it wasn't as big a deal as you might think.

Q. Really?

A. Right. But of course the problem was going to be really for the African Americans. They were going to have to... it is a two edged sword as we've discovered since then.

Q. They would have to integrate in a school they'd be a minority in a majority white school and be bused probably some distance. Was there a local NAACP chapter that you were aware of?

A. Oh, there must have been Cullom. I just...

Q. Well, was there a very large black population?

A. I'm trying to think what the percentage would be. Probably not as large as in Springfield but I can't tell you for sure. That is something that would be worth knowing.

Q. I don't know all the history behind the choice of that case except that Thurgood Marshall and others were looking for the most advantageous kind of a case and maybe choosing a northern city was part of the plan.

A. The strategy, right...

Q. There must have been some characteristics of that as it worked its way through the courts that made it the... hooked in.

A. Right, in a sense the Brown family and some others were having to send their kids past a nearby white school to get them to the black school. Just the issue then of course, then split them.

Q. So there was to them a convenience problem but also...

A. Oh, right, right the equal facilities and the maintenance of the buildings.

Q. You didn't know the Brown family?

A. No, no, no.

Q. But you don't remember any physical rioting or violence?

A. No, no, no.

Q. I'm sorry; I'm just kind of fishing here for a sense of...

A. Right, no and it's too bad in a way that it didn't happen while I was still in high school or I would have probably tell you some of the detail of it. I simply was immersed in my college studies and came home in the summer to find out about it. The part of it that I know most doesn't have to do with segregation lawsuit but the feminist issue, which is because mother was a very intelligent, well-educated woman with strong opinions, took her job very seriously, did research on all the issues. She claimed that--what was there--there was six on the board, that four of the men on the board started meeting ahead of time in the parking lot to decide how they were going to vote on things to cut her out. At least that is the way she felt, that she was...

Q. Nowadays that is illegal.

A. Right, right. But she felt...

Q. And so they succeeded I guess in some respects?

A. Yes, but...

Q. Would you say she was a feminist? That's reactive.

A. Oh, I think only in the sense that many other women at that time were wanting to be treated equally and fairly. While she wasn't a racist in a strong sense, I was shocked though sort of given what I thought were her liberal opinions on the issue that the raised eyebrow I got and the comment when I had one of my black friends over to shoot baskets in our driveway. It probably was not something that happened in our neighborhood.

Q. Yes, I had the same experience. And it was habit. Obviously racism but it wasn't virulent racism.

A. No, no, no, and it wasn't...

Q. But it had consequences.

A. Yes, it did, it did. She was not nearly as liberal as I thought. Well, in retrospect as she got older and maybe she always was, it was clear she was a Republican and voting for the Conservative Republicans. Father was still a Roosevelt Liberal Democrat. Well that fit right with the family conflict.

Q. Of course in those days with party lines on racial matters, I mean the Republicans had the better tradition on racial justice. Not a good tradition, but I mean better than the Democrats.

A. Right, but better than the Democrats, right.

Q. Do you remember your mother and father being racially open minded to any extent?

A. Yes, I don't think they would have... I think it would have been more of a class thing; middle class black people would have been acceptable in their home. So I say I was taken aback when it seemed odd to her that I would have a black friend.

Q. Yes, an identical experience of myself. Were there any traces in your memory of their being anti-Semitic?

A. Only in the mildest sense of, you could hear some anti-Semitic slurs. If somebody who happens to be Jewish does something they didn't like, they might...

Q. Did they have Jewish friends that you are aware of? I don't mean to push this too much.

A. Yes, I'm not really aware of it.

Q. I don't even know if there was a temple in Topeka.

A. In Topeka? I don't know much about the Jewish community. There was obviously a sizable black population, and there was a fairly good sized Hispanic neighborhood.

Q. Oh, the railroads I would guess.

A. Yes, the Atchison, Topeka and the Santa Fe. Topeka was the headquarters of the Santa Fe. It had a huge office building downtown. I remember one of the kids I knew in high school, Salvador Ramos, he was a nice kid.

Q. So there were some Hispanic kids?

A. Yes.

Q. Another contextual... well unless there is something else on desegregation? We've pretty well covered that I guess. What about the Cold War? Was that something that you interacted with in any way?

A. Not I think as so much as a high school student. In college I became more aware of these kinds of issues. I was in high school, what 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952 so that was the Korean War. Actually I got a 4-D exemption from the Korean War because of, that is something you got... 4-D must be for divinity? [laughter]

Q. I think that means dissolute. No, I'm kidding. Really? So you were regarded as an important...

A. No I think it was just they had categories...

Q. Yes, I know they did.

A. If you were planning to go into the ministry--I don't know why--they exempted people. They thought you would not be as hot for killing or something.

Q. Oh, you weren't a pacifist?

A. No, I wasn't a pacifist I was just... and I don't know that my number ever came up, but that was a period when...

Q. Oh, I'll say.

A. You were... it was not just a Cold War, it was a Hot War that...

Q. I was nearly drafted myself a year later. How about the specter of communism in America, did it affect you in any way?

A. Yes, I mean at this point my memory is kind of clouded on that because I have all my memories about the issue have to do with black listing and how terrible the McCarthy and all that was.

Q. Sure, right. Yes, we can look back...

A. All that was... But of course, actually that was the McCarthy Era. I'm trying to think when did McCarthy...

Q. Well he was flourishing in the early fifties.

A. In the early fifties, yes. So certainly at least there were no McCarthy enthusiasts in my house or in my kin.

Q. I have memories even as an early graduate student, no, no, in college going to meetings and talking about Edgar Hoover's alarms about that and being kind of caught up in that. I was just naïve enough, I'm making that confession. I never joined a cell, I mean an anti-communist cell or anything. I remember I read--what is it--*I Led Three Lives*? Herbert Philbrick was this man who was a counter spy. But none of that impinged on you?

A. No, no.

Q. Well good. You get a clean record. I'm trying to think, any other cultural or family values?

A. Well maybe one recent was identified, it is interesting, I wasn't that close to my father but I think I identified with him on political, economic issues. My grandmother probably reinforced that. I loved her deeply. I loved her deeply, but she was anti-Semitic, racist, anti-Polish. The "Polacks," "He married that Polack woman!" (laughing) She had every prejudice in the book and hated Roosevelt. One time she said, "I'm going to trim those eyebrows, they look too much like John L. Lewis!"

Q. Oh brother. Yes, we all have relatives like that.

A. [laughing] She was just... I mean, she was just so awful that we finally, by the time I was in college, we agreed that we would never discuss politics and my visits there would be... and they were always happy.

Q. Benign and avoiding?

A. Well we avoided that. I couldn't stop her from berating my father and so on, but that was perhaps (what) reinforced my liberal bent was listening to...

Q. Now, your liberal bent and I presume Billie Sue had a similar liberal bent?

A. I think yes. Her parents were pretty conservative.

Q. Yes, but she was...

A. And I think in the religious thing, gives a kind of a moral obligation to share things.

Q. Social gospel.

A. Social gospel, yes.

Q. Did either of you join any charitable or good works organizations?

A. I guess we were still in the... students.

Q. But even on campus you didn't do...

A. Not that I remember.

Q. Ok, well you would I think if you did.

A. Obviously not prominent enough to remember.

Q. I think, now you had a number of... you did summer youth fellowship meetings and all, but did you have in your high school years any summer jobs? I think you said that...

A. Well, I went to the farm and worked for my grandparents.

Q. Thanks right, of course.

A. So it's not really... well one summer I remember I did have a job with a--what was that--was that 1950? There was a huge flood in Topeka that inundated all the areas, low lying areas around the river. And they were paying great wages to come and shovel mud out of... so I signed on. Oh, was that hot, heavy work! I was shoveling mud in the aisles of a Kresge's in North Topeka when an opportunity came to work for the Park Department. [laughter] So I switched. The pay was about half...

Q. But the manual labor was not.

A. Right. Riding a mowing machine and moving park benches and what not was a much better deal.

Q. Now we can return to your years at Drew. You stayed there two years.

A. Two years, right.

Q. Got to know Gogarten.

A. Gogarten, right. I didn't realize it would turn into a dissertation.

Q. But, did he encourage you to study?

A. No, it was Carl Michalson...

Q. To whom you dedicated your book.

A. My book. He said, "Ok, you want to go do graduate work and teach? Most people go to Germany. They go to Tübingen and Marburg, one of the great theological faculties. Why don't you go to France instead?" I said, "Well, French was the language I took in college, I didn't do great at it."

Q. Yes, but you were satisfactory.

A. I had a little anyway. So, I said--I didn't know where to go--so I wrote to Strasbourg, which of course is a Germanic area culturally where the [inaudible-44:29] [Plattdeutsch] the local dialect is a dialect of German similar to what they speak in Northern Switzerland.

Q. Yes, it's really close to the border. I actually have been never been to Strasbourg.

A. Well, you and Anne should go. It is a beautiful old city.

Q. That's just a crude black and white. [looking at photo]

A. Yes, it is a beautiful old city and as you can see the names all around it are Germanic, Shultiheim, Mendelheim...

Q. So with Carl Michalson's encouragement, you and Billie Sue decided that you would go to Europe for a Doctorate.

A. It would be my first time in Europe.

Q. Right. And so you went by ship?

A. We did! We did. It was the only way. Well, I guess at that time you could fly Icelandic to... I mean the planes would go from like Newfoundland to Iceland and it was very expensive. And, we needed to take a lot of stuff we thought because we were going to be living there. So, it was cheaper and it was exciting to be on a big ship, the *Liberté*. And god, what food! The seven course meals and...

Q. So you had it pretty good?

A. Oh, we had it pretty good. Unfortunately I was sea sick so I was half sick most of the time and couldn't really enjoy the food that much.

Q. Did you have a stipend to go?

A. I won a travelling fellowship from Drew, which paid about a thousand bucks for the first year, and I signed on to be a summer substitute minister in Dover, Delaware for the summer in between.

Q. So as far as June you were still going to come back and be a minister? I'm not saying that you were misleading them.

A. No, no, and Drew didn't care if I went off to teach Theology. The Pilling Travelling Fellowship was really more of an intellectual thing.

Q. So that gave you the resources.

A. That gave me the money. That, plus what I earned, plus the grandparents again got us over there. We had a few days in Paris. It was very exciting and romantic.

Q. You embarked at New York?

A. Yes, sailed from New York to Le Havre and then suddenly you are beginning to get this--for the first time in your life--cultural shock. The railroad cars are little here compared to the ones at home, that sort of thing. And of course France had only, was only ten years from the end of the war.

Q. A lot of signs still of...

A. When we got to Strasbourg there were at least two small areas where there were bombed out building rubble still visible. And, of course things were pretty run down. The other thing is that at that time...

48 minutes 7 seconds

End of 2.1

Start of 2.2

Q. This is continuing an oral history with Larry Shiner on July 28th. You were talking about your discovery that prices were so cheap in post war Europe.

A. Europe. Yes, Americans could live there so inexpensively. It was cheaper to do graduate work in Europe than to have gone to an American graduate school.

Q. That is amazing.

A. Including the transportation. It just was that much less.

Q. So it was an economical move?

A. It was, well it was an economical move and, of course, it was very challenging and exciting to be in a different climate. Unfortunately, the married student housing there consisted of a single room with two iron cots on a floor with other married students living in their single rooms. I don't know, I guess there was some common area you could be in and a little common kitchen.

Q. Bathroom down the hall?

A. Bathroom down the hall and showers at certain hours. [laughing]

Q. Pretty primitive.

A. Oh, it was really primitive compared to... we had a nice apartment in Drew with our own bathroom and kitchen and so on. And it was difficult for Billie Sue from the beginning because what was she going to do? She was in a country where she fortunately had had a little French. So one of the things she spent a lot of her time on was studying French. We ate a lot of our meals in the student cafeteria and there were things to go and see but we didn't have a car.

Q. Is it an urban campus? It is it right in Strasbourg?

A. Yes, it is right in the center of the city and it is very--because the Germans had had it since 1870--most of the buildings had been built under the Germans so they were that heavy, neo-classical, somewhat soot covered, many of them. It was a challenging experience in the sense that you don't have a course system where you amass credit. There are lectures going on, you can go to or not go to, but in the end you have to pass an exam and write a dissertation.

Q. And in French?

A. Fortunately, one the reasons that I didn't know it was one of the reasons I went there, but one of the fortunate things about going there was they had a special doctorate for foreign students because the French doctoral system was so complex and onerous, many people, famous people, scholars, didn't get their doctorates for years because you had to have two dissertations.

Q. Yes and all sorts of hoops to jump.

A. Yes, and all sorts of hoops to jump through. So they had what they called then, *Le Doctorat du Troisième Cycle*, the Doctorate of the Third Cycle, and they've kept changing it.

Q. Sounds like a mystery novel.

A. I know it, but you could write in French, English or German.

Q. And that would be your dissertation but also any examinations you took, or did you?

A. Actually, the only exam that I had to take finally was oral.

Q. An oral on the dissertation, but you didn't have what are called general exams on your knowledge?

A. No, no prelims and so on.

Q. Not bad.

A. They took my theological work as having qualified me to spend two years in writer dissertation. It was a good deal. Believe me it was a good deal. I might never have gotten it.

Q. I want to save for the next time talking about your working with Gogarten in Strasbourg. We've got you there so I think maybe we'll break it off.

A. Yes, good, ok.

4 minutes 50 seconds.

End of 2.2

Start of 3.1

Q. This is an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on August 7, 2009. The interviewer is Cullom Davis. A chance now to maybe catch up some loose ends, do you want to cover them yourself?

A. Well, thanks to our conversation last time when I visited my younger sister since we met.

Q. Carol.

A. Yes, Carole Jean who is a dean back at Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pennsylvania. My mother moved there at the end of her life to a nursing home so she could be near one of us kids and she died there shortly thereafter. As a result, Carol took charge of the papers my family left.

Q. Yes, family papers.

A. So I was telling Carol about our oral history interview and that I could not for the life of me remember certain things, especially the period of the 1930s when I was born, my sister Kay was born, and when my parents were married. She said, "Well let's go down and look in the safe deposit box and see what we can find." Well, we were both astonished.

Q. Oh, so she hadn't been through this really?

A. She had looked at them right after my mother's death but didn't register a lot. Maybe since she is twelve years younger it didn't matter so much to her that though I was conceived in the fall of 1933 when my father was a married man with three children and was teaching at Northwest State Teachers College in Alva, Oklahoma and my mother was a student probably in some of his classes.

They were living together in Oklahoma City in 1934 when I was born there in Oklahoma City in May. My father remarked to me once, "Well, if there was ever a love child Larry, it's you." And I thought, "Does that mean they weren't married at the time I was conceived?" Well, I found-- what would you call it, the smoking gun? We found the marriage license and the certificate of marriage dated, get this--October 8th, 1940--six years after I was born, two years after my sister Kay was born.

Q. My heavens. So they were...

A. Living in sin. [laughter]

Q. At least six years with two children...

A. Well, then it raised the issue in my mind and in minds of my sisters, were they living together? Was father shuffling between two families? Why did they wait so long? Well, the answer to that in part might lay in finding out when he got divorced. So Carol's husband and I, we got online and tried to find out, but in the safe deposit box we had not find any evidence.

When I got home I went through old papers I had and suddenly realized the meaning of a little receipt, one of those cheap receipt books from a lawyer named Ted Flanagan. [reading] "March 9th, 1940. Fee for divorce action." I had thought I had seen it before, but I had thought that because mother and father were quarreling and fighting and always threatening to leave each other, that father was filing for divorce from mother. But no, it was in March of the same year he married my mother so obviously it was the divorce from his first wife, six years after I was conceived.

Q. Interesting, who knows how common that was? But he was, after all he was a college teacher, she was a teacher...

A. Well, she was a student of his.

Q. And that kind of a relationship was totally taboo.

A. Been common ever since, right. But, certainly was not... well, and for it to be known that he was in such a situation would have made it difficult for him to get other teaching jobs or principal jobs.

Q. Well, didn't you mention that there was a change in political administration?

A. Well, yes. Fatefully in that same year, 1933 and I'm still looking for the specific evidence on this, but he always said that the President of Northwest State Teacher's College in Alva had worked against the election of a man named, "Alfalfa Bill" Murray as Governor of Oklahoma. When Murray got in, he fired the President at Alva along with twelve faculty members.

Q. Including your father.

A. Including my father. So father was suddenly unemployed in the middle of the Depression, had just been shacking up with one of his students and got her pregnant and was faced with—how do you support two families when you don't have a job? That is when he ended up in Oklahoma City collecting premiums door to door for Metropolitan Life. So anyway that is a recap of...

Q. And you never had an inkling of this?

A. We had no inkling of this delay and this complication.

Q. You had been described as a "love child," which kind of, I mean that can be interpreted benignly, totally benignly.

A. Well, I had assumed they had an affair, he decided he wanted to live with Nelda, divorce his wife and marry Nelda and maybe I had been conceived first but, it's common.

Q. But in this case...

A. But six years is a long time! [laughter]

Q. And another child.

A. And another child in between. The memory of my sister Kay and I is that he was there in the family, and well we found other letters but that goes into the continuing complications. Their relationship was I think, by 1940, by the time they got married, it was no longer a happy one.

Q. Strained.

A. It was very strained by these circumstances. So partly I suppose you could say this is the Depression, the effects of it being very difficult to find work.

Q. One of the glib generalizations that historians have made about the low rate of divorce during the Depression was that it was a luxury. Divorce was a luxury that cost money.

A. Right.

Q. You never know about those.

A. Well, I can tell you that he owed Flanagan \$35. The receipt was for fifteen, the other twenty to be paid later. Every dollar, every penny counted then. By 1941, there is a sad letter from him from Tulsa where he is staying in a hotel. He has a job as a junior social worker-- it was called-- for the state of Oklahoma. He's writing to Nelda, who is back in Kiowa, Kansas with her parents saying, "Well, the rent is really high here. You might have to pay five dollars a month to get a place." She eventually ended up coming to Tulsa. It is not clear that they actually were living together because my Aunt Maude was helping take care of me and my sister Kay while mother, Nelda taught school.

Q. So he may not have been...

A. Well, we can't tell from Maude's letter. It says, "Well he was here tonight." She referred to him as, "the King".

Q. The King? (laughing)

A. There was such hatred for the two, but now I understand why my grandparents hated him. I mean he gets their daughter pregnant, they have two children. She is living out of wedlock and he can't support them in part because he is trying to support two families. You can have sympathy for both sides.

Q. Yes, of course, wow. What was Kay's reaction to learning this?

A. Well she was stunned.

Q. She is the youngest?

A. She is the second.

Q. The second. Excuse me.

A. The second, yes. My sister Carol was the late, surprise baby twelve years later.

Q. Oh, that's right.

A. No she was quite surprised. She said, "Well, after that much mess why did they go on and have another child?" Of course, one isn't always able to...

Q. You have memories of a strained marriage in your childhood?

A. Yes, mostly from later on.

Q. Ok, adolescence?

A. Yes, from adolescence on. Things only began to improve for them by about 1942 when they left Oklahoma and both got teaching jobs. Actually he was principal of a rural school near Eureka, Kansas and she was a teacher. Then the very next year in 1943, 1944 he got his first real break working for the Kansas Merit Commission based on his background and education. He went on from there to a job with the Veterans Administration.

Q. The Kansas Merit Commission would be overseeing civil service?

A. Civil Service exams and that kind of thing. And he worked for the Veterans Administration after that and finally in 1948 began working for Blue Cross Blue Shield, and worked with them for decades. Like the rest of the country, they were improving their economic situation.

Q. Yes, right. But their marriage...

A. Their marriage was very rocky from there to the end.

Q. It's interesting your mother became a pillar of her community.

A. Right. Yes, her community certainly didn't know about any of this (laughter) or it would have been ... but, yes, she became active—well, because she was in education and school affairs was on a committee to encourage raising money because we were now in the post war population boom. Topeka needed new schools and there had to be a bond issue and so on. She was on the committee to raise money for new schools and I think that became a springboard for both she and another member of that committee to run for the school board. That is how she got on the school board.

Q. It's interesting. She was an established, respected ... and maybe your father was, I just...

A. Oh yes, he was invited to be a member of the Optimist Club, and it was through that relationship that I got into the Optimist International Oratorical Contest and won a scholarship.

Q. Well that is quite a story.

A. [laughter] Yes! And it's kind of a shock too, so I'm grateful to your invitation, which led us to do a little digging.

Q. You sure did.

A. And I don't think we'll find any more dirt. (laughter)

Q. Not likely, but one never knows.

A. Right.

Q. Every family has it's...

A. Right. So, when we left off I was about to go from Drew University where I had gotten a Bachelor of Divinity degree which was later upgraded to a Master of Divinity degree. Well, it was traditional in theological seminaries to make your degree a Bachelor's. I didn't know why because you had to have a Bachelor of Arts to get in.

Q. Yes, and then you'd get a Bachelor...

A. Then you would spend three years getting another Bachelor's. So finally it dawned on people that--hey--they might as well call these a Master's.

Q. A second degree right.

A. So now I have an "M.DIV." [Master of Divinity]

Q. Yes. And we talked about your decision to go to Strasbourg and the support you received.

A. Right.

Q. Yes, and I think we talked about the voyage.

A. Right and we took the boat over and so on. Now, in Strasbourg, then the saga of another marriage becomes complicated. Let me talk first about the living situation that we had. When I applied to go there I assumed it would be similar to an American university except that you didn't take courses and accumulate credit hours. You just attended lectures, took exams and wrote a thesis.

Q. But the living arrangements, you assumed would be...

A. Would be somewhat similar. We had a very nice married student apartment at Drew, one bedroom, living room, kitchen, etc. Well, at Strasbourg there was a big, old, six story, 19th Century building that was a kind of dormitory building. On the upper floors was the married graduate students' housing, which consisted of one room each, two iron cots. You shared the toilet and the showers and in fact, there were hours for showers.

Q. Hours for showers?

A. When you could, the hours for hot water.

Q. Oh, ok, sure.

A. One of the things about Strasbourg and France generally probably in 1959 is you could still see twelve years after the end of the war, signs of the war. It had not been a complete recovery. In fact the French were a little resentful that the Germans had rebuilt, probably because everything was destroyed. It was easier in one way to bulldoze the rubble and build new and their economy was doing better than France's if I remember. At any rate, there was one or two spots where there was still bombed out rubble. The place was, the city was pretty dirty looking. Nobody had cleaned any soot off of buildings and so on, so it was not luxurious.

Q. Not even a cooking facility in this little room? Hot plate or something?

A. There were, I don't think you had the hot plate in your room, but there was a place down the hall to cook.

Q. Yes the communal...

A. Common little kitchen, but it was not exactly an inviting place. There was very little privacy, and we made some good friends. There was a Canadian couple we befriended and a young Englishman who was married to a French woman, which turned out to be very handy for the rest of us because she spoke English well and could explain certain customs. In fact, we celebrated something called Réveillon, which is a custom of staying up the entire night on New Year's Eve and having breakfast together at about four or five a.m. We did a little bit of traveling. We had no automobile obviously. We went out in the countryside. I think we might have gone as far as Basel, but that is only, I don't know and hour away by train.

Q. By train, of course.

A. There was another activity we could do, I'm mentioning these activities because Billie Sue had been worried and rightly so. In retrospect I can have more sympathy than I did at the time because of course I was caught up in my career and my studies, what the heck was she going to do by herself?

Q. She had crammed in French so she...

A. So she was taking French courses and maybe doing a little shopping to cook on our hot plate, but it's not much of a life for her. Now there were some other spouses that she could hang out with a bit, but it was, I think it was grim for her. We, in addition to some little activities like that; we had a wonderful time at Christmas with the Hamm-Kleinknecht family. Alsace was fairly evenly divided between Catholics and Protestants.

It was the one area of France that Louis XIV did not try to obliterate Protestantism because as part of the annexation of Alsace and Strasbourg he sort of agreed, had to agree, to let them exist. And in fact because there was a state supported church, there was state support for both Protestants and Catholics, and that is why there was a Protestant Theology faculty in Strasbourg, a state university. Well, it was also Catholic Theology faculty.

Q. Yes, but that is what you were able to pursue.

A. Right and so that is why I was there. Anyway, this Hamm-Kleinknecht family were very prominent Protestants who owned the Pearle Brewery. It was an old fashioned kind of establishment. Inside the big walls were of course the brewery buildings but were also the residents of the family.

Q. The brewmeister was of the family.

A. Of the family, yes. In fact, there were two houses there. The grandmother was living in one and so on. Each year they put on a wonderful Christmas party for all the Protestant students at Strasbourg.

Q. How nice. Food and beer?

A. Sumptuous dinner with wheeling out the liquor cabinet at the end and then the cigar cabinet.

Q. My heavens, what a treat. So you enjoyed two of those things?

A. Yes, well Billie Sue only enjoyed one because in the course of that year--it must have been after Christmas because we went through the Christmas liturgy--she became very ill.

Q. Oh, I didn't know that.

A. She developed numbness in her limbs, in her legs. We went to doctors; she entered the Hôpital Civil, the City Hospital, and they couldn't figure out what it was.

Q. That's scary.

A. The guy called it, "peripheral neuritis," which is really just descriptive. You've got nerve problems on the peripheries. He prescribed heavy doses of vitamin B6 and B12 and that sort of thing. We were able and I forget the detail of how this came about, to get her admitted and I went with her, to a rest--what would you call it--"home." "Rest home" sounds funny; recuperation, recovery house, something like that, run by the World Council of Churches for clergy and church workers who had exhausted themselves in the line of duty and had a heart attack or whatever and couldn't afford...

Q. Now was this in Switzerland, the World Council...?

A. This was in Locarno, Switzerland.

Q. Oh, boy.

A. Well, what a heavenly place! Have you visited there?

Q. No, but I've seen pictures and I figured beautiful.

A. Down below at lake level there are palm trees. You look up, it's very steep and the mountains go right up from the edge of the lake and there is snow on top. The house, of course,

was only part way up, it was still down in the warm place. So here we were for a whole month, room and board taken care of.

Q. A great relief from the accommodations in Strasbourg, and you were able to be there with her.

A. Oh yes, and I was with her. We just had a room, we had meals in common and it was so interesting. I remember, what was Pierre's last name? There was a young Russian Orthodox priest, there were several Germans, German ladies, Norwegians, a Brit... Is that where we met Madame Elchininoff? Anyway, from all over Europe, so there were lively conversations. We played parlor games in the evenings. I remember playing "Hutchkin" some little German board game where you had little hats that hopped around the board. So that was very fine.

Q. And you were able to do some of your reading and word... you were translating?

A. Yes, I was reading and so on and enjoying this wonderful ambiance. The last day Billie was feeling a lot better, so we took a little bus trip to a, there were villages dotted around in the suburban areas and somehow we got lost, missed our bus and had to walk this long way to get another one. She was exhausted; she couldn't move. We didn't know what to do. Well, bless their hearts, they extended our stay. I don't know if they extended it a whole other month or just a couple of weeks. At any rate, when we got back to Strasbourg we found a different place to live.

Q. I was wondering.

A. Yes, we rented. Again, it was just a room but it was an upstairs room by itself with its own little bath, its own tiny kitchen. The refrigerator consisted of a whole in the wall with an outside vent, I guess to let cold air in. You could have refrigeration in the winter. We struggled along, I tried to go to classes and take notes and study.

Q. Lecture classes I think.

A. Yes. It was very exciting for me. I was learning and speaking and improving my French so I could ask questions in class. I remember I had a course with someone who was probably very well known then, I didn't realize how important he was, Emmanuel Levinas who is today considered one of the great 20th Century French philosophical thinkers. He is a Jewish writer who focused mostly on questions of ethics and responsibility.

I remember I had the temerity to ask... I realized later that no French students interrupt a professor to ask a question during class, and I had the temerity to do that. Even asking a question that... where you say, "but isn't that sort of like, isn't Dilthey's idea on this taken up by Heidegger later" or something like that, you'd get a chilly look like, "Who are you, you obstreperous young pup?" So I was learning a lot. Not just in the content of Theology and Philosophy but however, Billie would seem to get better and then worse.

We'd go out for a walk and she'd come back and collapse. We did go to a Heidelberg, however that summer because I wanted to take... I decided by then I would write my dissertation on

Gogarten and I wanted to take a summer school German course in Germany to try to... I had taught myself basically some reading knowledge of German. Well it was a wonderful experience for me; she hardly ever left the apartment. We had an apartment up on the, you've been to Heidelberg--those beautiful hills on either side of the Neckar River--and we were living in a kind of sublet, a suburban kind of an apartment and I loved the way I got to my classes. I would walk down to the river, get on a little ferry.

It was just a little motor boat and he took people across to the end of the street car line. We took the street car to the city. Well, she was kind of trapped there so when we got back we had... she decided the best solution was for her to go back to the states, live with her parents in Tampa, Florida and I would just go for broke and try to finish the dissertation that year and do whatever I could.

Q. Was this around the end of the first year?

A. It would be November. I remember very well because I drove her to the airport--was in Frankfurt or did she actually leave from Darmstadt? It must have been Frankfurt because I don't think there were planes from Darmstadt. But I remember we stayed overnight in Darmstadt and I listened to the election returns of the Kennedy-Nixon election. I stayed up through the night because of course nobody knew until California came in who had won.

Q. So she was there a little over a year with you and went back that fall.

A. Right. So I had then from November to June to get booking. Well, I gave up that room because it was expensive, plus the Hamm-Kleinknecht family--that's one reason why I mentioned them--offered me a room in the grandmother's big, she had kind of a mansion, inside the brewery. So I lived inside the walls of the brewery in this one room. Actually I don't know if the little stories are worth...

Q. They are, of course.

A. The only rule was that I was supposed to use the public baths to take a bath or to just do a sponge bath out of the sink. There was no bath tub; there was just a toilet there. But it was a huge house, there were other rooms and there was a bathtub in the adjoining room. Well, temptation just finally overcame me I couldn't stand it and I snuck in and took a bath in the bathtub. But like a fool--I cleaned it very nicely, I hadn't disturbed anything--I put the stopper back into the hole. But why would you do that? Only a fool would do that because if there were a leak, the tub would fill up.

Q. Right. That is what happened?

A. That is what happened. It filled up, overflowed. [laughter]

Q. Oh, Larry!

A. So grandmother was a little pissed with me. She didn't throw me out though.

Q. But she was understandably upset.

A. Yes, she was understandably upset. I should have just said, please can I use it? They might have said, "Don't put a stopper in, because it leaks." I suppose we should talk a little bit now about the university and what I did there because...

Q. Sure you said there were lecture classes, you got to know Gogarten...

A. Well, I had gotten to know Gogarten personally at Drew. I was working on the program called the Doctorat du Troisième, the Third Cycle. It was a special Doctor's degree created for foreigners because the standard French doctoral thing that you probably consider the equivalent of our PhD is much more onerous than an American PhD. People like Merleau-Ponty or [Jacques] Derrida and others; they would often not often get their doctorates until ten, fifteen years afterwards.

Q. I know the custom they have.

A. You had to do two major theses that would be published. The doctoral thesis of these people were their major three, four hundred page books, after which they had been teaching for years, decades before they got it. Anyway they created this other one, which, thank god I would never...

Q. Do you think it was designed, did they need American students?

A. I don't know if maybe they wanted foreign students...

Q. Financially...

A. Financially and so on. Although, I had a French government scholarship and it was incredibly cheap to live there in the early 1960s.

Q. But it was a relatively less demanding doctorate.

A. Yes, I didn't have to do field exams and so on; qualifying exams. They regarded, and did my three years as theological work as in a sense having prepared me for these last two years. They also assumed, thank god, that I had full command of Latin, Greek as well as German and French.

Q. Well, you were conversive.

A. I had had a semester of Greek and a year of Latin [laughing] back in Junior High.

Q. A feeble command.

A. Feeble, no command, a feeble acquaintance. Well, at any rate I chose Gogarten because I already knew him, knew something about him. He had written half a dozen big books all in German. There was only one small volume translated into English. So I was plowing through that and I wrote him to ask if I could see him. They were very gracious, invited me to spend a week with them at their home.

Q. So he wasn't living in Strasburg then, I thought for some reason...

A. Oh no, he was back at the University of Göttingen. So I travelled to Göttingen and I lived in their attic, a big attic room for a whole week. In the mornings he would work in the study, I would have a leisurely breakfast with Frau Gogarten, and we would talk about the old days, about his career and so on.

Q. That was useful information?

A. Oh, it was very useful. I, of course, very tentatively and gingerly asked about the 1930s and the 1940s because that was a subject of some delicacy.

Q. Right, you make that clear in the book.

A. Right, right and later when I wrote the book I spent a good deal of time doing research on that period. The book focuses, and everyone else focused on his post war writings about secularization. I was very concerned about that. Well, I guess now since we are talking about it, I didn't do the research until later but I'll mentioned what I learned--what she said--and what I learned from my research.

He started out as in the tradition of, I guess, German Idealist Theology. He wrote a dissertation on Fichte--*Fichte als religiöse Denker*--Fichte as a religious thinker. Then he happened upon the writings of Kierkegaard, saw them in a bookshop window. This suddenly opened his eyes to the fact that Christianity was a much more demanding religion, it demanded an active faith. It should produce a kind of crisis in one's life, a spiritual crisis. Not Kierkegaard's big theme was how to reintroduce authentic Christianity into Christendom, into a European society, which in the 1830s to 1950s in Denmark and most of Europe, everybody is born a Christian, is baptized, gets married in the Church and is buried in the Church, and we're just all Christians as a matter of course.

This wasn't exactly your American, "born again," evangelical kind of thing because it didn't have that kind of fundamentalist, irrational tinge to it. It was a very sophisticated... it was, if you will, a sophisticated, intellectualist, evangelicalism. Anyway this shook Gogarten up and the same kind of thing was happening to some other people; Karl Barth of Switzerland was one of the leading figures. I don't need to mention all of the others. It was happening in Philosophy with someone like Martin Heidegger, who also began to wrestle then with the issues of time and history.

One of Kierkegaard's great themes was the intellectual scandal that the divine has become history. That God is incarnate but this--there is a famous statement by the enlightenment thinker, Lessing, Gottfried Lessing in relation to Christianity something like to the effect of, "History is the broad ditch I cannot leap over"--that the idea that the divine, this universal transcendent power becomes a particular historical figure that speaks a particular historical language. It doesn't make sense, I mean, intellectually.

Intellectually we are so familiar with it that it seems to make sense but anybody looking at it from the outside, an ancient Greek would have found it, and they did, a scandal intellectually. Anyway that's why the theologians that came out of this, the nest of ideas, were called "Crisis

Theologians” or the “Crisis Theology.” It was like they are rediscovering the cutting edge of the biblical message.

Gogarten was also deeply influenced by his teacher, Ernst Troeltsch who was a great historian and wrote I think a history of the social teachings of the Christian Churches, was his major work. Troeltsch had a statement that Gogarten loved to quote that, “History is like a leaven that once it enters Theology, permeates it and transforms everything.” So from very early on then, Gogarten was caught up in this “Crisis Theology,” this Kierkegaardian--well, we’ve got to have a decisive kind of message.

47 minutes 6 seconds

End of 3.1

Start of 3.2

Q. This is continuing an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on the 7th of August. You were talking about Ernst Troeltsch and Crisis Theology and the history of...

A. Right. I mentioned Troeltsch because Gogarten was an intellectual and very concerned to relate Christianity to the culture around him. This is the respect in which he is closer to Bultmann, Rudolf Bultmann who also was involved in the Crisis Theology, although Bultmann was primarily a *New Testament* scholar and historian of early Christianity. Bultmann drew extensively upon the philosophical categories that Martin Heidegger in writing his interpretations of the *New Testament*; that is, he drew Heidegger’s categories in a sense that Heidegger’s description of what it means to be a human being. Gogarten sympathized with that approach. He wanted to combine then the more gutsy, Kierkegaardian, faith crisis kind of Christianity with a very sophisticated, intellectual engagement with other positions.

When the National Socialist movement got going in Germany in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Germany was deeply, deeply divided and torn between the extreme right and the extreme left. You sort of forget that the Communists and Socialists were real powers among the working class and that there was a real struggle going on. Gogarten felt that the theologians had a responsibility to be engaged with whatever intellectual currents were going on. Unfortunately, from my point of view he wanted to engage these politically conservative, actually they were not just conservative, they were politically radical but radical on the right.

Q. Yes, statist.

A. Statists, right. It is sometimes forgotten and this was research I did later when I got Cornell to try to get at the roots of this; one of the most important books I read at that time was--now I’m blanking on the author-- was on political romanticism, he called it. He pointed out that leading jurists and leading political theorists...

Q. In Germany?

A. In Germany, embraced the ideal of the “Volk.” The Volk, that is more—what would you call it? That is more the ethnicity, the race, the people. The Volk is the people. I think when we talk about their Volk theories we tend to see it associated so much with Nazism and this right-wing thing, we forget that if you translate that into English it would sound like Carl Sandberg, “the people.” The people, right? “Of the people, by the people, for the people.”

Q. Didn't it have a little more ethnic or a specific...?

A. Well it was given... you could give it a greater or lesser racial twist and of course, that was the twist that the Nazis gave it.

Q. But it was a similar sort of thing.

A. They took it over you might say and did the blood and soil thing.

Q. It's what happened in America in the 1930s, was a celebration of American in art and music and other forms.

A. Absolutely. The social realist painters,

Q. And there was a movement called, it was “Sing America” or “Celebrate America”?

A. “Celebrate America.”

Q. Sounds a little bit similar to the Volk.

A. Well it's Nationalism with a very heavy tinge of race.

Q. Yes, sure. Sentimental nationalism.

A. Now, Karl Barth attacked these ideas. He was Swiss, he wasn't a German and said there should be no accommodation with these ideas and condemned them very roundly. Gogarten felt that Barth kind of--Barth once used the phrase, “You should throw the Gospel like a stone.”--that Barth was going to condemn the Church to being a, turned in on itself and cutoff from society and culture we must engage this movement. He wrote a book attacking Barth and Barth's ideas called *Judgment or Skepticism*. He also wrote in 1934, and these were books of his that I had never heard of, a book called *Political Ethics*, which has some very good ideas in it and some very bad ideas. He based it on the idea that the foundation of our communal life and really of ourselves as individuals is the “I, thou” relationship.

It was an idea very similar to that of Martin Buber, the Jewish thinker whose most famous book is called, *I and Thou (Ich und Du)*. It works in German or French or Italian where you still have the second person singular as a resonance. With us it just sounds quaint and old-fashioned. But the basic notion was that you shouldn't start from the isolated individual, the ego, the self. You should start from the dyad, the person in a relation.

An American thinker who did something similar to this was George Herbert Mead in Chicago, his idea of the “social self.” The self is always a social being. At any rate, Gogarten writes this

Political Ethics and ends up being what we might today call a communitarian approach and is very critical of the individualism of Anglo-French democratic thinking. And he had some other pamphlets at this time that had a pretty conservative ring. One was called, *Against the Disavowal of Authority*.

Q. Let's pause here. [tape pauses] You were talking about the communitarian aspects.

A. He certainly was opposed to Anglo-French, liberal democratic, what he saw as individualism and believed as did Heidegger and many other thinkers that Germany had a special place in the center of Europe. It was between the pincers of communism and liberal democracy.

Q. That is interesting, that is obviously a phrase that came into play or you didn't just make up that phrase, "The pincers of communism and liberal...?"

A. Oh, I don't know. At any rate, when Hitler came to power there was immediately a movement--it probably had beginnings before Hitler--called the Deutsche Christen, the German Christian.

Q. Yes, I remember reading about that.

A. They, and initially Gogarten sympathized with them. I don't know if he officially joined them or whatever... it is part of his idea where you have to be engaged with what's happening. Well, they went to the extreme very rapidly and said, "It's time to get rid of the *Old Testament*, this Jewish book." He recognized that was a lunatic fringe and he broke with that.

When I tentatively tried to pose some questions about this period with Frau Gogarten, she tried to make out that, "Well, people don't understand how difficult it was then, we really didn't, weren't enthusiasts for Hitler, we gave potatoes through the fence to prisoners in concentration camps nearby..." And then she claimed that this one sermon that Gogarten preached led people to come up to her afterwards and say, "Your husband may be in danger, those things he said."

Well I got a copy of the sermon, I read it and it says a lot of things about this new embrace of technology, that people think is the end all, be all, could lead us down the path to destruction blah, blah, blah. It was so indirect that if it was a criticism of the existing regime it was a pretty indirect one. Possibly some people really might have heard it that way, but to my knowledge nobody ever knocked on his door and said, "Come with us."

Q. Right. So do you think she was being defensive?

A. Oh, certainly.

Q. And, I, who is to judge?

A. Right. Well...

Q. We are to judge.

A. We are to judge and it disturbs me. It's always disturbed me and you can probably tell from what I said in the book. I was troubled by this and I don't think he comes off very well. In fact, I had an interview probably much later, I was back in Europe, I went to Switzerland and met Gerhard Ebeling. He was a prominent German theologian or German language theologian. He may be Swiss. He was teaching at Zurich at any rate. And, he said--I had mentioned something about Gogarten--and he said, "Well, I haven't read a lot of Gogarten. In my circle of acquaintances, Gogarten was persona non grata for his behavior in the 1930s."

Q. Pro-Nazi?

A. Yes, he was seen as pro-Nazi. He said, "We were maybe too harsh." But... so, I think...

Q. But you didn't find anything in his writings that were overtly pro-Nazi?

A. No, no. And I don't think I saw anything that was racist, but he was clearly an arch-conservative and fit this profile of the political romantics who were taken in by Hitler.

Q. Communitarian, Volk feeling.

A. Right, yes. So that always left a bad taste in the mouth working on that period of his life.

Q. Well it was clear you wrestled with it in the book but there is nothing that directly asserts that he was a Nazi sympathizer because there is nothing to assert.

A. Right and you certainly can't, there was no heroic deed of... he wasn't part of the resistance movement.

Q. No, no. He just got along.

A. Right, whereas another thinker whom I began reading after this time, Dietrich Bonhoeffer--and who became something of a hero after his death-- Bonhoeffer also believed that there should be an attempt to engage the contemporary world. But his engagement led him finally, partly through relatives to be connected with the attempt on Hitler's life. He was arrested, imprisoned and finally executed.

Q. Right. I've heard of him.

A. One of his most famous books is called *The Costs of Discipleship*, so he paid the price. At any rate, there I was at this point, what I'm in the spring of 1961, March? I'm in Göttingen talking with him. It's a beautiful, little, charming German town. The only ill note other than the uncomfortable attempt to try to elicit something about the Nazi period was to be awakened in the middle of the night by a tremendous racket, a tremendous roar. And of course, we're still not that long after the iron curtain had gone down and tensions are very high. The Cuban Missile Crisis...

Q. Later, but this was the year Berlin... ? No that was...

A. 1961, so it's Kennedy and so there is all this tension between east and west. Anyway, I open the window of the attic and stick my head out and here are tanks rolling down the street, one after the other. And I'm thinking, "Oh my god has it started?"

Q. These are American tanks?

A. Well I couldn't tell from where I was. It was the middle of the night. I could just see them gleaming. It turned out to be just some maneuver or some... scary, but in the midst of all this intellectual study and historical reflection, you are constantly reminded of your immediate context.

Q. Göttingen is in southwestern Germany?

A. It's just this side of the line. That was another reason it was a little disturbing. It was in West Germany. I don't think I could have gotten into East Germany probably. At any rate I go back, finish up the dissertation.

Q. It's very remarkable that you did that.

A. Yes, it's hard to believe and fortunately through Étienne Trocmé, whose name will recur here because he is a wonderful person. I don't think I ever actually took one of his courses, but he was married to an English woman, spoke perfect English, was very young and was very helpful to me. He located a typist who could type my manuscript.

Q. Did he teach Theology?

A. He was a *New Testament* scholar. He had graduated with a diploma from the École des Chartes. He was a Chartes, that is a school of documents or map whatever you want to call it, so a really, really fine scholar and a great person. His wife, they had us over for dinner a couple of times. He was very politically conscious. He was a socialist and in fact was on the editorial board of a magazine called, *Christianisme Social*, in English it would be Social Christianity.

Q. That would be right.

A. I meant to bring a copy of that. Later he invited me to edit a special issue, but I will talk about that later. As long as we're on politics, I was focused on 1930s politics, but French politics at that time were very hot. In the background just before I came, of course, was 1958, the year of the putsch in Algeria. When the generals took over, were prepared to invade France itself, General Matsue and his paratroopers literally had plans to land in...

Q. I had forgotten that. I knew there was unrest but I didn't know they were so...

A. The 4th Republic had been through, what, a government a year? And they had lost in 1954 Dien Bien Phu and they lost Vietnam, North Vietnam I guess, which was a humiliating defeat. The army was very restive. By 1958 the Algerians were fighting a guerilla war for independence and the army in Algeria was afraid the new socialist government would cave in, so they were going to overthrow it. The only solution seemed to be to bring back De Gaulle. So that was the proposal, De Gaulle was only too happy.

Q. So that was in 1961?

A. That was in 1958, May of 1958. He returned and wrote the new constitution and created the 5th Republic. This is turmoil, the turmoil is settled down by the time I get there in 1959, and the Algerian War is heating up. By 1961 there is another revolt of the generals, this time against De Gaulle because he is beginning to see that it is probably hopeless and is ready to enter into negotiations with the FLN, the Liberation Front. But De Gaulle manages to rally the rest of the army and the political community behind him and crushes the revolt. Then this ensues one of the awfulest episodes in one of many awful episodes in French history, the creation of the OAS--the Organisation Armee Secrete. It was a paramilitary, secret organization that carried out terrorist attacks in France and in Algeria against anybody supporting independence for Algeria.

Q. So that was chilling.

A. That was chilling, that was chilling.

Q. Were you sympathetic to the Algerian cause?

A. Well, the independence cause, yes, and was troubled ever since--though it didn't come out clearly until later--that a wonderful thinker and writer whom I admired so much, Albert Camus, who was born in Algeria, could never bring himself to support Algerian independence. But he loved--it was his home country--there were a million French and many hundreds of thousands of whom had been born and never lived anywhere else.

By the time the Evian Accords were signed and power was handed over to the FLN, it was clear they had no intention of letting the French... theoretically, they would be able to live if they were willing to agree to blah, blah, blah. They just started in. Well, they just started killing people. They fled and the French government unfortunately made very little provision to take care of these people. You had hundreds of thousands of people, the refugees from Algeria, and they formed, many of them have formed the core ever since of the far right in southern France. Most of that didn't affect me. The later stages of it happened after I had gotten back.

Q. I understand but you were troubled by it.

A. Troubled by it and one of things about living overseas for two years and studying there and reading only French papers is that you begin to see everything from that perspective and you're preoccupied with those problems rather than the ones back here. Of course, in the spring of 1968, right, Martin Luther King is assassinated and then Bobby Kennedy later. We got plenty of news of that but it...

Q. But that is later when you were in France, that is 1968.

A. I'm sorry that is 1968, but I was just talking generally how you are so far away that it's the French political problems that preoccupy your attention. But the thing was coming to any end, I had to get back. Billie Sue was living with her parents. I couldn't give myself a month to travel around Europe after I finished my degree. I didn't have any money left and there was the question of what the heck am I going to do now? I wrote about fifty letters to different colleges

and universities applying for jobs in Philosophy or religion. A lot of schools and colleges, especially church related colleges would have combined departments of Philosophy and religion and since my degree was, I think it says, "Philosophy of Religion" on it. It was basically a Theology degree.

Q. Yes, I understand. Doctor of Sciences, Philosophy of Religion.

A. Yes, that is the way I presented myself. Well, there is no placement service of course so I got the Drew University placement service to keep some letters. Otherwise I would have no way to do it. I got Carl Michalson to write a letter and so on. It was easy to get him to write a letter because, had I mentioned, I should have, that one of the reasons Michalson had encouraged me to go to Strasbourg was he planned to spend his sabbatical year there and wanted me to reconnoiter for him. So in my second year I saw Michalson several times. He and I sat in on the same class. I remember one time him saying, "Wow, that was nervy of you to ask a question." [laughter]

Q. Typical brash American.

A. I remember being very amused at a line in his letter I got to read later on, not at the time, but later on I got them to send me my file. So I got to read his letter where he referred to me as, "aggressive in a friendly sort of way." And I thought, I never thought of myself as aggressive...

Q. Well you were asking ... yes.

A. I was putting myself forward, I guess.

Q. Nervy by our standards.

A. So I got six replies to my fifty inquiries and out of it came two interviews. But meanwhile I had to get back to the United States.

Q. Sure, excuse me, let me interrupt quickly ... so you defended your dissertation, you had typing help...

A. I had typing help, and thereby hangs the most amusing part of the defense. These defenses were the big thing; it wasn't just like your oral exam over here. This was the major thing. It was posted everywhere.

Q. Publicized on campus.

A. Twenty-five people in the audience, three faculty, my advisor Roger Mehl, Professor of Ethics, Étienne Trocmé whom I just mentioned, Professor of the *New Testament*, Pierre Burgelin, Professor of Philosophy. He had published books on [Jean-Jacques] Rousseau and [Gottfried] Leibniz. He was a fine scholar but he lived in Paris and only spent three days a week in Strasbourg. I guess I would too if I could. At any rate, Trocmé opens the questioning. I'm already ... "Mr. Shiner, how do you spell the word "causal"?" I had spelled it "casual."

Q. Well, it's an easy thing to do.

A. Bless his heart, he was I think mostly just showing off.

Q. It was his way of saying, "You've got to do better with proofreading."

A. Proofreading. He said, "I realize that your typist is French and perhaps she made these but many, many places in the manuscript you had these faults." Well, talk about letting the air out!

Q. You were ready for the...

A. I was ready for the high flown things. Well, then Burgelin says, "Ah ha, what is Heidegger's concept of being anyway? What does he mean by being?" For god's sake, Gogarten maybe mentioned Heidegger a few times, I maybe mentioned him once, if at all.

Q. But you weren't a deep student of Heidegger.

A. Let alone did I discuss even, there is not even a paragraph on him in the dissertation. Again, I don't know if it was Mehl or Trocmé who intervened and said, "He really didn't write about Heidegger." I don't think Burgelin had read the thesis, or he looked through it on the train probably.

Q. So this was a big deal and in fact your committee hadn't really carefully...

A. Well, I shouldn't say that he hadn't read it.

Q. Mehl had. He had been your advisor.

A. Oh, Roger Mehl had read it and Trocme had read it. They both had read it carefully, and they were impressed and they gave me a "tres bien," a very good on it. In fact Trocmé said, "I didn't realize you were writing such a comprehensive study," because I really did give a kind of overview.

Q. Of course you did--overview--and you read some fairly obscure works, all in German. And it's quite a well, I would call it I guess it's an exegesis based on his writings.

A. So anyway, I had my degree and sailed back on the...

Q. How deeply did the book version of this differ from the dissertation, substantially or?

A. Oh, absolutely. The thesis is maybe ninety pages and the book is three times as long, much expanded and completely re-written. Then there is that long appendix that took at least a year of research. So it's a completely different thing.

Q. Now back, so you took the ship back?

A. Yes, took the Rotterdam back to the states and got on the train for Tampa. I remember waking up in South Carolina and not being able to understand, literally not being able to understand the conversation going on among the people next to me. I had not heard southern

accents in so long. The first few weeks I was weak and my heart would be pounding, I went to the doctor... because it stays chilly in Europe and it was cold when I left in June. In Tampa, it was just adjusting. But it was also a little cold in my reception with Billie Sue.

Q. With Billie Sue and her parents? Had you been comfortable with them?

A. I had been relatively comfortable with them, yes, but we had not seen each other for six or seven months. I remember sometime later she said, "Well it was like making love to a stranger." I was very hot to get her in the sack.

Q. Sure.

A. But she was like, "Let's get acquainted first," which is understandable. It's funny how later you can understand these things in a way you don't...

Q. Did your peripheral neuritis go away?

A. Well, I meant to interject in the Gogarten story what happened while I was there in relation to that, but it doesn't fit right into it. In March when I was with the Gogarten's, did they encourage me to call her, or did she know I was there and called there? She called to tell me that she had been to another doctor, hospital there and they diagnosed her condition as Multiple Sclerosis.

Q. Oh my gosh.

Q. Yes, that is what I said. I had said, "well I guess I should just give this up and come straight home." And she said, "No, what good would it do for you to that? I'm living with my family; I'll follow whatever I'm supposed to do and so on, so that was another reason for that. But she seemed better than she had in Strasbourg. She could walk around, she had taken some classes, and she had taken some music voice lessons. Actually had a little--I found out much later--had a little affair with her voice teacher. but we lived in a tiny apartment near the University of Tampa. I went off to my two interviews.

Q. Yes, one was at the University of Tampa.

A. No, this was for my full time job.

Q. Ok, right.

A. One was at Berea College in Kentucky. It was a lovely...

Q. Sure, Beautiful place.

A. Beautiful place, very interesting place. The students work, but it involved five courses in religion and Philosophy and being house parents in a dorm. The salary was \$5000 or something but you got free room in return for living in the dorm. Then I went to Cornell College for an interview. Another beautiful campus on a high hill in Iowa, wooded...

Q. Mt. Vernon.

A. ...Mt. Vernon, Iowa. (It is) just twenty miles from Iowa City, fifteen from Cedar Rapids. It was a wonderful interview. I loved the Dean, Howard Troyer. The only difficulty was he had talked the professor of religion who was resigning to go somewhere else into staying for the fall semester because the guy was resigning so late in the year, so the job wouldn't start until January. It just seemed to me there was no choice. \$6000, you would teach three, four hour courses and you would have one of them off the first semester you taught because you were a brand new teacher. Troyer was a great Dean. People loved him. So I accepted it, but then I was faced with the problem of finding a job through the next five months.

Q. Oh, so you accepted the job beginning in January or February of...?

A. 1962 it would be.

Q. But you still needed employment between June and July.

A. I got back in the end of June.

Q. Yes, I figured.

A. So it was almost August, I desperately started answering every ad in the paper for anything. I'll never forget there was one for a sales trainee, "We pay you while you learn." Well, I don't need to tell them I'm leaving in January. But it said, "26 or under." I had just had my 27th birthday, thought it probably won't matter. So I called the guy up and said, "I am really interested in this but I did just turn 27 in May." "I'm sorry, but we want young men!" And he slammed the thing down, "Oh my gosh! I haven't held a full time job yet in my life and I'm an old man!" (laughter)

So tried the library, I tried everything. I noticed in the St. Petersburg paper there continued to be a series of stories about the troubles of a Philosophy professor at the University of Tampa, with the administration, who were not going to--I think they denied him tenure--and he was sort of trying the case in public. I had a lot of sympathy for he was obviously a liberal. The president of the board of trustees was also the local John Birch Society president. The fur was flying back and forth.

Q. And you thought you would be able...

A. No, I didn't... he had another year on his contract. If you are denied tenure then you have your year. In August they decided this was too embarrassing, they bought his contract out and I can't remember if I went in or if Billie Sue through this music teacher she knew, anyway I was interviewed by David DeLo the president. Nice guy.

Q. Was he a reactionary too?

A. No, I don't think so. He was a PhD in Geology.

Q. Oh, really?

A. No, he was a decent guy but he was just in a... when you have a board like that.

Q. Essentially a local board.

A. Yes, oh yes. So the position called for, on the books to be taught in the fall was Introduction to Philosophy, Greek Philosophy, Contemporary Philosophy, New Testament and Logic.

Q. Five separate courses?

A. Five separate courses ranging all over this thing. I said, "I think I could handle all of those, except maybe Logic. I've had a course in Logic, but I've never taught it." He said, "Well, its five hundred bucks a course. \$2000 for four, \$2500 for five." [I said,] "I'll teach Logic." (laughter)

Q. Five hundred bucks a course.

A. I taught Logic. Actually, the Logic turned out to be one of the courses I enjoyed most because it is very concrete. There is yes and no answers and you had to come up with all of these examples. That is what kind of scared me at first because I thought that will take all my time to prepare that ... well, I was busy preparing classes. What a hoot the University of Tampa was. The University of Tampa was founded in 1932 by a local Rabbi who thought Tampa ought to have an institution of higher education.

Q. I thought it was a resort? The campus...

A. The building was a resort.

Q. Yes, had been.

A. Had been a resort. The building was the Henry B. Plant Hotel, the end of the Atlantic Coastline Railroad. So you could get on your train in New York, take a sleeping car, get off in Tampa, and be driven to the Henry B. Plant Hotel. When you got there you saw this enormous block long building. Have you seen it?

Q. Oh, several times. We toured it.

A. Then I don't need to describe it with the onion dome ... the verandas ... it's a spectacular building. If you toured it they probably told you they took the guests up and down the halls in rickshaws which are why the halls are like twenty feet wide or something.

Q. I'm sorry, so a Rabbi had founded the university as a private, metropolitan college?

A. Right, non-sectarian college. By the time I got there the state had opened the University of South Florida in the suburbs. I had actually applied there but didn't even get an interview, which is understandable because my credentials don't look very impressive to a pure Philosophy department. But to Tampa as you can see mixes in New Testament and Logic...

Q. It was the perfect match.

A. Perfect match. I was down the street and willing to work for food. (laughter) But the student body was something else, too. This was the period before the northeast United States--especially New England--had expanded its public higher education. The student body had a handful of local students because now people could go to the University of South Florida. Most of it was made up of kids from Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and so on who had practically flunked out of high school.

Q. Kind of like Parsons in Iowa.

A. Exactly. They were your basic "c" and "d" student. I'll never forget Dave Delo's opening...

48 minutes 7 seconds

End of 3.2

Start of 4.1

Q. This is continuing an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on August 7th. You were talking about Delo's welcoming address to the faculty.

A. Presidential address to the faculty, yes. He is talking about how, "We're trying to create a quality institution." I don't know if he said one of the finest liberal institutions ... it wouldn't have been public liberal arts ... [laughing] Anyway, it was similar to some rhetoric we've heard. "Therefore, we are going ... I expect you to exercise the highest standards in your courses, make the highest demands on your students," and then he went on and said a few other things. Then he was talking about our student body and how as a private institution we like to give students a lot of individual attention and concern. [He said,] "I just want you to remember that every student who flunks out of here is going to come right out of your salary." He didn't mean individually...

Q. [Laughter] I understand.

A. We weren't quite sure whether we were supposed to... He was a genuine person, he just didn't see, I didn't see... I mean, he was a nice guy, but he just was not aware of the contradictions in this situation. And, I'm sure, he assured me in the interview of my academic freedom because they had just denied tenure to somebody because who had expressed his political views.

Q. So you were in no doubt about the fragile environment there.

A. Right. He understood what the right values are; it was just difficult to give them embodiment at the University of Tampa.

Q. And who knows maybe his values would have been, but he had a board that was...

A. Right. Just to give you an example of one of the students. Fortunately I've never had students that bad again, even in the early days of Sangamon State.

Q. Really?

A. I was giving a final exam in Intro to Philosophy and I glanced up and in the back row there was a student sitting there with a textbook open and copying, just blatantly copying. And there is a student next to him copying, looking over and copying. So anyway I flunk them and they come in and I say, "I saw you copying. Look, here it is except you are not a very good copyist. You misspelled this and this word. But your friend who was sitting next to you is a good copyist because he copied off your paper and misspelled all of the same words." Well they pled photographic memories, then they pled, "But we'll get drafted, you're sending us to Vietnam!"

Q. That's right. And?

A. Oh, I didn't back down.

Q. You still flunked them?

A. I still flunked them. What could you do? I figured they would have other ways of dealing with this. The dean of men intervened, wanted me to change the grade.

Q. Now, did they deduct it from your salary?

A. No, I didn't get any personal deductions from it. In fact, a year later, Dave Delo wrote a very nice letter inviting me to come back. He said, "I ran into Howard Troyer at a meeting, and I told him I was going to write you so that you would know that we would like to have you come back."

Q. Isn't that nice. So actually although you found it bizarre, he was a decent guy.

A. He was a decent guy, yes. I mean, maybe he wasn't a decent ... I was only there four and a half months, but my interactions with him were positive. I think he wanted to do the right thing.

Q. How long did he stay, do you have any idea?

A. I think he stayed a number of years and went on to have a big time football team.

Q. He seems to have interacted with the faculty pretty regularly, and you said you talked with him.

A. Yes, he was in a really an impossible place. Maybe you could say, "Well he should have just resigned and found a better job."

Q. Easy to say.

A. Easy to say.

Q. So you taught in some of those former guest rooms in the hotel.

A. Oh, the classrooms and offices were a hoot. The classrooms prepared me for Sangamon State. They were all extremely long and narrow. Of course, they didn't have weird angles and your office consisted of a former hotel room with its own bath. Of course, the baths were from 1898 and were all broken and nonfunctional, but the tubs and the broken down sinks were still in there. I presume by now maybe they have raised some money and cleaned them out. Delo had the idea of--at least implemented the idea--of period rooms. Did you see some of them?

Q. I don't remember now.

A. Well, he got the local Italian Society to sponsor, we'll remodel one of these rooms and you'll have an all Italian theme, it will be the "Renaissance Room" or something.

Q. It's not a bad idea.

A. No, it's not. There was the "Shakespeare Room" and the...

Q. Well, it's a pretty darn good location, close to the...

A. Right on the river or the bay, it's on the bay. That is one of the funny things about the recruitment literature. The picture on the cover of the catalogue shows a young man and woman holding hands in their bathing suits running into the surf. Well, the nearest surf is an hour away in Clearwater! [laughing]

Q. Well at least there was water there! Were there any other philosophers teaching there?

A. So it was an experience. No, I was the only person in the department.

Q. You were it? How about any of your colleagues, did you really get to know anyone?

A. Oh, I think there were one or two people I hung out with a little bit. But it was so short a time. So then in January I piled everything into a tiny car, it was a Morris Minor. I was determined to have a European car, which was really stupid because it was one thing to have a Volkswagen where you might have had a chance to get it repaired, but where would you find parts for a Morris Minor? I took the passenger seat out of the front so that I could stack books up to the...

Q. Ok, so Billie Sue...

A. No, she flew on a plane. She was still not feeling super strong and she was not feeling super enthusiastic about going to Iowa.

Q. I was wondering, because she was close to her parents?

A. Yes and no. She had an off and on good relationship with them. I think just it was just the unknown, and we were going in January. So we were leaving Florida to land in snow-blanketed Iowa because Iowa is just enough north of here to have real... it gets very cold. Sometimes it

would freeze up; you'd have deep snow on the ground for two months before you would get a thaw. Of course because the college was up on this high hill, the whole town was, the whole Main Street and the college was on one end of Main and the downtown on the other end of Main and the downtown was on the ridge of this huge hill. It had wonderful sledding, and they blocked off what was called Presbyterian Hill every winter and we all sledded, adults and kids alike.

Q. Had you arranged an apartment in advance?

A. Because it was a very small town--I don't know, 1500, 2000 people--the college owned a number of houses and they rented us the lower floor of an old house. I forget the guy's name; it was a sociologist and his wife, young like me living up above. It was really a wonderful experience the first few years. The college was related to the Methodist Church but not owned by them. Even so, it received substantial support. I mention that because it had a new president who had just taken over that fall or the previous spring, Arlen Christ-Janer. A really nice guy and I think an ideal college president. He set the model for me anyway of what we ought to have had here but had not succeeded.

Q. He was an intellectual?

A. He was young, he was not a profound intellectual, but he had interestingly enough a Theology degree, a Bachelor in Theology but had then gone on and gotten a law degree and immediately began working in higher-ed administration. When he was hired at Cornell he was I think the first president who was not, had not been a Methodist minister. Well, that upset the Methodist bishop of the area to no end who publicly denounced the appointment. The clergy on the board and some board members said we ought to hold this up and continue the search.

But fortunately the board went ahead and fortunately Christ-Janer was young, handsome, politic, and immediately went to see the bishop, reassured him and said, "I'm going to do a couple of things. I'm going to establish a position of a church-college relations person." And he appointed Charles Hempstead, you don't need that name. But he appointed a person who had been a prominent minister and a district superintendent, which was an administrative person who was also currently a member of the Board of Trustees. He, therefore, Christ-Janer knew (he) would have the college interest at heart but was highly thought of by the Church officials. That was his first coup. The second was, he said, "I'm going to create a position of college chaplain," which they hadn't had.

Q. They never had a college chaplain?

A. They never had. Thank heavens he did because they would always ask one of the members of the Religion Department to be the Director of Religious Life, as it's called. So now I could be Professor of Religion and not mess in being religious.

Q. So you really liked him, liked him for the job because it's a small enough school, what maybe a thousand students?

A. I really liked him, he and Troyer, but mostly Troyer. And Christ-Janer did not, in fact—I'm trying to think—maybe I didn't even see him at the interview. The other thing I really liked about Christ-Janer was he understood, from my point of view anyway, the president's job. You are the outside man. You raise money, you deal with the Methodist Church or whoever and the Dean is the inside man who handles the faculty and so on.

Q. And that was Troyer?

A. And that was Howard Troyer. So Christ-Janer lived up to that. He and Troyer I think worked well together, I don't know that they loved each other, but Christ-Janer was gone a great deal of the time raising money. During his stint there they built four new dormitories, increased the enrollment, increased the endowment, and continued the support of the Methodist Church. And as a result, of course, he was hired away as President of Boston University in 1966.

Q. My heavens, that was quite a jump. Isn't Boston U the one that later on, that Texas U and Boston thing?

A. Yes, that John Silber, that idiot. Anyway, he [Christ-Janer] was the ideal president and would to god we had gotten somebody half as good or at least somebody who maybe wasn't as good at raising money but had his same understanding of the role of the president, more about that later.

Q. For what it's worth, I've always felt that actually Bob Spencer in one sense was ideal. He was a visionary.

A. He was.

Q. He wasn't a good executive and he didn't raise money and he didn't make that many friends in the community because he had a way of putting them off. But he was a visionary and I thought the ideas were really good ideas. But you're right, so I thought for a founding president...

A. He was. I felt that way, too, Cullom.

Q. How big was Cornell?

A. It had 800 students.

Q. Faculty of maybe...?

A. A faculty of, eventually they had eighty faculty, but it probably more like sixty. It was expanding at that time and Howard Troyer, he was a former English professor, and had been a department chair at Lawrence University in Wisconsin and was getting... he must have been in his late fifties. I was going to say he was very warm, had a very deep understanding of the liberal arts values. That's where I learned my ideas of what a liberal arts college should be. He fortunately inherited a core of pretty good existing older faculty. For example, in History, obviously by interest I was immediately drawn to Bill Heywood, a Quaker pacifist man with a deep social conscience. Bill Heywood I think even by the time I got there was sort of "Mr.

Faculty.” He became the chair of the Faculty Senate. He succeeded in persuading the college in his first faculty, Troyer and Christ-Janer and the Board, to implement an only slightly modified version of the 1940 AAUP [American Association of University Professors] Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure. He later became, served two terms as national vice-president of the AAUP. A fine scholar, he didn’t publish a lot, not until later in his life when he wrote a history of Cornell College.

Q. Oh, the history of the college--two volumes.

A. Well, he wrote the first volume and he came down with Parkinson’s and was not able to finish it and then the college chaplain, who also has a degree in History, took over. Heywood got from 1853 to 1966, so he wrote a smaller volume on that than Thomas did on the last forty years, 1966 to whenever, the last forty years. Anyway [Heywood was] a wonderful person and one of my dearest friends, he and his wife.

Q. He died some years ago?

A. He died just a few years back, four years ago. The other historian, Eric Kollmann, was an Austrian Jew with a degree from Vienna, who had fled the Nazis and had been hired at Cornell in the late 1930s, early 1940s. [Kollmann was] a wonderful person with a fabulous European education and values but a strict, old-school teacher. You were not to be a minute late to his class, you were not to fall asleep in his class. You were to get all your work in on time. The rest of us were into this 1960s attitude, not Eric, but a great guy.

Then, Howard started hiring these young faculty to supplement people like this. I won’t mention the others. There were others. Most of us, I don’t know you’d say my degree is from a good college, but with good academic backgrounds, very bright people, very enthusiastic, and he had a knack for sensing if they were people really right for a liberal arts college, for the kind of focus on teaching and community life that we had. Well it was a wonderful community of people of academics. And because it was such a small town we had to make our own social life.

Q. Maybe 15,000, 20,000 people?

A. Oh no, 1500 to 2000 people. Mt. Vernon’s a little town. Mt. Vernon’s downtown is one block long. I don’t know; it might be up to 3,000 by now.

Q. Not far from Cedar Rapids though.

A. No, no. You could easily get into Cedar Rapids and Iowa City is twenty miles away so you had a big university.

Q. But its smaller than I realized and no other colleges in town?

A. No, no other colleges. So there was a very intense social and intellectual life in terms of exchange. And there was always a dinner or a party at somebody’s house. It was fun because there were liberals and conservatives, but we all liked each other and partied together and had

each other over to dinner. We had vigorous disagreements. There was a lot to argue about in 1962, civil rights and pretty soon the Vietnam War.

Q. Not so much women's rights.

A. No yet, but toward the end of that period.

Q. And student unrest? Well even that was a little early.

A. Right.

Q. Is it a lovely campus?

A. Oh, it's a beautiful campus, Cullom. There was a little story in the, what, *New York Times Sunday Magazine* or I think once on Cornell College saying, an idyllic campus, typical; it's what Hollywood thinks of when they think of small college. It's this big hill top; I think I have a picture of it. [Looking at photo] Wooded, lots of buildings, old brick and stone, big huge king chapel. That was a later-built little chapel. The three oldest buildings from the 19th Century had all been rehabbed.

Q. Old Main? Was there an Old Main?

A. Yes, there was an Old Main. I fact, that is where my office was. It was just in the fall, it's in the woods and all the leaves falling, it was just... and this little house I lived in, of course everybody lived within walking distance of the college, and I was only three blocks from my office. I could walk home for lunch if I wanted.

Q. And you paid a fairly nominal rent?

A. Nominal rent, yes. Then when the time came after a couple of years and we wanted to buy, the college provided low interest loans for us to buy. They were very good to us and they had a good retirement program. They paid ten percent into TIAA/CREF and we paid in five percent.

Q. And it's a pretty unitary campus.

A. It's compact.

Q. Well, I can see it is pretty consolidated.

A. Oh yes, everything is very close to each other and these are the classrooms on this end [showing photo] and here are the dorms. Christ-Janer raised money, as I said, to build four new dorms; they also raised money to build a new student center. So a commons was built in the 1960s and a new gym and swimming pool. So we had two swimming pools, two gymnasiums, one became a women's gym.

Q. It's a commodious, well not commodious, it was a...

A. It was a comfortable, prosperous, everything looked to be...

Q. How about the students?

A. The students were really pretty solid. I would say a third from Iowa, many from small towns, a third from the Chicago suburbs and the other third from various places. And maybe there was more than a third from Iowa but it was a regional campus and it was a part of an association of ACM, Associated Colleges of the Midwest.

Q. Yes, is it part of Knox?

A. Knox, Grinnell, Carlton, Monmouth, and Cornell; there's probably a couple of others.

Q. What is the one in southern Wisconsin?

A. Beloit, yes Beloit. Through the ACM there were some programs like exchange programs for students in France.

Q. I remember there used to be a member of the Board of Regents who was an officer or employee of ACM, and they had some sort of program at the Newberry Library.

A. Yes, that's right. They had the Newberry Library program; they had a program in Paris. From here, of course, Richard Grumman, both his sons went there, and I had one of them in class and Frank Matzler's daughter. I still have her yearbook that I borrowed from her. I've got to find her address and return it. At any rate, it drew the upper end of the high school classes. And we had some Woodrow Wilson scholars while I was there. I don't know if we had any Rhodes but some bright kids.

Q. Was there an honor's program?

A. There was. In fact, that was one of the things that I really liked was that they had an honors program and a sophomore honors' seminar that I was allowed to teach with Eric Kollman. It was "Teen Talk." Hey, it's so funny when I came to Sangamon and then more recently with the CAP (Capitol) Scholars, these ideas you think are so fresh and new, we just thought of, we were doing sophomore and inter-disciplinary honors seminar. Eric taught Thomas Mann, of course, he was German language, and I did [Friedrich] Nietzsche. It was a pretty exciting thing for me intellectually.

Then in 1962 right after I got there, there was a big debate among the faculty--it was a close vote--over an interdisciplinary humanities core that would have a semester on the Greeks, a semester on the Renaissance, a semester on the 19th Century and a semester on America and would combine History, English, Art, Music, Philosophy and Religion. So each of those departments would... it's our CAP Scholars Core all over again. I mean it was so funny, I was on the CAP Scholars planning committee, or one of them, the Curriculum Committee with Jim Stuart. And Jim was just, "Oh, we've got to have this inter-disciplinary stuff." It was like he had just discovered it and couldn't wait to spread it around.

Q. And you didn't want to say, "Well we did this in the 1960s."

A. No, I was happy to support it. I was just amused that it seemed so innovative in 2005. We were, anyway because this was in 1962.

Q. So it was passed, the Humanities Core?

A. It barely passed. It didn't succeed the first time because all of us were self-interested. We didn't think "our department" got enough fuel out of it. I remember getting up and making a wise crack about, "We can't afford not to pass this because a Ford Foundation grant depended on us adopting this." And the wonderful thing about the Ford Foundation grant was it provided a boost like the grant we got on-line. It also provided for a lecture series of outside visiting lecturers. I'll never forget the wonderful lecture in that course for all 200 students by Carl Schorske, the great European historian from Berkeley. That was a fabulous lecture.

Q. He is the authority on...?

A. Vienna, Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. It wasn't until 2008 I got to Vienna and got to re-read his book and give a talk at the Art Association on that. So you can see why that interested me so much.

Q. So this was an ideal academic community.

A. Oh, it was.

Q. How did Billie Sue feel about it?

A. Well, one of the things that helped Billie Sue was that we had been trying to have children. We had been trying since seminary in 1959 with no success. They hadn't developed these fancy fertility clinics at that time so we sort of said... not gave up, but we applied to adopt.

Q. When you were living in Mt. Vernon?

A. Mt. Vernon. And in 1964 we adopted Laurence, as a baby, six weeks old. We got the whole experience of being up at night. Oh boy, can I remember getting very frustrated and so on. It was a very exciting moment, especially meaningful then for Billie Sue because now she had a focus.

Q. And something to consume a lot of her time.

A. To consume a lot of her time. Two years later in 1966 we adopted Suzanna.

Q. Was there a family reason for the name? Oh, Billie Sue. Was it Suzanne for her?

A. That was her choice. She wanted Suzanna, maybe for Susan. And Laurence because I never got named Laurence I was named Larry. His middle name is "Francis," which is the name of her grandfather and Suzanna's middle name is "Kay," the name of my sister—Kay that I am so fond of. From my point of view, we had our family. Meanwhile she had been down to the University Hospital in Iowa City for an interview, I don't know if they did some tests or whatever. The doctor there says, "I don't think you ever had multiple sclerosis." After all Multiple Sclerosis is a degenerative disease, there would have been some... so that seemed...

Q. What a relief. It may have been, who knows, stress or?

A. Right. Unfortunately she threw out her back in... it had to have been before we adopted Eddie because that was the reason I opposed it. She threw out her back and I can't remember if it was just before, anyway we were living, we had purchased a small house a block from where we had rented with the college's help. It was just an old two story, typical small town house. I remember her lying on the couch there because she refused to have surgery because her mother had had a slipped disc, had the surgery, and had walked with a slight limp ever since.

The doctor said, "It will take you about three to six months on your back, but it can be improved." So she got better. I got a grant to go to Harvard and it seems like... did I get a semester off? It's just all so foggy in my mind. All that I remember is, however, while we were there her back went out again. She was flat on her back.

Q. By this time you had three children.

A. No, we had two at this time. Suzanna is an infant, this is between Laurence and Suzanna, must have been 1965? All I can remember is thinking, "Well, I'm not going to get very much done at this time." We hired someone to come in a few hours a day to come in to take care of the baby. Laurence must have been...

Q. Is this the workshop on comparative method?

A. No, I don't think so. Well, I'm probably getting things confused. At any rate, somewhere in this period, all I remember is that to get back to Mt. Vernon my dear friend, Thomas Mikelson who was on the faculty by then who was my colleague in Religion drove Billie Sue back in the back of his station wagon so she could be lying down, and I took the kids in our car. It seems like we were going in the snow. Maybe I've suppressed a lot of this memory. [laughter]

Q. I know she had terrible back problems.

A. Yes, and they reoccurred here. At any rate that was the only drag for her.

Q. She hadn't been working had she in Mt. Vernon?

A. No, she didn't work. Then she announced along about 1967, late 1967 that she wanted to adopt another child and we could get a mixed racial child. We talked it over and I had real misgivings. I remember waking up in the night thinking, "What the hell am I going to do if her back goes out? I will have three, its one thing to have two small children, you've got one hand for each, but I will have three. Then, there will be a baby." Maybe I finished the Gogarten book by then, yes I finished the Gogarten book but still I had scholarly ambitions and now it just looked to me like it was all going down the tubes.

I really resisted it and came home from school one day to hear that she had called Cornelia Himrod, the person that we dealt with on the other two adoptions to say, "Yes, we'll take him." I think, I don't know, I guess I'm just a wimp or something I should have... the thing appealed to the liberal side of me. We're going to adopt a mixed racial child, do our thing for the

integration of the races, and these children, there weren't enough black homes that had money to take on more. The backlash hadn't occurred until a few years later saying, "Well this is racism; this is trying to do away with our culture by bringing them up in white culture."

Q. But you were vulnerable on the notion of your ideals.

A. Sure vulnerable and on the other side of my idealism and I said to her, "This is going to be really hard." But also it appealed to me to stand up to the racist white middle class and so when we would show up in a restaurant with our two white kids and our one little black one and put him in the white high chair, why I was feeling that misplaced pride in being different and so on.

Q. I understand that.

A. But it was a lot of work.

Q. And he was an infant?

A. He was an infant also, just a few months old. I think what I didn't realize is that, it's interesting and of course I had never mentioned this to my parents or my grandparents because I knew they would oppose it. She didn't mention to her parents either until it was a fait accompli. But mother's response was very interesting. It wasn't like, "This is a bad thing to do," mixing races or something like that. But it was, "did you consider the affect this is going to have on the other two children?"

Now, I think she may have meant that in racial terms, in terms of how they would be perceived by their fellow students, but what I have realized and regretted about it ever since especially given the way it turned out, is that it drove a wedge between Suzie and Larry who were little pals. Along comes this little baby, Suzie gets all nurturing and attached to her little baby brother and Larry is feeling, he was the first, he was the only boy, and all this attention now--for both of them--all this attention focused on this little baby who is different.

Q. That's interesting in retrospect that you realize that he bore the brunt of it.

A. He bore the brunt of it all the time growing up.

Q. And she did because of the wonderful relationship with...

A. That could have developed anyway with him and didn't.

Q. You all had your hands full. Billie Sue was suffering with terrible back problems. So much of the time you couldn't afford help.

A. Daycare or housekeeping or anything like that.

Q. I think we'll stop there. Let's pause.

48 minutes 25 seconds

End 4.1

Start 4.2

Q. This is a supplementary oral history interview with Larry Shiner on August 20th. The interviewer is Cullom Davis. This is intended to be inserted after tape 4, side B and then be transcribed before tape 5, side B. Larry, let's take up your cultural life at Cornell College.

A. Yes, I was saying, I think, that many of these small liberal arts colleges, especially in isolated, semi-isolated places like small towns; they try to create a rich, cultural and intellectual life as a context for the college. And in many ways it was richer and more varied than what I found at Sangamon State for many years. But music was very strong there. It was the largest department and they had popular and classical composers and performers from John Denver to Aaron Copland coming in every year for 60 years until about 1966 or 1967 the Chicago Symphony came as part of what was called the May Music Festival, and this was a big event with other well-known performers and so on.

After the Chicago Symphony found it could no longer afford to come out, they had the St. Louis Symphony, the Pittsburgh, significant music groups. And of course, they had interesting artists and lecturers. Victor Frankel, the famous concentration camp survivor came. I think I was telling you about... that was one of my first cases of being incredibly disillusioned by meeting an author whose work I found terribly profound and humane and so on. He was just kind of a self-important jerk as far as I could tell.

Q. What was his work? Was that the...

A. It's called *From Death Camp to Existentialism*. And then he later repackaged it under the title, *Man's Search for Meaning*. It was very popular book, and indeed it was a moving account of survival in the concentration camp. It was just that he didn't reflect in his personality, the human sensitivity that he did in his writing. But we had other very distinguished people. I especially remember Francois Mitterrand, who later became the French President, and Martin Luther King. That was really wonderful to be around him for a day.

Q. This was in the 1960s, wasn't it?

A. Yes, 1962.

Q. So he was well-known figure...

A. Ascending figure then. And I think I mentioned my old mentor Carl Michalson was to come, but was killed in a plane crash just a few weeks before he was to speak. Well, enough about the cultural life there. It was very, it was very rich.

Q. Obviously the university, the college had resources, financial resources.

A. Yes it did have committed resources. Put it this way how much they always had, I'm not sure, but that was a priority.

Q. You said the music school was the largest academic unit.

A. It was the largest academic unit. I don't know. I guess there's some history behind it, but they had the largest number of faculty. Probably because of where we were they weren't able to draw on ranks of part-timers as you could in a large city. Now, I haven't talked about the Religion Department itself. Initially it was a bit of an unhappy experience for me because I had a colleague, who was arrogant and competitive, but he left after awhile and I ended up eventually with two wonderful colleagues.

Shigeo Kanda, a Japanese-American from Clairmont and Thomas Mikelson, who was getting his degree from Harvard Divinity School, actually did his dissertation on Martin Luther King's Theology. They were both wonderful colleagues and have remained very close friends ever since. So once they came, we had a great time in developing our curriculum.

Even so, I became increasingly frustrated at being in religion. And this had partly to do with the fact that outside of the college, if someone asked, "Well, you're a college teacher, what do you teach?" And I said, "Religion." It was usually a conversation stopper. Or you would get some inane comment like, "Gee I'm sorry, I was swearing a minute ago," or something like that. So people did not understand that you could study religion as an academic subject without being "religious" yourself.

It may have been that by that time, toward the end of it, my interests were also shifting. What I worked on with my theological work and then re-writing the dissertation to be a book focused on the twin themes of history, the historicity or historical consciousness of human being and secularization. Both of those led me away from Theology per se. And perhaps now I should talk a little bit about what that intellectual, scholarly work was.

Q. Yes, I was going to ask a question about your colleagues... did you divide up the available courses?

A. Yes, pretty much. Both of them had training in biblical studies, so they did courses related to biblical studies. Shig, as we called him, Kanda as a Japanese American was increasingly interested in his own Buddhist heritage, although he was raised a Methodist. So he took over the comparative religion side. Tom Mikelson, because of his interest in Martin Luther King writing a dissertation on him, taught American Religious History and those kinds of things. And I tended to, well I developed an early version of my course, Myth, Reality and History and dealing with the contrast between historical modes of existence and more mythical, cyclical ways of looking at the world as you find in primitive societies and Eastern cultures and so on. And I also taught in those interdisciplinary seminars where I could do a little Philosophy.

Q. Yes, these are the Humanities core?

A. Right they were, we had Humanities Core where we had, we did the Greeks, the Renaissance, the 19th Century in America, and so I would teach in one or the other of those and do some interesting intellectual figure. And also I taught--I may have mentioned on a previous tape--in the freshman and sophomore honors seminars that were interdisciplinary. So

I did Nietzsche and one of those, for example. Now, on the scholarly work side, of course, the focus of my work was trying to transform what had been a rather brief dissertation into a broader introduction to the Theology of Freidrich Gogarten focusing on the secularization and the history question. I was aided in finishing this in a way by the fact that Cornell College as a private residential liberal arts college didn't offer summer schools. I would dearly have loved to have earned some extra money, instead I did research in the summers and probably I would have not produced a book or any article.

Q. Isn't in interesting, you sacrificed financially.

A. Financially, but I gained something. Once I finished the book I began to move more into the two themes of the book, into secularization more generally and produced that article, *The Concept of Secularization in Empirical Research*, which I suppose to date has been my most successful article in the sense of being republished in at least six anthologies.

Q. Interesting. So, it has been an important...

A. Right. It didn't ever get any money for it. [laughter]

Q. No, it got some attention.

A. It got some attention. But the main focus of my interest and work was on history in the dual sense of understanding historical consciousness, the historical mode of existence on the one hand and what is sometimes called the critical Philosophy of history, understanding the nature of historical argument and narrative. And so I worked on sort of these two tracks, studying the science or discipline of history in terms of its method and especially as those issues were debated both among historians and among philosophers concerning the nature of historical explanation. There were kind of two schools or two directions there. One emphasized the methodology that argumentation in history has to follow the same methodological rules that argumentation in the social sciences or natural sciences follows. That was the scientific...

Q. Reproducible results.

A. Reproducible results and what they call using the "covering law model" of explanation. That is, ultimately any decent historical explanation has to refer back to some kind of law-like scientific theory, backed up by evidence and so on. Whereas, the other school, which you might call the humanistic school or another name to give it, I was trying to think of one without using the German term, "Geisteswissenschaften," but, there I've said it so I'll type that one out.

The Geisteswissenschaften is the sciences of the mind or spirit versus the nature wissensaften, the sciences of nature or natural sciences. Anyway, as a phenomenologist and interesting in Existentialism I was very concerned to show that the humanistic approach was the correct one, the appropriate one for History, and that sort of set things up for my next stage of research after I finally finished the book.

The book was finished in 1966 and toward the end of that about the time the book was finished it was 1967, I was still of course invited to publish an article on Gogarten or go to a conference

and speak about him. There was one that is worth mentioning that was held in New York City, Union Theological Seminary. It was sort of a celebration of his 80th birthday. I've already talked I think on the tape about the week I spent with the Gogartens when I was in Strasbourg.

Q. I believe so, yes.

A. Right. So I hadn't actually seen him in person since then.

Q. Had you been sending him copies or pages of chapters?

A. Oh, I sent him the manuscript, he read through it.

Q. You stayed in touch, you hadn't seen him.

A. Right, hadn't seen him. So this was a chance to see him in person and there were a number of important theologians there but nobody that someone reading this would probably have ever heard of. At any rate, my favorite moment in the whole thing was, of course, he had given a brief little talk after the dinner and there was a question period. Some bright young scholar says, "But, Dr. Gogarten, Wolfhart Pannenburg ..." this was a younger theologian from Germany, "... has said such and such, now what do you think of that? You don't deal with him in your latest work?" And without missing a beat Gogarten looked at him with kind of a twinkle in his eye, "Mr. so and so, I can either read books or I can write books." [laughter] I never had the nerve to use that myself.

Q. It would be tempting.

A. It would be tempting, maybe when I'm 80.

Q. Did you speak?

A. Yes, I gave him a paper...

Q. So you had a relationship, a genuine respect if not even a friendship?

A. Oh yes, a great deal of affection, even though I had some very serious questions about his role in the 1930s. From that point on, as I say, I began to move ever more seriously into this topic of historical reality and historiography and developed a book project that we talk about I think on the next tape.

Q. Well, you might quickly because I see enough references on this side...

A. Right, those are all examples of the positivist versus humanist approach to historiography. And I will come back to it on our next tape because I discovered something about that lost book project.

Q. Oh, yes we'll want to do that. Let me return to the publication though of your first book. Was Abingdon Press the only press you sent the manuscript?

A. I think so. I don't know why now, maybe I had met somebody from there at a conference probably.

Q. It's a religious, largely a religious publisher.

A. Yes, it's the publishing house of the Methodist Church. So I was at a Methodist related college and Drew was a Methodist Seminary, so it made sense. They were quite eager, and they were quite supportive and I think it did reasonably well. I don't think... maybe it had a few copies left over.

Q. Was it translated into German to your knowledge?

A. They sent me a letter saying it was going to be and that I would receive a copy. I don't remember ever receiving a copy so it's quite possible that maybe some German scholar published a book on Gogarten that made it seem pointless to go to the expense translating it into English.

Q. Ok, I think that probably covers things up.

A. Just wraps things up.

Q. So we will just...

A. Just end the tape there.

Q. Yes, this ends the supplement.

20 minutes 52 seconds

End of 4.2

Start of 5.1

Q. This is continuing an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on August 11th. You were talking about the end of your involvement with this project. I was just going to comment that it is an interesting reflection on the cost individual paid and the cost to the young institution for consuming your intellectual and available time.

A. Right. I have to say in good existentialist fashion, it's my responsibility. I'm the one who didn't say I'll be on one or two committees, not six or seven.

Q. You're right.

A. But actually I managed to draw out of that work and later work on it, two other articles.

Q. In *History and Theory*, or...?

A. Where did they appear? Let's see [looking through articles] one appeared in the *Southern Journal of Philosophy*. I was, of course, interested in history and time and temporality so; *Some Structures of Historiographical Temporality* in the *Southern Journal of Philosophy* 1974 and *Sacred Space, Profane Space, Human Space* in 1972. That would have been the most original of the directions I went with it. I was already interested in architecture, space and that sort of thing. So I was going to have a chapter on not only historical time but also historical space. There are some interesting things, reflections.

Q. So first of all these would have been the beginnings of chapters of a book?

A. Chapters.

Q. Of a book?

A. Of a book, so there were basically four chapters.

Q. Which is significant.

A. Yes, it was a start. But now the other thing I missed out on by sitting down in the Husserl Archives was some of the intellectual ferment and excitement that was going on in Paris. Now I did of course go out to Nanterre and sit in on [Paul] Ricoeur's seminars. I had lunch with him a couple of times, a very nice person. [He was] a marvelous scholar.

Anyone who looks at his writings can't help but be impressed by the way he does his homework. Any topic he takes, he reads all of the most important historical sources from Aristotle to the present and digests them and lays them out before he takes his position. His great interest in this period and later was in the issue of time and merity in his, really I would say—he has several major works—but the major work is called *Time and Merity*, three volumes.

So there's your Phenomenological approach and so on. That of course came out later. He has several works interpreting Phenomenology and I think he had translated a major very difficult work of [Edmund] Husserl into French and so on. But the big ferment that was going on was that in the time I had been at Cornell College, French Philosophy, Philosophy generally, of course, but French Philosophy in particular had moved way beyond Phenomenology and Existentialism. First of all at the end of the 1950s and the early 1960s was the movement called "Structuralism".

Q. I've heard of it.

A. It's often identified in particular with anthropologist, Claude Levi-Strauss. He spells his Strauss with two ss's as compared to the jeans. Claude Levi-Strauss and in literary and communication theory and semiotics with Roland Barthes, I loved Roland Barthes' writings, and still love them ever since. He applied the structuralist idea was that there are certain structures in language and in human relations and human society, which underlie everything we do. And that these can be discovered and that the human mind, Levi-Strauss would say, "Uses, always organizes things in these structural ways, usually, in a series of oppositions: right/left, good/bad, male/female, these dichotomies, these polarities." And that these sets of things

amount to what Roland Barthes would call “codes.” Many people used the term codes, and I did a lot in my book. When I eventually wrote on Tocqueville and analyzed him, I analyzed him using structuralist techniques.

But of course at this time I’m not even there to study structuralism, but I’m seeing it in the bookstores. I’m hearing it talked about by intellectuals, and so I’m tucking it away in the back of my mind while I’m down there taking notes. But structuralism by 1965 had become the dominant thing, 1965, 1966, and there was the beginning of the reaction against structuralism and this is where the famous movement called “post-structuralism” comes in. One of the leaders of that had started out using structuralist methods. His name was Michelle Foucault. His major work, *Mots et les choses* or *The Order of Things*. You don’t need to put the French title, *The Order of Things*. The literal title is *Words and Things*, but *The Order of Things* came out in 1967 when I was there.

Q. Did you read it there?

A. I’m not even sure. I think I bought it, but didn’t read it. I was still too busy with Phenomenology. Foucault, by the way, had started out like practically all French philosophers would have, as a phenomenon drawing on Phenomenology. Foucault then moved in his later writings further away from Structuralism. The person who really broke decisively with Structuralism at this point and specifically attacked it was Jacques Derrida. One of his major works, *Grammatology* came out in 1967.

Q. So there were a lot of things happening.

A. Oh, all around! So, in the fall of 1967 in the bookstores I would see these books. But also my colleagues who--again, I call them colleagues or fellow visiting scholars--at the Centre International Universite, International University Center, at least two different ones said, “What are you wasting your time on Phenomenology for, that’s old hat? Derrida is where it’s at. You ought to go down and hear Derrida’s lectures.”

Well, I was committed to Ricoeur, committed to the Husserl Archives but I did get to hear Derrida give an address that became a famous paper by him at the meeting of the French Association of Philosophy. It was his famous paper on difference. I won’t go into all the... he does all these word plays and différence. The difference between... you can see the difference in the spelling between “difference” and “différence,” but it doesn’t show up in pronunciation and he made a big deal of this. Anyway, I barely understood what he was talking about.

So this is all going on until May and we had planned a trip in May to Strasbourg to see the Trocmés, Roger Mehl, my old faculty and so on. I don’t know how much Billie Sue was looking forward to that now that I think of it. It was not a scene of triumph for her. When in April, things got very hot at Nanterre. The students were in revolt. I heard that Ricoeur trying to argue with them, discuss with them as he would. He would try to understand them and so on. They just turned a garbage can upside down on him. It was violent. The Minister of Education closed Nanterre flat out. The whole thing started as I remember among Sociology students, many of whom were finding out they couldn’t get jobs with their Sociology degrees.

Q. What an absurd idea, that you could not get a degree with your... [laughter]

A. With your degree. At any rate, it spread to the Sorbonne because the Nanterre students being shut out of where they were assembled in the courtyard of the Sorbonne. I'm sure you've been there. There is a big open space. Basically, a riot started there and contrary to university tradition that there would be no police in the Sorbonne, the rector called the cops. They dragged the students out into the street. The next thing you had 30,000 students marching in the streets protesting.

When [Prime Minister Georges] Pompidou had been overseas, the Prime Minister, the Sorbonne meanwhile had been closed also. Pompidou who had been overseas, came back, decided to reopen the Sorbonne and leave it to the students who at that point having been marching and fighting with the police. There was all the tear gas, beatings and so on already and public opinion was sympathetic to the students at that point.

When the Sorbonne opened on May 11th the students occupied it and that was the end of classes and it was as festival. Every fringe group possible was allowed to set up a table in the courtyard and hand out its literature. It was going to be free this and free that. There were continuous lectures, well not lectures, but harangues to whoever would gather and in fact, they also took over the Odeon National Theatre and installed a permanent lecture, harangue thing there.

Q. Did you observe any of this?

A. Oh, absolutely. This was exciting and I wasn't going to sit down in the course of... for one thing the Husserl Archives were closed. I wasn't going to sit down in my little carrel when this was going on. This was fun. [Showing a shirt.] This was made much later, but this had many of the slogans and placards that they put up. They copied the *Defense de Fume*, "Defense du," it becomes "Defance d'anterdile. Forbidden to forbid," would be the literal.

Q. "Bientot the napalm"

A. Right, is that what they are going to try next, napalm? "Take your dreams for realities." "Learn to sing the international."

Q. That's a great shirt. I'm glad you wore it in honor of the occasion.

A. [laughter] That just means "shit" in French, so it was very creative. By the 15th of May, a general strike had been called and at first the factories shut down. That's ok, but then public transportation shut down. Then the post office shut down. The only thing that was left going was sort of skeleton crews of gas and electricity to supply the hospitals. There were no deliveries of gasoline to the gas stations. So people were running out of gas.

Q. There went your plans for a trip.

A. Exactly, there went our plans for the trip to Strasbourg.

Q. How about groceries? Were you able to...

A. There was minimal delivery of food supplies, but you couldn't go shopping. All the stores were closed. And I had thought naively at the beginning, "*Well, at least we'll go to the museums.*" All the state employees were on strike. There were nightly clashes with the police. Very violent, cars overturned, set fire and so on. And the CRS you see this wonderful thing... the CRS and I can't remember what the letters stand for, but they are something that we don't have in the United States.

They are, imagine that the FBI had a paramilitary wing, a military wing. These were trained, national riot police who wore heavy, black capes, black helmets, carried huge truncheons and had huge shields. They were menacing to look at. I remember walking around the corner of the med-school in Paris and it was uphill looking up at the top of the hill at the other end of the block, about four deep, rows of these CRS. I turned and got out of there as fast as I could because many innocent bystanders were clubbed and injured.

Once the fighting started... in fact, Dick Johnston and Mary Johnston, you remember them well were in Paris at the same time. I didn't know them then, of course. They said once they were in the Left Bank having dinner at a restaurant when a riot started outside. A tear gas canister came rolling into the restaurant, exploded and drove them all out and ended their dinner very quickly. And, so if you had... there was television. Since it was state television, the government had fired or all the regular people went on strike, there were scabs on TV reading the official government version of things.

Q. That was useless.

A. You could see the rioting. They liked to show the rioting to let you see what anarchists, what anarchy was doing, destroying property and so on. To get into Paris was almost impossible. The government was going to provide military trucks. Sevres was on the route to Versailles. Versailles is about fifteen miles outside of Paris. So government trucks would start, army trucks would start from Versailles and head into the center of Paris. You had to stand on a corner and they would pick you up.

Well, I went out and stood on the corner but the trucks were always full by the time they got to Sevres. Then one day I was standing there with a young woman and we were about to give up and walk away and a car suddenly stopped and said, "You want a ride?" It was a pharmacist who had a pharmacy in the center of Paris, and he gave us a ride and in and of course we talked about events. He said, "Be there tomorrow at the same time and I'll give you a ride."

Q. Wasn't that nice?

A. So for almost ten days, certainly at least a week I rode into Paris and got to work in my little... well, I actually didn't do a lot of work, I walked around. I went to the Sorbonne, I went to the theatre to see the haranguings going on there.

Q. How did you get back?

A. Did he bring us back? Did we make a rendezvous to get back? That's good question. I think he must have. It must have been that we met him at a certain place.

Q. It doesn't matter. That's nice of him.

A. Oh yes. And what was so fascinating was to listen to him talk. He was sympathetic to the strikers and students at the beginning, but as his gasoline stocks ran low and the violence went on, by the last time he said, "I'm going to be out tomorrow, I don't think I'm going to be able to go in. I've had enough. De Gaulle is a jerk, but this is too much." And that is exactly what De Gaulle was counting on. I sometimes refer to it as his "coup de gas" because what he did was, amid all these rumors that he was going to resign and people like Mitterrand saying, "I stand ready to lead France in its time of trouble" blah, blah, blah. The students by the way had no use for any of the Socialists, anybody on the left. And the Communists by the way opposed the entire thing. Well, they didn't run it.

Q. Right, if I can't run it I don't want...

A. If they can't run it, I mean, workers striking on their own without the permission of the Communist party? [laughter] Oh, can't have that! Look at how they treated East Berlin when they... so anyway, De Gaulle, there were rumors, constant rumors and they just got it to a crescendo and we were all glued to our little portable radios listening to Radio Luxembourg because that was the only place you could get reliable news. On May 30th he comes on the radio to give his first speech though he had before that, he had condemned all violence.

But he's saying "I shall not resign. Totalitarian communism will not be allowed to take over our country. I am instituting Marshall Law and a committee of security and calling for elections three weeks from now." Dissolving the French Assembly, figuring, he was betting he could get the vote. Well, they hadn't of course been idle. Meanwhile they had struck a deal with the truck drivers to deliver gasoline to all the gas stations. De Gaulle made his speech the day before the traditional May 30th, June 1st holiday, Pentecost holiday when tens of thousands of Parisians get in their cars and drive out and see mom and pop in the old village.

The same day, they had also organized a huge Gaullist, right-wing counter demonstration on the Champs-Élysées, of course. They march up the Champs-Élysées to the Arch De Triomphe, to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Of course, many of these people were trucked my military trucks into Paris from the suburbs. So the huge thing was beautifully orchestrated, it was staged. People were incredibly relieved. Finally something had happened. He had let it, the French called it, "pourrissement", "the rotting." He had let the situation decay, deteriorate to the point of where people would welcome authority. So rioting continued, the strikes continued, but they petered out over the next few weeks. The whole thing was over.

Q. Do you remember allusions at that time to 1968 being the 120th anniversary of 1848?

A. Oh, there probably were, there probably were, that's right.

Q. I suppose maybe they weren't. Maybe at the time you're conscience of what is happening now.

A. The present was so dramatic, but I suppose it was a heady time. I couldn't help loving the spirit of the time. It was... the themes were not just anti-De Gaulle. De Gaulle was one of the

targets of it. [Brings out visuals]. One of the things that was so fun was these fabulous posters that would go up, new ones every day.

Q. Oh, these are funny.

A. Satirical posters against De Gaulle, the police, the authorities and so on. They would appear all over France on the same day. Well, the design students that they culled at Beaux Arts took over that building, and they drew these posters, printed them in large quantities. Then they had people who had cars and some gas who would drive to the far corners of France and put these up, post them.

Q. It was well organized.

A. Yes, oh yes.

Q. Funny. What an experience. Did you ever write about this?

A. No, I never...

Q. Well, in effect you are now.

A. Yes, I am now. This is my writing about it. I covered it in a course, and I made a chronology of it but not a reflective piece.

Q. I understand. Did you get disgusted also with the chaos?

A. No, I was just sort of hoping that De Gaulle would go and the Socialists would come in and there would be some kind of a big reform. Instead, the De Gaulleists won big in the elections three weeks later.

Q. Wasn't one of the nagging issues the terrible status of universities in France, that they were...

A. Underfunded.

Q. Underfunded and the students were forgotten just as in the United States.

A. Yes, that was certainly an issue and De Gaulle and Pompidou, his governments then had to... they did try to address things. They did try to put in some reforms. They tried to ameliorate working conditions, help negotiate some pay raises. From the point of view of the left, they offered a bunch of sops to pacify people. But one of the groups that was caught completely off guard by this were the intellectuals, were the Ricoeurs, the Foucaults, the Derridas, the Levi-Strausses and students weren't seeking them out.

Q. No, they weren't were they? They were part of the problem.

A. They were part of the problem. And the loss of authority, the loss of respect shown professors was very troubling to many heretofore liberals, as happened over here I guess.

Q. Institutionally they were very conservative.

A. Institutionally, right. They could be incredibly radical in their political and social views but when it came to who's in charge in this classroom...

Q. So there weren't many intellectuals who actively supported...

A. No, I mean Sartre, of course, but he was to my mind kind of a joke by then. Sartre would go out and join the Maoists, and he would be out on the street corners handing out Maoist literature saying, "Arrest me, arrest me, just arrest me!"

Q. Kind of silly.

A. Yes, that was my... now that's a very prejudiced view of... I'm sure.

Q. I understand. What a chaotic time. Of course, back in the United States it was, too.

A. Oh, well yes and wasn't it that spring was...

Q. Assassination of Martin Luther King

A. Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy assassinated while we were gone.

Q. The 1968 Convention in Chicago.

A. We were back in time to watch the 1968 Convention. What was the Columbia free speech movement, the Berkeley uprising?

Q. That had even begun earlier, but you are right. All of those occurred in that year. It was a dramatic, tumultuous year.

A. Right, it was tumultuous back at Cornell College when I got back there in 1968.

Q. Demonstrations?

A. What happened was in the mid-sixties just before I left, I was a part of a small group on the faculty who agitated for recruiting more African-American students. In fact, when I went there, in fact, right up to the time we started agitating there were never more than two or three black students out of 800 and usually two of the three were African.

Q. Yes, international students.

A. So I remember a meeting in which we questioned the director of admissions. And what do we discover? Thirty percent of our students come from the Chicago suburbs, at least thirty. And of course, they visited all those high schools. They never visited a black high school in the city. They didn't visit inner-city high schools because, "Well, we figured they would be interested and wouldn't be able to afford it."

Q. "Might not qualify."

A. Might not qualify, etc., etc. Well, out of that came a decision that there would be special admissions considerations given to African-American students and financial aid set aside for them.

Q. Now did this effort precede you're being in Paris?

A. Yes. It started just about the time I went to Paris. By the time I got back, there were at least sixteen to twenty African American students all from inner-city Chicago or Kansas City or wherever. Well, we also had in the meantime a new president. Arlen Crist-Janer he had been pulled away to Boston University, and in his place came Samuel Enoch middle name--he always went by Samuel Enoch--Stumpf, pronounced "stump."

Samuel Enoch was a philosopher, a full professor of Philosophy at Vanderbilt. He had been presented in *Life Magazine* as one of the ten outstanding teachers of America, had published a very popular history of Philosophy textbook called, *From Socrates to Sartre*. The faculty committee enthusiastically recommended him. Well by the time I got there, it was clear that he was an incredibly self-important, uptight, educationally conservative and somewhat authoritarian in his attitude.

Q. Other than that...

A. Other than that... [laughing]

Q. So he was already unpopular?

A. He was already unpopular. There were jokes about him; he always appeared immaculate, right out of a Haberdasher store from the wingtips up to the carefully brushed hair. He had already alienated some people. He reversed a recommendation that we not allow military recruiters on campus unless they signed a statement disavowing General Hersey's... remember General Hersey's thing "If they're Vietnam War protesters, draft 'em." That had happened while I was gone.

There had been demands by the black students, of course, for a Black Student Union. Of course, there were only sixteen or twenty of them, but they want a house of their own and various other things. I mean, it was a time to make demands. One morning about five a.m. five or six of the black students accompanied by twenty five white students sympathetic to their cause and armed with other grievances, broke into the administration building.

Q. This would be the fall of 1968?

A. Fall of 1968, October 17th, broke into the administration building. It was a small two story building, but they broke in and occupied it, barred the door and had their demands. It wasn't actually very clear what the demands were. Very soon not only was Stumpf there but a bunch of the faculty, the Board Chairman and a couple of other Board Members got there. Unfortunately I wasn't there to witness this because I was giving a paper at a meeting in Dallas, but I got there two days later.

So I had this second hand, but one of the more radical history faculty members circulated a statement saying that we would all, that all the signers would resign or do something drastic if these students were arrested. Well, at first the students were promised they wouldn't be arrested, and then when they filed out they were put on a bus--there were riot police around by then--and taken downtown and booked and so on.

As it turned out they got off with \$25 fines, suspensions and so on, but here again the judicial board put them on probation. The hearing board, we had created a hearing board by then, overturned that saying that the arguments for the probation were very vague. Stumpf, the president, overturned the hearing board and put them back on probation.

At the same time other things had happened to alienate part of the faculty from him. One young, very popular political science professor was denied tenure. Eighty-five students marched into the faculty meeting to protest this. The year previously while I was gone, another popular professor was denied renewal in Political Science. Both of them were leaders in the anti-Vietnam protests. By 1969, early 1969 the faculty was split, deeply split.

What had before been a very happy, collegial environment in which conservatives and liberals partied at each other's houses, had each other over to dinner, we jocularly kidded each other on issues... we only partied with our own kind. This division then, of course, led the one group to join the student "Dump Stumpf" movement. Stumpf was a real problem because he wasn't raising any money; at the same time he was meddling day to day affairs of the college. Then to top it all off, Howard Troyer retired and Stumpf bypassed the recommendation of the faculty search committee.

That is, he asked for three names; we gave him three names and I'm sure we ranked them and let him know who we wanted. He picked somebody who wasn't even among the three. And the guy he picked was a colorless Sociology professor.

Q. On campus?

A. On campus, older conservative fellow who was a supporter. Safe person, safe loyalist he could manipulate. I'll never forget--he was a nice person. He wasn't a mean person but I'll never forget that I had an exit interview with him, and he fell asleep. It was that kind of dynamism. So this helps you understand why...

Q. He was like the Provost or the Dean of the college?

A. He was the new dean of the college. By 1970 what happened was at every social gathering we would say, "Ok, we're just going to have fun tonight, we're not going to talk about 'it'." "It" was--how do we get rid of Stumpf? What have you heard lately? Are any trustees leaning our way? In fact, the trustees were supporting Stumpf not because they loved him but because they saw radical, pink-o, faculty taking over.

Q. They were hearing from alumni and others.

A. Right. And by the way in the “Old Sen” takeover the majority of the students were against the radical students who took it over.

Q. I’m not surprised.

A. It was becoming a demoralized atmosphere, so combining that with my desire to move more in the direction from the... in fact, I was moving more in the direction of Philosophy in my research, I began looking.

Q. Ok, so you wanted to join a Philosophy Department.

A. I would have joined a religion department if I could have taught Philosophy of Religion and Methodology.

Q. Clearly your interests were shifting and you were tired of the troubles.

A. Yes, what had been a wonderful community was now divided, soured; and we seem stuck forever with a president who couldn’t raise money but who wanted to mess in internal affairs.

Q. He could raise hackles but not money.

A. Right. The one bright thing for me intellectually at this time was an invitation to a workshop on Comparative Method at Harvard. It’s in the Vita there. It was the summer of 1970, and it was a grand experience. Sidney Verba who is a professor of Political Science at Harvard had read my article on the *Non-Logical Approach to Historical Knowledge*. He called me and said, “That was the clearest exposition of Phenomenology I’ve read.”

Well, that was just a few pages but he said, “We’re having this workshop on comparative method and we’re bringing in a positivist, a very famous woman, May Brodbeck, an analytic philosopher; Richard Flathman, he was actually a political scientist but had written analytical Philosophy, and I was to represent Phenomenology. So I felt very flattered to be in such company and excited to spend a summer in Harvard.

Q. You would be in effect a faculty member, in a way you were helping lead...

A. It was just a workshop for those who were participating. There was a group of four political scientists from Harvard and there were the three of us. I forget how many others; it was very small. We met daily and we each were to produce a paper that we would read before the end of the thing.

Q. Did the family come? This lasted just a week or two?

A. No, it was at least a month. I think it was several weeks and one of the most interesting and constructive things was, I got along famously with the positivist, May Brodbeck, whose views on the nature of history or social science would be much further away than Richard Flathman’s views. I was very fond of him and we became friends at that, but she hated him. Not personally, she hated the analytic he stood for because, “All you care about is language and language usage. We have to get down to the reality of things.”

Q. We have to stop now.

47 minutes 46 seconds

End of 5.1

Start of 5.2

Q. Continuing an oral history with Larry Shiner on August 11th. You had talked about the analytical and positivist...

A. Approach of critical philosophy of history right, focusing on explanation. By contrast, the traditional human sciences approach, I say traditional because it was developed in the late 19th Century with Wilhelm Dilthey and Max Weber, contrasted what they called--we'll say in English--the human sciences or the humanistic sciences with the natural sciences. And said they are really quite different, that the humanistic sciences seek to understand rather than simply explain and understanding means to some degree getting inside the intentions of historical actors and so on. So I wanted to bring to the humanistic approach of the human sciences approach, the methods and techniques of Phenomenology and existential philosophy, to try to shore those up. So that was one track of my...

Q. So this was a very conscious approach you were taking, to find a niche.

A. Right, trying to find a niche here where I could pursue my interest in these methodological questions and I was drawn to the humanistic side of the debate and because I had already been influenced by Carl Michalson and Friedrich Gogarten who were in dialog with Existential Philosophy; I was already bent in that direction. I wasn't trained in the analytical and was not sympathetic to it.

Q. Sometimes that debate, the polarity between history of science and history of art—humanistic—is a polarity between positivism and relativism. Is it, or not?

A. Ok, well yes that is one of the accusations that the positivists or many of the analytic people would make. They would say, "That's fuzzy minded thinking that if history is to be a serious academic discipline, at its core it has to base its conclusions on evidence that is shored up in the same way that the natural or social sciences do." And as you know within history itself, there was a turn toward what, quantitative methodology at one time and so on?

Q. Oh, sure. I interrupted you...

A. No, no, I was obviously... had an axe to grind. I was obviously choosing sides in a debate.

Q. Of course.

A. As time went on I found that there were, of course, varieties of positions within the analytical camp and some of them more sympathetic; I found more sympathetic than others.

For example, a thinker whom I came to later admire a great deal Arthur Danto, I'm trying to remember if his book dates from the 1960s or early 1970s, intervened in this debate with a book on history as a narrative process. He wrote from an analytical point of view but he was more sympathetic to the humanist outlook.

Q. So that was an interesting bridge.

A. It was kind of a bridge and showed that this was not an absolute dichotomy. Now the second track that I pursued was the track of what I called, "historicity" or "historical reality" or "historical consciousness." It was an idea really growing out of philosophical work in Phenomenology and existential philosophy that sought to understand human nature as fundamentally historical.

There were other ways to approach this than philosophical anthropology. One of those was cultural anthropology in which I would include comparative religious studies and even the history of literatures looked at stylistically, and I'll explain that in a minute. What I'm getting at here is developments--and it seemed to me there were a number of people writing about this from various points of view--of the idea of "societies without history."

I think [Georg Wilhelm Friedrich] Hegel had brought this up that with primitive folk, with primitive peoples on the one hand who seemed to lead a kind of cyclical existence. That is, they lived by the seasons. They don't write history, of course they don't have writing most of them at this period, but they tend to retain and repeat myths to explain things. They don't pass on linear narratives.

Now I discovered later on that there were some anthropologists who challenged this but that was a decade later. But at this time it seemed to me everybody was agreeing on this but certainly the great eastern religions, Buddhism and Hinduism are cyclical. The universe, what is it? It's like the breath of Brahmin breathing out for a hundred million years and breathing in for another hundred million years and the cycle starts over. The whole idea of reincarnation is very cyclical.

Now in contrast to that, there were numerous writers who argued that the Jewish Christian tradition in the west which gets combined with the Greco-Roman tradition later, that the Jewish Christian tradition in particular was linear and historical.

Q. Progressive as well or no?

A. To some degree. Well, there is a beginning, middle and end.

Q. Right, it is linear. That's always a question.

A. It is linear. Is it going up or going down? Well I suppose you could say that, in fact, what's his name, wasn't it Carl Becker the 18th Century? The *Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* argued that the Enlightenment idea of progress was a secularization of the Christian idea of paradise, of salvation. So yes, you could in once sense say that the Jewish Christian narrative is sort of progressive, but it's definitely linear.

Q. Yes, that's the point you make.

A. It has a beginning, middle and end. You don't have a notion of reincarnation; you have a notion of resurrection. This appealed deeply to me and to a lot of people. There were a lot of books on it. One of the most influential was actually, I'll mention two. Marcel Eliade, he was a professor of Comparative Religions or History of Religion at the University of Chicago, a Romanian. He wrote innumerable books on Shamanism and Yoga, but most of them were these attempts to synthesis ideas from various religious and mythological traditions. The book I have in mind and I used it for years as a text in my courses is called, *Cosmos and History*.

Q. By Eliade?

A. By Eliade. In fact, the subtitle may be something like the *Myth of the Eternal Return*. But I think the book that influenced me most and that I still regard very highly, is one of the few intellectual books that I think I can read for the third time. It's by Erich Auerbach and the title is simply, *Mimesis*, the Greek word for imitation or representation.

The subtitle I believe is the *Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Now what is the most important for my thinking in this is the first chapter where he uses his approach, which is sometimes called stylistic, that is you examine the details of a certain style of writing, a certain way of representing reality to reflect, you might say, the stage of a culture.

Q. Excuse me I have to pause a moment.

[Tape pauses]

A. Well, I guess I was going on about Erich Auerbach. This first chapter is wonderful because he compares the story of Abraham and Isaac from the *Old Testament* to the story of the discovery of Odysseus' scar on the *Odyssey*. Basically, if you remember both stories, Abraham hears a voice saying, "Take your son Isaac up to the mountains and sacrifice him." And Abraham does this, goes up to the mountain, prepares to sacrifice him and at the last minute a voice stays his hand. I don't know if the voice stays his hand, but anyway his hand is stayed and he sees a lamb and sacrifices the lamb instead.

Now there are various kinds of ways of interpreting that, but what fascinated Auerbach is the style of it, in the largest sense of style. That is, the structure, the way of representing reality. He says, "Look at this story. There is no explanation of where the voice of god comes, why it comes, the whole thing is just one thing sort of jumps to another." I think he called them a story full of "paratactic gaps." It's not a continuous, smooth narrative. It's a jerky kind of, this happens and that happens and then that happens.

Go to the *Odyssey* and see how the Greeks write. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus has come back after ten years of wanderings and horrible things happening to him. He is in disguise as an old beggar because the suitors would kill him if he hadn't prepared things as he will and eventually kill the suitors himself. But disguised as an old beggar, he comes into the palace because he has to reconnoiter and plan things. According to custom an old servant woman comes to wash his feet. It is Euryclea, his old servant woman who, of course, is very ancient. As she is washing him

she sees a scar on his thigh. She drops his foot into the basin and starts to scream. He clamps his hand over her mouth and stops it.

Now the narrative as Auerbach points out, has been very smooth each step of the way, all the necessary modifiers and prepositions and verbs. But the narrative suddenly stops at this point and goes back and tells the story in two paragraphs of how Odysseus got this scar, and then it picks up again and continues on. In other words, he is saying the Hebrews had a very different way of representing reality. The Greeks, for the Greeks it has to be this continuous integrated thing.

Q. It's an interesting concept. So you were getting a deep interest in style, stylistics and all the literature from linguistics, I presume, and other sources and philosophy, but I can see where this will lead.

A. This will lead eventually to an interest in...

Q. To Tocqueville.

A. To Tocqueville. But alongside looking at all this literature about different ways of conceiving and representing history culture, there was this phenomenological existential approach mainly derived from Heidegger whose great book, *Being in Time*, one of the most influential, philosophical works of the 20th Century certainly, was a--I would call it--kind of philosophical anthropology.

He would be very indignant at that characterization. It was unapologetic, but at any rate, what he was trying to do is describe the basic structure of what it means to be human or what other people would call human nature. He said, "The basic structure of being human is to live in time." His historicity is to be people who must constantly take up our past in the present as we anticipate the future coming towards us.

Q. Historical consciousness?

A. Historical consciousness, what he is describing is historical consciousness. And of course, what makes this very special in Heidegger and in Existentialism is his contrast between the authentic way of doing this and the inauthentic. The authentic way is that we face our past; we face the emptiness and uncertainty of the future, the fact that death awaits us, is coming towards us, and take responsibility for our being. That is where Sartre got his whole thing about Existentialism, that existence means taking responsibility for what you are not saying, "God made me what I am or my circumstances," or whatever.

So I wanted to take all of this that I just described here now and make a book out of it. I had a book planned for a book that would be... actually I went back and found my file and my notes, even a timetable I wrote in 1971 for writing it. I was surprised at the working; the first working title was *Inventing History*.

Q. *Inventing History*? You could have a whole series.

A. Of inventing: *A Genealogy of Historical Discourse*. Now doesn't that sound weighty and pretentious? Anyway, I came up with a better title somewhat later called, *The Interpretive Nexus*. [laughter] Isn't that fancy, fancy stuff? So what I have here from 1971 is this proposal that I sent off to, did I send it to Abingdon? Later I sent it to Cornell University Press and they even inquired how it was coming at one time. But it lists six chapters on topics like *Historical Consciousness*, *The Greek Roots of Historical Discourse*, *The Biblical Roots of Historical Discourse*, and so on, *History as Science and as Art*, what you just said a while ago. That was all worked out by June of 1971.

Q. Well, then you were working on that when you decided to move to SSU? [Sangamon State University]

A. SSU, right.

Q. That was your book project?

A. Right. But the initial conception of it was from 1967, and I felt that if I was going to do this based on Phenomenology I needed to know more about Phenomenology and existential philosophy. I needed a solider grounding. Obviously, I had imbibed a bunch of existential philosophy through Michalson and Gogarten and all these theologians.

I had read some Heidegger or tried to read some Heidegger. I don't think one reads, I think one studies or struggles with Heidegger. So I applied for a year off and it was this that led to Paris in fall of 1967. I had tenure, I think a sabbatical, and I got a fellowship from the Society for Values in Higher Education, SVHE. [searching through papers] So fall 1967 with this fellowship I set sail, literally set sail--well not literally--we didn't have a sail boat... we rode in a...

Q. So this was a major step. It was a sabbatical?

A. It was a sabbatical combined with a fellowship, cross disciplinary fellowship.

Q. From the Society for Values in Higher Education. And they had a base in Paris, or no?

A. No, their base was Indianapolis, I think. It's funded by the Lilly Foundation, I think, maybe also the Danforth people.

Q. Yes, each one of them would be logical. That's pretty interesting. So you were one of maybe a dozen or so that year?

A. Yes, I assume so. I don't know how many they gave. It was, of course, a very exciting thing to go back to Europe; this time to go back with Billie Sue and two children. Laurence was three and a half and Susannah would have her second birthday in France, in Paris. Through Étienne Trocmé, my former teacher, we found a place, an apartment that we could sublet in the suburb of Sevres. It's the first suburb over the line in Paris so it was quite close.

There were trains every half hour. So it was quite a logistical challenge with two small children. We picked up, we decided to buy a car in France because at that time the exchange rate was still favorable to Americans. There was a provision that if you bought a car in Europe and drove

it around for six months or so it came in as a used car in terms of duty, so there was very little duty. Even with the cost of shipping it on the boat with us, it was a good deal because it was in the hold of the ship—it was luggage, it was cargo.

Q. Free cargo.

A. It wasn't exactly free; it was discounted, compared to shipping it independently.

Q. We did the same thing going to Hawaii. Packed the car and sold it when we got there. Excuse me, you went over in September of 1967?

A. It was August of 1967 and so we would have a couple of weeks to get settled. We actually planned a nice little vacation in some beach town in Holland.

Q. Oh, isn't that darling? That is a darling picture. [looking at a photo]

A. So we had this nice little vacation in August and then went back to Sevres where wonder of wonders--give me some of that European Socialism--Laurence age three and a half was eligible for a thing called *ecole maternelle*—a kind of pre-school but really part of the regular school, in a classroom there. So we took him and enrolled him in *ecole maternelle*. I think it was a bit of a trauma for him at first, nobody in his class or his teacher spoke English.

We tried to teach him a little French; we tried to speak French at the dinner table, in the apartment. He was having none of it. We went to the first parent-teacher conference and the teacher said, "He has not opened his mouth in this first six weeks." [laughter] Then at some point, bingo! He started talking French in his class. We would have his little classmates over and they would be running around the apartment just babbling away in French.

One of the things I've learned from this experience was about how people learn language. I agree with the behaviorists on this. It's a behavior. This wooden way we learn it by memorizing grammar patterns and stuff is so counterintuitive. You dump somebody in the environment and they have to eat. [laughter] They are going to learn to say...

Q. So he became pretty fluent in children's French.

A. In children's French. And in fact one of the wonderful parts of the story is how it ends. We get back to Mt. Vernon and so I think the very first night we have his old babysitter come and stay with him so we can go out and see our friends and tell them all about our trip and everything. We get home and she is wide eyed and she says, "He talked French to me the whole evening." He had the idea that with babysitters because we had babysitters in Paris, with babysitters you speak French.

It doesn't end there; the next three or four days with his little playmates from next door, they were just in astonishment. He was going around the house talking French to them. He talked French to them. He understood their English, but French is what you say to your little playmates and your babysitters. But then we had our friend, Amelia, who taught French at the college. She would say, "Larry come in, say something in French." But by that point, no more French. Well

she was English speaking company, and within a week it was gone and we could never get him to say a word of French to us.

Q. Was it a difficult year for him then do you think there? First it was, obviously.

A. At first it was, but then he adapted.

Q. Suzie was home.

A. Susannah was just a baby. She was in a high chair. She got the nickname Susannah Banana because she loved to mash banana between her fingers, smear them on her face. I'll never forget she had her second birthday, we took a trip down to Lyon and further south and we were at the--I couldn't find the picture or I would have showed it to you--at l'Orange, you may have been there. There is a beautiful Roman theatre and that is where she had her second birthday. There is a picture of her and Billie Sue standing on the stage at the Roman Theatre at l'Orange and pictures of her in her stroller in front of the Petit Trianon at Versailles.

Q. It was quite a trip wasn't it?

A. It was a wonderful trip in that way. I think it was frustrating for Billie Sue most of the time because she was stuck in this apartment with these two little kids.

Q. And her French was respectable?

A. Her French was respectable because she had picked up some before she got sick and went on. I of course was all caught up in my research and my adventure.

Q. So you were deeply reading existential literature and Phenomenology?

A. The wonderful thing I had that year was the Centre Universitaire Internationale, I'll type that out for you, the International University Center, right in the heart of Paris, Left Bank on the Boulevard St. Germaine in a lovely neighborhood. It's in an 18th Century what the French call, hotel, what was it called? A hotel, a public—what was it called, townhouse.

Yes, a town mansion that had been purchased by the Carnegie Foundation. This was funded by them for international scholars. I had applied there and had been granted a membership or fellowship or whatever you call it, which consisted in you're being able to use that building where they had tiny little desks scattered around in the building. So I had an "office", don't imagine a big room

Q. Not a carrel?

A. It's more like a carrel, but it had a little bit of privacy, not complete. The other wonderful thing was that they prided themselves on, we will arrange for you to meet French scholars. We'll call them and set up appointments and, of course, there were other people there to meet. I remember especially a scholar by the name of Don Idhe, who is now Professor of Philosophy or probably emeritus from Long Island University. He has written a lot of books on Phenomenology and Existentialism and so on. So that was a great...

Q. Of course. Now how about books, were you able to borrow books from the bibliothèque [library]?

A. No, the French libraries are abominable. I remember once one of the things Ricoeur said after he had come over here and taught at University of Chicago and then just... for one thing the universities, most of them at that time didn't have real libraries. They assumed you used the Bibliothèque Nationale or the Bibliothèque Ste. Genevieve. But to get into those places, you don't walk in and get assigned this carrel. You don't walk in and wander into stacks. You stand in line and get a number, and when a seat opens up you have a seat in the big reading room. Well there is tens of thousands of students in Paris, so you buy your books.

Q. A lot of them were available?

A. Yes. Now, the one thing that, of course, was available to me was the Husserl Archives. Edmund Husserl is the founder of Phenomenology. He is the German, he died in the 1940s around 1940, so it's late 19th early 20th Century, are his writings. It's from Husserl that Heidegger comes and from Husserl and Heidegger that Sartre comes. From Husserl and Heidegger that Merleau-Ponty comes, that Ricoeur comes.

All these French phenomenologists go back to Husserl. So I had the bright idea (I wish I hadn't in some ways), "By gum, I'm going to go back to the foundation. I'm going to go study Husserl." Well, there were few things in translation, most weren't. He had an enormous not [inaudible-38:47] what you call, posthumous papers, enormous number of papers.

What he did was he got up every day, sat at his desk, and wrote from eight in the morning until one in the afternoon. Then he had lunch, then he received visitors, and all of this has been kept, all of this stuff. It was deposited eventually at the University of Louvain in Belgium. They made a typescript of it with two carbon copies. One carbon copy deposited in Paris and the other carbon copy in New York at the New School for Social Research. I sort of pretended not to know about the one in New York because I wanted to be in Paris.

I didn't go just to study Husserl. I also wanted to work with Paul Ricoeur. Michalson and I had thought he was a phenomenological philosopher; he also happens to be one of that small Protestant minority in France and very interested in Theology and devoted to the Protestant, to the Reform Church so that he taught at Strasbourg in both the university and the theological faculty. When he went to Paris he would give lecture courses at the Protestant Theology faculty as well as at the Sorbonne.

By the time I got there he had moved even from the Sorbonne to one of the new French university campuses at Nanterre, an industrial suburb of Paris. It could have been partially because of his liberal, socialist convictions. Partly to help found a new university, we know about those kind of people. At any rate, that was a fateful decision because Nanterre was the hotbed of student radicalism where the whole thing started later.

Q. But you were able to get in touch with him?

A. Yes. He was officially the Director of the Husserl Archives. Now, I thought he might have an office there because the archives were in the Sorbonne, but he was out at Nanterre. I have to tell you about the Husserl Archives. This is one of the great lessons in my life, how reality does not match your imaginations. If you think of the archives of the works of a great thinker, what might come to mind?

Q. Well, obviously the Lincoln Collection and all sorts of speeches, letters, correspondence, printed works that he was responsible for.

A. Yes, and probably in a nice room with reading tables and so on.

Q. Of course.

A. That's what I imagined. I imagined they would have all the so far published works in German and probably they would even have the different translations and in addition, they would have the carbon copy of all the typed manuscripts. So I go to the Sorbonne and I ask the first person in a uniform there where is the Husserl Archives. He had never heard of it. So I start going down corridors and I've been down every corridor and I keep asking people.

Finally, this one guy I asked says, "You might try down those stairs." So I go down those stairs to the basement of the Sorbonne. He said, "Down and maybe across from the India Institute." Well here's the India Institute and here is a door and maybe there was a little tiny sign, "Husserl Archives." I open it, knock first, open it, look in and here is this dingy room, fairly good size but its octagonal shaped. In the middle are a bunch of long tables and kind of straight back chairs. It's lit by a cord that hangs down from the ceiling with a bare light bulb.

One of the doors on the eight sides is ajar, and I can faintly hear some typing. So I go over there and say, "I'm looking for the Husserl Archives." Well, this is it. She's in there typing away. She is, I guess, Ricoeur's secretary to the Husserl Archives. And the archives itself, well, it's next door. We open a door and there are two filing cabinets.

Q. Two filing cabinets?

A. It has in file folders the carbon copies of the typescript of Husserl's manuscripts. There are no books.

Q. No personal papers?

A. No personal papers, nothing. The Husserl Archives is all this stuff that he wrote every morning on various topics. Fortunately there is a kind of index to the... that lists the titles of them so you can kind of guess.

Q. You waded through all that stuff?

A. I waded through all that crap, Cullom! [laughter] I can't believe that I spent hours and hours down there in the basement of the Sorbonne! Here is Paris and I was the gnome down in the basement taking notes looking up every article that had the word geschichte or history or...

Q. Did it bear any fruit at all?

A. Well, it eventually led to the article that is on my... Where did my Vitae go? It's called, *Husserl and Historical Science*, published in *Social Research* 1970. And the more general work that I did also led to a programmatic article that appeared in *History and Theory*, a *Phenomenological Approach to Historical Knowledge*. So that would have been a part of the introduction to my eventual book.

Q. So at what point did you decide that this book didn't any longer interest you?

A. Well it interested me right up to the first few years at Sangamon State.

Q. Of course you were then devoured by...

A. I was devoured by the... like everybody else.

Q. And gradually it just dissipated?

A. Well, yes. The thing that finally killed it off was becoming Dean. By the time I ceased being Dean all of this stuff was eight or nine years old.

Q. Have there been some works on it since?

A. Some works on it since and I think and I meant to look up what date this came out... a guy named David Carr published a book on a phenomenological approach to historical knowledge. It was inevitable that other people were going to work on this. He didn't do all the things I was would have done.

48 minutes 7 seconds

End of 5.2

Start of 6.1

Q. This is an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on August 14, 2009. The interviewer is Cullom Davis. Larry, you were talking about your participation at a Comparative Method Workshop at Harvard in I believe the summer of 1970. And, so we hadn't quite finished that.

A. Yes, I think the only other thing I was going to say about it is that being invited by these distinguished Harvard professors to join their workshop and working as a peer with the famous philosopher like May Brodbeck gave me some confidence that I was ready if the occasion presented itself to move from the field of Religious Studies to Philosophy and certainly that I could do certain things like Philosophy of History, obviously Philosophy of Religion which was my preparation area, but I could move into Philosophy of History and parallel kind of Philosophy, social science that kind of thing.

Q. Actually, it was a tremendous validation of your qualifications. I mean really, to have a distinguished Harvard professor identify you as the most cogent descriptor of Phenomenology. That puts you in pretty heady company.

A. It did, although I must say that people were always saying, well, “What is Phenomenology?” And I always found it fairly difficult to explain in a cogent way. But, you are right. I felt validated and it encouraged me to go ahead and apply for some other positions. Not primarily really out of ambition or desire to move into Philosophy, but primarily the situation at Cornell had become so discouraging because it seemed kind of like a dead end.

But, there were also reasons not to leave. I had many deep friendships. It’s where I adopted three children, I loved the campus, the traditions, the small college atmosphere and I had a wonderful example next door to me. That red house in the picture next door, [showing photo] is where a man named Toppo—that was his nickname—Toppo Tull lived. Toppo was sort of the grand old man of Cornell College. He spent 50 years there as a faculty member in various regards and was so beloved by so many people.

It was just our good fortune to move next door to him. He was in his late 80s at that time, but in his heyday he was a close friend of Carl Sandburg. And, there are many pictures of Sandburg at Cornell College. Sandburg came every year with his guitar, played and sang and read poetry and he used to joke sometimes, “The only organization I belonged to was the English Club at Cornell College.”

Q. My gosh, and it was because of Toppo?

A. Because of Toppo. Toppo loved his students, they loved him. He kept in touch with them. He had a voluminous correspondence in his retirement with them. And, he used to—in a gentle way—reproach me in my ambitions and so on, “You have a wonderful life, just stay here the rest of your life and teach at Cornell.” It would have been. I still have many deep friendships there with people who did stay there their entire lives. It’s that roots ... but there was a little bit of the rootless in me and ambition and wanting some new stimulus.

So, anyway I started applying. I got one offer before even I knew about Sangamon State because my colleague, Shigeo Kanda—who I had mentioned before—had accepted a position in the Religion Department at Chico State in Chico, California. It’s about 200 miles north of San Francisco, in that agricultural valley there. That is where his family was from was that area, mother lived in San Francisco, and they wanted to go back. Well they were hiring and I went ahead and applied and they did a telephone interview and hired me sight unseen.

That was partly because of Ronald Reagan who was Governor then and had cut university budgets and also the California State College System, unlike the University of California System—you are probably familiar with the difference—was much less well funded and were not allowed to pay the transportation of anyone or the moving costs of anyone except from the California state line to the university. Well, I looked into it and it would have cost us three or four thousand dollars which is a big sum of money in 1971 to move our household out there. And, of course I hadn’t even seen the campus.

Of course, I knew and loved Shig, would have loved to be his colleague but I had no idea what my other colleagues would really be like. So I was pondering this when the call came from someone at it might have been [Robert] Batson I don't know who, from Sangamon State saying someone had given him my name.

Q. Ok, so you hadn't applied?

A. No, I hadn't even heard of Sangamon State University. I think it was one of our philosophers, Kenneth Freeman at Cornell whom I knew quite well. I think that's who it was. At any rate, I came down for the interview in the winter or spring of 1971 and I got as far as the junction of what would have Shepard Road and what is that, West Lake Drive there an up high enough so I could see the "campus", there were some cornfields, some mud and one metal building. Maybe there were two metal buildings.

Q. Yes, there were several. They were kind of connected.

A. Maybe this building we are in was one of them, I don't know. At any rate, I almost turned the car around and what because I thought *I would leave this beautiful hill top campus, 100 years old, etc., etc.,?* But, I came on and was won over. I was very impressed by Bob Spencer. He had, to me, all the right values about the liberal arts and all this talk about innovation, focus on teaching, and of course he talked a lot about the public affairs aspect which I liked, but didn't know a lot about. But he was of course very keen on that.

Then I got to meet people and one of the people was you. I was very impressed by the people I met. Not terribly impressed by Ernst Giesecke but that was very brief. But the time with John Walsh, Conald Foust, Austin Carley, Mark Heyman, I think those are some of the people that I met, this was really fun. And, everybody was full of ideas and enthusiasm. This was a new place, we were going to do great things, reform all of higher education by planting this seed here and so on. And, when I got back and was offered the job the salary at Chico was... the salary was much bigger than Chico was offering.

Q. And you would get moving expenses.

A. Yes, eighty percent of moving expenses although it wasn't that far, it was still something. And, I remember my good friend, Thomas Michalson my colleague saying, "Larry you should go there. You'll be in the ground floor; you'll be the chair of the brand new Philosophy Department that you will build." And, of course that is what everybody thought who were coming here. We're all in on the ground floor, it's the only floor there was! I didn't know I was going to be in another Sorbonne basement? No, really I have been very happy here the whole time.

Q. As you look back on that decision you explain all the factors and feelings you had. On balance, do you think it was the push from Cornell or the pull to Sangamon State that was more... or can you weigh those factors?

A. I think I had pretty well made up my mind to leave. But, the excitement here was a real pull. I think one of the things I forgot to mention that I like about the Blue Memo and about the people I met was this business about credentials. I think it's in the Blue Memo is what you

know and what you can do not what degrees you have or where they are from. Well, that of course appealed to me given my checkered theological past and the fact that what, at least two of the four or five people who interviewed me also had Theology degrees in their pasts. That helped.

Q. Did it concern you at the time since you also had an active research and writing agenda that this might suffer?

A. I didn't think about it. I didn't think about it enough because in the spring of 1971 I think I mentioned on our last tape, I had actually written down, I had written a proposal, I had a book outline, I had a timetable even for when I would do various parts of it. I thought oh well, that will get done too. I had no idea what I was getting in to.

Q. I suspect there wasn't a lot of talk when you came here about support for or an environment conducive...

A. No, no talk about that. And, I'm not sure maybe this isn't a "publish or perish" place came up because that would be a connection with the focus is teaching. But, that appealed to me, because I loved teaching and I was at a teaching institution. Cornell rewarded you for research but they didn't expect you to produce books. So, at any rate the most...

Q. What was Billie Sue's reaction to this?

A. Well, thank you. That was in my notes to mention--stony silence. She didn't want to leave, clearly and I couldn't get a rise out of her. I couldn't get her fight it; I couldn't get her to embrace it. She didn't want to come down and look for housing. I came down by myself and bought a split level three bedroom house in the Glen Aire subdivision right near the campus. Later on I found out that the reason she didn't want to, was she was deeply in love with one of my colleagues. They weren't having an affair or anything but the marriage was already having stains, more strains than I was aware of. Let's put it that way. So, she was a very, very reluctant on the adventure.

But I was of course, all excited. My excitement was only increased by my pleasure in looking forward to it, only increased by you probably remember it, you had a little summer colloquy of all the new faculty you just hired. You had us all, you paid our way, flew people in from the four corners or wherever, and we all had a little workshop on what Sangamon State was up to that point and what it would be.

I remember I roomed with John Syer and Howard Moon and they were interesting characters, both of them. John is really a peach of a guy and Howard is a character. I'll never forget that in the middle of one of the discussions, everything was held in that cafeteria over there in that one building, Guy Roman climbed up on the table and said, "I am a man of the theatre!" and babbled on about something. It was inconsequential but he wanted to get up and let us know.

Q. Histrionic.

A. Histrionic as usual. It was pretty fun. It was then and subsequently for the first three or four years a very heady, heady atmosphere, very intense. Everybody was in motion, discussions about fundamental principles and this, that and the other thing. In terms of the teaching, I jotted some notes down about that. I immediately picked up on the interdisciplinary mantra which appealed to me of course because I was...

Q. You were a model of it.

A. ...we were on of course the quarter system with two, five hour courses per quarter following the spring so I prepared five new courses during that time. I never taught them before, in fact that was the wonderful opportunity and the--what do you want to say--the difficulty or the trap you might say of the opportunity. I think there is some phrase about that. You could do anything you wanted and so you were often ended up doing far more than you should.

It would have made a great deal more sense to pick some courses, teach them over again and improve them each time. Instead, I was constantly looking for something new and it was partly due to the fact that I was the first person specifically hired to do Philosophy, to be a Philosopher. The other people who had Philosophy training and interest were committed to other programs. Carley to Psychology and John Walsh to Biology not Robert Thorson was a former priest to Sociology and so on.

Q. So their first alliance was to something else they were doing.

A. Right. There was also Gari Lesnof Caravoglia. But she had just a couple of special things that she was interested in that fit in with her gerontology interest. And, last but not least there was George Schurr, the Dean of Humanities who was a PhD in Philosophy and who would teach a course now and then. George and I got along fine. There was certainly a potential there for him to be questioning my credentials and so on, but there was not. I think we had some mutual respect.

Q. Well you had publications.

A. Right. That's true by then...

Q. Maybe more than he did.

A. I can't remember. At any rate, I soon began thinking and talking with other people about what was the right kind of Philosophy program to have here. It soon became clear to me that having a traditional Philosophy major probably wouldn't work, primarily because this was an upper division institution. There were no freshman and sophomores. At Cornell if we got majors in Philosophy or Religion, they usually came from two sources. One, a distribution requirement would send them to one of our courses and they got excited and said they wanted to major in this, or two, from our teaching in the humanities core.

This was a great boon for recruiting majors because it exposed us to people who might never have taken a course. We had none of that at Sangamon State. We had people coming in as juniors and I discovered quickly that very few in 1971 at least, very few of the Illinois

community colleges offer Philosophy at all. Lincoln Land didn't have a single course in Philosophy. They eventually did hire someone who taught introduction and logic and ethics maybe. So, there would be no feeder mechanism.

I chaired a taskforce made up of George Schurr, Conald Foust, John Walsh and a couple of other people, Norman Hinton was on it and Larry Golden. He was interested in Political Philosophy. In the spring of 1972 we decided that there was to be a degree, a bachelor's degree in Philosophy it would have to be one that was based on another major.

It would be an interdisciplinary one. We thought that there ought to be a degree, there had to be a degree or some identifiable unit to give some autonomy to the subject matter. For one thing, it could just get absorbed into another discipline and some autonomy to the faculty and an independent base for tenure. Otherwise probably nobody had ever gotten tenure because they wouldn't have had the discipline in the degree.

This task force--I had to do some research in the archives to dredge all this up--was to produce a proposal for a Bachelor of Arts degree in Values and Public Policy. It didn't even have the word "Philosophy" in the title. And it called for the Philosophy faculty to spend half their time teaching interdisciplinary courses within other programs, and the other half of the time, developing more or less straight Philosophy courses on an upper division level dealing with areas like critical thinking, ethics and so on. Again, because we were upper division we could not offer 100 or 200 level courses. We couldn't offer Introduction to Philosophy so it was a dilemma. Now, that proposal was actually turned down.

Q. By the board staff?

A. No, internally in the university. And what emerged was a slightly different title, "Philosophy and Human Values" we got Philosophy in the name of it. It became a "sequence". This was the SSU term for what elsewhere would be a "minor". As you know we had to have our own terms for everything.

Q. Of course, right. Well "minor" is so debasing...

A. Right, right. So it was a "sequence." And sequence was kind of at that point looking back at the old catalogs was kind of a holding area for things that they hoped they would have a degree in later. So Teacher Prep was a sequence, Accountancy was a sequence, initially; I forget there were two or three other sequences. They were listed separately in the catalog. There were the BA degrees, the MA degrees and the sequences.

There was with some chagrin that I had to accept that because what it meant was that if somebody was interested in Philosophy and this happened a number of times, people would say, "Oh there is Philosophy here. I looked in the catalog and there is no Philosophy." Well, in the alphabetical list of degree programs Philosophy isn't there. You have to look under sequences but a lot of people...

Q. Who would think of that?

A. Who would think of looking under sequences? So, at any rate it was a term of...

Q. So that was approved and went into effect in the fall...

A. ...the fall of 1972. Well, no, no it was 1971, 1972. I guess it was accepted, I suppose it really didn't take effect until 1973. But I was there, I was teaching and I would be teaching the same thing. My strategy in implementing this was to spend a lot of time visiting with my colleagues in other programs, negotiating, actually trying to--it sounds a little more formal that it was-- but negotiating agreements. We didn't often write them down in those days, whereby some course that I would teach or George or one of the other people, would be listed as a satisfying requirement for the major. It wouldn't be, obviously any course could satisfy, what do you call it? Overall graduation credit?

Q. But you wanted this to have some punch, that it would actually satisfy a major requirement.

A. Right, although at the time we didn't even have course prefixes. When we did get course prefixes what we tried to do is to get these courses double listed so they would have, for example, we had a thing called "Operations Research" it was maybe within the administration, I forget. George Schurr taught Technology or Science and Human Values or Technology and Values and they listed that.

My first and most successful agreement because it lasted for years was with the Nursing Department. They wanted their students to have some liberal arts courses. So, Joyce Griffin agreed that a course called Perspectives on Human Nature was basically a philosophical anthropology would be required of all nursing students. So that was a home run there, to get a course actually required.

Q. It sure was. That was a well enrolled program and here you would have a captive audience.

A. A guaranteed program. And, as your comment implies one difficulty of our situation would be that if a program wasn't heavily enrolled, our generous offering to them might seem more like competition for students, taking students away and so on.

Q. So that was a lot of work. You had to develop a reading list and all sorts of things.

A. Oh, absolutely yes.

Q. Each one of these.

A. Each one of these.

Q. Totally new perspectives.

A. Right. For example, we did a course for Physiology "Philosophical Problems in Psychology." A course in the Social Justice Profession, "Law, Justice and Morality", and my "Myth, Reality and History" history course. You historians generously list it as satisfying some hours in History. Eventually my favorite one, arrangement was--this is much later '76, '77--the Community Arts Management Program made Philosophy of Art part of the required core for their students.

Most of the students really enjoyed it and thought it was valuable. A few thought right to the end, "Why do we have to take this, I want to learn accounting, and how to raise money, this is not practical." In fact, one or two who had resisted it wrote me later and said, "I was surprised I used some of these ideas." Because of course they have to make decisions about what things to sponsor or to acquire or to fund and this involves them explaining some aesthetic reasons.

Q. And you enjoy that? A lot of the students were pretty good.

A. Oh yes and the CAM [Community Arts Management] students, most of them were pretty good. They were older; it's all a graduate program. The Nursing Program actually though it wasn't a graduate program, the students were older, and they were mostly practicing nurses. I loved them. They were, many of them fairly hard bit, down to earth people who were working full time and raising families. They were in a no-bullshit, let's get down to brass tacks... and they did the work. Well that was a part of that whole thing that we all I think talked about, what a pleasure it was to have these older students. And what, the average age was 31 or 32?

Q. I think so.

A. So, you mentioned something. You started to ask or to comment on the effects of this and the demands. And it was very demanding because you're constantly focusing on someone else's disciplinary content rather than just your own. So instead of spending your time reading the latest stuff on Philosophy on some narrow philosophical topic, you're out here, well I was teaching Media Ethics and Peter [Wenz] and Ed [Cell] and I all taught Medical Ethics.

Well these are difficult complex problems in themselves in these fields and they are constantly changing, especially in Medical Ethics. Now the whole thing with genetic engineering for example came along later, issues like--some are more traditional--but surgical techniques that are introduced and so on. You have to know the material because you are talking to nurses who know it better than you do for example.

The other thing is that was a little of a handicap and is connected to the preparation thing is that basically everything you do in Philosophy when its interdisciplinary and you're dealing with history majors, psych majors, nursing and so on, you're teaching Introduction to Philosophy over and over. You never are able to get somebody who is actually at the junior or senior level in Philosophy. So, it was a mixed bag. It didn't bother me so much perhaps because I didn't have the traditional Philosophy training. I hadn't expected, although my first teaching job, which at University of Tampa I taught Introduction to Contemporary Greek and Logic. I could have done that, but I loved this.

Q. You were always stretching your mind to understand the issues in some other field so that you can address them from a philosophical perspective. Which can be energizing but it also can be in innovating, I mean there is a point where you are really stretched pretty thin.

A. Right, as time when on-this was true for me and it became for my two colleagues --I'll mention in a minute--we all began to focus. At the beginning we might be doing Medical Ethics, Nursing, Media Ethics for Communication, Myth, Reality and History for History. I mean you are

pulled in five directions. Over time we began and as we added faculty in Philosophy, we could specialize a little more so one person could go with Psychology and Medicine and one could go with Law and Criminal Justice and so on.

Let me mention these colleagues because that is one of the pleasures of my years here. I had had considerable success in establishing these relationships with other programs so that by 1973 it was going to be possible to add another person in Philosophy or it may be that because the start of Ed Cell's time here coincided with my becoming acting Dean of Humanities that it was really that which triggered the hire.

I don't remember to be honest with you. At any rate, we advertised for someone with teaching experience and we really wanted them to have more than the grad assistant kind of thing and a commitment to this interdisciplinary. Ed was a perfect fit. I had met him when I was at Cornell. He was teaching at Simpson College in Iowa and his brother was on the faculty at Cornell.

Q. Yes, you mentioned him. Don?

A. Don Cell was an Economist, a person with whom I still have a very close relationship. We invited Ed up to give a lecture partly because his brother was there and I really liked him a lot. Meanwhile he had gone to US International University in San Diego; it may have changed its name since. He was very frustrated there. They had a very entrepreneurial president that he thought was trying to turn it into something like Parson's College. Ready to make money and hand out degrees, no questions asked. At any rate, Ed came and was from then on a mainstay of the program and very...

Q. What were his particular strengths?

A. Well, interestingly enough, his background was Philosophy of Religion. Whereas I was no longer interested in teaching anything related to religion, he was and he did a course in Philosophy of Religion. He was particularly interested in Psychology and Rogerian Psychotherapy. Carl Roger's Psychotherapy approach and the idea of the person and he used to talk about the whole person. Remember, that was one of his life motifs.

So he developed courses in the psychology direction. He also worked in the medical ethics direction so he did perspectives on human nature. We all taught whenever it was needed. We needed it fall and spring every year for the nurses. He did that and also developed a course for the SJP, Social Justice Profession and also Management, Business Ethics. So we were going a lot of directions. After that year of being Dean of Humanities I became Dean of Academic Programs.

Q. We're going to return to that.

A. Right but that meant that even though George Schurr had gone back on the faculty for a year, he moved on and we needed another Philosopher. Maybe we were given one for compensation for my departure. I won't call it elevation. [laughter] That's when we hired Peter Wenz whom I hadn't met before. Peter had a degree from the University of Wisconsin and he was... both Peter and Ed were trained in the analytic tradition whereas I was in the

Phenomenology thing. But they were open minded Analytic Philosophers, not the kind who think that analytic Philosophy is the only respectable kind there is. I don't know if you are aware of that battle between the Anglo-American and the continentals.

Q. Well I didn't know it if you put it in those terms.

A. Anglo-American, well by the 1970s Analytic Philosophy dominated both British and American Philosophy. There were only a handful of departments in the country that could be considered focused on Phenomenology and Existentialism and continental Philosophy. And there were only a handful that were mixed, that were pluralistic. Many of those people just say right out, that's not Philosophy, that's cultural.

Q. So it was as an all or nothing...

A. For many of them, and neither Ed nor Peter were that way. Of course I wouldn't have hired them if they were. But, we got along famously the whole time. I don't think we ever had a quarrel. If we had any disagreements, we settled them amicably. We used to joke that our departmental meetings consisted of standing around in the hall whenever the three of us happened to be on campus at the same time and solving whatever problems, conducting our business that way. It was partly that the very plurality of what we could do meant that there wasn't ever any jealous,--well, I owned that area or whatever. They were just good people.

Q. You personally and then the three of you were a model of grafting yourselves onto a dynamic kind of growing university in ways that served other programs but also gave you very respectable enrollment.

A. It did, it did. We were always a little surprised ourselves that some years we led enrollments in the Liberal Arts. Of course that wasn't because these well all Philosophy majors or minors or sequencers. In fact, one of the funny things about it is we sort of forgot about the sequence thing and while you could get, at the beginning there was the problem that since it was a sequence, do you put that on your transcript?

To satisfy the requirements for completing the sequence you had to take 16 hours and supposedly one should be from Critical Thinking, one from the History of Philosophy and one from Ethics. But you could count various courses for this. We never had much business for that and frankly or paid much attention to it. We did at one point attempt to get the registrar, I have a memo from [John] Keiser about it, "We're looking into this question on how we recognize the sequence on transcript." There seems to be some problems. A minor I think you could do it but...

Q. In a way a sequence is a misnomer because it wasn't necessarily sequential.

A. Exactly! It was a package. It was just another of our, it was like "cluster" instead of "school", "programs" instead of "departments", "convener" instead of "chair". All part of that nonsense, "innovation speak."

46 minutes 34 seconds

End of 6.1

Start of 6.2

Q. This is continuing an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on August 14th. You were talking about how the sequence, didn't pay much attention because you didn't have...

A. Sequencers.

Q. The interesting thing to me is that it is enormously flattering, could be to a philosopher to discover that his field permeates and has a tangent relationship with everything in the world. And it does of course but this was kind of an institutional example of it. You made yourself useful to all these other programs.

A. And periodically we thought of and I really should have done this, writing it up and publishing it in a periodical called, *Teaching Philosophy*. I should have done it and I even started a draft once but there were so many things to do it didn't seem worth doing it. And, we were in sink actually with a development in Philosophy in the late 70s already, certainly in 80s of Applied Philosophy.

Eventually some places like Bowling Green University for example developed degree tracts in this. This grew up in part because the Medical Ethics area in particular of course became very important and people started specializing in that. We had a few people in I think maybe we talked once about psycho-history which we'll come to soon, who did degrees in both. You get doctors who go back and get a Philosophy Degree and so on.

Q. Because they were Ethicists?

A. Yes. They were interested in Ethics and by the 1980s certainly the SIU Medical School had hired a full time Philosopher who became adjunct with us, George Agich.

Q. In fact that medical school, thanks to the founding dean had a strong emphasis upon the humanities.

A. Yes, they had a Humanities Department, a Medical Historian. Ted LeBlang was Medical Law and Glenn Davidson was the chair of it and his background actually was I think Theology and Counseling. So, we were somewhat in sync with that movement although obviously what was going on there was people were again very specialized. You would either be in Medical Ethics or Business Ethics.

Q. Whereas you were kind off utility...

A. We were utility infielders. That is a good way of putting it. As I say that utility infielder thing got old after a while and we began to try to be first base, second base, third base. A little more rationalized. I for example really focused more on the Humanities area relating Philosophy to

Art, History and Literature. Actually I developed a course on Literary Theory because I studied that, well it was part of my prep for the Tocqueville book.

I taught that for English but it never drew well enough to do it more than a couple of times. But the course that did succeed in the literary area was Narrative in Fiction and Film. It was narrative theory, but how that applies to both fiction and film. I taught that many, many times at the upper division and then at the graduate level. I think it became a graduate level course for the MA students because it was, for the average communication student who just wanted to be a radio announcer it was a little theoretical and difficult. That allowed me to do things that actually would connect to some research I was doing.

Q. It's a great story that I had never really fully understood how you came up with this strategy as you call it and how it really blossomed in this environment can't take credit for that but it was the right kind of environment to do that.

A. Right. And I often thought later that I would far rather been here doing all of these different things then to have ended up in some traditional department with twenty different Philosophers where I have my little thing and you can't transgress anybody else's territory.

Q. And you wait for them to die and so you can inherit...

A. Actually I would say the only thing I waited for someone to retire on to get in to teaching was the Architecture area which Mark Heiman did. Mark was a good friend and was very fond of him, admired him a lot. I had no eagerness for him to depart and turn that over to me. There was plenty to do but once he retired I did begin to teach courses related to Architecture.

Q. That's right because he taught all of his, whatever he taught in Architecture and was always [Frank Lloyd] Wright related. So it's kind of an idiosyncratic, personal thing. Whereas you had really read the literature in art Philosophy.

A. He was really more interested in the 1970s and early 1980s I think in educational theory than he was in pursuing the Write thing. As he got older and moved toward retirement, he began to work on a book about Wright ideas and I know we had many conversations, I read some drafts, to be an apprentice as he was in the 1950s what a very heady experience.

Q. Well Sangamon State was a culminating experience, it was life. I'm sure, but that was an early powerful experience. We talked about him a lot. I can see why it would be. Wright was incredibly magnetic and independent, brilliant individual. So, were you able really during... well, get back to your administrative assignments but did you get any writing done really?

A. Oh, a little bit but only in the sense of taking things I'd already begun to develop at Cornell College in the last couple of years and polishing them, improving them, and eventually getting them published. I came across a letter from 1973 from the editor of Cornell University Press saying, "How is the manuscript on *Phenomenology and History* coming?"

Q. Oops.

A. Oops. Well it wasn't coming but out of it came those articles, *Sacred Space, Profane Space, Human Space* from 1972. That was going to be the chapter on historical space in the book. And then *Structures of Historical Temporality* in 1974.

Q. You were still publishing an article or two a year.

A. Yes, but it was really coming out of previous stuff. And in fact that *Tradition, Modernity an Ideal Type Gone Astray* is part of the paper I presented at the Harvard workshop in 1970. They were going to publish a book of the papers. I got mine in on time but several of the others never showed up and finally in '73 Sydney Verba wrote us all and said looks like the book isn't going to happen to you are free to publish your papers elsewhere. So I took that submitted mine elsewhere.

But, I also have to note that there was almost an anti-publication as SSU. I remember, I don't know why I associate it with the comments of Larry Golden but, of course he was very young and had never taught any place else. He certainly hated the idea of department chairman and authority of any kind and so on. But, comments from him and some other faculty seemed to imply to me that if you were spending any time doing research and writing you were just being selfish and taking time away from your students and your colleagues and your dedication to the university.

That was... so I completely agreed with the idea of teaching first and I agreed with the idea of none of that "publish or perish." When I was on a lot of personnel committees and when I was on personnel committees and somebody came up who had published, I never held that against them. We all have different talents to bring here to the mix and so why condemn someone for not publishing, why condemn someone for publishing? I suppose if all they did was their own research and neglected their classes and had poor teaching evaluations, well sure we should say you don't belong here, whereas, somebody like that might get through over at Urbana where they expect the publications.

Q. You didn't exactly make a secret of your writing.

A. No, not at all. I openly disagreed with people on that because I think most people didn't have a negative view of it.

Q. But it was a part of the ethos, that it distracts us from building the university.

A. Building the university, teaching and so on. But, the ethos here was mostly an ethos of excitement, openness, everything is possible, some of it silly, all that nomenclature stuff... although there were serious structural things behind the nomenclature.

Q. Exactly.

A. Department leadership was very weak. If you were a Convener, it changed every year. I remember, we had the three categories, teaching, service, did we have scholarship then at all? Public Affairs--teaching, scholarship and public affairs. I remember when oh, who was it? John

Knoepfle came up for tenure and he had taken his turn as convenor of English and just horribly botched it.

He didn't have much else in the way of service and I said, "Well, John Knoepfle is a poet; we ought to have him around here to write poetry." Why try to force everybody into this straight jacket of 30 percent, 30 percent...? There was plenty to debate about. As you know there were endless debates about, "What is Public Affairs?" Have you satisfied it if you just taught a Public Affairs colloquium? And I think for a lot of people that became a thing. At first I thought that every course I taught even if it was Logic and Critical Thinking should have to have a Public Affairs dimension.

Q. You thought that?

A. Yea! I mean I thought there ought to be some political kind of thing. I think the other thing structurally that made for not exactly anarchy, but was a real problem, was our Governor System with the University Assembly. I had forgotten about this until I went back and looked it up. 18 faculty, 18 students, 9 staff, 9 community members, 5 administrators and that body was in charge of the curriculum, the academic standards. Normally the faculty are in...

Q. It was radical.

A. ...it was radical and I went along with it. I was caught up in with everybody else but it was part of the reason why we had trouble settling down. I loved the innovation. I loved the interdisciplinary but like many of us I began to wonder if we didn't need a little more structure than we had. And remember the grading system was written evaluations.

Q. Written evaluations and you could do as many incompletes as you wanted.

A. And wasn't there a... until we noticed the abuses all of this let to you could take as many hours as you wanted. So somebody would sign up for 40 hours you only paid 16 hours' worth of tuition, take incompletes, which could last forever and take two or three years of college work for one semester's tuition. Genius.

Q. It was clever. I thought the students deserved it, it was genius. It was a terrible abuse of the spirit.

A. That suggests to me another topic that was very hot at this time, of course, was the whole conflict between the faculty and the administration, in particular, the issue of President, Bob Spencer. I remember in that, in my second year or maybe it was the spring of my first year but anyway, in 1972 sometime, that those of us who came the second year had heard so many horror stories and had picked up such bitterness on the part of many faculty especially towards Spencer and were hearing these kind of off the wall condemnations of the faculty this, the faculty that from Spencer that--and I don't know who orchestrated this--Chris Breiseth, Rich Shereikis and I went to Bob Spencer to say, "Bob, the new faculty don't hate you. We have nothing against you. The atmosphere seems to be a bit poisoned here. Let's try to put oil on the water, calm the water here a bit." I don't remember any detail of the meeting except my impression is that Bob was just too wounded to respond.

Q. It was a constructive initiative.

A. It was an attempt at conciliation and to say look don't alienate the second year faculty the way you've alienated the first.

Q. He just couldn't do that. You two would have been I would think very close intellectual companions. You had many common interests.

A. Absolutely. I loved the Blue Memo and I was so impressed with my interview with him. I certainly was one of the factors in my coming.

Q. And he read deeply.

A. He did. And he had the right values, education...

Q. In many ways he got a bum rap, but some of it was self-imposed.

A. Yes, he could just be off the wall, literally off the wall, just bouncing around. It was interesting to observe. Fortunately for him, he had John Keiser as his Vice-President who was a real sheet anchor in a storm. And, Keiser was determined to try to stabilize the ship here a bit. He had picked Doug Kindschi to be his planning person and Doug was a very... Doug's background is Math--he was very logical, rational, a thoughtful person--I always got along well with Doug and he too was concerned with trying to straighten up and fly right.

More on the fun side of things, I think one of the most interesting things I got into was to Co-Chair University Week with Austin Carley. Well it was a hoot to work with Austin and this was between the fall 1972 and spring 1973 session so I had only been there a short time, a year and a quarter. Well, Austin, I mean this ebullient, incredibly winning person, incredibly irresponsible in some ways, in many ways, forgetful. People have wonderful stories to tell about Austin. But he did a fabulous job because he had been a journalist. He was able to think of and to bring together a wonderful series of speakers and programs for "China Week"

Q. Oh, it was China Week?

A. It was right after Nixon's overtures to China. So, China was in the air so we had Old China hands in politics from political studies, culturally we had of course Chinese food in the cafeteria; we had a ping-pong tournament. It was fun but it was great working with Austin. He is another example, like Mark Hyman of the non-credentialed. It wasn't that he--well, I shouldn't say non-credentialed, I should say oddly-credentialed. Mark had a Master of City Planning and his experience with Frank Lloyd Wright to recommend him and was very knowledgeable and a real intellectual to his last days. Maybe Austin was less of the intellectual; he had a Master's Degree in Medieval Literature from Cambridge.

Q. Not bad.

A. And, had some PhD work toward a degree in Sociobiology or something and all of this journalistic experience in South America. So, they had so much to bring.

Q. And, Guy Romans too. But I guess he had a Doctorate didn't he?

A. I think it was honorary.

Q. He wore elegance...

A. A cape right.

Q. I agree with you. Later on another one that was un-credentialed was Jim Worthy.

A. Oh, yes I loved Jim.

Q. He was a corporate executive, a president with Sears but he had a Bachelor's Degree.

A. And then we brought in later, Paul Simon to direct Public Affairs.

Q. It wasn't that much later actually. I don't think he had a college degree.

A. Really? Well, then he certainly was a very intelligent, well-read person. Couldn't have asked for a better journalist, a better person. There were many pluses to our [inaudible-25:32].

Q. I have no doubt however, that Bob Spencer ran into resistance with the Board of Regents staff on some of these. They were very credentials oriented. Most of them had Educational Doctorates. I just know that a lot that Bob suffered through with them and with his Board that we who were critical of him, were oblivious to.

A. Yes, because in this conservative community and we were regarded as pinko, nut house. Well Jim Krohe, I loved his epithet for Sangamon State a "Banana Republic with Bookshelves." It was great and it fit in a way. All of this as you might imagine put some strains on both scholarship and family life. We talked about the scholarship. SSU of course for me as it did for or so many others, it absorbed all your time and even if it wasn't your physical time but also your mental and emotional attention. I think maybe Billie Sue sat in on some classes, some discussions.

She warmed up to the place a little bit but there were still tensions between us and a crisis was brewing. It kind of came to a head over something that I had participated in. John Nolte and maybe John Miller one or the other put on a kind of group therapy weekend or workshop or something trying out various gestalts. I can't remember the names of those therapy techniques. I think Billie Sue wanted to go to it or had started to go to it, maybe there were several sessions and I went along. At any rate, at some point various people would become the focus. They would have you go through some exercise talking about your family and problems and so on. I didn't.

At one point I made some comments about something and they started drawing me out and I just remember they did one of these gestalt exercises about well, your problem or your issue is responsibility. You have all these responsibilities you think you have to bare them all. So, I want you to get down on your hands and knees and then he had different people in the group pile on and you are supposed to hold these people up as long as you can. Ten people piled on me and I

finally cracked. So, it was intended to give you some insight using unusual therapy methods. I think for Billie Sue, she had gotten into this to get something out of it and instead I had taken it over and become the center of attention.

Q. Oh, so you went along fine with it all.

A. Yes, I got into it. And, here were I just vaguely remember that there were some another issues and you could see some kind of liaisons budding in the group and so on. I remember after one session, I drove somebody home, she had dropped by that point and it was obvious that this person was quite ready to have an encounter. And, I'm actually kind of a timid type about these things and a little over cautious maybe but I sort of pulled back because Billie Sue and I had already been having some quarrels and so on and just that little bit of opportunity there made me realize, "Ok, I've got to fish or cut bait. I've got to bury the hatchet and get my family life in order or I'm going to end up as some of our colleagues were already, in the divorce court."

I don't know I remember the details, but I do remember in our clashes going out to empty the trash and there laying in the trash from the previous emptying, maybe falling out first were a bunch of letters. But, they were letters that hadn't been sent, they had been written to this person expressing a deep love and so on. I mean, I read about two of them and decided that was all I want to know about this. What emerged was at the time I decided to take us all down here for my great adventure; she was deeply in love with this person in Cornell. But she hadn't had an affair with him in the physical sense.

He had a somewhat strained relationship with his wife. He cared for her and was very frank with her that he was not about to break up his marriage. So obviously, here she was dragged off to this brand new place. I was all excited, absorbed in that and she was home with these three little kids. Laurence was in kindergarten or first grade so Suzie was maybe in pre-school and Eddie was three. So she was having her hands full.

We kind of buried the hatchet and one of the things we did is that we agreed that we would find a different house, it would be her pick. I liked the pick. We chose a two story, old frame house on South Glenwood which this couple had rented believe it or not for 50 years and nothing had been done to it in those 50 years. So we borrowed the price of the house plus the price of adding a big kitchen and new bath on the back, a new garage, updating the electrical and all that. We moved in there.

Q. When was that? Probably 1973?

A. Probably '73 and it was a great neighborhood. We were only two blocks from Washington Park if that, and on our block there were lots of other small kids. Walt Johnson and his wife lived half a block away and their kids were just about the same kids as ours. They had three. Mike Costello the attorney and wife Carol lived across the street from Johnson's and they had kids about our age. Laurence and David became good friends all through high school. So, it was a nice family place. I have good memories of that until 1973 but ...I don't know if I should continue on that or go back to the administrative part.

Q. Whatever is most comfortable to you, Larry.

A. Well, about that time I seriously got into administration as acting Dean of Humanities the first semester I taught three courses, a load. I didn't teach the second semester, I think I had tenure and was also I was a chair or a part of a taskforce on reorganization. I for the life of me I can't remember why we thought we needed to reorganize.

Q. It was chronic.

A. We had four Deans remember? Humanities, Social Studies, Natural Science and Professional Studies. I had replaced George Schurr. Maybe I forgot to mention why George wasn't doing Humanities anymore. George was an interesting guy. He had ramrod integrity, which is a way of saying an exaggerated sense of integrity. He had to tell people exactly what he thought including, offend. And, he would make foolish declarations like, "If Bob Spencer overturns any of my tenure recommendations, I will resign."

One of the things that Spencer did that upset a lot of people, one of the many things, was he would overturn tenure, but not in the direction presidents normally do. Normally a vice president or a president might overturn a positive decision because he felt people at the lower level just haven't been severe enough or just didn't have the heart to do what needed to happen.

Q. That's typically the pattern.

A. That is the typical pattern but Spencer did the opposite. It was hard enough for our Tenure Committee, it was very hard for our program, our small program and then difficult for the Tenure Committee at a small university where we all knew each other well, to bite the bullet and say, this person, they're nice. I think of wonderful people that I loved like Eldridge Pendleton of History, a really nice guy who was denied tenure, or Stan Lewin in Psychology.

I was Dean by then and I really wanted to give Stan tenure or we would lose Molly who had been tenured before. And of course, we did. We lost them both. Finally people go through the agony of making a negative decision and Keiser endorses them. Well, he was on the Tenure Committee and despite his best efforts, Spencer would say, "No, I like Lee Hoinacki too much." I think Lee was one. Or, Guy Romaine--there was one lose cannon--tenure ain't going to matter anyway!

Bob overturned the Guy Romaine decision over George Schurr's dead body so to speak and George in principle resigned! Well, George did not think ahead, what the heck was he going to do? How easy was it going to be to find a job? He went back on the faculty, I became acting Dean of Humanities. Since I had nothing to do with it we remained friends through the whole thing and I had come across at least eight or ten recommendation letters over the next ten years recommending George for jobs.

Q. That you wrote?

A. Yes. Glowing recommendation letters like...

Q. It was a sad story and his poor wife.

A. Rosamond. Yes she was always suffering. At any rate...

Q. So you had a full platter?

A. I had a full platter that spring of '74 and as I say, I think maybe I was chair of this task force ...at any rate; I'm trying to remember if Kindschi and [Phil] Kendall and Keiser were all on it along with some other faculty? But, the plan that emerged was one that they wanted, clearly. It was the famous, "troika" where we would have three deans but only one dean for all the academic programs whereas we had four before. One dean for Public Affairs and the activities that Kindschi was doing, plus Registration, [inaudible-41:12], a Dean of University Services. There was a Dean of Academic Programs, Dean of Public Affairs, Dean of University Services...

Q. Very uneven, troika in terms of the burden.

A. Oh, my god it was ridiculous. As some people pointed out even when we proposed it is that the span of control is too wide for one person, 28 programs ranging from Med Tech and Business Administration to English and Creative Arts and everything else.

Q. There were what, 80 faculty by then?

A. Yes, at least 80 faculty. Anyway, I become a candidate. I was encouraged to become a candidate. Maybe I was interested, I know wouldn't say I was interested if I was. I was encouraged because the other internal candidate was Richard Sames, Dick Sames head of the natural sciences cluster. Dick was a fairly conservative, maybe a little on the rigid side... what was John Munkirs' joke that Dick didn't know any kids who didn't [inaudible-42:45] or salute? He had been in the military. And, also very ambitious and desirous of this position, which in itself made some people in our...

Q. The worst thing in the world is to show...

A. ...ambition or traditional attitudes and so on. Well, at any rate there was a national search and I remember I missed out of course since I was a candidate meeting the candidate, but I would have loved to have met the guy named Warren Martin because he had been my predecessor in Religion at Cornell College. Wherever he had gone to, College of the Pacific I think, he had become a Dean and was now... we would have been so much better off picking him.

Q. The job would have destroyed...

A. Well it would have destroyed him but we could have seen that the whole thing was folly. Well, anyway, I get this job and it's as everybody said, impossible but, it's like that little thing in the therapy thing... *just pile on more I can do it!* Ridiculous, is it the Peter Principle? You rise...?

Q. Your rise to the level of your incompetence.

A. Right I had now risen to the level of my incompetence! I didn't know what I was doing but fortunately I inherited a couple of good office staff. One of whom I didn't want because she was the former secretary of Dick Sames and everybody was warning me, "You'll have Linda Roberts" and I didn't know if they were an item at some point but she was very loyal to him and so on. But, I had to have her because of seniority in the Civil Service System.

She was next in line and I had to give up Jan Bishop whom I dearly loved. She had a great sense of humor. But, I also got Liz Purnell. And Elizabeth was a great, she was a trooper. She was my administrative assistant and the kind of person that whatever needs to get done she does it and doesn't say well, "I'm the administrative assistant." So, if it is sorting papers, sticking stamps on envelopes, she would do it. She was bright and kind of peppery.

Q. Cheerful.

A. Quick and to the point, no nonsense and as it turned out Linda was great. She was a terrific secretary and completely loyal. I never...

Q. You weren't afraid of her being...

A. People were saying, "Well you better watch out." And I was worried that I'm going to have... because he was pretty bitter over it. So Keiser took him in as part of his staff, where Dick Sames became Keiser's budget officer.

Q. That's right.

A. What a naïve character I was. Here I was in this troika with an impossible stand of control as people called it. I now had as my boss, John Keiser; my fellow administrator was Doug Kindschi who had been working for him and with him. Dick Sames now in his office, my former, I suppose you could say my nemesis and Phil Kendall had moved from being Assistant to the President to being the Dean of Public Affairs. Now, it just happens that one of the reasons for troika I believe was that John Keiser had decided that he had a plan to beef up the Public Affairs aspect of the University. Part of that would be to create Public Affairs Centers under the Dean of Public Affairs. That is how we ended up with...

48 minutes 25 seconds

End of 6.2

Start of 7.1

Q. This is the continuation of an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on August 14th. You were talking about the other members of, well or the various Public Affairs Centers.

A. And there were a couple of more and I can't remember but one had to do with research and community development. The names have changed over time, but at any rate the main point is that these were new initiatives requiring new funding, they involved hiring people and many

new faculty who would be primarily researchers but also do some teaching and had to be located in various programs. The PAC monitoring and approval process was put under Phil Kendall Dean of Public Affairs and he had a budget for putting on programs and various things.

So, what this meant was that each time our budget came around I would have, be in there advocating expanding our thing... what we've got is overflowing classes in Communication and Psychology. In the Art program we don't have enough faculty to do the spread of offerings that would expand an expanding student body. We've got this initiative in the Health direction that we have to fund and what I would run into is, what to me obviously was the commitment that Keiser already made in his mind, to expanding Public Affairs and that meant that the overall budget for the academic programs proportionally was...

Q. He was shifting resources.

A. ...shifting resources, yes. That made me feel...

Q. And, when you made that pitch was it an academic cabinet meeting or...?

A. ...oh, yes.

Q. So, it was Richard Sames, who certainly,

A. So I'm sitting there with Phil Kendall, Doug Kindschi, Dick Sames. People around campus referred to Kindschi, Keiser and Kendall of course, as the "KKK". And, they were a group that I wasn't part of. They had been working together as administrators already for several years plus they had something in common that I couldn't offer which is. I think John felt a certain... they were more aggressive, they were more macho if you will. I'm very laid back. I hate conflict, violence and am always looking for the compromise, the middle way... between Lawrence, Imelda, my fighting parents.

So I was just ill equipped by temperament to get into that because as John Keiser was the soul. I think he did wonders to keep this university afloat. So, I have no criticism on that score. But just as somebody to work with, for somebody like me to work with a guy who loved to hang a pair of brass knuckles over his desk and to talk about back when he was an intern in the office of Jimmy Hoffa. Who said, "Well my idea of a budget discussion is I throw some meat on the table and let the dogs fight over it." That was not... I couldn't function very well. I tried to develop some rapport with Keiser. We would, on a fairly regularly basis once or twice a month go to a little tavern on Stevenson.

Q. Springfield Tavern.

A. Yes, Lake Springfield Tavern and have a cheeseburger and fries and talk about things.

Q. Well my impression that the "meat on the table" metaphor, he liked to push people to compete and to be assertive not grovel, groveling wouldn't help. You had to prove your manhood.

A. Right. And I remember once going in there determined to just lay it on the line with him. I could see that he was enjoying holding me out there with one hand while he twirls his...

Q. What a miserable experience.

A. ...oh that part of it was not fun at all. It was just run, run, run to meetings and meetings.

Q. That was my image of you for a year or two.

A. Yes, that's all you could do, is just put out the fires. I remember when it was over somebody said, "Well we kind of like having you as Dean, or liked the old structure of just the one Dean because you were so busy we could do whatever we wanted." You didn't have time to ...and it was true. You just put out the fires, you didn't do anything else.

Of course when it came time for tenure I was the dean for every faculty member up for tenure, every faculty member up for reappointment. Now, I did have a little help although not completely helpful. I was allowed or encouraged to hire an assistant to the dean. A guy named Mel Hall. I don't know how we ended up with Mel. I think for him maybe it was a kind of internship position or something. It was a salaried position and he lasted two... or maybe he lasted the whole time I don't know.

Mel was bright, I liked him. He was a snazzy dresser, bit of a womanizer I think, and a little self-important. The problem was that I put him in charge of the Program Review Process. He would meet with programs; he would help the committee write the thing. Well people resented that as one of them said, "We want the dean." How is the dean going to be involved in every single thing?

The other thing that I did and here I had Keiser's support financially was with the School of Health. We wanted to create, well he and Kindschi had already conceived of the idea of having a School of Health. SIU was building the med school here in town and we thought we had better stake our claim. We already had Nursing and had added Med-Tech. Then we were going to add Nurse Anesthesiology and I don't know, Physical Therapy? I was racking my brain as to what Esther Brown... was she just another person in nursing? At any rate we hired a guy named, Francis Pyne who was almost retirement age. He was a nice guy but I think in over his head and a bit rigid

Q. And he was working for you?

A. He was the assistant or Associate Dean of Health.

Q. Ok, under you though?

A. Under me, right, he was under me.

Q. Were there other associate deans?

A. No.

Q. But this was because this was a special initiative.

A. It was a special mission. We were trying to build a School of Health and eventually the idea would be it would spin off and he would be an independent dean.

Q. It's so unreasonable when you think of your job description. It's almost as if you've been set up, that is what John intended, to shift resources. He had reasons for that probably but it put you in just a... whatever your personality, it puts you in a dreadful position.

A. Right because I had to appear then to the faculty as not being able to deliver for them. It's not that we didn't get some new positions, but certainly not the kind of expansion that we wanted and this movement in the direction of Health was very expensive.

Q. Now, Pyne didn't stay long did he?

A. No, he didn't and that whole thing fell through. As you know eventually we even gave up the Nursing program.

Q. Which I always regretted. I thought it was good people.

A. So when I look back on it and am trying to think, well do I have accomplishments I can point to? Nothing other than survival for three years.

Q. So you spent three years as Dean of Academic programs?

A. Right, from fall of 1974 to spring of 1979. No, no, no 1974 to 1975 was acting Dean of Humanities. [Going over and questioning dates with the interviewer] Think I was only there two years.

Q. I briefly joined the Academic Cabinet as acting Dean of the Library in the spring, the winter of 1976 and you were there and there is even a group picture of us, you've probably seen it.

A. Oh, I love that picture.

Q. The dynamics of that were...

A. I have on my Vida, 1975. Yes, I was still there until 1978. And I think the only... A lot of very good faculty were hired during that time. It had nothing to do with me I was...the programs chose them and I don't think I ever intervened to turn down a hire or anything like that. The one hire that I took some initiative on was the CAM program because of course there was only one faculty member in it.

Q. David Senema?

A. David Senema and George had hired him. Dave was a nice guy but he went to South Carolina to run the state arts council down there. We hired Jonathan Katz, a really bright, winning guy.

Q. I agree.

A. A wonderful person. He had been the Director of the State of Kansas Art Council. So he came from a position of real experience and was as an ABD [All But Dissertation] in English at KU. While he was director he worked on a PhD in English. So, Jonathan took that over and improved the curriculum immensely, eventually adding as a requirement, Philosophy of Art. Maybe that is why I think he is so great.

I remember, I don't know if it started before I quit being Dean of Academic Programs... well, yes certainly in the...I taught Philosophy of Art one of those times ...by the 1980's they were requiring Philosophy of Art. But, he would have at his home and sometimes it would be at my home, by that time I was living in a little house because we had been divorced, he would have these gatherings for the students in which people would read poetry or other little literary things that they had written.

We had some food, drink. They were graduate students so we could have alcohol. It was really a lot of fun and very stimulating. When I ceased being dean, I became a member of the CAN program committee along with Don Stanhope who taught the accounting course. Don and I were really kind of the core of the program as directors came and went. We hired the new director, worked with them and they would leave.

Q. They hung on a slender thread

A. They hung on a slender thread and then finally it would snap. So that is one of the brighter spots.

Q. I'm not sure I got it fully. You said you took a particularly active interest in filling that position. So, you interviewed Katz... so you were able to devote attention to that?

A. Right, but for most of the program...

Q. Probably it wasn't realistic, plus you weren't inclined...

A. No, I wasn't inclined. I was inclined really as a faculty, I thought of myself as a faculty member who was doing an administrative job. I wanted the faculty to choose their colleagues for better or worse. So, all of this as you can imagine put an incredible strain on both my scholarship, there was none. I don't know if I read a book for those three years. And, some strain on the marriage. I mean it provided extra money which had helped that way.

Q. I was wondering. It had to be a pretty big boost in money for you.

A. Oh yes, it was a big boost in salary. Being not, it was more like a 5 or \$10,000 boost. I can't remember what salaries were then comparatively. No, it wasn't something to get rich on but it meant we could buy a second car. We had a couple of nice family summer vacations to Colorado. We loved the YMCA camp near Estes Park which has wonderful facilities of various kinds, lots of individual cabins that were individually owned and then you could sublet them for a week or two. So we would stay in a cabin. They had a day program for children so Billie Sue and I could then go on a hike for several hours and come back and pick the kids up. Those were nice memories of being able to do that and being able to afford it.

But, Billie was having trouble managing the kids, particularly Eddie. He was already showing signs of problems that later became very serious, and [she] started going to a therapist and one afternoon I remember we went out to the backyard, a tiny backyard, there was a brick patio around a tree and a couple of chairs. We sat down to have a glass of wine and she told me she wanted a divorce. Her therapist had convinced her that she was only going to find herself if she went on her own. I was stunned. I had thought, "Well things weren't all that great but I loved my family."

I just had no idea that breaking up so we had some pretty heavy exchanges over the next weeks, months. She wanted me to move out. I guess she had in mind a typical scenario where some guy has an affair and he moves out then pays child support and alimony and visits the kids every couple of weeks on the weekends. That just really made me mad. This brought out some real... I mean I could be pretty, not aggressive, but I was mad. I was mad. I was not about to... I mean I just couldn't imagine that; going off, living by myself, and seeing my kids... not really seeing them, not being involved in their daily lives.

But, the problem was, how are you going to solve that? Here I was Dean of Academic Programs with a job that was too big for me and now I'm going to take on raising two kids by myself? And the chance of me getting custody of all three kids in that situation was slim. It wasn't like she had had an affair and...

Q. And she certainly didn't want to abandon the children.

A. She didn't want to give them up. She wanted the kids. It took a lot of long negotiations. Mike Costello down the street was my attorney because I wanted to fight her. Mike was a criminal attorney and a scrappy guy and I had heard tales about some other, Weiner? Somebody who had a reputation for taking guys to the cleaners and I was afraid she would get somebody like that and I would end up not having my children, paying this huge amount and being really depressed.

So, we fought, we argued and argued. It became very uncomfortable to be in the house together. After all there was only four little bedrooms. Where am I going to sleep? Mike finally assured me that it would not prejudice my case if I got an apartment or a room. I didn't get an apartment I got a one room in the Cordova. Remember the Cordova building? It's boarded up now but it's still standing. It's next to the Shell Station on south 5th or 6th? On South 5th there is red brick... it's a very old building. It was so old that it had, what do you call them, Murphy Beds?

Q. Yes. They fold into the wall?

A. Yes. The room was kind of small so you pull open these folding doors and pull down the bed. And I guess there was a little kitchen nook area and a bath. But anyway I lived there for a few months and I tried to reconstruct the chronology that I can. It must have been my last year as dean in '78? Anyway, I do remember I did have one little fling with a faculty member no less...

Q. Well good for you.

A. ...who was leaving. She was in HDC [Human Development Counseling] and it all started when she came to my office that spring for an exit interview and we would have dinner. We enjoyed talking to each other. I knew who she was but didn't really know her. So that was fun for just a few weeks.

Q. Pump up your ego a little bit.

A. Right. It made me feel better.

Q. That you could be attracted...

A. That I could be attracted to someone. So what we finally agreed on was that--it was my idea--that we would split the kids. I would take the two boys and she would take Suzie. We would sell the house and we would each find our own place to live and of course I would pay child support to her. This is going to mean that she has to get a job. But I was not feeling all that sympathetic, since it was her... I would have been ready to call it all off at any point.

Q. Yes, so you still were reluctant, against divorce?

A. Yes. I remember being startled when I went out to lunch with Judy Everson and telling her a little bit about my troubles and how I wish I could hold it all together. She said, "Have you ever asked yourself if maybe it wouldn't be something, would it be better for you as a person to be divorced?" I hadn't really thought of it. I just thought, *how can I stop this and if I can't how can I make it the least painful?*

So, now the sequence in scenario is unclear in my mind as to whether I had bought the little house off Westwood. My grandfather helped me because I didn't have quite enough from my half of the equity from Glenwood for the down payment. So I bought this little house. It was 942 square feet. I know because you needed every one of those square feet. And yet it had three bedrooms, a separate dining room and separate living room, and even a little fireplace. I loved that little house in a way.

It was a nice house although it had a garage that leaned so badly that someone turned me in to the city. I was told that it had to be repaired and straightened up and strengthened, is a hazard to safety and so on, within three weeks or it would be torn down. So, it turned out be not all that big a problem. Some guy came in and I don't know, took a tractor and pushed it straight and then bolted then bolted some cross beams and it was done.

Q. So the kids went to, your sons went to, DuBois or?

A. Yesby then Laurence was in or about to be in Grant Middle School?

Q. Oh, Grant ok.

A. And Eddie would have been... would Eddie have still been at Hay Edwards? Did he stay in Hay Edwards or did he go to that...? There is one maybe a little closer, just across from where the convent is.

Q. DuBois.

A. Is that DuBois? Maybe he went there. At any rate, it was quite a challenge juggling full time, maybe I was back on the faculty then, back full time teaching, taking care of the two boys and they didn't much care for my cooking. I kept trying to force vegetables on them and they would kick them out of whatever I made. Making cheap casseroles, Eddie was already becoming a disciplinary problem. Well, he had been one as a small child and continued to be one. Meanwhile back at the ranch, I had resigned my deanship, obviously I was not going to be able to be a dean and take care of them.

Q. Basically it was the realistic situation that your home life was such that you couldn't...

A. I couldn't but also I was tired of it. I was really tired of it. I thought the first year I was in there, I forget what the problem was but I thought I don't know how to handle this. By the third year the same kind of problem came up and I thought, *I have to do that again?* It's time to get out. Also, either now or never, four years practically without cracking a book, I was going to be totally incapable of doing anything scholarly.

Q. By this point you probably had been promoted to Professor hadn't you?

A. Yes, on the encouragement of Cullom Davis I put myself up for tenure and well I came up for tenure, for full Professor in the same year I think 1976 or 1974? 1974 Professor of Philosophy I have on my...

Q. Well we gave those away pretty cheaply.

A. Right.

Q. No, I'm kidding.

A. I definitely remember that you were the one, I don't know if you were still involved in administration then or just being...

Q. No, I was a colleague in History.

A. Oh, alright well you absolved yourself of that. So, I got out. I was sick of the job and I wasn't going to be able to do that and be a single parent so I got out just before Alex Lacy arrived. I'm not sure who ran things when Lacy first got there.

Q. So there was still that structure of the Dean of Academic Program?

A. Or, if the new reorganization that came about under him... I can't imagine that it was already in place because the group that pushed that: John Munkirs, Ron Ettinger, Michael Quam and Michael Ayers, they had of course headed the KKK and I think they just tolerated me, I never felt any direct hostility to me. I think they disregarded me probably for what I was, a pawn of the KKK. They were going to get rid of them. They wanted to get rid of Kendall and Kindschi too and so they had their reorganization plan that they worked out with Lacy. I don't know if you remember it but it called for not going back to four deans but going from one Dean

to six Deans. Not each one of them, but several of them became Deans there. Michael Quam became dean; Michael Ayers I believe became a dean...

Q. Was it Wayne Penn by that time?

A. Let's see Wayne may have been one of these Deans. I dug out, I found the catalogue that had that list of all the six and I Xeroxed it and...

Q. What was the intellectual assortment of Deanships?

A. Well I think it was; Science, Social Science, Political Affairs and Public Affairs and something grouping maybe the Health or maybe the Health and Sciences were together and grouping things like INO and PAC and so on. I'm sorry I don't have that page from the catalogue to read you the titles of them but they are there.

Q. At some point a year or two later, LeRoy Jordan was Associate Dean or Dean for those independent [inaudible-33:52]

A. Right, well he may have been at this time I don't remember all the details. The one thing that does stand out vividly in my mind is I had kind of an exit interview that fall when Alex Lacy first came and he asked me to give my opinion on this proposal. In just an offhand way, I didn't have any stake in it or care what he did but when it was announced there was a big gathering of the faculty, I think it was in this building in that big meeting room with the tiered steps in it, he announced it and there was no place in it for Phil Kendall or Doug Kindschi and he had not met with either of them to tell them that he was doing away with their positions and that they were finished and were henceforth...

Q. Oh it's that subtle nuanced, velvet glove administrative hand.

A. Well, Lacy was the biggest disaster we ever had. He was so, so incompetent as far as I could tell. We lost budgets under him, we lost student enrollment, if he hadn't...

Q. Lost programs.

A. ...lost programs. If he hadn't been chased out of here I don't think the place would continue to exist. But at any rate, I was long gone by then. Fortunately, I must have cut a deal with Keiser to have two courses off in the fall of 1979. So I just had one course to teach and time to prepare of course, new courses. As always, I had to do new courses.

That fall I remember, I don't know if it would have been the same... I had been reading for my course on the Greeks. That was the course I was teaching and I was reading a book on the goddess Aphrodite of all things. I maybe even had it with me, carrying it with me, I was only a block and a half from Washington Park on Lawrence and making my usual walk around the park and I ran into this former student at SSU named Catherine Walters.

She was a graduate, a fresh graduate of the MA program and I had met her once in the cafeteria in the line and I had one other brief conversation in the hall of the psych wing when I was handing out fliers on some visiting philosopher of science who was going to give a lecture. I

said, "Hey are you interested in Philosophy at all I've got this, we're having this lecture?" She said, "I was a Philosophy minor at Western." So anyway, I ran into her in the park and we start walking around the park together several times having a conversation.

I was hooked, so we had some dates. Of course each of us had been seeing some other people. Meanwhile I hadn't been seeing anybody regularly but had been back up to Cornell to visit old friends. Of course now that I was divorced and the ex-wife of Kenneth Freeman the person who mentioned SSU to me, I had stayed with her one night and she wanted me to come back and stay with her again. But, anyway Cornell is four hours away. Cathy meanwhile had gone out a few times with Len Adams who was separated from Nina by then.

Q. Glen? Oh, I didn't know that.

A. Yes and she said it led to a very embarrassing situation because-- well, two things. One was that the two things she knew about me was as Dean I had turned down a Psychology Program request to have her teach a course because she didn't have her MA in hand. They said, "Well she's done all the course work and she'll be finished by the end of the semester." I said, *No we can't have undergrads teaching undergrads*. So I'm glad I had some standards, even if it kept my future spouse from teaching a course!

Q. She forgave you for that?

A. She has since forgiven me. Meanwhile Pat Langley had called her and said we're in desperate straits. Nina Adams was supposed to teach a course on the History and Philosophy of Women's Theory or something. History and Theory of Women or something like that, the textbooks are here, the syllabus is all ready, and she can't do it, could you fill in? Well they didn't ask me if it was ok and so Cathy taught in the spring of 1979 this course.

But, Nina Adams came barreling into wherever she was in the psych office or what and said, "What do you mean going out with my estranged husband when he is supposed to be spending the weekend with Kaitlin?" It had turned out that unbeknownst to Cathy of course, Len was to be with Kaitlin the weekend they were together and in fact maybe the two of them did something with Kaitlin. Kaitlin comes back and says to Nina, "Dad didn't have much time for me this weekend because he was with his girlfriend Cathy."

So that was SSU right? It was a small community... At any rate, Cathy and I had a fairly intense relationship. She had a little tiny house of her own only about three rooms. It was half the size of mine. But, she eventually came over and lived with me in the Lawrence house or at least stayed with me sometimes. That was nice to have her but also I think it helped me with the boys.

Although, having never had children of her own and being much younger, it was a little bit of a challenge and adjustment for her. At Christmas time I guess it was, we were laying on the bed there and talking and I said something like, "Well we could always get married." She thought it was a great idea so we spent the spring planning the wedding and were married on May 31st in 1980.

Q. I couldn't attend the wedding because I had a professional obligation out of town but I remember hosting your bachelor party.

A. Oh, that's right! What a hoot that was! And Shereikis passed out in his car.

Q. And, Bob Spencer, some sort of gross gift he gave to you.

A. Oh absolutely and Chris Breiseth gave me this gross pornographic booklet from Denmark that was brought back... it was....

Q. It was like 18 year old teens.

A. Teens right! It was fun and thank you very much for that... I forgot that Spencer actually came.

Q. He sure did and had a lot of fun.

A. Yes, well thereby hags the tale. I should go back to... I think there were a couple of fun things that happened while I was Dean of Academic Programs. One of them was a dinner at Spencer's house for the Keiser, Kindschi, Kendall and I. I don't know who else might have been there but the subject matter was we were to discuss how we could prevent so many divorces.

Q. Yes, I heard of this. I'm sure John Miller had to be involved.

A. Yes, well Right. John Miller would be a natural. It was such a funny evening because we were all determined not to discuss the subject and Bob would keep bringing it up a and we would keep side-tracking it because what could any of us do about it? It was the culture of the country at the time.

Q. It was and certainly the high pressure within the university...

A. The high pressure of the university and so on. Little did I know that in attending the dinner that I would be one of...

Q. Well mine was one of the divorces that... although there were many others but contributed...

A. That's right. When was yours?

Q. The divorce was final in I think 1975 or 1974 I can't remember. And I married again in the summer of 1976. But there had been many.

A. Oh, the other fun thing that happened while I was Dean was they had those faculty talent shows. Liz and Linda and I--I don't know whose original idea it was--decided to make a Sangamon State Course Guide, a satirical Sangamon State Course Guide. I kept that for years because I think it was very funny.

Q. It was clever, there were puns?

A. It was all puns, like Everson became “Evilscene,” Polroy became “Hemorrhoids”, Munkirs became “Monk Ears” so everybody had satirical names and then we made up the satirical courses. You didn’t have to push very far. Walt Johnson, an Economist who had just gone through a divorce immediately got a PhD on the Nature of Divorce... we were all becoming instant experts and I’m a fine one to talk because that is what I made my profession around, becoming an instant expert. So anyway it was not all bleak. We had fun with it.

Q. I’ve heard of that dinner meeting. I went to that [show] it was a wonderful time.

A. Oh it was. It was a lot of fun and so I was back on the faculty and teaching three courses at a time.

Q. We could break here or we could keep going?

A. It’s up to you.

48 minutes 26 seconds

End of 7.1

Start of 7.2

Q. This is continuing an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on August 14th side the side B of tape 7. You were going to talk about some courses you took on resigning as...

A. Yes, well right I had the reduced load but when I could, in the spring, I started teaching a heavier load. Philosophy of Art and Psychology of Art and I had an NIA to prepare a new course in Moral Dilemmas in Health Care.

Q. Ok, I have to make a note here. Non Instructional Assignment. NIA?

A. Yes, NIA. So from then on I regularly taught Philosophy of Art CAN program and taught Moral Dilemmas in Health Care hoping to get nursing students. I did my Myth, Reality in History in the History program to keep my interest in History alive and the Greeks. I did them several times. So, I was becoming a little more focused now in the Art and History area.

Q. I have to back up a moment here. You said you taught Philosophy of Art and Psychology?

A. No, Psychology of Art. That turned out to be a one shot deal. It was a mistake I made too many times of these one shot deals, because they are a lot of work to prepare and then you just got another file. Anyway, I was trying to revive my interest in the history thing and I realized by now, we’re almost ten years since I conceived that project. I had published some of the chapters as articles. I just couldn’t get into it. But, I was still interested in the themes.

Meanwhile, there was a new kind of development in Historiography that fascinated me and it centered around using literary techniques of analysis on history, on written history. The leading

figure in that was Hayden White. Hayden White had developed by this time, by 1980, this approach in which he applied these theoretical and methodological techniques from analyzing literary works to historical works which are in fact also literary. And, whereas previous people had looked at style in terms of vocabulary, balance periods and so on; he's getting deeper into literary theory.

One of the people that he used literary theory was Northrup Frye. Frye had developed a kind of analysis of the different modes like, tragedy, irony, satire, comedy, romance and so on and related them to the tradition of the seasons and to other thought patterns. Hayden White just took the kernel of this idea and expanded it so that he created a thing where he would describe as the "elements of historiographical style" involving these linguistic categories of different tropes.

For example, metaphor, metonymy, irony, just to mention three. Metaphor is like of course, "my love is a rose". Metonymy is where you use the part of something to represent it like; "Fifty sails equals fifty ships" or, "You may approach the bench" is a metonymy. What he did was to relate these then to aesthetic categories like romance, tragedy, comedy, satire. Modes of argument like formalists, mechanists, organicists, contextualists and what he called, "modes of ideological implication" like anarchist, radical, conservative, liberal.

So, for him the typical historian who writes history as a romance, that is a romance is something, a story that turns out well. They get married and live happily ever after. Well, he said that is Michelet. His histories always tend to feature the people, say the French people are the hero and the people triumph. And so he says he tends to, towards the anarchist approach to favor rapid change and abolishing the establishment. He has this whole complicated system.

Q. It's a classification system.

A. Yes, I'll show you this chart. It's a whole, very elaborately worked set of relationships about the ideas, but the forms you use.

Q. So this matrix which is essentially what it is. Each category is supposed to represent every possible, I mean you could place any given...

A. You give the place a historian someplace in there. For example, if Michelet writes history as romance, Marx likes it he says as tragic comedy. Tragedy first with of course the Revolution and a lot of people are killed and so on but comedy in the end because of the withering of the state and the arrival of pure communism. So, I was very taken by this and I began to see how you could look at a lot of famous historical works as having a kind of plot. A beginning, middle and end. But beyond beginning, middle and end a certain bent or trope as it were.

So, for example he argued that [Jacob] Burckhardt wrote history in an ironic mode. In other words, people intend to do one thing but it turns out another. And, in fact there is a, in Theology a well-known book by [Reinhold] Niebuhr called the *Irony of [American] History* which is just about that process. At any rate, I was very taken with these ideas and realized that I was

overdue for a sabbatical. I applied to take a sabbatical for the spring of 1983 semester and my plan was to go to Santa Cruz.

Q. Which is where Hayden White taught at the University of California...

A. ...at the University of California at Santa Cruz. Meanwhile however in the family life, Eddie was proving increasingly difficult to deal with but we managed. We had decided that the little house was too little as part of our family problems. So we rented it out and rented a series of larger two story old houses. For a while we lived on MacArthur one year, we lived on south 4th another year. Then the most interesting place we rented, we rented Harlington Woods farm house at the edge of Springfield. It's on Old Jacksonville, on the corner. They finally sold it and tore it all down and there is a huge, it looks huge to me, a development. I could not have imagined it, it has 17 acres.

Q. It's named Woods Acres or something.

A. When we rented it, it was just a great big old farm house. Behind it was a barn where he kept some horses. Next to it was another small house where his mother had lived and behind that was a big pond. So, that was a lot of fun. At the time, we're living on South 4th street in 1982 I guess it was. Suzie who of course I say on weekends was now a teenager and she was having the usual teenager problems with her mother. She begged to be allowed to move in with us.

Actually we would have had room to have all three and maybe for a while, we did. Eventually, we agreed to a kind of swap. Eddie would go back and live with her and Suzie would live with us. When I got the sabbatical, Suzie went with us to Santa Cruz and we had all these exciting plans. Cathy was between jobs at that point so she could go. She was a little wary on what she was going to do all this time and I should have been even more worried having had the Billie Sue problems in France. But, she discovered in the Santa Cruz catalogue--I can't remember her name now--that a prominent feminist taught at Santa Cruz.

Plus, though it was the winter and spring quarters, it rains a little in February but then by March it's in the 70s and she could run on the beach, she was much into exercise. So, we packed up and headed off to Santa Cruz. When we got there it turned out the faculty apartment complex that we're located had these modernistic designs so that there was one enclosed bedroom, but the other bedroom was open...

Q. A loft?

A. A loft. Open to the living room which was not ideal for having a teenager with you. Well Suzie of course got the bedroom with the closed door and we had to make some adjustments. She loved Santa Cruz. She was there for her junior year. The only problem was that it rained a lot at first. The problem was, it kept raining and raining and raining. It was the worst winter for Northern California in twenty years. There were huge mudslides in the mountains. Highway 1 was closed in several places. We never got to drive down to Herst Castle or Esalen or any of those famous places because the road was closed. This was making Cathy pretty frustrated.

Meanwhile, I was working away. I was already thinking about doing a big article on comparing deTocqueville's recollections of the 1848 Revolution with Karl Marx's booklet the *18th Brumaire* of Louise Napoleon of the Revolution ala Hayden white kind of... there are two things that differ very much of course in their content but of course in their style. I was taking advantage of their library and taking the bus every day up the hill so Cathy could have the car, if there were any place to go in the rain, and also seeing as much of Hayden White as I could.

Unfortunately, his wife had had a miscarriage and was preoccupied. I was discovering what anybody on sabbatical who goes to someone else's institution discovers is, well, the people who are there that you want to spend time with are teaching full time, have their families, their other activities. One thing that should have been a plus but to me was kind of a minus was that Frederic Jameson, the very famous intellectual was also there.

He was there as a visiting professor. But of course, Hayden wanted to spend as much time with Jameson as he could and I was not much of a drinker and James was a heavy drinker. So they... but still I took maximum advantage. There was a bus that connected Santa Cruz and Berkley so you could get on a bus, it carried library books back and forth and also ferried passengers. So, students or faculty could take this bus for a nominal fee. So I went up to Berkley.

Q. That would be a two hour drive.

A. Yes, it's a good long drive. It makes it a long day but I met Hubert Dreyfus who was a Heidegger scholar and a very popular teacher of Existentialism, who at that point was hosting Michele Foucault as a visiting scholar doing a seminar. I got to hear, I got to sit in on a seminar just for a day with Foucault. I was very impressed by the way. His English was pretty good but he was very open minded, very receptive, eager to hear people's positions.

He wasn't your typical, "French Mandarin" haughty, "I am the great professor, scholar" and so on. And, I got to hear a public lecture in this huge auditorium at Berkley. They must seat more than we do in the PAC. I got there early thinking there might be a crowd. It was packed, standing room only, people sitting in the stairways. Of course it was full of all kinds of lay people. Foucault was a famous intellectual by this time. It was very hard to follow his lecture that he read from his famous *History of Sexuality*.

It was in many ways from the very stimulating time. One person I became very fond of and spend a little time with and actually sat in on several of his courses, was James Clifford an Anthropologist who was also interested in this issue of the literary character of anthropological writing. What he was doing was kind of a critique of Anthropological Method at the time.

Q. And he was at Santa Cruz?

A. He was back at Santa Cruz. I also got to hear something that I only really appreciated later on when I was teaching and doing research on architecture was Rayner Banhan, a British scholar who probably had come there to retire. A lot of Brits of course love California and he was doing lectures on Architecture. He had got me to read his book on Los Angeles which is just a wonderful book. It completely changed my typical, intellectual prejudice against the city. It's

called, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* from like the ecology of four environments. You don't need the title of it but what it does is it explains the reasons for the growth and character of Los Angeles and why it is the way it is. It makes you understand it intellectually and see that well, there is something positive here.

Anyway, so it was a stimulating intellectual time for me, very frustrating for Cathy. Well, frustrating for all of us because it just poured rain. This was pacific downpour. It's not like being in Britain where it is going to rain a little bit every day, you carry an umbrella and that's it... these were heavy rains that you couldn't do anything. You just didn't feel like going out so we began looking to see if we could find a place in San Francisco that we could rent where there at least were things to do indoors.

But, we couldn't find anything satisfactory whether it be a space for Suzie or a place we could possibly afford. And we had already paid for what was in Santa Cruz. She had befriended a young woman in the high school whose parents were kind of willing to keep an eye on the two of them so that we could make a little foray.

So, by April we were really going stir-crazy. In fact there was an article on the front page of the San Francisco paper about cabin fever and a psychiatrist was commenting on what this doing to marriages and one thing or another. People kept saying, "It always rains a lot in February, March would be better." Poured rain in March, pouring rain in April so we got in the car--I remember after sort of arranging, maybe Suzie actually sort of moved to these people's house--that we were going to drive until we found sunshine. So, we drove down to Santa Barbara.

Q. Oh, you went south rather than to San Francisco?

A. Well yes, you aren't going to find any sunshine in San Francisco. We went to Santa Barbara, pouring in Santa Barbara. We drove into L.A., pouring rain in LA. We're going to go to the desert. We drove to Palm Springs out in the California desert, pouring rain. We said we really feel sorry for these people from Detroit or wherever who for a year in advance arranged for a week in the desert to play golf because they are sitting in their rooms looking at TV.

We said, "Well, God do we put our tail between our legs and go back?" No, we drove to Phoenix Arizona, a long way. We were determined to find sunshine. It rained off and on along the way, there were clouds but there was sun in Phoenix. We ended up renting, subletting an apartment for a month in Phoenix and I used the ASU library, did a little work but Cathy was happy and I was determined not to wreck another marriage with an unfortunate sabbatical situation.

We went back to Santa Cruz of course in early May. It was raining, it was still raining. It rained on us, dammit, the day we drove out of there whenever high school was over and we drove back. Suzie begged and pleaded for us to leave her there. She would live with this family. Well it was not a good living situation in the sense that the two of them slept in a double bed. It was a small house. He worked at of all things; Wrigley Chewing Gum had a factory in Santa Cruz. He was an electrician at Wrigley, rode a motorcycle. They were nice people; bless their hearts for doing this. She just cried and cried. I said, "Susannah, come back, finish high school."

I just couldn't leave a sixteen year old there. Finish high school and if you still want to go I will pay your way and help you get started. "Ok, well McDonalds is going to save my job." And sure enough they did. She came back, doubled up her courses, graduated mid-year and was on the train January 1st back to Santa Cruz.

Q. That was hard for you.

A. That was hard.

Q. But she was excited and really focused on it.

A. She was focused on it. And of course, lived with this family, worked at McDonalds and then this big, tall handsome guy, several years older than her came into McDonalds thought she was kind of cute and asked her out. She moved in with him. He had a firewood business and lived up in the mountains in a place called Felton which is in the Redwood forest. A beautiful place and she continued to work at McDonalds and lived with him. His business consisted of buying tracts of wood, hiring illegal immigrants to cut it down and chop it up. He had a beat up old truck and he delivered it. Of course, firewood in northern California was the going thing.

Q. It was a nice niche.

A. Nice niche business and he was a nice person. As it turns out he had of course very traditional expectation that Suzie would clean house, cook, do laundry, and take care of him as well as work. Within a couple of years she wanted to continue her education at a community college, and started taking some courses. He got jealous and she ended up moving out into her own place.

But, I guess I'm ahead of the story because Cathy and I get back. So we are back in the fall of 1983 and I'm now pretty wound up to do this book, to do a book on de Tocqueville, not just an article. I start in the summer of 1982 I guess already, I managed to get admitted to an NEH [National Endowment for the Humanities] Summer Seminar. They were wonderful deals where they paid you enough to take care of your board and room and you lived in dorms. This time Cathy did not want to go. I lived in a dorm room in Princeton.

Q. Pretty primitive. Not primitive, but spartan.

A. But it was such a wonderful experience.

Q. That was the one with Alvin...

A. Alvin Kernan, a prince of a man. He had been Dean at Princeton or was he Dean at Yale? But he had been like chair of the English department at both places, a recognized, widely published author on Shakespeare. He treated us all like we were his peers. It was *Literature as a Social Institution* and he was very encouraging. Each of us presented our projects and he was very encouraging. So that really got me a head up to work on the book. I continued to teach pretty much these same things though adding now the course Narrative in Fiction and Film, the course for English on Literary Theory because I was going to, I was not going to just use Hayden White

categories to write this book, I was going to do my own thing. I had heard Foucault, so it was the heyday of post structuralism of Foucault and of Roland Barthes. Barthes in particular used the structuralist analysis on both literature and fashion and this exploration of codes and how they work. So, I think in the book I even refer to codes in here.

As time went on I got a chance to get one more Summer Seminar on *French Classical Literature* which I just thought would be fun and get me back to Harvard. Again, I think by then Cathy, I forget where she was working, but she came to visit. Through Lennons we actually found a little place to rent on the water down by Newport and that kind of thing.

That was the opposite kind of experience from Alvin Kernan. This guy at Harvard, professor of French; James Brody I think was his name. Of course he published a lot too but he was self-important, looked down on us, treated us like we were beginning graduate students or something, hit on the blonde in the class and I remember in my presentation and some others, he would interrupt to correct you or explain what something was that you were about to explain. It was... but, I liked the course the fellow students. One of them was Louis Marvick. I mention him because I liked him a lot and I would later hook up with his mother Elizabeth Marvick through the *Psychohistory Review*. Anyway, I was both teaching and taking advantage of things that would get me into literature. So that set up...

Q. The book?

34 minutes 35 seconds

End of 7.2

Start of 8.1

Q. This is the next oral history in a series with Larry Shiner on August 20th. The interviewer is Cullom Davis. This is tape 8. Larry, we've gotten you through at least the mid 1980s at Sangamon State and your research, do you want to talk about some of the teaching you did?

A. Sure. I think I mentioned that in the early years of Sangamon the freedom was wonderful but it was also a bit of a trap. The first few years it seemed like I taught a new course, three new courses every semester practically. After becoming Dean of course I tried to continue to teach course a semester, didn't always make it especially when I was Dean of Academic Programs. When I returned to the faculty, I began to be a little more focused in my teaching and this became true even more after 1986 because it was in 1986 I became editor of the *Psychohistory Review*, when Chuck Stroger left. Then I was on a joint appointment in the Institute of Public Affairs which meant basically I had one course off a semester. I taught two courses.

Now of course, in the Philosophy program by then I had two wonderful colleagues who were covering Medical Ethics, Business Ethics, often doing the Perspectives for Human Nature for the Nurses and so on, so I could focus on two areas in terms of a regular, the called it "Service

Teaching.” The main pattern was to teach Philosophy of Art each year, sometimes fall, sometimes and spring for the Community Arts Management program. It was a required course for them, it was an elective course for the Art Program and obviously it was a Philosophy course. The other course was a graduate course for the Communication Program called Narrative in Fiction and Film. This obviously fit in with my interest in doing the Tocqueville book, showing the application of narrative theory to History.

Q. But the film part, did that have a strong interest to you?

A. Well I was interested in film and quite frankly made it a much more attractive course for students. One reason why I was working with the CAM program was of course my colleagues were working with all these other programs and CAM had a lot of enrollment. They had a shortage of faculty and so I was welcomed.

Also, I had been teaching a course for them on Media Ethics for several years but one of their new hires, I remember at the interview--I was on the Program Committee and participated in the interviews said—when asked, “What are some courses you see in our catalogue that you would like to teach? Well, Media Ethics, I’d really like to teach.” Well, after all it’s their program, their course so I stepped aside. That by the way was always a problem for us for our doing Service Courses.

I remember we had a Business Ethics course I think we did one for Management and another for the Business Administration program and at a certain point they wanted to take them over themselves. Well that’s life and the difficulty of this kind of Service work. I know I did say to them, *if you guys take it over, keep it because I’m not going to re-construct it with a whole set of new problems because the issues always change in Ethics.*

At any rate, other courses I taught for Tom however, also helped me with my book project, *The Invention of Art*. I taught three different courses on photography, not how to take pictures obviously but the interpretation of photography. One was called Interpreting Photography, one called Photography and Society which was basically a history of photography, and one called Semiotics and Photography which was applying semiotic theory which was a favorite of Larry Smith and my friends in the CAM program. And, I even developed a course I taught a couple of times called, Art as Communication. I was serving them but also I suppose was exploiting them, taking advantage of their need and heavy enrollment.

Q. And also doing some things and probably generating some ideas of your own.

A. Oh absolutely and learning some things that were valuable to me later on. Related to those Communication courses are a couple of courses I did for the English program and which were even more directly connected to the book I was writing. These were on Literary Theory and Criticism. I did a History of Literary Theory and Criticism and did a more interpretive course. Unfortunately, those were at the graduate level and did not draw very well. The average Lit student wants to read novels and doesn’t want to read theories. So, the Communication relationship was then a very strong one. But even stronger and my main commitment in terms of relating Philosophy to another area was History.

Now, obviously from what I've said before this was a long standing interest in the research area and I had done my course Myth, Reality, History which was sort of an introductory version of the themes that would be in the book I had hoped to write. I had done that several times but by 1986 the History program had lost most of its Europeanists. Chris Breiseth had left, Dick Johnston had left, Ed Hawes had left and then Chuck Strozier. With Strozier's departure I don't believe there was anyone left in the program who was a specialist in Europe. Everybody was an Americanist. So, there was obviously a need there and for something other than my kind of Philosophy of History course.

Q. A more conventional course.

A. A more conventional course. So, I started with what was easiest for me to do, 18th Century Europe, the Enlightenment. I could conceive of that initially as primarily an intellectual history course. Looking back I found at least over the next ten, twelve years I taught that at least eight times. It was a staple. Then in 1989 because it was the anniversary of the French Revolution and I had an interest in France and a connection there I developed a course on the French Revolution and Napoleon, went to France, it was a good excuse to spend a week in Paris gathering materials. And, of course, they had produced wonderful materials. I bought sets of slides, reproductions of posters and proclamations.

Q. So all sorts of material that were a part of the celebration.

A. All sorts of material and that was fun. I really enjoyed that and students loved it. I mean what can be better than people rioting and chopping off heads every other day? [laughter] Kings and queens fleeing.

Q. Do you have a favorite textbook?

A. I think Doyle, there is a Brit named [William] Dolye who did a very good survey text. I made some handout materials and copies of proclamations and declarations.

Q. That was pretty well... especially that year.

A. Yes, it always drew... My history courses always had usually 15 to 25 students in there. They would be the only European offerings available. Then, of course since there was no Europeanists and if students were interested in European History after they had taken 18th and French Revolution they wanted something else, they wanted something different. I couldn't just keep repeating those so I developed a course on 19th Century Europe.

The nice thing about these are that they did have some tie-in with something I knew and something I was working on, de Tocqueville, the figure of the 19th Century and who had of course one of his major works was on the French Revolution and Napoleon. And, I taught both the French Revolution and the 19th Century at least six or seven different times.

Q. Do you suppose on looking back at that course that it was sort of a Franco-centrist course? That might not be fair.

A. No, I tried to be pretty balanced with these. There is a great textbook, classic textbook by Gordon Craig a specialist on Germany and though if you are a bit Franco-centric in the 19th Century you're not straying from reality. But, even with those three courses to alternate I remember they were... Cecilia said, "It would really be nice if you could do something else." So I developed a Renaissance course, which fit my interests in art and it had a very heavy art component. In fact, we cross listed with an Art History course because they were reading Art History, although I remember there was one student that just resented the Art part of it the whole time and complained. He groveled so much in class I finally just had to confront him and say, "This is what it is, now get over it."

But, one of the things that I really worked very hard at and I say, hard work, I mean it, was that these not be just intellectual history or culture history, which meant, I spent an enormous amount of time trying to make sure I could at least give a superficial coverage of the economic, technological developments, social history, and obviously, political history and preparing all these different things was a pain in the butt. [laughter]

Q. Oh, of course it was. That's a huge amount of work for someone who hasn't been deeply immersed in European History.

A. Right and in fact, clearly in this decade of the '85 to the decade and a half to 2000, I was more of a History teacher than a Philosophy teacher. The only "straight" Philosophy course I taught was Philosophy of Art and many philosophers would say, "That's kind of marginal." It's not Logic, History of Philosophy and so on.

Q. As I think about your courses, the strategies from the outset and then the way in which you develop courses to suit other programs, you probably as much or more than anyone in the university understood the need and tapped the needs of this peculiar institution.

A. Yes, it was an opportunity and as I say, a handicap.

Q. Yes, because I know you told me how you figured out that you had to kind of graft yourself...

A. Also, Peter and Ed were doing that...

Q. But you were enormously resourceful it seems.

A. Well, and we all benefited. Peter was very clever and fortunate because his interests tended toward Ethics and Political Philosophy. What he was doing in terms of research fit very nicely with the Public Affairs Center. So he became... he did Philosophy and Law also so he got a joint appointment with the Legal Studies Center which meant he had one-third time off every semester for research. He had basically the kind of position that you would only get at Urbana, a research university. But, it was quite legitimate.

Q. And he wrote some books.

A. Oh, he has written a ton of books, a series of books. They all are related to the Public Affairs issues after all, abortion, environmental ethics and so on. For he and I, these things really

worked out well. For me the relationships were sometimes a little more tangential, especially on these History courses. Although, probably it would have been more difficult to write the *Invention of Art*--which is a cultural history--without having this rather broad background...

Q. I would think that had to enrich your understanding that was supported by...

A. Absolutely, and sometimes I was able to do some things, obviously in the Renaissance I could do Art, but I brought Art History into the 19th Century. Obviously you could use painters and painting which were so enmeshed with the political history. I mean, Jacques Louis David not only painted the French Revolution and Napoleon, he was on the Committee of Public Safety and sent people to the guillotine.

Q. Not a bystander.

A. Right he was not a bystander.

Q. But then he also painted famous works.

A. Oh, tremendous. So it was legitimate to use this, now maybe some other faculty you might have hired would have focused on the economic, social or whatever. In terms of social history, I had fun with a 19th Century course by using some novels. Other people have done that I think. So I had them read *Old Gairot* for France, *Hard Times*, the Dickens story for England and *Fathers and Sons* for Russia.

One reason for these was they're great novels but they are also very short and I think at least a few of the students actually read them. For Germany I had the awfulest time finding a short novel. The only thing I could find that I used once or twice was *Effie Briest* by Theodor Fontane. It is a French sounding name because his ancestors were Huguenots and driven out by Louis XIV. It's a fine novel, its one of the great adultery novels, its kind of a German *Madam Bovary*.

Q. I've never heard of it.

A. Or, *Anna Karenina*. I mean each of course, each adultery is unique. I mean *Effie* is quite different and more restrained as one might expect from the Germans. At any rate, it was fun as well as work doing all those courses. That was the pattern then, to teach Philosophy of Art, Narrative and Fiction and some course with Communications and then usually one or two History courses.

Q. Were you ever under pressure to offer a 20th Century European History?

A. Yes, I did to my regret. That was the hardest course to prepare. Partly because as you get closer it's more difficult to organize... there were some pretty decent textbooks but of course, as you got closer and closer to the present it was just a mass of material going in every direction. On the other hand, I could talk with first hand expertise about the 1968 in Paris which is certainly at least a half a page in most histories. And, had spent some time in Europe, I could make observations about 20th Century morals and so on.

Also, oh it's awful Cullom the 20th Century. The first half of the course is nothing but slaughter and terror. I mean, it's the First World War in the trenches and then no sooner is that over then it's Stalin and Hitler in the 30s slaughtering millions of people. And then the Second World War. So that is most of the course, it was a dreadful, depressing... so there's lots of material. If you wanted to spend the whole course looking at videos there is enough video footage put together on the wars, on the Second World War, you could... anyway.

Q. So that was not as successful experience but you did it.

A. I did it because it was something that needed to be done.

Q. Could you talk about once all these Europeanists left, who among your History colleagues were you particularly close.

A. Well, you obviously and Cecilia I was very fond of, Cecilia Cornell. Who else has gone on here? The McGregors. Oh, I got along fine with all of them and of course, I was a member of the Program Committee, on the Personnel Committee, I wrote innumerable reports, I chaired the Curriculum Committee for History and so on.

Then towards the end of this period, in 1999 the *Psychohistory Review* ceased publication. We decided to shut it down. I think it was the right thing to do but and I'll explain why when we talk about the *Review*, however, it meant suddenly in my old age and dotage, I had to teach three courses a semester, a full load. It was only at that point that I became a little envious of my colleague Peter for having chosen the thing that would allow him to do research a third time because now I was really scrambling. Although, at this time this was the point at which I developed a course on Greek Mythology for the English program. My liberal studies colloquium, I don't know if those still exist, LSC on Architecture and Society.

Q. Which also was a nice...

A. It was a nice tie-in with what I was doing. Of course by that point the book was finished but it was the new direction of my research, was in Architecture. And that was partly also because by then Mark Heyman had retired and I had stayed away from the architecture thing because we had a real expert who worked with Frank Lloyd Wright. And, 2001 I got involved in the new venture of CAP Scholars, the Capital Scholars. I was also asked to chair the committee or volunteer to chair I don't know, to hire the first Music faculty at CAP Scholars and design though later we redesigned it when Sharon got here--the Cap scholars required Art and Music Core.

Q; You were a natural choice for that.

A. Yes, I did the Art part. To begin, it was me doing the Art History and Sharon Graff the new Art faculty--I chaired the search committee for her—and we worked closely together and we taught that every fall semester there were 100 students, it was a very different experience that I had. These were freshman, anyway these big lecture hall things. Then, at the very end of my career... well, I think it was 2000 or 2001 that the History program finally got some money to hire a trained Europeanist. We hired Heather Bailey. I was on the Search Committee. The irony

is that the person we favored-- or the committee favored certainly--was herself an intellectual historian. And, the double irony was that she of course just unashamedly taught her courses as Intellectual History whereas I, because I was teaching them as a Philosopher I felt I had to prove that I could get in there and teach some Economic and Social and Political History.

I suddenly thought, "Boy what a sucker I am!" I spent all that time... but it was a good education, good for my soul. And, of course here again, gave her the pick of what she wanted to teach and she picked two of my favorites, Renaissance and the 18th Century Enlightenment of course. But, I didn't mind that much. I could still do the French Revolution whenever I wanted because that wasn't her thing. I realized that I was about to retire and the handwriting was on the wall here. I wish I had gotten this idea sooner or that... well, until Heather was there I felt obligated to do a survey course for the students.

Now, I realized I was free to do a seminar and I did three graduate seminars, cross listed between History, Philosophy and Political Studies. One of them was cross listed with Political Studies because I don't know why, I was going to say "they" but it was really Bob Sipe wanted me to do a seminar on Nietzsche. The students just really just had to have a course on Nietzsche ... well only three or four of them took it.

I did the Nietzsche seminar. I was kind of interesting to go back to Nietzsche whom I had taught in my very first year I think at Cornell College in the seminar. I wasn't quite as taken with that superannuated adolescent. Now, Nietzsche is a brilliant thinker. In some ways, he has a personality of an adolescent! Somebody would kill me if they... there were some Nietzsche scholars who would take offense.

Q. So that was one of yours...

A. That was one. Another one was on Rousseau who of course fit very nice with Political Studies but also History. I was just fascinated with Rousseau and even had a little section on him in my book so that was behind me, and Tocqueville, which was a natural.

Q. So you offered graduate seminars in all three of those subjects, several times each?

A. Oh no, just once because that was my 2003-2004 final year. That was my teaching career, Cullom.

Q. If you would count up the courses it's probably 20 or so courses. And, you really worked hard at those because you felt like you had to tailor what you knew and what you could learn for other people and then also as you say, not offer it as an intellectual history but as the real thing. Of course, you had stopped doing the CAN courses some years earlier.

A. No, I was still doing Philosophy of Art even though CAN was suspended, I don't think it was abolished in the late 19... Sad, but by that point I was getting lots of Arts students. My Philosophy of Art course always had 18 to 25 students.

Q. So you maintained very generous enrollments in all these different areas?

A. Pretty much. I could say that English graduate courses were five or six people.

Q. The Nietzsche seminar.

A. I suppose there were a dozen in there. The seminars, each of them drew ten or a dozen. So, for a graduate seminar that is respectable enrollment.

Q. Did you turn any of these course commitments into an article or it's a little hard to say because of course as you were developing your work on the History of Art you gave some papers...

A. Right, I'm trying to think. Oh, I'm looking at, I see a couple of little articles that I did for a French dictionary of Psychoanalysis on Psychohistory. I did teach a course once, at least once maybe twice on Psychohistory.

Q. For the History program?

A. For the History program, yes.

Q. And, that was obviously after Chuck left. You were trying to sustain that,

A. Right, probably out of the course for Communication, the Narrative in Fiction and Film. One of my favorite articles, *Flaubert's Parrot: from AG Swan from Reality Effect to Fiction Effect in the Journal of Narrative Technique*, 1990. That tied very...

Q. It was tied directly.

A. Yes, because I was really reading narrative theory and I think I... I don't think you ever really master anything but I developed a pretty solid understanding of it and was then able to use it in a piece of writing.

Q. Did you ever overtly make it clear to students in a course where you were testing some ideas for book, tell them that, or ask their reactions to things?

A. Well, yes probably in Philosophy of Art I did sometimes because actually, I used versions of chapters of the book sometimes as reading for them and to get their reaction.

Q. Make sure they understood it, but also some of the brighter ones, to get their reaction.

A. And then after it came out of course I used it. That's why I wrote it, as a textbook for my kind of course. In fact, I taught the Philosophy of Art, I should admit, I shamelessly shaped it around my book project or a half of it. In other words, I did a third to a half of it as a history of the idea of art. Well that is what the book is, the idea of art, which seems to me it was not inappropriate. Then, I would shift to a more problem centered or issue centered approach than...

Q. This is jumping ahead but the thought occurs to me, I know you intended the book to be a survey and a synthesis with some original ideas and for perhaps a class audience. Has there been evidence of any classroom adoptions?

A. Yes, I had had former students. I remember an Art student reporting through Mike Miller, he said, "Well she told me she got to class and saw the reading list and started laughing." The instructor said, "Well what are you laughing at?" She said, "Well he was on our faculty." It's sort of that thing, how can anybody from UIS be famous enough to have their book adopted?

Q. So this is someone who had liked your book and...

A. Right and I have heard from several people who had used it. It is more often, my impression is or equally often used say in a graduate seminar setting more than... even though I intended it to be assessable to undergraduates. [tape pauses]

Q. We were talking about the use of your book in a graduate seminar.

A. Yes, it has been used.

Q. Has it gone through an additional printing?

A. No, I'm not sure. It has as I indicated gotten what, four or five translations? Whether those are selling at all I have no idea.

Q. I'd like to think in a good Art museum book store it might be on display.

A. It might be on display. Yes, the first few years, for two or three years I would look and would occasionally see it. By now, it's going to be ten years old pretty soon so I don't see it so much anymore. But, its still, right now I'm helping edit an article somebody has written for the *Journal of American Society of Aesthetics*, which is about the thesis of my book and mentions it and quotes it copiously. So, it's still alive in that sense. And of course, I talked to you earlier about the guy who attacked it and I had to reply so it's still gotten a little play. Sometimes books have a way of not really having their impact until later.

Q. Right, I keep waiting.

A. [laughing] You keep waiting, right? Well that was certainly true with the Tocqueville book. It fell pretty much stillborn from the press as [David] Hume said of his famous, *A Treatise of Human Nature* which I think sold four copies or something. In the case of the Tocqueville book I was hoping for... well, I had two causes for chagrin--I guess we'll talk about the Tocqueville thing in a minute--but one was a journal that had accepted at least two of my articles, *History and Theory* and was the journal closest to my heart.

It was the place of meeting between Philosophers and Historians on the issue of Philosophical History didn't review it. Instead, I got a note from the book review editor saying, "Well we just don't have space for reviewing your book. So, we're going to let you write one of the expository notes." What they do is they have authors write a little two paragraph digest of what their book is about. And, I was just... I was really... of course, why?

Q. That's stupid. I mean its central to... it's a significant, right on the mark contribution.

A. I don't know... I mean it fleetingly occurred to me to call Dick Vann who was the editor, or maybe he wasn't the editor by then. That's possible. Maybe that it why it happened? (Vann) whom I knew as a friend.

Q. Dick Bonn?

A. Richard Vann, V-A-N-N. He is from Wesleyan where it was published. I had seen him at a conference so that was a disappointment. The other disappointment was not a peep out of anybody in France. But that has a different explanation which is that Tocqueville was in '88, Marxism was still strong among intellectuals in France and Tocqueville was seen the property of a more... not the far right but of people who are perceived as conservatives like Raymond Aron. Aron was a fine scholar really and in our context would be seen as a liberal. (He) was not so perceived over there. Well, he was perceived over there but with a capital "L." That's the European's name for capitalism or *laisse-faire*.

Q. It fell on deaf ears in France.

A. Though, as maybe I mentioned to you, recently it's gotten some play. I didn't know this until last fall or was it last summer? A young women, I assumed she's young because she is just getting her PhD although she already published a book wrote me and asked if I would... that she was writing her dissertation on Tocqueville's memoirs, his souvenir, his *Recollections* is the translation in English. She was writing on that, admired my book and would I be willing to be a member of her thesis committee?

I said, "Sure, but you've got to pay my way." She said she would try to work that out and so on. Well, we've exchanged a lot of correspondence by e-mail until about March. It kept getting delayed. It was going to be in November then December then January and then March. I hadn't heard from her in months but as a result of that I did a little research. I looked up some recent books on Tocqueville and there is one on his literary style in which of course my book is featured several times and it's mentioned in a couple of other works.

Q. Well, congratulations.

A. So, twenty years... twenty years later because Tocqueville is of greater interest.

Q. Yes, he is more acceptable today...

A. And, because there are some people interested in him as a writer which is what my book is about. It's funny how these things go.

Q. Shall we talk... we're through classes. Do you want to talk about the *Psychohistory Review* or...?

A. Whichever. We talked about the Tocqueville books. I talked about its reception; we can talk about its writing. Ok, one of things I discovered since we last met was that in my letter to Hayden White at Santa Cruz saying I wanted to come there for my sabbatical and do research

and hang around with him. So, I tell him that I'm working on this book on an existential Phenomenology of History, which was my original book project, not the Tocqueville project.

I did mention that I did have an idea for an article comparing Tocqueville and Marxist treatments of the 1848 Revolution from a literary point of view. That of course, after my sabbatical became the book project. Now, the book project is different from the approach of White. White used a literary... an analysis of literary techniques but he had other ones in mind than I did. I was using structuralist techniques.

48 minutes 9 seconds

End of 8.1

Start of 8.2

Q. This is the continuation of tape 8, an oral history with Larry Shiner on August 20th. You were talking about the way in which Hayden White's approach was different from yours and that yours was a structuralist...

A. Right, he used ideas from Northrup Frye and suddenly I'm having a "senior moment" ... and another person who wrote on rhetoric and literary structure. The other major figure in this area of applying literary analysis to history was Domink La Capra who was into deconstruction techniques drawn from Derida and Foucault.

My approach probably seemed to LaCapra, I know it did, a little backward or outdated. Still, I thought it was the most useful so I drew on a thinker named, Tzvetan Todorov and Gerard Genette and finally, Roland Barthes. Roland Barthes was a wonderful figure in French intellectual life, applying these structuralist methods but also veering in the direction that became deconstruction or post-structuralism or whatever you want to say... just a wonderful imagination.

Q. You've talked about him before.

A. Yes, he would apply the idea of codes from semiotics beyond a literary matter to all sorts of things, well, fashion for example. There are codes... clothes are coded. You say things by what you wear and so on. I explored these things. So, that's how I ended up though not taking the particular ideas of any one of these thinkers but kind of synthesize them relation to certain topics like genre, or voice, or plot which form the chapters in that.

I really enjoyed learning about all of this and of course, it was in the air at the time through Hayden White. Also in the air was the idea of applying the techniques of rhetorical analysis to the social sciences more broadly. I was trying to think of this guy's name... it begins with an "N", anyway he was in Economics at the University of Iowa and he put on a big conference there on the Rhetoric of the Human Sciences. There were a number of distinguished speakers.

I think Hayden White spoke and I think that is where I met Clifford Geertz, the famous Anthropologist. They guy who ran the conference, I'll have to find his name for you, later became notorious because he went to the University of Illinois at Chicago I believe and while he was there he had a sex change operation and became a "her". So anyway, I don't know some people might think that has something to do with rhetoric and metaphor or...

Q. Codes?

A. ...codes or whatever. At any rate, it was fun going to these conferences, learning about literary theory... 1985 however was a moment of the most fun working on the Tocqueville book because by then I was able, thanks to Cathy and the kids were grown enough and we were at a point where she could handle the home front and I could go to France for two to three weeks and see the Tocqueville manuscripts.

I had been looking at some of them at Yale, at the Beinicke Library, at the manuscripts there because was it George Pierson or am I getting that confused with our George Pierson? Anyway, he wrote a big book called I think, *Tocqueville in America* or something like that. It was kind of a definitive works on Tocqueville's travels. But he also very patiently helped the Yale library collect a lot of deTocqueville's papers.

Including I think they may have the actual manuscripts of *Democracy in America*. They certainly have a lot of letters. It was to me, quite a thrill. You understand this as historian, it may be more of a thrill for me because I'm not a historian to sit there and hold a letter hand written by Alexis deTocqueville and to realize that he used very fine paper and it was still in very fine condition.

Q. Isn't that remarkable?

A. It's just... that was fun. Well the librarian wrote me a letter and said, "Just the other day Madame Tocqueville-Herouville and her husband were here and the Tocqueville manuscript of the *Recollection* that you want to see is at their chateau and here is the phone number to get a hold of them" and so on. One of my treasured possessions is in the manuscripts is the little note she wrote me when I wrote to her asking her if I could come visit the chateau and see the manuscript. It's signed by Le Comtesse; she was a Comtesse and married to a Comte. She is married to the Count Herouville. At any rate they said sure come on over, we're not going to be there very much we only go there occasionally. They live in Paris of course.

Q. How far out of Paris is the chateau?

A. Well, Tocqueville is a tiny village oh, what... twenty-five miles, thirty miles from Cherbourg. It's sort of halfway between Cherbourg and Pont Fleur, those charming little places. Well, from the D-Day beaches.

Q. Yes, I was going to say I know of that area, the coast.

A. I flew over, got on the first train...

Q. This is 1985?

A. In 1985, got on the first train I could because they were only going to be there a couple of days during the period that I was in France. I get into my hotel and of course I'm groggy and call them. "Oh, my god we forgot you were coming. We are leaving early tomorrow morning." Well, it was five o'clock. She said, "We'll come in and get you, bring you out here and you can look at them this evening."

So, Mr. LeTante drove in their little deChevaux, the two seat, funny little gray, Citroën car that they built after the war, it was the French version of the Volkswagen... or the French counterpart, and it's not a version of it. At any rate, he picks me up... this was their little car that obviously they kept at the chateau. He picks me up at six o'clock, we go out to the chateau and I'm given a tour. There is a pond in front of it.

There is a big tower on one corner. There are the ruins of the old dove cote. Like other aristocrats they have their "pigeonry". In one of the main halls of it, I mean it's not a huge place. Nothing pretensions or lavish or anything although all the walls were covered with coats of arms of all the connections between the Tocqueville and the Herouville families that were blended when the two of them were married.

Q. What were their ages? We're they middle age?

A. Yes, they were older than me certainly. Their sons were grown, studying at Harvard. Madame Tocqueville-Herouville cooked us a dinner. She said, "I have hardly anything here so I'm just making us an omelet and a chouflet," a cauliflower. She steamed the cauliflower, really it was one of the nicest meals I've ever had. To be sitting in the kitchen of the Chateau deTocqueville eating with these two aristocrats.

They were very gracious. Afterwards he took me to the tower, to the attic of the tower. Mind you this is what 15th-16th I don't know, century building. We go up to the attic of the tower, there's the wood beams there, and there's wood shelves all around and these manuscripts lying tied with a string. He said, "I know, I know, it's a fire hazard. In fact tomorrow before we leave for Paris we are meeting with people from the French Archives to so some negotiate about the transfer of them to a safe place. I hope you won't mind, I'm going to stay with you while you look at these." I said of course not. Again, like my experience with the Husserl Archives, there is wire hanging down with a light bulb.

So I sit at this table and I open the manuscripts and I realize all I've got is probably an hour. But what I wanted to do was... the edition of Tocqueville that I was using was a critical edition. It was published in the collected works of Tocqueville edited by Andre Jardin, but I wanted... I had a copy of that with me so I put that beside the manuscript and, I wanted to see, what are the choices that the editor made because there are notes about him, variant?

Well, the way Tocqueville wrote was--and I copied, didn't photocopy it but I copied it on a sheet of paper--he drew a line down a middle of the sheet of paper wrote his main text over here and use the right hand side for additions and corrections and so on. So, what I did was to look at the critical edition and see... I wanted to see how much of this he chose, which ones he chose to insert into the text and which ones he chose to keep as footnotes.

Q. This is a manuscript of several hundred pages.

A. Yes, so I only had a chance to do the first few pages just to satisfy myself that the critical edition had been well done.

Q. Oh, ok. So that convinced you that the... was a reliable text.

A. Was reliable, yeah. And, I wanted to... I thought it would be wonderful if I found something I could cite, well, here is something that he left out or that he put into the text when there were like two second thoughts on the right hand side. Which one do you choose? You put one in the text and you say well the other one belongs in the footnote. Well it doesn't give you same sense as, and also what the heck? I was going to hopefully publish a whole book about one book and not to look at at least the original manuscript seemed to me... anyway, it was an exciting time.

Q. So you stayed up late, he was with you.

A. He was with me and drove me back at nine or ten o'clock to my hotel room. Then the next day they left for Paris or was it the next day? They were going to leave for Paris and they had said, "Come on out to the Chateau and look around in the daytime." I wanted to do that...

Q. Not looking at the manuscripts?

A. No, no, no. You can walk around the grounds. I wanted to take some pictures so I could have a picture of it for the book. Well it turns out that the bus to Tocqueville didn't run that day. At any rate, for some reason I couldn't get there that day. I tried to rent a car. I didn't have a credit card with me because I had given up my credit card at the end of the divorce because there were big debts to pay off. I didn't realize it would stop me from doing things like renting a car.

So I was stuck with waiting. Well I'm not going to sit around a hotel room all day after you walk around; I'll take the train over to Bayeux and see the famous Bayeux Tapestry. I get on the train and who should be on the train but the Tocqueville's on their way back to Paris. I only just said hello to them. It was standing room only.

Q. What a coincidence.

A. Yes. So I went to Bayeux, took a bunch of pictures and I think it was there that I dropped my camera. It didn't seem like it did any damage but it was just a little cheap camera. The next day there was a bus to Tocqueville so I took the bus out and snapped all these pictures. It turned out none of them turned out because light got through on the camera.

What happened then was I discovered to my chagrin--Tocqueville is such a tiny place--the bus only stops there on the way out. It doesn't stop there on the way back. To get the bus on the way back I would have to walk seven miles to St. Pierre l'Eglise. Well it was still fairly chilly and I set off. I don't know if it was the walk or if I was already coming down with something but by the time I got there, got on the bus and got back to the hotel I was coming down with something.

In Paris I could hardly get out of bed, deathly ill with some kind of bronchial something or other. I thought, maybe if I tried to sleep it off in this cheapy hotel with the view of the tiny air chute. I don't know what to do. Do I try to find a doctor? Do I try to go to the American Hospital, which is probably what I should have done... Well in desperation I called the Carleys in England, who were living north of Cambridge in Dover. They said, "Come on over, we'll take you to the British Health and we'll get you over this." You know how Austin was; he would expect you to do the same thing.

Q. Of course, exactly.

A. So, I took the train and the ferry. They met me in Dover and hauled me up to their place, plied me with chicken soup, took me to the British Health and there was a very nice young doctor who said, "You've got a bad bronchitis, I'll give you an antibiotic and you should be ok and able to travel in a few days." And he said, "I'm sorry but I'm going to have to ask you for some payment because you are not a British citizen. That will be \$7." Let others use the British Healthy system as a whipping board, but I tell you...

Q. Not you?

A. Not me.

Q. So that changed some of your plans. The chief purpose of your trip had been...

A. ...had been achieved. I got better in a few days and I went back to Paris. I got to see Ricoeur and Andre Jardin who reprimanded me for having, without his permission, gone to the Chateau de Tocqueville and looked at these manuscripts. "You realize that I [Jardin] have the exclusive rights to the reproduction of these manuscripts. You can't cite them..." So I claimed my innocence and exclaimed... he wasn't nasty about it.

Q. But he has the legal...

A. Oh Yes, yes. I think he was afraid that I was going to try to publish something and I said, no I looked at it for an hour. I just wanted to see it, I was excited about it. I had written him before and praised his biography which is praiseworthy.

Q. It's pretty good huh?

A. It's a very fine biography. We really had a nice [inaudible-22:44]. Then I took the train out to Strasbourg to see my former teachers and Roger Mehl and Étienne Trocmé. So, all in all...

Q. You were gone about a month?

A. Oh, three weeks. My letter said I was only going to be in France two weeks, well maybe I was only there two weeks because I saw the Tocquevilles the first day, got sick the second day and by the fourth day I was in England. So I could have been back for a few days. I certainly didn't have enough money to stay a month or enough nerve to leave Cathy in charge of the kids.

Q. That was a high point?

A. That was the high point of writing the Tocqueville book. The rest was work, but as I say the pleasure of learning.

Q. You were working out your own structuralist categories which of course you put in chapters which made it not easy, but at least clear.

A. And then one chapter becomes a three way comparison of how Tocqueville organizes his material to how Karl Marx does, to how Flaubert does in *Sentimental Education* in a novel and to how Georges Deveau is that it? It's in the book. A French historian organizes it in a straight forward traditional narrative, traditional narrative history. And, Duveau, Georges Duveau. So that was fun. I really enjoyed it but of course it was way too long by the time I got it done and they wanted it cut down enormously, Cornell, but they did accept it.

Q. How did you choose Cornell?

A. Because they had published some other works in this general area. They maybe were LaCapra's publisher so it seemed to me that was the logical thing to go someplace that was interested in the topic.

Q. I'm sure that you had to trim a lot but it's still a respectable monograph.

A. Yes, it's still a good size monograph. We've already talked about the reception. [laughter] It was not enthusiastically received by anybody. Along the way I did an essay, published an essay in *History and Theory* on Tocqueville, one called *Political Carnival*. And, as LaCapra pointed out to me I was relating that to the Russian literary thinker, [Mikhail] Bakhtin's theory of the "carnavalesque" in literature. But, really deTocqueville wasn't writing in a carnivalesque style which is what Bakhtin is talking about. He was writing about the 1848 Revolution at the beginning as a carnival scene in the French Assembly. That... I'm not all that proud of that one. I think LaCapra is right, I was stretching things.

I was exploiting a currently fashionable theory there and the other writings that came out of this literary interest was the one I mentioned, Flaubert's *Parrot*, *Agee Swan* which came out in 1990. (It) is really based heavily on Roland Barthes' idea of what he called, "the reality effect" where he suggests that certain ways of writing where you inject particular kinds of detail are set up in a way to convey a sense of reality even though there are otherwise very abstract or quite interpretive, dropping in these little grains of reality to do that.

What I did was kind of turn that around and say there are certain techniques that you use in prose narrative, descriptive narrative that end up of giving your work a fictional effect. So that was fun. It gave me a chance to do the Flaubert, do a little more with Flaubert and the *Agee Swan*, though Flaubert's *Parrot* refers to a very famous short story of his called *A Simple Heart* where there is this elderly servant woman whose favorite possession is a parrot and when it dies she has it stuffed. It plays quite a role in Flaubert's story.

Agee, James Agee wrote a very highly regarded account of his trips through the south in the depression, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. It's a beautiful book, wonderfully illustrated with photographs by Walker Evans. One of the accounts in there which is a straight forward account

describes the little ceramic swan on the mantelpiece where this poor woman has tried in this bare floored cabin to create a little spot of beauty amidst their poverty. So, I had fun with that because it ties together the literary, the photography...

Q. Your chapter on voice was especially interesting to me as an oral historian because you say that memory is views on the past from the present and it reminded me of some-- I would call it-- analytical work among oral historians one of whom Michael Frisch has written a book called, *A Shared Authority* and he uses authority in two senses of the word; definitiveness and authorship.

A. Right, authorial presence.

Q. Right and it's really good because it illustrates the kind of the dynamics of the relationship between an interviewer and an interviewee in creating a product toward which each of them has a very different perspective. The interviewee is living it or did live it and the interviewer has studied it but doesn't have that same relationship. So, that interested me a lot and also, this is pretty simple minded but the distinction that oral historians make between recollective memoirs and reflective. It's one thing to re-collect what your experiences were; it's another stage to then reflect on their meaning and importance.

A. Oh, absolutely. This process that we've been going through, which has driven me to do digging. You can say almost research into my own past because I forgotten so much of this and then to try to make some kind of story out of it or see some connection.

Q. I just thought I'd comment. I found the book... parts of it were a little difficult to me because I'm new to this but I did enjoy it.

A. Well good, I'm glad you liked it. Because the other way in which it fell stillborn from the press was of course it was written not just as a study of Tocqueville but it was actually intended to be a book that an historian or a graduate student in History could use to pick up a way of doing literary approach to text.

Q. Exactly. In your observation have there been many writings in the last 20 years by historians that do pick up on semiotics and codes?

A. No I don't think so. The tendency has been to regard these issues from the point of view of "style". Isn't it Peter Gay who has the book on historical style? That really has more to do with the more informal kind of, let's look at sort of the periods they... Gibbson [inaudible-3:51] has the long period and somebody else has a more staccato style, or they use different kind of vocabulary or different types of metaphors, whereas, this is an attempt to bring in some kind of analytical categories. You don't see a lot done with it. Someone who has done a little bit in this theme in terms of himself writing in a [inaudible-35:36] is Simon Schama.

Q. Brilliant.

A. Oh, he is. He is a fun person.

Q. He was at Harvard but now I think he's in New York. He was in London.

A. Yes, he did a wonderful TV series that dealt with Art History.

Q. Well, that certainly... I'm sure he based it on your groundbreaking...

A. Oh, no. He came at it in his own way.

Q. I understand. Have we...

A. Oh, we've taken care of Tocqueville and that book.

Q. And of course I love the title but of course it's really Tocqueville's own phrase.

A. *The Secret Mirror*, right.

Q. It's just a wonderful metaphor. Aren't you grateful?

A. Oh yeah. Well, do you want to talk about the [*Psychohistory*] *Review*? We could probably do the *Review* and before doing another book because the *Review* really overlaps this period. It starts... and again, I thank you for doing this and making me go back and look at all that again because since it ended in 1999 only occasionally does some piece of correspondence come through, somebody saying, "Enclosed is my article." They don't realize that the *Review's* been dead for five years. But anyhow as you know the *Review* was started by Chuck Strozier, Charles B. Strozier a Europeanist, very interested in psychoanalysis, who himself was undergoing psychoanalysis and who thought there ought to be a more respectable journal than the one that existed.

Q. Yes, there was one that existed.

A. It was called in fact, unfortunately the *Journal of Psychohistory* which sound serious but it was not. It was edited by Lloyd deMause who had written a book on childhood and history or something like that. It was funded by Lloyd deMause and run by Lloyd deMause, by deMause, for deMause... no, it was not completely worthless or anything but it was not a truly academic...

Q. Was it refereed journal?

A. I don't think so or if was a refereed it was refereed by deMause. At any rate, what happened was, was and I don't know if Chuck started the group for use of Psychology in History? "GUPH" Group for the Use of Psychology in History. GUPH which became a recognized society within in the American Historical Association. And, technically you became a member of that by subscribing to the newsletter.

Because in 1972 just when he came to SSU he started it as a newsletter and go back and look at the early issues they are four paged, mimeographed things, but reports on who is writing what, what conferences are coming up and so on and then it gradually morphed into the *Psychohistory Review* which for a long time was in an 8 1/2 by 11 format with a stapled cover,

and then finally adopted the more conventional size and appearance. And it had done that by the time I got involved.

Q. But you had contributed to it had you not?

A. I had. I did book reviews for him I think I even mentioned two review essays here where I took four or five books and synthesized something on it. I think I did individual book reviews too. But, when Chuck had the chance to go to City University of New York and work with Robert J. Lifton there was nobody else in the History Program who was interested in taking it over. My one hesitation quite frankly was I was not an enthusiast for psychoanalysis.

Q. You had no personal experience with psychoanalysis?

A. I had no personal experience with it. I was married to somebody who thought Freud was a misogynist and being trained in Clinical Psychology and having had courses in scientific method and Psychology was very skeptical of Freud. But I was... I was in intellectual things I have more of an attitude, let a thousand flowers bloom and it is certainly a legitimate and important approach that deserves to be heard alongside others.

Q. Did Chuck actually confer this editorship on you?

A. Oh, absolutely. I mean he consulted with his Board but... and he and Laurence Friedman from Indiana U. remained as associate editors and the three of us worked pretty closely together. Chuck would come out and the three of us would have meetings and so on... but I thought, why not?

Q. Sure. And just what did you... did you collect summer employment and also...

A. Sometimes I got summer employment but the main thing was that it gave me a joint appointment in the Institute of Public Affairs. Fortunately our mutual friend, Mike Lennon was the Director of the Institute and he was quite enthusiastic. As it turns out I discovered the journal didn't get much funding from the university other than my time and a grad assistant. It also got help through the Public Affairs Center from Jackie Wright who was the secretary there. Now was she secretary to legal... political or legislative?

Q. So she typed the...

A. She did a lot of the typing. And, later, Marilyn Immel, and later Marilyn Hough after her divorce was always listed as contributing editor and she helped with some of the editorial work and...

Q. But she wasn't the graduate assistant?

A. No, the grad assistants...

Q. Who did what the fulfillment work in maintaining the subscriptions?

A. They did, yes, maintaining the subscription, but they also did the detail editing, text editing. She looked them over also, the more eyes the better. I learned through them... I mean, they would sit, she and Jackie or the grad assistant and Jackie would sit and read aloud. You have to do that kind of thing. It was for me a wonderful arrangement because I had enough time off to do all the correspondence with authors and reading of manuscripts, finding readers and so on.

Mark Johnson you remember was the book review editor for many years. The wonderful thing about it for me was that it gave me a chance to get acquainted with, through correspondence mostly, some very distinguished historians. Rudolph Binion, John Demos, people of that ilk. Although, the people I really interacted most were probably Peter Lowenburg at UCLA and to a lesser extent, Bruce Mazlish at MIT. Later on I added to the board, I managed to convince Peter Gay to join the board and it was a wonderful... just a casual correspondence relationship. But he turned out to be a prince of a fellow.

Q. I've heard that. I've heard he is wonderful.

A. And, very helpful despite how busy he was. And of course he is writing that magisterial, multi volume thing on the "Bourgeois Experience." I also used the opportunity to connect with some European scholars, psychohistory. Especially Jacques Le Rider, a specialist on Vienna and Austria cultural history and we translated a couple of his articles, there was more than two. He eventually came onto the Board.

My favorite people were Elizabeth Marvick who was an independent scholar though associated--maybe through her husband Duane--with UCLA. Duane was a distinguished Political Scientist, an expert on election statistics and that sort of thing. They spent a lot of time in France. She had done a biography, a psychobiography of Louis XIII which was published. They went back every summer and spent a couple of months. Elizabeth regularly contributed to the *Review*.

48 minutes 4 seconds

End of 8.2

Start of 9.1

Q. This is tape 9 of an oral history with Larry Shiner. It's a continuation of interviews today which is August 20th 2009. You were talking of course about the *Psychohistory Review* and particularly good friends whom you got to know, Elizabeth Marvick and Duane, her husband.

A. Through Elizabeth I was introduced to Micheline Guyton, a French Psychoanalyst--well really--Psychiatrist. An MD Psychiatrist who did Psychoanalytic techniques, who was older. She was probably in her 60s by then. The first time I met them in Paris... her husband was still alive, a wonderful fellow, Jean Guyton. They were a part of that rare breed in France, French Protestants and very proud of it and very active.

Not active in the sense that they were in church all the time, but they were interested in history of Protestantism and so on. Just wonderful people and Micheline, I just saw her husband once because he died that next year, but she became a regular collaborator for the *Review*. I took her material on psychohistory and we published two long pieces of hers.

One on [François-René de] Chateaubriand and the other-- probably of most interest to people-- on François Mitterrand, a kind of psychobiography of Mitterrand's development. In the course of that we became good friends. I remember one memorable visit that Cathy and I had in the summer to their summer home in Dinard out on the Brittany coast. Dinard is on the coast; their summer home is in town. It was just a big old stone house but the family gathered there each summer.

So we kept up a correspondence and I always went to visit her in Paris and it was a reason to go to Paris, to see her and during this period of the late 80s and the 90s then when I went to France I would always see Micheline and see Étienne Trocmé, my former teacher. [pause] I would always see Étienne Trocmé. By then Trocmé had become President of the University of Strasbourg and he often coming to Paris for meetings anyway.

Q. So these became almost annual trips to France.

A. Almost, certainly every other year.

Q. And Cathy?

A. She went sometimes but often I just went by myself. I would just spend a week. You need about a week to get over the jetlag before getting more jetlag getting back. So it was a chance to hit the bookstores, see what was going on. Well, I would also meet with Jacques Derrida and another person, Alain Mijolla. His family name is Italian but he was French. He had a *Review*, an *International Review* on the history of Psychoanalysis and he is the one that invited me to contribute to the *International Year Book*.

So his name is in there as the editor of that. It was nice. I got to go to a dinner with some people that he associated with but these were also contacts for the *Psychohistory Review*. The one other trip I got out of being on the *Review* was in 1993 I also went to England and visited a historian named Robin Briggs at Oxford. That was fun because he was at All Souls [College] and of course, took me to lunch, high table and also it was just a nice restaurant in the college.

And, I went to Nottingham to see another person in Psychohistory, trying to kind of drum up associations, contributors because that was one of the main tasks to carry out, was getting good contributions. In a field that was kind of, certainly marginal to the history profession and somewhat suspect in the minds of many people, it was important that we not publish anything that wasn't intellectually respectable and well vetted. Even though our list board members includes people from distinguished universities, that alone does not carry us. And, we didn't always... there were three issues a year.

Q. Oh, not four, it's three?

A. No, three. Gosh it was all we could do to get out three. With three issues a year we were sometimes scrambling for good works so a lot of my job as editor was getting people to write.

Q. Getting it in on time.

A. Exactly. And learning how to handle delicate egos as you know I'm sure in editing.

Q. Well it's a small group of psycho... essentially. There are people on the fringe so the chance of bruising an ego is high.

A. Right. But also I was thinking of the egos of writers whoever they are. Whether they are on the Board or whether they are at large. What I found was that I would say, ninety percent of the people whom I wrote and said well, we've done some fairly good editing on this, were grateful. They really understood that you were trying to make what they wrote, better.

Q. So you didn't have many real...

A. But occasionally you had, "By golly, who do you think you are questioning my prose?" I was fortunate that so many of my graduate assistants... I had a couple who were weak, but most of them I enjoyed enormously. I think we talked about Margie Towery, very effective. She was early on, 1988 to 1990 I think. The last two were the best, Deborah Roesse who was there from 1994 to 1996 and Karen Wyatt from 1996 to 1998. They were very competent and worked hard and they did that detail work on the manuscripts and also kept track obviously of the subscriptions and doing a lot of that kind of correspondence work. So, those were all in the relationships with Jackie and Marilyn and these people. It was fun, I enjoyed that.

Q. This turned out to be a wonderful focus for your energies and intellect.

A. Exactly. It was intellectually stimulating and I ended up doing some work like in France, I was interested in the history of French Psychoanalysis and I think maybe I even wrote a piece for the *Review* on it myself. I interviewed Elizabeth Roudenesco who was a very prominent historian of analysis, wrote a biography of Jacques LeKohn very well received, numerous articles and other books. All in all it was fun.

Q. Did the university help at all in your overseas travel?

A. Did they? I don't know if they did or not. I might have gotten a little... I think I usually used my travel for going to the Aesthetic Society meeting. I just had the standard travel. I might have gotten some help from Lennon now and then but I don't remember really.

Q. There was a wonderful, I always thought under Michael but not only him, a wonderful kind of entrepreneurial spirit about the Center that awarded one's time but also encouraged a little risk taking because it was looking for its place in the firmament. So that was a good relationship for you.

A. Yes it was a very good relationship. It was fun to have some interaction with Mike too. I think in substantive terms I... with Chuck's blessing--I gave the *Review* a little broader cultural focus and tried to get non-psychoanalytic contributions so it didn't look like it was exclusively this,

“Let’s apply Freud to Napoleon kind of psychobiography.” In fact, I think we gave it-- well I gave it-- a subtitle, *Studies in Motivation and Culture* something like that which broadens it and also maybe makes it sound more academic than the straight Psychohistory. It was really a good experience.

Q. What was the circulation at its peak?

A. Around 330 to 350, which is respectable but not big. It was necessary to have that much to produce the \$9,000 it took to print it.

Q. You printed it in house, at the university?

A. For awhile and then there was always problems with the in-house printing at the university. I think we got permission to go outside where it was a little cheaper and more reliable. The in house people do a good job, its just they have a lot of other demands and sometimes *Psychohistory Review* wasn’t as high on their priority list. I think we got all of maybe \$1500 a year, postage and paper and that kind of thing.

Of those subscribers, a third at least or over a third, were libraries. That produced more income. We charged them \$40. We always do. Mike Lennon left in the mid 1990s and Nancy Ford came in and she was good to work with. I enjoyed Nancy very much. But, towards the end of the 90s it seems like there were some budget problems coming down the pipe and I had already gone off a joint appointment.

I don’t know if it was Nancy’s idea or Mike’s in order to have a lower profile-- in other words--I had an understanding with Bill Bloemer that I would have a continuing NIA [Non-Instructional Assignment] to do Psychohistory, with one Dean. There was that concern but the other concern was by 1995 or 1996 I think that 1996 was our 25th anniversary and we went all out and had a 25th anniversary issue.

Peter Gay wrote something special for us and so on, but it was getting... I was... this memory is a little vague, but my general sense is that the number and quality of contributions was not improving. So I was working harder at it and maybe I was just getting older. I was approaching...

Q. ...or getting a little tired of it. You did it for...

A. ...it had been ten years by 1996. At any rate, in 1997 and 1998 realizing that I was going to retire within a few years I was saying to Chuck, “Wwe need to start looking for someone to take it over”. Well nobody at UIS was interested. The problem we ran into then was finding people outside UIS was we could think of a few who we thought would do a good job and keep up the quality and so on, but they had to get an institutional commitment. Giving them time off, giving them a grad assistant, at least what I had.

Q. That is standard for a university based journal.

A. Right. One of the people that we really were quite enthusiastic about was Tom Kohut. Kohut was a prominent Psychoanalyst at University of Chicago.

Q. Yes and the subject of a lot of research interest by Chuck.

A. Chuck wrote about him. His son Tom was interested but Wesleyan where he taught was not. Well they already had History and Theory and you got to admit Cullom, that Psychohistory was still not a field highly regarded in the history profession as a whole. Most major universities, especially if they already had a journal or two cared to add to their staple and spend money on it.

We finally just struck out and Chuck and I decided, let's quit while we are ahead. Our 25th anniversary issue was good, I published the proceedings for one issue of a European Conference on Psychohistory held in Belgium that was quite respectable, but I just wasn't sure how long we could keep it going at a level, at a respectable level. As you say, maybe I was just getting a little tired.

Q. Well that was a funding crisis period for higher education, for Governor Edgar. He's good, it's just that he had to reduce...and, I think there is often a life cycle in human's career about how much energy you devote to something until it begins to be just a chore rather than a challenge. I'm just guessing here.

A. I read, skimmed through all the letters I got in 1998 when we ended it. I finally heard from Board Members I hadn't heard from in a decade. They finally said, "Oh, its ending? This is terrible. Have you thought of this, have you thought of that?" Well, where were you went we... and, we had thought of most of things that they had thought of and we just struck out. That was probably the nice thing to say was well, maybe you're right, better to quit while you've had a good run than to let it peter out.

Q. So you didn't really have regrets but you enjoyed the experience?

A. I enjoyed the experience really. I don't think of any part of it as bad.

Q. Did you have a sabbatical during the period you were editor of the *Psychohistory Review*?

A. Yes, I had a sabbatical in 1991...

Q. And stayed here?

A. I traveled to Tucson. It was spring semester. That is where my sister lived. I got an apartment and worked at the University of Arizona library. But at that point I was mostly writing.

Q. And work on the *Psychohistory Review* didn't demand a lot of time.

A. I could do it from there, a lot of it. I tried to get my part of it shaped up and of course having good grad assistants in Marilyn and Jackie and so on.

Q. I guess that is the other thing. You were really now focused on getting that book out in '98 and this was kind of a distraction.

A. In a way but I think it was really mostly the feeling that it's not, the field isn't sparking the kind of production and interest that it once did. And I think that may reflect a larger cycle of the new Social History or Quantitative History or any of those other... well the whole literary approach. There is efflorescence and then a fading of interest.

Q. And your sense is the Psychohistory vogue had peaked.

A. Had peaked.

Q. There no journal to replace it that you are aware of?

A. No. There was towards the end of the thing, somebody started a journal in Britain but I don't know if it still exists. If you hadn't ever run one you might sound like, "Oh, let's start a journal!"

Q. That's right. Let's have a play!

A. Let's have a play! There's a lot to it. [laughter]

Q. It ain't easy.

A. It ain't easy.

Q. Well it is a really interesting episode in your professional...

A. It is, it is. It was a good run, 27 years if you count the newsletter and everything, of which I did 13. Generally I'm pretty satisfied with what was done. As I say it was a wonderful opportunity to meet people. Now, the problem again is I'm back to... I'm a senior faculty member but am back now to three courses again. I think I mentioned this back before when we were talking about the teaching.

Q. That is when you developed those seminars.

A. Towards the end of that period I developed the seminars and I got involved in the CAP Scholars and doing a lot of new prep for that. But, by 1999 when the *Review* ended I had the book pretty well finished and I had a spring sabbatical for that. I can't even remember where I... I didn't go someplace again for a long period. I used the Urbana library a lot because by that point I was starting to look for illustrations for the book.

I found quite a few that I wanted at Urbana in their collection. I did go to Paris and I got a lot there through the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. They have a fabulous print and photograph collection for illustrating the chapters on the French Revolution, well, any of the chapters. So, that allowed me to shift my full attention for the last of '99, 2000 year to finishing the book.

Q. I think we'll break here today and we will probably have one more session covering your book and I still have some people to ask you about at the university. So there will be another session.

A. We can do the reflection part if you want and some other kinds of activities like the Society for Values and Higher Education that I haven't talked about.

Q. So, we'll do that. Thank you.

26 minutes 54 seconds

End of 9.1

[No 9.2 Audio]

Start of 10.1

Q. This is an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on August 26th, 2009. The interviewer is Cullom Davis and this is tape 10. Larry, what do you want to turn to next, your last book?

A. Yes, let's talk about that and then we can come back to colleagues and family and friends.

Q. I guess at least the book, you did some writing before that but this was kind of your introduction to the serious study of Aesthetics wasn't it?

A. Well, it grew out of my teaching that course, Philosophy of Art which was probably the main course that I liked to teach. As I said, I taught it every year for about 25 years. At least once a year and only a little less frequently taught the Narrative in Fiction and Film, which was tangentially at least related to the same topic.

The idea of writing a book on the history of the idea of art had been in the back of my mind actually since I went to Santa Cruz in 1983. At that time I was just going to write an article comparing Tocqueville and Marx on the 1848 Revolution. And that article turned into a book project. While I was in Santa Cruz I was also thinking about and sat in on some courses that would be related to the possibility of writing a little short book, much shorter than the one that I eventually produced, based on a famous pair of articles in intellectual history by Paul Oscar Kristeller. It's called the *Modern System of the Arts*. This pair of articles which all together probably comes to 60 pages at least in a scholarly journal had been reproduced in numerous anthologies of Aesthetics for use of students. And, many people cited it and alluded to it saying Kristeller is right and a lot of our ideas of how to define art really have to be re-thought.

As you know by now by reading that book, the basic thesis of Kristeller is that although we use the term "art" to refer to what is often called, fine arts; painting, sculpture, architecture, music, literature, or high art sometimes, that prior to the 18th Century people didn't use the term "fine arts." They might speak of art but it really had more the meaning of a skill or something like craft. That is, "an art." We still use that phrase, "an art.", *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, that book or people talk about medicine or science as "an art" etc. So this, "an art" notion naturally goes all the way back to the Romans and the Greeks.

Q. As opposed to a science, at least in part.

A. Exactly. You put your finger on it that art was contrasted, to be contrasted to science but early on it was contrasted to nature. There are natural things and then there are things made by art, well that includes everything from plowing the ground to constructing houses out of logs, to painting pictures. So, I thought this article by Kristeller from 1950 was a pretty traditional intellectual history piece that focused on classification systems.

He spent a lot of time surveying classification systems of the 15th, 16th and 17th Centuries, citing obscure names that nobody ever thinks of anymore. I thought, "Well wouldn't it be nice to have a little book or booklet, a hundred pages maybe that sort of fleshed this out a little more, made more readable but also say, brought it down to the present because he sort of stops about 1800?" This would be a useful little thing for students.

Q. So you had in mind teaching the idea of art to students that this might be something that isn't exactly a popular audience, but an educational audience.

A. Yes, absolutely and something that would be available to a general reader and obviously to a cultured person, but also students. So, I began looking at what it would take to do this.

Q. This is while you were at Santa Cruz?

A. That was one of the interests I had at Santa Cruz. A key area that he does not really deal with and that was very much in the forefront of historical thinking by generally the 1980s was of course the social, economic and more general cultural institutional background for the development of the concept of art. His was intellectual history; I mean it was what it was.

Q. He didn't care about modernization or the market economy...

A. Right. He didn't talk about the rise of the middle class, the market economy and that sort of thing. The other thing that as I look at this more I began to be really interested in was the institutional side of art. That is, art museums, public concerts and so on.

Q. Libraries...

A. Libraries, public libraries... I discovered that was very easy to discover, it's not like, *I discovered it*, but I was surprised that these institutional changes coincided with intellectual changes and the social changes. So you have the rise of the middle class, the rise of the market economy and change...

Q. Secularization.

A. Secularization right and you have then the creation of these actual institutions. What I discovered was that it wasn't just art museums--though there were no art museums in a modern sense before the 18th Century--and, the same is pretty much true of secular concerts. If you wanted to hear music you went to the church, the court or to some aristocrats' evening soiree. There were no concert halls and even public libraries did not exist.

Q. There were theatres. It still is a compelling point. This coincided with what Kristeller observed. And, did he talk about the fine versus the applied arts specifically?

A. Not much and that was another interest of mine. I had always loved the realm of the crafts; ceramics, weaving, and so on, glassmaking. One of the things that really propelled the book and was kind of a light motif in it comes from my irritation I guess I would say at the habit of Art Historians and Intellectual Historians to talk about the, "Liberation of art from crafts." So that is one reason Ruskin and Morrison and the Arts and Crafts movement has a special place in the book along with others who resisted to some extent this tendency to split art into the high and low.

The basic thesis of the book really, the core of it is this division that occurs and in fact, the original title of the book... I started with *The Invention of Art* and then I decided, that's too clever, too cutesy, too many people are saying the invention of this, the invention of that. It's much more descriptive to call it *Art Divided*. I came to that because it's solved in my mind, it helped solve or in itself--a phrase doesn't solve anything-- but it expressed my argument that there is both continuity and discontinuity in the concept of art. You brought out the issue of theatre. Well, most of the major institutions come about in the 18th Century but some like the theatre go back earlier.

Q. 16th or...

A. Right. Opera for example goes back further. Then there is the whole issue of the Renaissance. You may have noticed the longest chapter in the book is on the Renaissance. Well that is partly because most Art Historians and many Intellectual Historians say the modern notion of fine art and the artists are an invention of the Renaissance, came about in the Renaissance. I was at pains to show that this phenomenon of the division of art--you can see beginnings of it in the Renaissance--but it was not accomplished in the Renaissance. It takes a bit more time...

Q. Exactly. You had to painstakingly show this in several different areas over a period of several hundred of years.

A. I think one of my favorite examples is one that begins the chapter on Leonardo da Vinci who we think of as the great artist. And of course what does a great artist do? A great artist freely creates out of their imagination these great works. Whereas, most--or I could say, all--Renaissance artists worked on commission.

They didn't freely create and in fact as I show in there he usually had contracts and the contract for *Virgin of the Rocks* specified not only the subject matter, it specified the color of her robe, it specified that the color should be a particular ultra- marine blue. Not just a color but the most expensive blue that could be used in a painting. In addition it required him to deliver it by a particular date and to give a guarantee, what was it? Ten years of repairs?

Q. Like a warranty.

A. It's like a warranty. It's like you have somebody paint your house and the paint starts peeling off you have a written guarantee that they'll come and fix it. It's a tradesman, craftsman aspect

to this that most Renaissance artists were still in a certain sense... there was a much greater continuity between the famous that we treat with a kind of romantic, post romantic...

Q. But you are arguing, I believe is that so this was a gradual process of several hundred years but the tipping point which is a popular phrase for it--came in the 18th Century when this division really formalized and institutionalized.

A. Exactly. It formalized intellectually with the concept of fine arts and essays by different people who said, "Here are the five fine arts, or the six fine arts." Or, some had seven. At any rate, it was identified this set of higher arts more worthy of a gentleman and so on... so, well speaking of gentlemen that alludes to the whole notion of the social class aspect of this, that these arts were seen as arts that belonged to what was called the "politer classes." The polite classes were people with some education, didn't talk "funny," like the peasants.

Q. Who had some money...

A. Who had some money and who then could afford to either buy art, commission art, go to concerts and so on.

Q. Which in turn would be a mark of their station in life, wouldn't it, the ownership of fine art?

A. The ownership of fine art. And, in fact before the term "fine art" became fixed in English language for this, the term "polite arts" was used as an equivalence so that really ties it so intimately with the social class aspect. So there were just a lot of horses to ride at the same time.

Q. But really although you give credit where it's due to Kristeller and others, you really did sharpen the focus and also expand it.

A. Right.

Q. And, simplify it. You weren't in the classification game.

A. Right. No, I wanted to make it accessible to students and general readers. There were a couple of other ways I expanded it, if you will. One was, Kristeller focused completely on the concept of art and the classification of the arts. I realized particularly in working on this whole issue of the Renaissance that the western ideal of the artist was as important as the idea of art. Actually the book probably spends as much or more time on the development on the concept of the artists, all the notions of creativity...

Q. Imaginations.

A. Absolute freedom.

Q. Independence.

A. Independence, yea... the whole idea that the artist is this person who should be free and independent. And, the example of Leonardo who still works on commission, this was true right

up to the 18th Century and still in the 18th Century, and then the early 19th Century. But it was only in the 18th Century that artists began to produce on their own in advance for the market.

Q. And not on commission or contract necessarily although today there are still are artists, and some pretty good ones who do things on commission.

A. Right and you can find some cases a little earlier on in the 17th Century in Holland there was a lively art market and enough of a market, and it was literally a market in a sense that at the weekly what we could call “farmers market” you could go and buy a seascape or a landscape or whatever in some cases. So these changes, we could see from some of these examples, the focus, the focal point of turning is the 18th Century but they are kind of gathering steam from the Renaissance on.

Q. Excuse me, when did get back to the title you eventually adopted?

A. Oh, *The Invention of Art*? Not until I submitted it to Chicago and they argued, the publisher argued for going back to *The Invention of Art*.

Q. Oh, they knew this is a title you had considered?

A. Yes, I had mentioned that I had originally called it that but I thought *Art Divided* was much more descriptive but they didn’t think it would sell books as well.

Q. Was that a bitter pill to swallow?

A. Oh, not at all, not at all. I had been kind of torn myself but I saw the advantage of it and I tried to explain in the *Introduction* that it does have the advantage for the general reader and the student that it underlines the most basic point which is that art is not a natural kind but a human construction and, especially the notion of fine art.

Q. I was going to say, it could be called, but shouldn’t have been but *The Invention of Fine Art*. That also kind of identifies the kind of transition you are talking about in a way that the *Invention of Art* is a little fuzzy. But, it’s a great title.

A. But the problem is we used the word “art” for example, there are popularizations of the definitional problem in Philosophy. I think one book is called, *Is it Really Art?* Well, to say is something really art, would clearly have meant 300 years ago to most people, is it a product of human hands or is it a product of nature? Because the contrast with art and nature, but when you say, “Is it really art?” It implies it is that fine thing, that high thing, that important thing we call art? Does it belong in that prestigious category rather than just one of the arts like repairing shoes, is an art. Well, or we tend to call those things crafts instead of art.

Q. I noticed although you properly paid credit to your experience and motivation to teaching Philosophy but also beginning in the early 1990s you gave I think ten papers to the American Society for Aesthetics. I presume that each of them was a piece of the ultimate book.

A. That’s right, it was, it was. There were papers in 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999 and 2000 each one of which reflected some part of the chapter that I was writing. Unfortunately, or

fortunately I don't know whether I was right to do this, but I decided not to polish these up, expand them, insert a lot of heavy footnoting and so on, and try to publish them as separate articles for two reasons; One, I was trying to write a book for the general reader and you don't talk in that way to your pointy headed, academic colleagues and secondly, I would probably never have gotten the book done because I'm too much of a perfectionist about my writing to have spent the weeks and weeks polishing one single article. I decided, well it's risky. I'm not going to have any publications to my record for several years here but better to...

Q. But that helped you conceive and write sections and you were getting some feedback I presume?

A. Right, it gave me some motivation and got me some feedback, yes. Generally at these meetings your colleagues are supportive. They are not standing up saying, "You're an idiot and this is really stupid."

Q. But it was a nice discipline for you. Every year you did...

A. It was. Occasionally, well maybe very rarely, but once I even had Arthur Danto, the most celebrated and influential contemporary Philosopher of Art come to hear one of my papers which just surprised me. He just happened to be interested in the problem of the relation of art and craft which was of course central to my thinking. So he sat in that one time. That was nice.

Q. Did he comment?

A. He made some comment but it was not...

Q. The point is that he was there.

A. Yeah, he was there. That was nice. The other theme I did in the book that is very important and I think makes it much more interesting, readable and useful of course is to bring the story down to the present. It would be easy to stop in the 18th Century and say well art is invented, the rest is...

Q. And you could have gone into the 19th to show how the process... but, you're right you could have... it would have been a lot easier.

A. It would have been easier, it would have been. But, one of things that I had noticed and this I think is where, well several of these things show that the book is much more than a redoing of Kristeller... the social economic, the emphasis on the artist and so on, as well as the aesthetics. One of my favorite parts of it... and I again there are seldom things that you can rightly claim "discoveries" but I don't know many other people pushing this idea, it is what I call the *Dialectic of Assimilation and Resistance*.

Q. Which is an interesting chapter in the book.

A. Yes, I actually start with the 18th Century itself because as this split is occurring there are people who are resisting it and resisting it partly because of the class, social economic aspect and that is where I...

Q. Marx for example.

A. Marx, right in the 19th but in the 18th already I mention Hogarth, Wollenstone Craft, Mary Wollenstone Craft and Rousseau. And, this was probably in some ways my favorite chapter in it, the *French Revolution* and you see how that really tied in with my teaching in History at that time of the course on the French Revolution. What fascinated me was that the revolutionaries, many of them seemed to want to break with this direction of separating art into two classes, get back to the idea of art serving a particular purpose and place, only instead of the Church now it would be the Revolution and the State.

Q. And, of course for the masses rather than for the privileged.

A. Right and directed to the masses too, and, the purpose of art to educate people and their civic responsibility and so on. So, the revolutionaries not only put on these festivals--which a lot of people have written about and made fun of--but still they were kind of multi-arts events and they also created this thing and I had a little section on it which was fascinating to me, a thing called "The National Music." They had this idea that they should create a conservatory of music and a national...and a band. In other words music that would be written for and played for the public and the cause of the state, and support the Revolution.

Q. This is remarkable. I had overlooked that one. So the Revolution is a real bump on the road of this cause.

A. Absolutely and it's just a fascinating moment because this occurs at the very time that Immanuel Kant is writing the classic work on the nature of Aesthetics and giving one of the codifications and formulations of the fine arts, the teaching of fine arts. But the third institutional thing that the French Revolution did and the most important and lasting in some ways, was to create one of the first national art museums, in turning the Louvre into the Louvre Gallery of the King into an art museum.

I had a lot of fun of course going to Paris and reading in the archives and texts. Well, you don't actually have to go to the archives because there are published volumes of the speeches of the Revolutionaries before the Assembly. One of the speeches was so clear and he said, "We've got this problem of vandalism. Our revolutionary troops are bragging that when they took Fontainebleau Palace they burned all the artwork because they represented the King. We've got to stop this.

The way to stop it is, let's take these works of art dedicated to religion which of course the Revolution was overturning, and the monarchy... let's take them and put them in an art museum and they will lose their power to entrance the masses." So, he explicitly invoked the notion, I mean he didn't use the term, "secularization" but he used the idea that let's take these things that had been dedicated to the divine right of monarchs or to the divinity itself and put them in a museum that neutralizes them. Then you look at them as "art.'

Q. Something from the past.

A. In effect, the museum makes art. It makes fine art, or it makes art in the sense of this special realm set apart from the rest of reality. It takes things out of their embedded condition in society as a whole and sets them in this...

Q. That's really an interesting perspective.

A. Yes, to me that was sort of "pay dirt" there in terms of the way in which ideas, social movements, political movements and institutions all come together to produce it. So, I was pretty contented with myself for that, I guess. [laughing]

Q. And, was Chicago Press your first choice?

A. They were and I'm trying to remember why. I think they had maybe done some other books on this, they were nearby. Oh, and I knew the name of the editor there--I can't say it now--but I had been a reader on a manuscript or two and so I always hated the idea of sending in a manuscript off to "Dear Sir."

Q. You had a name.

A. I had a name at least. He liked it. The readers liked it although they said it was way too long and had to be cut down.

Q. Oh, that's hard to do. Your canvas...

A. Right but it's better for having been shorter. When he took it to his board--I know from his telling me--he said there was one member there who said, "This isn't original enough. This isn't original scholarship. He's just reworking Kristellar." It's not a monograph in a sense of... because after all if I'm covering all the five arts and as you probably noticed, that is one of the other things that made it in some ways insanely ambitious was that I not only illustrated with painting and architecture and music but literature as well and the theatre. How could you be other than drawing upon... I was just drawing upon sources from every direction.

Q. Sure, but there are original ideas, genuinely original perspectives.

A. Oh I think so. I think using this idea of the resistance and the French Revolution. So I tried to... he asked me to write a defense of it in that sense. I think one of the things I pointed out is to say a further word on this theme of resistance and assimilation was that this starts in the 18th Century right when art is being "invented", or art is being divided into the fine and lower, the "A" capital "A" and the small art. But, as the new invention of fine art, this notion of fine art and the artist as this free, created out of nothing as it were, gets codified through Romanticism.

As that is going on we get another wave of resistance from not just Marx but in particular for me, Ruskin and Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement saying, wait a minute... these things that you've left behind, the small "a" art ought to be considered along with it. Then the assimilation part begins in the 19th Century with photography. Where there is this debate, a very lively debate about photography is art or not? "Well it's made by a machine it can't be art." Others saying, "No, it uses selection, imagination and so on." What happens is you divide

photography into fine art photography and ordinary photography the rest of us do. For me that was confirmation of a kind of process that had been set in motion.

Q. Its organic in a way that it's growing and mutating but fundamentally, the split has occurred.

A. It continues to divide. When in music say, early jazz began to be assimilated as an art form. What happens is you divide it into well, there is the "club jazz" and there is the "high-art jazz." So this happens all along. I had to defend the book by arguing these ideas were a little more original and that there were other books of this nature that Chicago itself had published. I was trying to find one the other night in my library. In particular was a kind of intellectual history but was...

Q. But it was a synthesis, sure. So you won that argument I guess.

A. I guess.

Q. Well they had some nice press, the illustrations which are always expensive, are good. I think it's a wonderful book, I really love it for the sake of our interview and I find it very persuasive.

A. Yes, the illustrations, I wanted so much to have a lot of illustrations. And I was so worried they probably will say, "This costs too much." But they said, "Have as many illustrations as you want." Of course, "You will--they had to be black and white--you will find them. You will pay for creating the photographic, useable photographic image and you will pay the royalties." I once guesstimated and I'm sure that it's not less than that... that I spent \$3000 illustrating that book. I don't know that I've made it back.

Q. It doesn't matter. I think this is a book that will stand the test of time. I think all of yours, but I think in particular it is a remarkable work. One other thing I noticed about it and really you did this self-consciously but more than either of your previous books there is a personal and familial aspect to it. Namely the dedication in memory of your mother, the reference to a fifteen year olds visit to Chicago, the acknowledgement of an old friend who visited New York and you saw Pop Art, I think and your sisters. I don't remember those touchstones in your previous work.

A. My daughter Suzie who actually did one of the illustrations. I had her go and take a picture...

Q. Isn't that wonderful. I didn't think of that.

A. It did have a personal connection. That's true. My interest in the arts obviously came from my family, especially my mother who gave me a set of oil paints when I was about fourteen, fifteen. And, really I took art in high school but I realized I didn't have any talent.

Q. Well the great point about your trip to the museums in Chicago was the point about African crafts being and the Field Museum but not at the Art Institute.

A. Oh yes, yes and that led to a theme that I did produce one article while I was writing the book and it was on that topic, primitive art, tourist art and the ideology of authenticity. It's a topic, actually I've written two articles on and a couple of papers on...

Q. The folk art article.

A. Yes, I did a paper on folk art and actually there was a chapter on folk art in the book but it's one that I sacrificed in the compression thing. I had always meant to put it together and publish it.

Q. I haven't read that paper. I shift through so many good examples of folk art that you didn't bother mentioning George Collins. He was a primitivist or folk artist.

A. Right, I was fascinated with a phenomenon that was going on at that time and really I should have polished that up and published it someplace because it was a critique for the craze for folk art right then. There was even a brief lived journal called *Folk Art Finder* and this motif was used in a movie actually that I saw. What was that? What was the name of it? The movie was really about a relationship between a man and a woman but the woman is the owner of a folk art gallery in Chicago. She has here minions scouring the hills of Kentucky.

Q. Yes, and she and her husband take a trip and they find this character and...

A. Suddenly they discover that his sister is a lawyer and you have to pay big bucks to get his folk art.

Q. Well that is what happened to George Collins. Governor Thompson liked him and suddenly he was on display in Chicago galleries... very chic. There was one other reference and I can't seem to find it. That's ok, it doesn't matter. Well, and the reviews have been favorable except for this one clown.

A. Right the reviews right after were... Yes, most of them were favorable. Of course I was thrilled that they got Arthur Danto to write a nice blurb for the back and also a guy named Albert Boine who is the author of a five volume social history of art. Where is he from? Cleveland State or someplace, Case Western Reserve or something like that? Anyway he is a distinguished art historian.

Q. So you go two blurbs. Did they promote it reasonably or is it like most...

A. Oh, they did exactly what they do for all their other books. It was in a group ad a couple of times in the *New York Review of Books* but it sold modestly well and I've been surprised, I forget, they are listed there in four or five translations. Although, not in my beloved French or German but Spanish at least as well as Korean, Turkish...

Q. Go figure.

A. Go figure.

Q. Well I think we... I don't want to demean the others, they're good books but this to me is kind of a high water mark of your scholarship.

A. It was really an insanely ambitious project and I'm amazed it got done. But, I was able to actually use it in my own class a few times before I retired.

Q. You established your credentials in Phenomenology and in Structural Studies and here you certainly established it in Aesthetics.

A. And, in another way it's a History book. It grows out of... It was a nice attempt or opportunity I guess to bring together themes of my teaching, the histories, at least some of my History teaching.

Q. It's not just intellectual, it's cultural. And you touch on other political and economical...Not a lot...

A. That's true, that's true and at that moment that I was finishing it up what was called the "new cultural history" was emerging.

Q. The timing and the thought behind it were exquisite. I think we ought to take a break here.

48 minutes 22 seconds

End of 10.1

Start of 10.2

Q. This is continuing an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on August 26th. We've talked about your book *The Invention of Art*. We might return either to domestic matters or institutional matters or what.

A. Well I suppose let's talk a little bit about... take a few minutes to talk about what I did institutionally after the book came out in 2001. I had the interest in the arts and we were moving toward having freshman and the Capital Scholars. I was actually on the Curriculum Planning Committee for the interdisciplinary course led by Jim Stuart.

I became chair of the Music Search Committee and we found Sharon Graf, who turned out to be just a wonderful hire. Sharon is a terrific teacher and choir leader though that hadn't been her training. She is actually an Ethnomusicologist. Her PhD is in Ethnomusicology through an Anthropology program. The other thing is she is a very talented violinist with a specialty in American fiddling.

She doesn't just study it, she did her dissertation on the fiddle contest in America, especially one out in Idaho, in Wieser, that is the biggest and oldest I think of all of them. In fact, she polished that dissertation up to be a book that I expect to come out one of these days. [She is] just a great person and willing to take on this impossible task which was... we hired her to teach

halftime in the [inaudible-2:49] department, to create a series of musical ensembles which we hadn't had before.

I remember way back when I was Dean I tried to get Mark Siebert to start a choir. "It can't be done, it just can't be done." He resisted. Well partly I think because he had a good choir at the Episcopal Church. He wasn't interested in competing with himself.

Q. Wasn't there something called the Sangamon Consort?

A. Well yes. That was a music group that he and Larry Smith and Karl Scroggins and one or two others played the recorder. They had a recorder concert.

Q. I don't know if he was officially sanctioned.

A. We had had of course both Mark and Jerry Troxell in the early years of the university in the area of music. Jerry took early retirement and moved to St. Louis because he wanted to be where he could do more music. It was so frustrating to him. We had no students here, hardly any ensembles. Jerry started a jazz group and then Mark pretty much did a radio show for WUIS, taught some PAC courses with music and so on... Sharon was starting from scratch which is the basic point, and did a fantastic job. I just can't give her enough praise.

Q. Willing to take chances, she took the initiative on things.

A. ...took the initiative and got several music ensembles going, having to rely of course not only on students but on faculty and community people.

Q. I know you were there helping all along the way.

A. Well, a bit. I even sang in the choir for the first couple of years and its improved much since I left. [laughter]

Q. Then you team-taught with her?

A. Yes, I designed the first version because she wasn't on campus yes of CAP 251, Art of Music. Eventually we brought in a person from the Visual Arts but for the first two years I did the visual art part of that. By the second year we were teaching 100 students. It was required of all CAP students. That was certainly a new experience for me, suddenly after what 30 years I was teaching freshmen again. For the first time I was teaching 100 freshmen. Some of whom of course sat in the back of the room and sent e-mails from their laptops.

At any rate, we added someone from our History after I helped chair I think one that one, I co-chaired the search for two new members of the Art Program. First, the painter, we hired Mike Miller turned out to be a fabulous hire, as good as Sharon in his own way. [He] built up the gallery, built up the program, recruited students. I mean just did everything and a great person. Then the second year I co-chaired the search for an Art Historian with Rosina Nijinsky and we hired Jonathan Perkins who also has remained a good friend and we, the three of us, Sharon, Jonathan and I team-taught the Art and Music course then until I retired in 2004.

Q. So that was really concluding your teaching career on a high note. You were involved in some serious work to add real culture to....

A. ...to the campus right. I had, like all of us, had been an advocate for that but to no avail for years.

Q. It took a Sharon and a Mike and a Jonathan...

A. Well and it took bringing the CAP Scholars in and for the administration to realize we can't have freshmen and sophomores and nothing in music and so on, or nothing in theatre. Now I wasn't on the theatre search but that turned out great too. We got a really top notch person in Eric Thibideau Thompson. I have remained then until I retired, but also after retirement, to the present I'm still a member to the Music Advisory Committee and a member of the Visual Arts Program Committee.

Q. I think that's, you can take pride in everything you did at this university but it's particularly nice that you ended on such an upstroke.

Alright, now there have been some various administrators who have come and gone since we first talked... And, also some other colleagues I don't think we talked about. Chris Breiseth.

A. Oh, yes. Chris was... I thought of Chris as a good friend and we tried to stay in touch after he left, though he left after about what, about four or five years?

Q. He went out west for one or two years to that [inaudible-9:14] College in California. And then he took the job...

A. Then he took the job out in Wilkes, Pennsylvania. So I didn't get to see as much of him after that. I always thought of him as a really good friend. After he left and I started working on *Psychohistory Review* I think I became closer then to Mike Lennon until he left to work for Chris.

Q. Right. But that's because you were a part of the Center for...

A. Institute for Public Affairs.

Q. Was he supportive?

A. Oh, he was very supportive of the *Psychohistory Review* and of course I had in common with him, the interest in literature. In fact, he is the one who really pushed me to give a bigger place to literature and to the very concept of literature.

Q. In your book?

A. In my book, I talk about how you go from literature with a small "l" to literature with a capital "L" there is another area where you try to divide between the ordinary and the fine. So, Mike... another thing that Mike and Chuck Stroger did, of course until Chuck left he and I were good friends is, we were all three interested in writing and we used to have lunch every two

weeks at the Crow's Mill over there and we would not read to each other but we would, before we had lunch give each other a chunk of writing. It was kind of a way to keep ourselves going.

Q. And Chuck at that point was working on his Lincoln biography, so you saw parts of that. And, Mike was working on [Norman] Mailer?

A. I was working on Mailer, he was also. He did some more general writing on the New Journalism which connected to Mailer, but...

Q. Those are great friendships. How about Rich Shereikis?

A. Oh, we were very close partly because their family and mine, our children were the same age, Becky and Suzie were the same age and I think Laurence and John... and so there was a lot of interaction and familial and so on. Rich was of course a good colleague. The bunch of who kind of hung out together, you and Mike and Rich and so on. One of the sadder things was something happened between Rich and Mike and they didn't speak for years.

Q. Rich was the one who just refused to speak. Mike always wanted to try to. I think it had to do with some things Mike did as Director of... he kind of snuck through the appointment for some state bureaucrat and I think he was a little too cozy with Durward Long. I understand that except.

A. Yes, if you are working for somebody you have to work with him. You've got to either decide you are going to work with him or quit and he didn't quit.

Q. He didn't want to quit. He loved his job. In a few cases he probably didn't think through all the implications of a position he took in trying to satisfy the president. I agree, it was sad because they used to be really close friends, and funny. They both were so witty; individually they were too but... I remember a party at the Lennons where the Shereikis' came. It was a great party but Rich wouldn't come in the house. He sat on the back porch and just wouldn't go in and talk. But I love Rich and Judy of course.

A. Well speaking of presidents, I can safely say that I had very little to do with any of them except Spencer. I don't know if I mentioned when we talked about Spencer but I certainly want to. I was interviewed by someone from the Board when they were investigating or getting ready to encouraging him to resign.

Q. Oh really? This was a confidential interview with a Board Member.

A. They had with all the administrators.

Q. Oh, of course.

A. Yes, I didn't seek it; I didn't want to be there. I was very candid with them yet what I said was, I think what I said to you the other day when we're talking about it, maybe on tape, maybe not. I admired Bob. I thought he had all the right education and values. I thought he had some real failings as an administrator but that in my personal view I had been through attempts to

fire presidents and I had been through people celebrating the departure of a president they didn't particularly like and they got something a lot worse.

Q. Lo and behold...

A. And, lo and behold, that is exactly what happened to us. I never had anything to do with Alex Lacy, never wanted to and thank god he didn't close the place down.

Q. It was pretty close.

A. He came pretty damn close.

Q. And he had a cabal of his cronies who he paid off and it was a bad situation.

A. A bad situation. And, I must say as far as Durward Long is concerned, a lot of people hated his guts. He had many failings... There is no point in listing them all, we don't have enough time but to use a famous phrase, "He made the trains run on time." He, unlike Alex Lacy who was a jerk, also as a person, he at least worked hard. He is a workaholic actually. He worked hard, maintained a good relationship I think with the Board and the Legislature. At least our budgets did well and our enrollments did well so I was not one of his detractors in a sense that, *Oh things would be so much better if we got rid of Durward Long.*

Q. I wasn't either. I took issue with him on things and he made have had some of his favorite faculty members but it wasn't anything like I thought it was with Lacy.

A. No, he didn't have the kind of kitchen cabinet kind of thing. But we weathered him and thank god, we got Naomi Lynn. Finally we got a normal human being. I used to love to say, Naomi she had so many virtues but just to have somebody that was not a nut case or an alcoholic or...

Q. Paranoid.

A. Paranoid or a womanizer or all those other things, it was so refreshing. She just settled down and did what a president should do.

Q. It was treacherous waters, particularly the assimilation with the University of Illinois. She played that one, I thought... I don't know a lot about it but she kept the cards close to her chest because there would be a rupture on campus if she was seen as complicit. But she was.

A. Thank heavens.

Q. And she used her judgment that this would be in our best interest. Even Judy Rissen hated the idea but everyone came to the conclusion with a few exceptions that this was a terrific step.

A. Essential. Oh Yes, we might not be here.

Q. Her community relations were superb. She was a great fundraiser, she's still beloved. And of course Spencer was too. One of the greatest compliments to him was that even the people whom we've known for years here who turned against him, welcomed him as a colleague. They

didn't welcome Durward Long as a colleague and they wouldn't have stood Lacy as one. But they welcomed Bob as a colleague. He still nursed a grudge but the point is that he loved the academic life and he spent another ten years teaching which says something.

A. Yeah, it says something for him.

Q. How about people like Mike Ayers or Wayne Penn?

A. Oh, I got along with Mike Ayers but I felt I was closer to Wayne and particularly he went through a period of separation from his wife and I think needed a support group. I was just fond of him as a person, still am. I see them at my... We used to joke about Wayne's administrative style but I think that one of things that I observed in relation to my own, I was more likely to jump in and think I could solve something by action whereas Wayne was more inclined to say, "Well let's just let the situation mature and hope it would go away." And, actually it did sometimes!

Q. Some of them did, they didn't fester so badly...

A. All in all, I would give him pretty good marks for what he did. And he made a good team with them.

Q. How about Harry Berman?

A. Oh, Harry. I'm very fond of Harry. He had a great interest in Philosophy by the way and joined that informal Philosophy group that mentioned. We called ourselves the Central Illinois Philosophers Group. We had no officers, no permanent address, occasionally we used to meet fairly regularly and our main purpose was to read each other's papers. But the group expanded to include non-Philosophers. We had Historians; Harry is in Gerontology, people in English Lit and so on. Harry had a particular interest in Phenomenology, a phenomenological approach to social science. That is maybe how we got acquainted. So he started coming to these meetings. Of course once he became Vice President he hasn't been able to attend.

Q. He's very bright and very conscientious.

A. He is bright and conscientious and I think has done a pretty good job. Probably the things that I disagreed with him on have not been things that were his initiatives.

Q. Yes, right. I think he's been fair and evenhanded as far as I could tell. Of course, you haven't talked about our current chancellor and you don't have to.

A. He's a very nice person. I've had no tangles with him. I think he's tried hard to do the right thing. Like many people I was making fun of his taking the extra money out of University Hall building and building the fountain with the colonnade. On the other hand, I've grown to accept it and think it's probably a good idea to give...

Q. It's a focal point.

A. It is a focal point. You have to have a specific alternative to say, "That would have been better than this." Good for him on that. Now that I'm not involved in administration I can't really say much about... well, I can say that I do disagree with one of his policies which to build up athletics and get us into NCAA Division II. I was disappointed that the school that had a history of a fabulous soccer team, that won two national championships, it's like soccer didn't exist anymore and all we can think about is basketball and traditional sports.

Suddenly I find that out at some scholarship luncheon, people getting up to talk about the athletic scholarships we're giving. Here our small programs need scholarships so much. Anyway...I don't want to get off on that. The other side of the athletic thing is it probably is important and inevitable that we do some things there if we are going to have freshmen and sophomores. So it's just a question of how much do we do and how far do we go.

Q. Exactly. The Athletic Center...

A. No, that was a good move and a good addition

Q. From what you hear or have observed, do you think that he has a pretty good relationship, the University President and the system?

A. I don't know. I assume he does or he wouldn't still be there.

Q. Anything else?

A. No, not on the administrative side.

Q. A couple of old friends, one deceased we haven't discussed and maybe there is nothing there, but Homer Butler.

A. Oh, Homer Butler. I loved Homer and of course he goes back to the beginning of the university so I knew him for years and was so sorry to see him sick and to lose him. So sorry about Dave Everson, whom I was fond of and admired. And, Luther Skelton, I didn't know Lee as well but I used to visit him when he was in the hospital. I knew Hillary quite well because we used to work together in the Community Arts Management program.

Q. Of course, Judy [Everson] has been a good friend.

A. Oh, yes Judy has been a good friend for years. Judy and Dave, but after Dave died I continued to have lunch periodically with her, follow her fabulous adjustment after the first couple of years which were so hard for her. What an admirable person in terms of the things she does.

Q. And she just grabs onto them and does them all superbly well.

A. Anything she touches she...

Q. Remarkable person. Were you real colleagues or collaborators at any time in your career here?

A. No, I think not in terms of writing anything or anything like that. Or teaching, because by the time she and Dave used to team-teach and it would have been great to have done something with her on the Narrative in Fiction and Film because she had a course on Fiction into Film herself. And, I profited from her advice and have profited from her editing and many things.

Q. Absolutely, she was the master. Another old friend is Roy Wehrle. Maybe you did talk about him.

A. No, I've probably seen more of Roy in retirement. He took early retirement and tried to start that health consulting business. He is just a fine person and a dedicated thinker about world issues... actually, at his behest we collaborated on some writing that he was doing. It was really his writing, I was just the editor.

Q. I understand. Was this on public issues of the day?

A. Yes, it was an article proposing sort of a new cooperative model of international relations.

Q. Wasn't Chris involved in that too? Chris used to talk about a Declaration of Interdependence?

A. Yes, something like that yeah, but Roy was trying to bring this to a head the last two years.

Q. Oh, just recently?

A. Yes, just recently. That is something else I guess I've done in my retirement is to help some other people with their books. Read the manuscripts of Barbara Burkhart's books for her a couple times. Rosina, read the manuscript for her. Read Heather Bailey's book on...

Q. Has that been published?

A. I'm trying to think if it's actually come out, but I know it's been accepted for publication. That all came of course partly because of my daughter Suzie's death. She, in the fall of 2001 right after my book came out, on the third day of the World Trade Center disaster, well actually it was on that day because I got the call at four in the morning. I was called from the hospital in Raleigh North Carolina saying they needed a family member's permission to operate.

She had had a ruptured appendix, not an appendix, ulcer. A perforated ulcer... you don't call it "ruptured," a perforated ulcer. She got on the phone herself saying its ok, not in danger of death or anything. Well of course I was frantic to get down there. The next day the World Trade Center... no air travel. They kept saying, "Who knows, maybe they will be up tomorrow again." So I waited two days and on the third day I realized that I just had to get in the car and 900 miles is not that far.

So I drove to Raleigh and stayed with her a few days. I guess maybe because she got out and helped her get settled and back into her apartment. Then she moved from Raleigh. She had split up with her husband, finally. The guy who had lied to her about not being able to have children which was the main reason she married. They split up, started proceedings for the divorce. She was working at a garden shop just to support herself and in her own apartment.

She finally found a job with a little search, survey and recovery company in the little town, the coastal town, had a nice little harbor in Stuart, Florida. They hired her of course because she knew the sonar software. Most of her work was however landside. I went down to see her, did I see her twice? I know she moved in December and I went down to see her in January and help her get settled.

We laughed because I was always repairing screen doors in her apartment she rented. And eventually that spring she talked them into farming her out as she had been farmed out by Triton in California into sea going operations. So she went out on a couple of ships to look for downed helicopters and airplanes and so on.

Q. She really enjoyed that didn't she?

A. Oh, she loved being at sea. That is what she really wanted to do was to be working the sonar on a ship. In June of 2002 is when she was at sea and died suddenly of internal bleeding. That, as you might imagine took all, everything out of me. I had no desire whatsoever to write articles, do research or anything. The only thing I did between then and 2007 was to volunteer to read manuscripts for other people. Well they asked me to, actually and I was happy to comply.

Q. It's a devastating experience.

A. I'll never get over it. It comes back on me every now and again when I least expect it. But, it also made staying in touch with my family and friends much more important to me. I've made a concerted effort to visit, see as much as you and Judy and people who were her, also, Laurence and Kay and Carol and my family as many times as I can and, people further afield. I've gone back to see Lennons, Tom Michalson who was in my wedding. Shigeo Kanda who taught with me. We try to go out for a little bit each winter for a few weeks to someplace warm, Utah or Arizona or California so I've tried to see my friend Shig on those trips. I've visited Wayne and Susan.

Q. Those become all the more important, particularly after the experience you've had.

A. Well another sad thing, I used to love to go to France, in particular to Paris. I went maybe every other year for decades. But as you know, because you were there I was in Paris when I was called early one morning so it's very hard for me for many years to think of going back to Paris. Then something else happened, a few minutes after Suzie died I got a letter from Étienne Trocme's wife that he had had a fall in August of that year, two months after Suzie died, he had died.

Q. And he was a good friend.

A. He was. He was the person on the dissertation committee that I had revered. Then, my dear, dear friend, I loved Micheliné Guiton, who through Elizabeth Marvick became a collaborator on the *Psychohistory Review*--remember she wrote articles on Mitterrand and Chateaubriand and translated them and published them. And I would see her every time I went to Paris and I

would see Étienne. So, not only did I have the awful memory of hearing about Suzie in Paris, but then the two people that I really cared about seeing in Paris weren't there anymore.

And I suppose as long as I'm on this side recital, then just two years ago my dear friend Elizabeth Marvick died in her sleep suddenly. I had seen her also when I had gone to California, in Los Angeles. What a marvelous woman she was, one of those great academic families. I think she played tennis with her friends twice a week right up into her 80s. She had a game of tennis the day she died. That is the way we should all go. So I think that is my career.

Q. Yes, well I do have a couple more things. First, you and Cathy moving out to the lake, I think that is an interesting story. We don't have to do a lot of time...

A. Well on one of my summer study opportunities in Cambridge not long after I was married--I guess it was awhile after our marriage... must have been after... in the early 90s... there is a wonderful basin of the Charles River between MIT on one side of the river and you know what hill I'm talking about. Where the state capitol is... well, it's a big hill with 18th Century mansions on it. At any rate, there is dam on the river there so the river is a big lake.

When you drive over the bridge from Cambridge into Boston I would always see these little sailboats. They were all identical. Probably they were some sort of fleet. We found out they belonged to an organization called, Community Boating, was having its 50th anniversary that year. They were old fashioned wooden sailboats that one person could, or two could get in there comfortably.

They existed to kind of provide sailing opportunities for the public. It was a nonprofit group; it wasn't some exclusive club that you join. I think it was a couple hundred dollars or something. I just admired it so much. Well Cathy surprised me with a membership on my birthday so I could take sailing lessons. That is where I learned to sail.

Q. When was this, 20 ago maybe?

A. 15 or 16 years ago, yes.

Q. So you got the bug?

A. I got the bug. The house we lived in on Cherry Road was very small. It only had two bedrooms one of which was very small and a tiny kitchen and one car garage. We kept thinking of ways to spend, we would have had to spend \$100,000 and added in every direction. We wanted a little more space and because I had the sailing lessons, the idea of being on the lake really appealed to us. So we started looking. I think we looked for about five years. Things were just too expensive.

Anything that was in the mid \$200,000 either didn't exist or was snapped up. In fact that happened to us with one. We were looking at it, it was on Long Bay. It was a small house and as we were driving away we go about half way home we said, "You know that is, we probably what we should make an offer on that." So we went home called the realtor and someone had

filed out an offer. I remember this now; somebody had been filing out some forms while we were there!

At that time, the cheaper things were so... that is actually how we bought ours. We signed the offer, there was a showing the night before it went on what do you call it? "Multiple Listing." The realtors were allowed one, 24 hours before they put it on. So this realtor had called about ten or fifteen people who were there for an hour for this open house and we were taking a leaf from the place we lost or missed. We filled it out right there and the next morning Cathy woke up crying. Buyer's remorse, "What have we done?"

We wrote a check for however many thousands you have to write in earnest money. That was in the days before inspections and all of that stuff. Oh my god! Would that it have been in the days of inspections because the house was built in about the 1950s. It was a small, stone cabin and it just [had] ancient wiring, plumbing, insulation, jerry-rigged this that and the other. Two different additions have been put on it. But, we have loved being there, loved sailing.

Q. You've put a lot of effort and money into making it a lovely home. It is a great location.

A. It is and it's going to keep us in Springfield although I think we'd be tempted to stay here because of friends... we couldn't something that nice any other place in the country we'd like to live, maybe Detroit or Cleveland.

Q. Each of you enjoys it equally, essentially. Comfort, it's a sanctuary.

A. Right, yeah.

Q. Ok anything else about Cathy and her work?

A. Well she at the time we did that had gone into private practice after working at various social agencies and was generally enjoying it. She had Ron Havens were partners in the practice. Dick Diamond was with them for a while and they were all interested in the work of Milton Erikson who was a specialist in Hypnotherapy and using hypnosis to help people deal with their problems. So I read some of his work too and really very much admired his approach which was he didn't...

47 minutes 59 seconds

End of 10.2

Begin of 11.1

Q. This is continuing and concluding an oral history interview with Larry Shiner on tape 11, side A. You were talking about Cathy's career.

A. Oh, yes and her work on Milton Erikson. His idea was not the Freudian unconscious but that we all possess a lot of innate, unconscious knowledge and ability. Well, he's talking about the

sort of thing; couldn't we get in our cars and by mistake drive to the place we are used to driving instead of the place we want to go? We're just on automatic pilot. So many of the things we know how to do, we just know how to do them. If we try to consciously think about, first you put this foot here and that foot there, and so on, it's very hard to do this.

So his idea of hypnosis was he used it to put people in this kind of trance like state and if he planted any suggestions it wasn't the kind of staged hypnosis stuff like, "You're going to cluck like a chicken when you wake up," but to help the person get in touch with their natural abilities and feelings and so on. There was a whole Erikson kind of movement in Psychotherapy. He lived in Phoenix, Arizona and they used to have a conference for so many years out there, bit conference.

Cathy and Ron and Dick would always go to that conference and they'd give papers and sometimes they would do demonstrations of how they did things and so on. And one of the collaborations, well actually Cathy collaborated with Ron on a couple of his books, helping him with the writing--but one of their collaborations was to--and here she didn't just help with writing, she contributed some of the substance and content was a book called, *Hypnotherapy Scripts*, which were scripts that people who were therapists trying to learn how to use these techniques could actually use to induce trances of different kinds.

That has been a best seller, in that field. Obviously, it's not at Barnes and Noble with the general public buying it. She has made tens of thousands of dollars in royalties over 15 years. I could count my royalties, as I said the royalties from my book *Adventures of Art* book haven't paid yet for the expense of the illustrations. It's a net loss so far, but her's actually has made some money. She is always amazed because they keep printing it. I can't remember if they did a second edition, but it keeps going.

She finally though got burned out on doing individual psychotherapy. I remember her saying, "I'm sick of hearing how, 'my sister always got the biggest piece of cake.'" And she said, "What you'd really like to do is not to nod understandingly, and say, shape up."

Q. Get a life!

[Phone interruption]

Q. Ok, resuming. So she got tired.

A. Right she got tired. I think many therapists and certainly all people in social services who do direct contact with the public get tired. So she took a job as Director of the rape crisis center. It was called RICS, Rape Information Counseling Service. She had been the mentor there is a more technical term for it, "supervisor." She had been the supervisor of their therapists because meanwhile she had--I think we did talk about this--she had gone back to school through the University of Illinois at Urbana and gotten a Master of Social Work degree.

She had initially started work on a PhD over there but the commuting and working full time was just killing her and as you know, U of I Urbana doesn't even think about commuting students and making anything convenient for them. What they do think about though is exporting their

MSWs and MBAs or whatever and so they will give a certain number of courses in a particular location. So you can take your core courses then you can commute and pick up the rest.

She decided to go for the MSW, well she already had an MA in Psychology. I remember that one of the things she said as long as this is a Sangamon State/UIS tape, was that she felt that her teachers here in the Psychology program were better teachers than many of the ones, who have long publication lists, over at the U of I.

Q. Well that's a nice tribute.

A. And perhaps it was because many of them of course are busy maintaining those long publication lists. And, they don't get rewarded for teaching over there, they get rewarded for publications.

Q. So she was a direct observer of this.

A. A direct observer of the difference. Now, she said she had a couple of people who were fantastic teachers and scholars and decent human beings. You have that at every institution. At any rate, I mention her getting the MS studies because that with her MA made her an appropriate person to supervise BA level therapists. So, she had been doing that for a couple of, maybe more than two years at RICS.

Q. Ok, so she had been training their...

A. She had been training their therapists so she became the director of it. That was ten years ago now, I can't tell you exact dates but at any rate she found it in need of a lot of reorganization and upgrading. It was in horrible quarters on Laurel Street in the lower floor of something that had like apartments upstairs, there was a hearing aid place next door. I just remember this concrete steps were crumbling.

Well, it was owned by, I'm blanking on his name; he built the condos on the Lake, tried to put the truck stop in on Toronto Road. Kent? Doug Kent. It was owned by Doug Kent. Well Doug Kent never did a bit of maintenance on that building while they were in it. They even had a small fire in the basement. It was just the pits. One of her goals was to find a better place and get them out of there.

Q. Oh, did she ever.

A. And she did.

Q. It cost more money.

A. Yes it's more expensive but she figured out a way to do it and in the years that she has run that agency she has really managed to clean out slowly the dead wood and hire a pretty good staff although there is always turn over. Its low pay work but she also at the same time become very active in the statewide organization, the Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault. She had actually worked for that Coalition in one of her earlier jobs very briefly and actually, she was the first directors of it when it was just a fledgling organization.

They tried to get her to come back but there was a lot of internal politics that she knew about so she decided to stay away from it. But, under the leadership of Polly Poskin it has blossomed. Polly is a superb lobbyist in the Legislature. A line item... and has received pretty good funding, although this year it almost fell off the cliff.

Cathy has been very active in the statewide organization and because of her years of experience and the really superb way she manages her own organization she has been on all the major committees, chaired the Contracts Review Committee, the Personnel Committee and so on and is as you might imagine, this has a plus and minus side, is consulted regularly by the state organization which is just across, downtown in her agency so they will often call her, "Oh, we need a press conference, we need somebody, a Director from one of the centers to show up at three o'clock..."

Q. So she is the designated...

A. She will often be the designated person.

Q. She also, I'm sure it was her instigation, changed the name. Prairie?

A. Yes, that was one of the... Prairie Center Against Sexual Assault. It's PCASA. The state organization is ICASA, Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault. PCASA and their letterhead has some Frank Lloyd Wright motif on it. But, as she said it is very hard to go out and publicly raise money around the issue of rape. People just don't want to hear about it so this makes a softer landing.

Q. Well I think it is much improved and probably the budget is larger than it was?

A. Oh yeah.

Q. Considerably so?

A. Considerably larger.

Q. So this has been a fulfilling success?

A. It has, it has. I think she is beginning to burn out. I know she is and she wants to take her retirement but she keeps delaying it for both financial reasons and it seems like there is always some crisis she couldn't resign right in the middle of this huge budget crisis this spring. And, finding a successor who could handle the things she does because the way it turned out is--of course she does no direct service, she is the administrator--but because it is so small, ten employees, the budget is half a million dollars she can't afford to have a full time financial officer, a bookkeeper and so on, so she sits in front of her computer working on the budget readjusting it daily.

Q. I've heard you before say that that is a constant concern for her and she has developed expertise obviously.

A. Right, so that, writing grants, doing umpteen reports and so on.

Q. Demanding?

A. Demanding, yeah. So, we have both had careers at Sangamon State and hers primarily as a student but also, I should mention, that for ten years while she was in private practice, the Psychology program had her teach Psychology of Women and sometimes other courses.

Q. So she was as close to being a regular adjunct faculty member...

A. Well she certainly was a regular adjunct for several years.

Q. I think maybe it's time now to take the broad view and think in terms of what has obviously been a successful professional and teaching career and also a wonderful relationship with your wife, and reflect what the institution, this university has represented in your life.

A. Well, obviously it has represented at least three-fourths or more of my teaching and professional career. I have very good feelings about it. It's been a wonderful place for me personally to learn and to do what I wanted. All that freedom we had at the beginning, it was great and as we said before, it had its downsides, we ran off in every possible direction. I suppose if I had really cared whether I had a "Philosophy Career" with a series of publications and positions in office of the American Philosophical Association and so on, it wasn't a good thing.

But I didn't care about that, wouldn't have wanted it. I had just the career that I wanted to have. I was able to teach pretty much what I wanted to teach. I had wonderful colleagues in Philosophy. We had a great arrangement really. As it turned out our idea of serving other programs allowed each of us eventually to settle down. I worked with History, Art, Communications and Literature a little bit and Ed and Peter with other programs.

Q. Of course that was really your inspiration, although they had readily accommodated it. That was really your doing.

A. Yeah. I had no idea how well it would turn out and I think mentioned before, I sometimes thought of writing a little piece for the journal or newsletter called *Teaching Philosophy* about it but I never got around to it. By now it would be pointless because in which I would say, *Well here is one model in relating Philosophy to other discipline*. It probably doesn't work very well because what happens is the people involved move or pass out of Philosophy into the disciplines they're working with. In my case that was not a problem, that was a pleasure.

Now I might in that regard, this is probably the place to talk about my successors in Philosophy. We hired at time Ed Cell retired which would have been 1997 or 1998, we hired a young fellow named Peter Boltuc who is Polish. Has a PhD from Poland, but came over here and got a second PhD in Applied Philosophy. By the 1990s you could get a PhD in Applied Philosophy something we were just starting to do in the 1970s and 1980s.

At any rate, we hired him because he had that and well, there were other candidates. We actually made an offer to another whose background was in Phenomenology. We just loved him; unfortunately his wife was Venezuelan and said, "Never Springfield." So, he went to Loyola

in Chicago instead. But, Peter looked good, right background and so on and he seemed energetic, ambitious, he had done a year of post doc at Princeton. Well, we did not... I feel bad because I was finishing up my book when he came, Peter was finishing a book, and we did not give him as much mentoring and attention as we should have. But he got involved with Larry Golden and the Springfield Project and that seemed to satisfy him. But by the time I was ready to retire in 2004 and Peter then decided to take early retirement, I was retiring late.

Q. I didn't know that. Oh, Peter Wenz? I'm sorry.

A. Wenz, Peter Wenz was taking early retirement. He was gone by the spring of 2005, I was gone by the spring of 2004 and he was gone by the spring of 2005. So suddenly there was a chance for Peter Boltez then to completely change the program, which he did. In fact he asked us to be involved. Well he needed us to be involved in the hiring of the next person to replace Peter. The direction he wanted to take the program was towards a completely tradition program with the core and so on, for a much more traditional program, not totally. And, he had the ingenious idea that he could turn this into a major, an online major. We still didn't have the freshmen and sophomore classes to feed into a major. So, he did.

At that time Bill Bloemer was gung-ho for our dean. I haven't mentioned him. He, by the way is a good friend. I really like Bill and he did a superb job, a superb job of being dean. Well Bill was pushing the on-line side and saw quite correctly that it was essential to our survival in enrollment terms. Peter was able by 2006 or 2007 to have an actual Bachelor's Degree in Philosophy offered on-line.

We recruited these new faculty and there is one amusing aspect of it; Peter Wenz and I both found this amusing, Peter Boltuc is very academic status conscious. He wanted to consider no candidates except those who were from the "top" universities in rankings. So, always the Princeton, Yale, Harvard or certain Big Ten or California schools came to the top. As it turned out we, John Barker, very nice guy and very competent is from Princeton and Roxanne Kurtz the other new faculty member is from MIT, so she fits the mold.

Q. Those are both good schools.

A. Yes, it's been a little I wouldn't say, painful but a little sad I guess to see something that you have created and built disappear overnight. But, it's inevitable that change will come, it just doesn't often come quite as quickly as this. [laughter] But the program seems to be flourishing so that's good for Philosophy, good the university, good for the people involved and I wish them well.

Q. One other follow-up question. You had previously taught at Cornell College in Iowa which would seem to many people including you for a time, an idealic academic setting. But, you got disenchanted and restless and so you came here. Was there ever a time when you were here that you also got restless?

A. And wanted to move? I don't think so. I don't think so.

Q. So it never got so bad here or maybe you were just a little older and wiser?

A. I was older and wiser but also in the Lacy and Long years I was somewhat insulated from it in a way that you weren't. For gosh sakes, you were right up there on the fifth floor taking the heat from and for Lacy, whereas I was able to focus on my courses and scholarship. That is good you asked that because one thing I haven't talked about is my outside relationships.

I think the American Society for Aesthetics was very important and it was important for me and I say this to young faculty that I mentor--either officially or unofficially--make sure you have an outside connection to your field, that you have some recognition, that you have some friends, because if everything is here and things start to get sour then they go south.

Q. Siberia.

A. Right. But if you have got some research you are doing, some papers you are doing, if you've got some meetings you are going to, seminars... so I tried to do that and it helped. Actually the ASA, I finally hung around long enough and gave papers long enough that somebody that I befriended who was on their Board put my name up, so I served on the Board for two years. That was satisfying.

The other organization and this had more to do with my divorce than anything was the Society of Values in Higher Education. I was active in that from 1978 to about 1980. Especially before I met Catherine, we got married in 1980. I was involved a little bit before that, is it the Danforth Foundation that sponsors it? This used to be Society for Religion in Higher Education, they changed their name to be broader but it still had a worship group in it and people would do religious things.

Their main work as they called it was a week long summer institute or whatever you want to call it, held on some college campus where people could bring their families, live in the dorms cheap, eat cheap food through the cafeteria and then have these meetings. We had a thing called the "morning groups" and these were topical groups that if anybody was interested in, they just proposed a topic and got a certain number of people to present.

They were sometimes kind of like mini papers but more informal or it might just be readings and books. I was active and helped organize the historical fiction group which tied in with what I was doing on the Tocqueville book and so on. So I met some really nice people through this. You had meals together, there were outings, there were softball games. So, the morning you were having these sessions and you might have an occasional afternoon topical things, visiting speakers...

Q. How many of these did you attend, every summer?

A. Oh, I probably attended at least a half a dozen.

Q. So they were an important outlet to you?

A. Yes, they were an important outlet, an outside outlet and for many people they were an inexpensive summer vacation.

Q. So you would take a couple of kids with you?

A. You could, or I'm trying to think if I managed to find somebody to stay with them? But, Billie Sue, Billie Sue never went, I think it came at the end of our relationship but Cathy did go to a few of them. She wasn't as enthusiastic about it. They were always held in August and that was a time for us to take a trip when she wouldn't have to work and it had served as a transitional thing to a single...

Q. An affiliation for you where you could mix with people.

A. I could mix with people, meet someone... it ceased having that side.

Q. But that was another important connection to you.

A. It was and I was a little sorry to drop it because it was the friendships there, actually one of the friendships, two of the friendships through that connected to my other work I already mentioned it, the work on the Tocqueville book, *History and Theory*. Louis Mink, he is dead now, he was a Philosopher on the editorial board, maybe one of the editors or associate editors of *History and Theory* and was very active. So was Richard Bann, also an editor of *History and Theory*.

That was an important connection then for me to get articles published I guess or at least have them, they didn't override some readers or committees or something but it was a nice relationship. Lou Mink was a prince of a guy and helped me get over my infatuation with Phenomenology. I remember he just said once, "I read that Phenomenology stuff but I thought..." I was telling him how well it gets you in touch with the concrete life world, the description of the structural life world. He said, "Yes, I know but I can get all that out of Pragmatism." That always stuck with me, these guys... why get into all of this rarified esoterical vocabulary when... you can get it all from James and Dewey.

Q. Sounds like a great guy.

A. He was. I'm sorry he's gone.

Q. How about your own religious practices? Can you touch on that?

A. Well sure. I have been an agnostic for years but not, I was never went through a phase of hostility to religion in general, Christianity in particular even to the Methodist Church I still have a certain soft spot in my heart for them. Partly because of my dear friend, Eugene Frank who is now 101 years old. He was my minister/mentor when I was a teenager. We've stayed in touch I just talked to him last week. I was thinking, *I don't want him to die before I call him one more time*. I do have a certain sympathy for those issues and for those people who are still engaged with it.

One of the other institutions, and I'm glad you brought that up because after I was divorced I started attending the Unitarian Fellowship and that was another place to meet people, perhaps meet a person of the opposite sex. I did... we both know the person and it wasn't all that great.

[laughter] Anyway, but that was very nice relationships I remember with Mary Beth Norton in particular. She and her husband... Mary Beth and...

Q. Mary Beth Norton?

A. Yes, she works for the state and was a member of the Unitarian Fellowship. I was just thinking of her because we were both with some other people that I liked, Caroline Ewert. Anyway, Caroline, Mary Beth and I were the Program Committee because at that time when I first went to it, it was meeting in a house on North something.

Q. On Wabash, on Walnut.

A. Then we went to a church, an old... I forget where the house was, on the North side someplace. But the church was a disused evangelical, Baptist something or other. So we were program committee, a year or two of that. At that time there was no minister, you just corralled a speaker one of the people did it and the worship services were kind of catch-as-catch-can mixture of this, that, and the other, very informal. But then towards the end of that time... let's see how did that happen?

About the time they were finding a new minister I became less active, not on committees and so on. I would attend now and then because I was married to Catherine who though her background was Roman Catholic and she had even spent a year in a convent as a young person, she was much more skeptical and negative in her views of the church and used to tease me calling the Unitarianism the methadone of religion... sort of the halfway house of people who can't kick the habit. So since she didn't want to go on Sundays and there was always yard work to do, I fell out of the habit.

Q. So you don't attend?

A. I don't attend regularly, now and then I attend. I make a pledge every year to support them.

Q. Very nice people, I've spoken a few times and I know some of them well.

A. You speak there and [I] am asked to speak occasionally. I will go every now and then just to see old friends. I had great sympathy for Mary, what was her last name? She was the minister there. She was a nice person and did pretty good but a number of people didn't like her. I remember once we just happened to be on the same train to Chicago and we had a long talk. I understood the problems of being a minister and have some sympathy for that.

Then they got an interim minister who was really quite good. His commitments were Buddhist. He had a Buddhist study group. I can't remember his name now because they have these itinerant interim ministers that are not allowed to take the job at the place where they are serving. Because inevitably people like them and want to take them. So, the fellow they have now seems quite good and is doing fine.

To be honest with you Cullom, one of my jokes is... I probably joked with you about this; I am liturgically high church and theologically no church! Unitarian I suppose, you can be an agnostic

in the Unitarian church or an atheist but, I really enjoy the rituals, the choirs, the vestments, the beautiful settings. When we are in Santa Barbara I have to tell you we discovered the first year we were there a beautiful little stone Anglican Church. It was All Saints By the Sea and it is, it's a half block from the beach.

Q. What a classic name.

A. Yes, of course the congregation being in Santa Barbara is well to do. But it is a beautiful, gothic-like, like the one downtown in Springfield. Just like that with the wonderful wooden beams and everything. A great choir and of course somebody from the UC Santa Cruz Music Department, well probably several people from it, a very intelligent and cultured minister and assistant minister. The assistant minister was an older very charming woman. Much social concern, although they were wealthy and so on. Well we just love to go there. So neither of us are believers... we take communion, we take communion.

Q. Well do you? Check i.d.'s at the door...

A. Well no actually they always announce anyone is welcome at the altar. Now downtown, here they are a little more on the high church...

Q. I grew up a very high church Episcopal at the Cathedral in Peoria. That was strict, with incense and everything. The one, Christ Church downtown, we were married in it, never struck me as that. High society but not high church. Well I don't want to get on my... So you are not an active church person...

A. Believer? No. I've gone several times to the Presbyterian Church because Roy goes there.

Q. That's First Presbyterian?

A. That's First Presbyterian right. And, I really liked their previous minister, the Scotsman with the great accent and very intelligent. And actually I liked the guy at Westminster, Lonny something and have gone there a couple of times.

Q. So you've been shopping?

A. Yeah, not for a place to stay but now and then I get the urge and like to go. I love singing hymns especially the old ones I used to sing as a youth, at the Methodist Church. When Suzie died at her funeral I had them sing, [inaudible-45:30] *How Firm the Foundation*. It was very moving.

Q. Oh yes, of course it was.

A. I used to get in the boat right after Suzie died and I would ride the boat around in circles on the lake and sing that the top of my lungs.

Q. Oh, Larry. That's touching.

A. So religion has a way of not going away. Maybe that is why I'm not hostile to it. I understand the comfort it gives people. If I can get comfort for all my agnosticism from singing a hymn I wouldn't want to take that away from anybody. I deplore, I think that is what makes me hate the use of religion by that political party. That is why I detest it so; they are just abusing religion for their political end instead of respecting the country and the inspiration it can give people.

Q. We have reached I think the conclusion of our conversation but it has been an extraordinary experience and congratulations.

A. Thank you Cullom, thank you.

47 minutes, 54 seconds

End of 11.1

End of Interview